



**LUNDS**  
UNIVERSITET

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

***A Moving Experience***

***A phenomenological study of what it means to be an immigrant in Sweden***

**Therese Hultengren**

Bachelor thesis  
Spring 2010

Supervisor: Roger Sages

## ABSTRACT

Moving to a new country and living in a new culture involves many processes of change and adaptation for the individual. Not only is the person surrounded by a new language, different norms, behaviour and traditions, but suddenly he or she is also an “immigrant” in this new society. This study was set out to examine the experience of being an immigrant in Sweden, with the aim to make the Swedish society more conscious about its own role in the acculturation process. By creating a better understanding of both hardships and remedies that individuals live through as immigrants in the Swedish society, we can more easily find the best way to live together. The study has a phenomenological approach and has been carried out with a qualitative method where open interviews have been used. The participant’s accounts have been analyzed based on the theory of acculturation and with the help of Sphinx Lexica, a program for lexical analysis. The analysis demonstrate that many of the participants share similar experiences, such as that some of the Swedish characteristics complicate the acculturation process and that the language constitutes a strenuous obstacle in the relationships with the Swedish people. As a Swede one should try to be more open and welcoming towards new people, thus not be afraid of what one might find “different” or “strange”. One should strive to look beyond certain stereotypes of immigrants in order to see the individual, and be especially aware of one’s own role regarding the outcomes in the meetings with people from other cultures.

Keywords: *Immigrant, invandrare, Sweden, Swedish, phenomenology, experience, acculturation, integration, Sphinx Lexica*

### **Appreciation**

I wish to thank the six participants in this study for their engagement and for contributing with valuable knowledge. Thank you for taking your time and sharing your experiences with me. I also want to thank my supervisor, Roger Sages, for his commitment and illuminating discussions. Finally, I thank my fiancée for his support, encouragement and patience along the way.

## TABLE OF CONTENT

<b>Introduction</b> .....	5
Aim .....	6
<i>Notes from the author</i> .....	6
<b>Theory and research</b> .....	7
Culture .....	8
Acculturation and identity .....	9
Intercultural relations and acculturation strategies .....	9
<i>Critique against the fourfold acculturation theory</i> .....	12
History of immigration to Sweden .....	13
<i>The 19th century - The creation of race</i> .....	15
<i>The 20th century; nationalism, race-biology and restrictions</i> .....	17
<i>1933 to 1945 - Swedish refugee policy during World War II</i> .....	18
<i>1945 to 1970 – Labour force and assimilation problems</i> .....	19
<i>1970's and 1980's – Towards a multicultural society</i> .....	21
<i>The development since the 1990's</i> .....	23
An attitude change .....	23
Phenomenology .....	25
<i>The qualitative researcher's perspective</i> .....	26
<b>Method</b> .....	27
Participants .....	27
Instrument .....	29
Qualitative interviews .....	29
<b>Procedure</b> .....	30
Data analysis .....	30
Validity and reliability .....	31
<b>Result</b> .....	33
Acculturation and identity .....	35
<i>Citations</i> .....	36
Cultural maintenance and contact-participation .....	39
<i>Citations</i> .....	40
Integration .....	42
<i>Citations</i> .....	43
Groups or individuals? .....	46
<b>Discussion</b> .....	47
Acculturation and identity .....	48
<i>To be different</i> .....	49
Culture maintenance and contact-participation .....	49
Integration .....	51

<i>Language</i> .....	52
Groups or individuals? .....	53
Conclusion .....	55
Discussion of the method used .....	56
Further research .....	57
<b>References</b> .....	59

## INTRODUCTION

When looking around us today, we live in a society that is characterized by globalisation and international migration. Worldwide, people are travelling more than ever, experiencing new cultures and gaining new knowledge about other ways of living and thinking. At the same time, migration continues to grow; in 2010 there is an expected 214 million international migrants in the world. What does this imply for the societies receiving new citizens, and what does it mean to the people migrating? Moving to another country, living in a new culture and being surrounded by new people and a new language will obviously involve some changes, both within the receiving country and within the immigrating individual/s. These processes of cultural and psychological changes has been discussed and defined in the theory of *acculturation*, which is based on the notion that intercultural contact can result in different dimensions of different acculturation strategies depending on the acculturation approach of both the immigrants and the receiving country (Berry, 2001).

Sweden has received immigrants since its early days and is now a country with a big population of people from different cultures. In 2009, 102,280 individuals with 168 different citizenships immigrated to Sweden (SCB, 2009). This indicates that the issue of acculturation should by now be a subject known and understood by the Swedish people; however this does not always seem to be the case. The way that the immigrants are met in the new society, the attitudes among the citizens and the politics regarding integration and minority questions, all play a great role regarding the shape and outcomes of the acculturation process. Thus when immigrants reveal difficulties to get into contact with the Swedish people or the negative attitudes they are met with when not speaking well Swedish, this should make us think twice about our own responsibilities regarding the situation for immigrants in Sweden. Naturally, the acculturation process is two-sided in that the personal attributes and attitudes of the immigrant are of the same importance for the outcomes, still there are many things that can be improved in society in order to facilitate the acculturation process for all people involved.

The outcomes of acculturation in a society are also something that governments often try to measure, although the instruments used and the data available are varying, making it complicated to compare and draw conclusions from the results. The often quantitative approaches produces numbers and statistics that are supposed to show how well, or not well, acculturation works in their society. However, what can numbers actually tell us about people's experiences and well-being, about the cultural meetings and human interactions; are those not important aspects of the acculturation process? Do we, as a receiving society, really know how

to work in the best way in order to make acculturation successful? I am interested in examining the experiences of living in Sweden as an immigrant, the individuals' thoughts and feelings about living in a new country, in a new culture. I want to know what the individuals think is important when living in Sweden, if they have any strategies, how they perceive themselves and also which obstacles they meet on the way. There is no wish to look at specific ethnical groups or immigrants with a certain background, education level or reason for moving, but rather to search for similar experiences and thoughts among different individuals who have immigrated to Sweden. My hope is to get a better understanding of what it actually means to be an immigrant in Sweden.

## **Aim**

The aim of this thesis is to examine individuals' experiences of being an immigrant in Sweden. By the use of open interviews the participants will be able to describe their experiences of the acculturation process with their own words, and the accounts from the interviews will then be analysed on the basis of Berry's acculturation theory. However, an open and critical approach will be used in order to examine to what extent the acculturation theory can be used as a theory foundation when studying immigrants' acculturation in Sweden. The aim is further that the result will contribute to a greater understanding of the experiences of moving to and living in Sweden as an immigrant, and that this knowledge can be used in order to improve not only the political approach regarding integration work but also that it can open the eyes of many Swedish people regarding the ways they can help to facilitate the immigrants' way into the society. My ultimate wish is that the Swedish society will constitute an open and welcoming place for all people, based on understanding and mutual acceptance of each others' differences and similarities.

## ***Notes from the author***

It should be mentioned that in the section of the *History of Immigration to Sweden*, up until about the 20<sup>th</sup> century, not many sources have been used. One frequently used source is the book "Tusen år av invandring - en svensk kulturhistoria" written by Ingvar Svanberg and Mattias Tydén in 2005, which was the most relevant source to be found regarding the immigration to Sweden during this time. The authors, in turn, have used a great amount of first-hand sources, and should I have had more time I would have tried to go to those sources to find information for my work; however the limited time made that impossible, and thus I choose to use the book for my purpose of writing a summary of the history of immigration to Sweden until the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

You might find the chapters of the history of immigration in Sweden somewhat too long and detailed, even unnecessary for the aim of this work, but let me plead for its importance

of the understanding of *how* and *why* the view of immigrants in today's society has become what it is. It is, in this way, also the history of the meaning of the word *immigrant* in Sweden. And remember that the process of integration is a two-sided issue; the attitudes of the Swedish people and their experience of immigrants will to a great extent affect the daily life of the immigrants living here.

## THEORY AND RESEARCH

Migration has been a natural part of human existence ever since our human ancestors left Africa to populate the rest of the world. Even if we cannot know for sure, it is likely that at that time, as in today, this human migration was accompanied by excitement, anticipation, fear, heartaches, tensions (even bloodsheds) between the local population and the migrants, and the keen or unwilling exchange of ideas, skills, attitudes, and genes (Adler & Gielen, 2003). The underlying causes for migration are demographic (population pressures), labour market and environmental factors, as well as political disasters and powerful economic forces (World Migration Report, 2010; Adler & Gielen, 2003) There are an estimated 214 million international migrants in the world in 2010, which is double the figure for 1980 (World Migration Report, 2010). This means that the number of migrants is increasing rapidly, involving a wider diversity of ethnic and cultural groups than ever before. Many of the European nations that used to send waves of emigrants to the "new worlds" (North and South America, Australia and South Africa) have lately become the unenthusiastic receiving countries for numerous immigrants (Adler & Gielen, 2003). Nevertheless, most European countries are now experiencing such low birth rates<sup>1</sup> that they must choose to either face rapidly declining population numbers, or open their doors to immigrants from Eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and other places. Psychologically, however, Western European societies seem unprepared for the increasing waves of immigrants and refugees (Adler & Gielen, 2003). Therefore, even if this international migration is presenting new opportunities for all parties involved, it also intensifies existing challenges and adds new ones. Increasing support for political parties who are reluctant for immigration, as well as an increased number of racist incidents and attacks on foreigners in almost all the countries in the European Union (Macionis & Plummer, 2008) are living examples of these challenges involved.

We can therefore see the importance of doing research on how people of many and diverse cultural backgrounds can come to live together successfully in culturally plural societies. The study of immigrants and immigration is traditionally rooted in many disciplines, such as

---

<sup>1</sup> Europe has witnessed in the last 15 years the emergence of unprecedented low fertility levels with a total fertility rate at or below 1.3 children per woman. If they persist over a long time, levels at or below 1.3 imply a halving of the population size in less than 45 years (Kohler, Billari & Ortega, 2006)

anthropology, demography, economics, political science, and sociology (Berry, 2001). However, because of its effects on the individual level, psychology plays an important role in understanding the individual psychological processes involved in multicultural meetings. Berry (1990), argues that there are two broad areas of potential contributions by psychology: acculturation and intergroup relations. These two domains are now contributing important findings for the management of group relations in culturally plural societies (Aboud & Levy, 1999; Berry & Kalin, 2000).

## **Culture**

In the discussion above the word culture is mentioned; but what is culture? As culture is the basic arena for discussions of cultural meetings, a description of its meaning is appropriate. However, as with many other concepts, it may have different meanings in different cultures. A simple description could be “the shared way of life of a group of people” but to give a more complete understanding of the content of culture, six general categories that are connected to the concept of *culture* is presented as described by Berry, Poortinga, Segall and Dasen, (1992). They are;

- Different types of *activities* or *behaviours* associated with a culture
- *Heritage* and *traditions* associated with a group of people
- *Rules* and *norms* that are associated with a culture
- *Psychological characteristics* such as learning, problem solving, and other behavioural approaches associated with culture
- *Structures* such as societal or organizational elements of a culture
- *Genetics*, the origins of a culture

As these categories did not explicitly include *language*, it can be important to add. The differences in language might be one of the more central aspects of culture, because if one travels to another culture, how can it even be possible to understand at least the basics of this culture if one cannot understand its language? And when it comes to cultural meetings and immigration, language is of great importance in order to make the meetings between people more balanced and understandable.

Thus, the concept of culture is used to describe and explain a wide range of activities, behaviours, events, and structures in the lives of people. There is not one single way to define culture, in the same way as there are not two experiences of cultural meetings that are exactly the same.



## **Acculturation and identity**

Individuals with an immigration background often have to relate to at least two cultures; on the one side their background culture (minority culture) and on the other side the culture they live in (majority culture). The term *acculturation* has become a widely used concept when referring to the process of identity changes that groups and individuals undergo in this process initiated when coming into contact with another culture and hence adopting a different cultural system (Matsumoto & Juang, 2008; Williams & Berry, 1991; Berry, 2008). The changes take place in a long term process which can take both years and generations and which affect both the individual behaviours, cultural habits and the structure of society (Berry, 2005; Berry, 1997). That is, on the individual level various *psychological changes* will occur within individuals as a result of being members of cultural groups that are undergoing acculturation at the group or collective level (Graves, 1967), whereas *cultural changes* include modifications in a group's customs and in their economic and political life (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). Ultimately, immigrant-receiving societies and their native-born populations have been, and continue to be, highly transformed (Berry, 2001) as a result of new cultural influences from immigrants and refugees all around the world. In this way it is important to notice that acculturation is a mutual process that can bring about changes in all individuals and groups in contact, not only among the non-dominant groups (e.g. the immigrants and refugees).

## **Intercultural relations and acculturation strategies**

When studying acculturation, psychologists have long focused on what they consider the fundamental aspects of the phenomenon; people's attitudes toward the process, their overt behaviours (continuity or change), and their internal cultural identities (Berry, 2001). These, in turn, are all rooted in two basic aspects of intercultural contact; *cultural maintenance* and *contact-participation* (Berry, 1997), referring to the distinction between orientations towards one's own group and those towards other groups. These two concepts are seen as two different dimensions, where *cultural maintenance* is described as "a relative preference for maintenance of one's heritage culture and identity" (cultural maintenance manifested by each group) versus not maintaining them, and *contact-participation* as "seeking relationships with other groups" and participating in the larger society (actual contact and the resultant participation of each group with the other) versus avoiding such relationships (Berry, 2008). Namely, in any intercultural situation, a group can make a way into (or ignore) the other, and groups can remain culturally distinct from (or merge with) each other. The distinction between these two group-level phenomena is claimed to be critical for understanding the process of both cultural and

psychological acculturation (Berry, 2001). At the psychological level, most people in intercultural settings holds attitudes toward the two aspects mentioned above. Among immigrants or other non-dominant individuals these attitudes have come to be known as *acculturation attitudes* (Berry, 1997). However, the more recent concept of *acculturation strategies* was introduced by Berry (2001) when studying the various ways that groups and individuals seek to acculturate. What people try to do during their acculturation affects to some extent the more immediate outcomes of the acculturation process, and the longer term outcomes when referring to both psychological and sociocultural adaptations often correspond to the strategic goals set by the groups of which they are members (Berry 2005).

Berry (1998) has identified a framework for the two issues of *culture maintenance* and *contact-participation* that defines a space within which varieties of intercultural relations can take place. The issues should be seen as attitudinal dimensions, varying along bipolar dimensions, rather than as positive or negative alternatives (Berry, 2008). Orientations towards these issues work together to define four acculturation strategies carrying different names depending on which ethnocultural group is using the combined strategy (the dominant or non-dominant). Note that these concepts are closely related to identity and that the figure also can be seen as an identity structure, showing the relations between four identity categories and the level of identification with both the majority society and the minority society. The two dimensional framework is presented in Fig. 1, showing the four different acculturation strategies, or identity categories, with their different names. The categories are not to be seen as separate and exclusive strategies but rather as dimensions where the individuals or society can be in between two or more strategies, which also does not exclude the possibility of opponent identities.

<p>Strategies of:</p> <p><b>1; Ethnocultural groups (non-dominant)</b></p> <p><b>2; Larger society (dominant)</b></p>	<p>Maintenance of heritage culture and identity:</p> <p>"YES" ←————→ "NO"</p>	
<p>Relationships sought among groups:</p> <p>"YES" ↑</p> <p>↓ "NO"</p>	<p><b>1. INTEGRATION</b></p> <p><b>2. MULTICULTURALISM</b></p>	<p><b>1. ASSIMILATION</b></p> <p><b>2. MELTING POT</b></p>
	<p><b>1. SEPARATION</b></p> <p><b>2. SEGREGATION</b></p>	<p><b>1. MARGINALISATION</b></p> <p><b>2. EXCLUSION</b></p>

Fig. 1. Framework for intercultural strategies in both ethnocultural groups (1) and the larger society (2).

First, without considering the attitudes of the larger society, the strategies of the non-dominant ethnocultural groups (1) are defined as following; *Integration* is the strategy when there is an interest in both maintaining one's original culture while at the same time interacting with other groups. Here, some degree of cultural integrity is maintained while simultaneously seeking to participate as an integral part of the growing larger social network. If, on the other hand, individuals seek daily interaction with other cultures but do not wish to maintain their cultural identity, the *Assimilation* strategy is defined. Contrastingly, when individuals do place a value in holding on to their original culture but do not want to interact with others, this characterizes the *Separation* strategy. Finally, when there is little interest or possibility to maintain the own cultural identity (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest or possibility in having relations with others (often for reasons of discrimination or exclusion) then *Marginalisation* is defined.

However, as stated, these are the strategies when the attitudes of the larger society were not considered. Berry (2008) states that it is obvious that non-dominant groups and their individual members are not free to choose the way they wish to acculturate. It depends on the position of the larger society, as when the dominant group enforces certain forms of acculturation or restrain the choices of non-dominant groups or individuals. In this way, *Integration* can only be successful when the dominant society is open and has an inclusive orientation towards cultural diversity as it requires a mutual accommodation and acceptance.

This is why the framework includes two different "names" for each combination of strategies. One is for the strategy defined from the non-dominant groups depending on their attitudes towards cultural maintenance and relationships with the larger society, whereas the other name inclines the possible strategy for ethnocultural groups depending on the orientation of the dominant group. *Assimilation*, when imposed by the dominant group is termed the *Melting Pot*, and when *Separation* is forced *Segregation* is the result. When *Marginalisation* is sought by the dominant group, *Exclusion* is the outcome. Finally, as stated above, when society as a whole accepts diversity and includes all the various ethnocultural groups, *Integration* is called *Multiculturalism* and hence defines a mutual strategy (Berry, 2008).

Inconsistencies, conflicts and differences in attitudes between these various acculturation strategies are, understandably, common sources of difficulty for those involved in the acculturation process. This can happen when individuals for example do not accept the main ideology of their society, as when individuals of the dominant group oppose the strategy of multiculturalism in a society, or when immigrant children challenge or oppose the way of acculturating set out by their parents (Berry, 2008).

Berry (1997) has argued that integration is the most positive individual and group acculturation strategy, and for public policy the multicultural strategy is the most positive. This, he claims, involves acceptance of cultural diversity and equal participation of all groups in the society, whereas the other alternatives have little support in creating positive outcomes; assimilation because it involves loss, segregation because it involves rejection and marginalization because it involves both (Berry, 2000).

### ***Critique against the fourfold acculturation theory***

Following the discussion above, the fourfold acculturation theory often credited to Berry and his associates has begun to be questioned, and it is increasingly under criticism arguing that it lacks utility and explanatory force and that it should be “expanded to include, for example, a greater focus on subcultures, dominant group attitudes, or acquisition of cultural skills” (Rudmin, 2003, p. 4). Different scholars have raised critiques such as; that the four acculturation scales in concert measure only one dimension, not two or four (van de Vijver, Helms-Lorentz and Feltzer, 1999); that they are ambiguous, lack predictive power, and are based on assumptions about culture that any anthropologist would find doubtful and because acculturation scales flourish without any comparative, critical reviews of their performance (Escobar and Vega, 2000); a lack of psychological and cultural content and for its ineffectiveness in explaining differences between groups or between individuals (Boski & Kwast-Welfeld, 1998; Schmitz, 1998; Weinreich, 1998; all cited in Rudmin, 2003).

Another critique raised regarding acculturation studies in general concerns the issue of generalisation. Because US scholars have dominated the social science after the Second World War, acculturation research literature has mainly had a focus on American minorities. Rudmin (2009) illustrate that a search in the PsycINFO shows approximately one-third (about 33%) of all acculturation research to be about Hispanics and one-fourth (about 25%) to be about Asian-Americans. This represents a total amount of almost 60% of the research in acculturation dedicated to American minorities. Rudmin (2009) also states that a review of acculturation studies concludes that the literature lacks “coherence, quality, and utility” (p.108), summing up with the statement that nearly one century of acculturation research has resulted in little reliable or useful information. This clearly gives an indication of the importance of conducting cross-cultural research in the area and widening the studies to include more and different countries and groups. Sweden is also a country where the research is scarce in the area. One aim of this study is therefore to give an addition to the acculturation studies in Sweden, and produce more

knowledge of whether the acculturation strategies can be used as a theory foundation when studying the adaptation of immigrants to the Swedish society.

## **History of immigration to Sweden**

Studies of international migration and ethnic relations are sparsely represented in Sweden, thus in order to give an overview over the history of immigration to Sweden one is referred to existing studies in areas such as ethnology, sociology, archaeology, history, linguistics, church history, science of art and literature, history of learning and political science. However, as this work also aims to give the view of the lives of immigrants in Sweden, this is a problem because studying immigrants are rarely the prime objectives of those studies of older times (Svanberg & Tydén, 2005). Stories and information about how immigrants in older times have experienced the move to a new country and their new life there, their thoughts and feelings, how they have perceived themselves in comparison to the majority society and how they have been met, are aspects that can hardly not be found. Consequently, to discuss the identity of immigrants, and the implications of cultural meetings in history, will therefore be mostly of a speculative kind as it was hardly questions that were of interest of those studies. Important to keep in mind is also the fact that concepts and their meanings have been, and still are, changing over time. The meaning we add to the word “immigrant” today might be very different from it meant to people in earlier centuries. The same goes for words as “foreigners” and “strangers” which have been present far back in history, but their tenor have changed over time. On the side of the immigrants, discussions of ethnic identities are also problematic as this is a fairly new concept. As in the discussions of the external validity of studies performed in a special time and/or of a specific place or people, is it even possible to use models of ethnicity, nationalism and acculturation developed in our times to conform to historical situations?

In this work, existing information about the history of immigration will be used and, because of its limitation in size, briefly summarized and utilized for a somewhat personal interpretation of the experiences and lives of the immigrants in Sweden through history, as well as the Swedish inhabitants view and experiences of the newcomers. As mentioned in the introduction of this work, history is an important mean for understanding the development of the meanings of concepts as well as attitudes. Thus, a history of the immigration to Sweden is highly relevant for this work in order to – metaphorically - build up the stage on which the act of “Today” is conducted. Therefore, in the following chapters you will find an overview of the history of immigration to Sweden; a small section about the early history but the focus is on the

history from the 19<sup>th</sup> century until our days, continuing in the result section with stories about experiences from a few immigrants living in Sweden today.

### ***The early history - before the 19<sup>th</sup> century***

Sweden has had immigration of different forms during history. Even though useful statistical information is rare before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there is no doubt that there has historically been significant immigration to the area that is now Sweden. Before the 13<sup>th</sup> century it was mostly people who, in groups or individually, came to Sweden for temporary visits or to settle down. The struggle for a uniform Swedish country, or kingdom, started around the years 1000's, and at the same time Christianity was building its influence in the society. It is also now, in the transition from the Viking Age to early Middle Age, that there are proofs of the arrival of immigrants. German craftsmen and tradesmen established themselves on Gotland and in Kalmar (Hansen, 2001), and when Stockholm was founded in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it was first and foremost an immigration city and a melting pot of different languages – here you could hear German and Swedish, as well as Finnish. It seems as the immigration was encouraged, and well-earned Germans were not left without treat. Even the first known mare in Stockholm was German (Svanberg & Tydén, 2005).

During the 1500's and 1600's, the recruitment of foreigners was aimed solely to meet the Swedish interests and demands. Thus during this time the immigrants' roles seemed to be mostly as transmitters of ideas, knowledge and capital, as well as a mean to increase the labour force and the slowly growing population. Sweden was in need of qualified industrialists and tradesmen, which probably resulted in the general picture of immigrants being positive as they constituted an important part of the development and growth of the country and the economy. Also, considering the fact that the immigrants were seen mostly in an economic perspective, as labour force, it was probably less interesting where they came from, which language they spoke and what religion they had, as long as they could contribute with professional qualities. When economy is the incentive, perhaps the individual happiness and health becomes of less importance, and consequently an interpretation of the view of immigrants in these times leads to an insensitive outlook of immigrants as “just” another brick in the economy for the state. As questions about *integration* of immigrants in society were mainly raised in the early 1970's in Sweden (Kamali, 2004), this was definitely not a concept on the agenda of that time. People were here to work, but they were probably left on their own when it came to how they were to live in the society. As long as they promised to swear their loyalty for the king, be knowledgeable, reliable and loyal to the state (Dalhede, 2009), they were most likely received

with mainly open arms. When it came to language, there were no discussions of needing to study “Swedish for Immigrants”. The language they needed to use was learnt from co-workers (Dalhede, 2009). However, many work places were multilingual, and languages such as German, English, French and Dutch were frequently used among the upper class, for this reason the immigrants’ language knowledge, if coming from these countries, was possibly seen as a resource. What the Swedish inhabitants and workers were thinking is harder to guess; it is likely that they had mixed feelings of the immigrants of being both contributors and rivals for at least some of the jobs.

However, this seems to have changed when the state proclaimed the Lutheranism to be the only true religious doctrine, and hence religion became more important. Not until Gustav III introduced some degree of freedom of religion in the end of the 1700’s were for example Jews allowed to establish in the bigger cities of Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö and Norrköping (Svanberg & Tydén, 2005), when before they were probably as welcome as anybody else if they had any professional qualities to contribute with.

### ***The 19th century - The creation of race***

In all times and places people have separated “us” from “them”, giving ground for attempts to classify humans into different “varieties”, sadly often in the sense of trying to prove some race’s superiority above others. King (1981) notes that Blumenbach, whose 1795 classification of man into five varieties – Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay – has dominated popular thinking for nearly two centuries. Even if Blumenbach was careful to state that there was no evidence to the argument that some population of men constituted separate species, later students paid little attention to this fact and came to put more emphasis on morphology<sup>2</sup> and tried to picture the European populations as ideal morphological types.

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, European studies of philology<sup>3</sup> discovered systematic similarities between the ancient languages of India and Iran – Sanskrit and Zend – and the major language groups of Europe – Greek, Latin, and Roman languages. This led to that from 1800 to the present day, all the results of linguistic research have strengthened the hypothesis of the common origin of the Indo-European languages, which in turn also have been used as the basis for another hypothesis for which there is little, if any, substantial evidence; namely that the people who spoke Indo-European constituted a single “pure” race. This

---

<sup>2</sup> Morphology; the science of something’s shape and development (the Swedish Academy’s Vocabulary online; <http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob/>)

<sup>3</sup> Philology; conclusive term for such branches of science that regards exploration of the problems connected to the language of a group of people (the Swedish Academy’s Vocabulary online; <http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob/>)

hypothetical race came to be known as Aryan, from the name that the Sanskrit-speaking invaders of India called themselves. Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century this imaginary theory was elaborated and used to support a variety of claims to national grandeur and superiority; not only by the well-discussed Nazis but in times by English, Greek, French, and pre-Nazi German apologists as well (King, 1981).

In 1853-1855 Arthur Comte de Gobineau published his pioneering *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*. For the first time, race was cast as the primary moving force of world history, and according to Gobineau “racial vitality” lies at the root of all great transformations in history. He argued that the shift from the Stone Age to the Bronze Age was the result of one race eliminating another; racial movement is the root cause of all that is grand in history. The significance of Gobineau’s theory was his contention that his racial history was a *science*. In this time, science had become a metaphor for the explanation of why things are as they are: people turned to science to explain the origin of human character and institutions, and science became an important part of ideological argumentation and a means of social control (Proctor, 1988).

Examples of this view of science are easy to find; Cesare Lombroso’s *L’uomo delinquente* in 1876 sought to identify “criminal types” according to head forms and body markings; in America, scholars attempted to prove the intellectual inferiority of Indians, blacks, and women through the size of their skulls. Such science was an intention to find evidence for an already general belief – that criminality is inborn, or that the social station of certain groups is natural and inevitable (Proctor, 1988). In Sweden these ideas also came to play a great role for the view on “the others”; for example, Carl von Linné (1707-1778) systematized not only plants and animal but also humans. Similar to the work of Blumenbach, he divided the humans into four races; *Americanus*, *Europaeus*, *Asiaticus* and *Afer* after the continents and hierarchical in the mentioned order. The attempts to classify humans were given a technique in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the Swedish anthropologist Anders Retzius introduced a so called “cephalic index”, a method of measurement that was to separate “long-skulled” from “broad-skulled” and came to be widely used in the growing area of physical anthropology (Svanberg & Tydén, 2005).

What this debate implied, together with the slave trade and the notion of “negroes”, for the view on (some of) the foreigners in this time in Sweden is not hard to guess. Sadly, even today, traces of this time are apparent in people’s attitudes towards mainly black people.



### ***The 20th century; nationalism, race-biology and restrictions***

In the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, coinciding with the growing interest for racial questions, Sweden experienced an upswing of nationalism, with many manifestations of “Swedishness” and nationalist sentiments. In the 1890’s the national day started to be celebrated, the Swedish flag was to be commonly used and the national anthem was created. There was a growing interest for types of people and national characters, a national chauvinism that came to be expressed within the anti-Semitism obviously passable in different political parties and intellectual circles (Svanberg & Tydén, 2005).

As mentioned before, there was a big interest in Sweden for racial questions, scientifically and politically as well as in literature and debates. A Swedish society for eugenics<sup>4</sup> was created in 1909, and Sweden was the first country in the world to establish a public institute for race biology. A wide consensus existed about the value of race biology, advocated by people from the right wing as well as social democrats (Svanberg & Tydén, 2005).

The nationalistic feelings created a glamorization of “the Nordic”, as well as an anti-Semitic jargon especially in the mockery press. The Russian, Baltic and Polish Jews immigrating in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century came to be the target for the first openly racist immigration debate in Sweden. A campaign was started aiming to stop the Jewish immigration. Behind the merchants protests were the idea of Jews as economical rivals, however it increasingly devolved into a mad rush never experienced before. Newspapers and satiric papers published a countless number of anti-Semitic articles and letters to the editors. Herman Lundborg, a Swedish doctor and race biologist, warned in his book “Race-biology and Eugenics” in 1914 for the danger of race-mixing between “higher” and “lower” standing kind of people – with the latter meaning Finnish and Sami, Slavic, Russian Jews, Romani (gypsies), Indians and Negroes. The Swedes were mentioned as a protected and therefore mostly “unmixed” Germanic people. In the same year, 1914, a law prohibited the immigration of Romani people (Svanberg & Tydén, 2005).

Lundborg set the tone for the race-biologic debates in the 1910’s and the 1920’s. The feeling of a threat to the Swedish race constituted one of the motives for the Swedish immigration policy from World War I and forward. In 1927, the government stated that “the value that our county’s population is of a uniquely uniform, unmixed race cannot be underestimated”. The body of administrators in Karlskrona claimed in 1931 that “needless to

---

<sup>4</sup> *Eugenics, or race hygiene*; (in its earliest form) idea that the physical, mental, and behavioural qualities of the human race could be improved by suitable management and manipulation of its hereditary essence (Kevles, 1995); science about the factors of biological/social nature that could improve/worsen future breed’s bodily/intellectual quality; also about practical endeavours to improve the quality of the race (the Swedish Academy online; <http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob/>)

say, that coloured races under no conditions, negroes not even as temporary visitors, apart from in exceptional cases, should have admission to the state” [author’s translation]. Even if xenophobic statements like this were criticized now and then, rarely were there any objections against the reasoning of Swedish racial purity and the threat from foreign races (Svanberg & Tydén, 2005). Thus we can see that the race-biological research in Sweden came to work as a scientific legitimation of a more or less unaware ethnocentrism, at least in its earlier formation.

However, this was not the only side of the history of racism in Sweden. Around 1930 there was a break among the geneticists and many of the theories of the old school were questioned. From this point the scientific study was not longer focusing so much on race differences and characteristics, but instead on inheritable diseases and defects within humanity as a whole. Now the threat was not longer coming from immigrants and foreign people, but rather from what was seen as “inferior quality” within the Swedish population. As a result, the Swedish eugenics, or heritable hygiene, had its success with the sterilization laws implemented in 1935 and 1941, which mainly aimed to prevent reproduction among mentally retarded (Svanberg & Tydén, 2005).

Still, the racial thoughts in its earlier, rough form still influenced the Swedish immigration debate from the turn of the century all the way until the beginning of the Second World War. When the ideas of racial differences once had been accepted, they seemed hard to extinguish.

The fact that humans could be divided into races, that these races carried different physical and psychological qualities, and that these qualities were transmitted from generation through generation were, as we have seen, common opinions during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It had a great impact on the Swedish immigration debate and national feeling, and it probably left many traces that can even be identified in today’s society.

### ***1933 to 1945 - Swedish refugee policy during World War II***

When the Nazis took power in Germany in 1933, the conditions for the Swedish immigration policy radically changed. The terror under the Third Reich led to that hundreds of thousands people tried to escape from the country. It has been said that the ungenerous attitude in America and Europe meant a joint responsibility for the fact that many millions of people got killed because they were Jews, Romani or homosexual. Most of the people who tried to leave Germany simply had nowhere to go because no country was willing to accept them. This was the fact also in Sweden, who until the outbreak of war in 1939 did not accept more than about 5.000 refugees from Germany; less than what for example England, France, The Netherlands and Belgium did. As a comparison it can be mentioned that an estimated 400.000 people had fled until then. If the

ambitions had been different, Sweden had definitely been able to act more generous (Svanberg & Tydén, 2005).

In 1938 and 1939 the number of refugees from the south increased, and Sweden responded by almost closing the borders for Jewish immigrants (if they did not have relatives in Sweden). Still, protests were raised in Sweden that the immigration policy was “too generous”. Trade unions and organizations demanded more restricted policy, and well-known is also the Swedish students’ attitude towards the refugees; at a gathering in Uppsala in 1939 the students adopted a resolution saying that “the future means of support for the academic youth should not be endangered by foreign intellectual labour placed on positions that can be occupied by well-merited Swedish men and women” [author’s translation] (Svanberg & Tydén, 2005, p. 278).

However, some unions and individuals were against the restrictions and acted for a more generous immigration policy. Important efforts were made by a number of private organizations such as the Labour Movements Refugee Support and the Red Cross, as well as many individuals who fought for the rights of the refugees. Still, they often fought in headwind (Svanberg & Tydén, 2005)

First in 1941 the Swedish immigration policy changed. It was now obvious what the Nazis had in mind, and the Swedish authority eased the restrictions for arrivals. However, it was by and large too late as people were not longer allowed to leave Nazi occupied countries. The critique against the Swedish immigration policy was later hard in the public investigation of the treatment of refugees, the so called “Sandler commission”, published a year after the war (Svanberg & Tydén, 2005).

To conclude the policy in Sweden during this time, it represents a dark time in Sweden’s history. The ideas of race-biology and preservation of the “Nordic” race greatly influenced the general attitude towards certain foreigners. Obviously, not everyone in Sweden agreed on these thoughts, but they were just too few in comparison with the majority of people who did agree, or simply did not do anything about it. With the war in mind, and the dreadful things the Nazis – and people agreeing with them – did, it is sad to think that similar attitudes and ideas of race hierarchy can still be found around the world. It seems like we are not always learning from history.

### ***1945 to 1970 – Labour force and assimilation problems***

The post-war era until 1970 was characterized by a big amount of immigrants to Sweden. During the war, the refugees constituted an important labour reserve in Sweden; the country was depending on the forest for its fuel provision, and many of the refugees were put to work with felling of forest. Tens of thousands of refugees also worked in factories and garages. When the

war ended, a major part of the refugees returned to their countries, leaving the Swedish industry with an acute need of labour. The immigration policy soon came to be controlled by the economic situations and the race-discussions from the early 1900's seemed to have vanished (Svaberg & Tydén, 2005).

In 1950 the net immigration was almost 28.000 people. Good economic situations led the Swedish businesses to recruit not only from Italy, Hungary and Austria, but also from Belgium and The Netherlands as well as the Nordic countries. During the 1950's about 10.000 immigrants arrived every year, and in 1955 a total of about 116.000 immigrants are thought to have been working in Sweden, implying about 3,7 percent of the total working population and representing not less than 60 different nations. Nordic people dominated with around 60 percent of the immigrants, with the Finnish as the largest group (Svanberg & Tydén, 2005).

In 1951 a publication named *"The Refugees in Sweden"* described the situation, as well as the statistics, of the refugees in Sweden. It states that "most of the refugees have been eager to settle down as soon as possible and adjust to the Swedish situation. They have created a home and secured a group of friends, and started to grow into the new environment. In general it has been peculiarly successful. Especially this applies to the Balts [...] and the Sudeten Germans. Other refugee groups have also adjusted well here. The Polish have had more difficulties to adjust. It applies less to the many Polish women [...] The Polish men, in turn, have sometimes been a trouble for the Swedish authorities. It has often been young men who participated in the resistance movement against the Germans and who, which is understandable, have had a hard time to conform to a peaceful society. We are eager to stress that the less well-adjusted represents a small number [author's translation] (Geijerstam, 1951, p.42). However, a study in 1952 of the Estonian refugees concludes that "the majority of the Estonians have not assimilated, and as a group they do not wish to either. It also explains the Estonians strive for maintaining their culture, literature, their manners and habits and to give their children an Estonian-speaking education" [author's translation] (Merendi, 1952, s.145). Some years later, László Hámori notes in his *Ungerska flyktingar I Sverige* (1957) that the Hungarian refugees are healthy and have a high working ability, but he also points out that they are experiencing problems in assuming their Swedish surrounding's attitudes and interests. The refugees feel themselves cut off from fellowship with their Swedish environment, even when the language problems are surmounted. Hámori concludes his article saying that "när det gäller att lösa de ungerska flyktingarnas materiella problem, har svensk hjälpverksamhet och organisationsförmåga för många gett utomordentliga resultat. Men för att göra flyktingarna till harmoniska

och i allo nyttiga medlemmar i den svenska samhällsgemenskapen, bör de nu även få hjälp med lösandet av sitt psykologiska problem” (p.252).

In summary, the policies about the immigrants and refugees in Sweden in the post-war era seem to have been focused mostly on their material well-being and their “assimilation” into the Swedish society. As stated in the article about the Hungarian refugees, the psychological well-being of the immigrants does not appear to have been on the agenda, making it hard for the newcomers to be able to integrate well in the society and really feel welcome here.

It should also be mentioned that the opinion at that time seemed to have been for a free immigration, and few opposed the labour immigration. A turning point came around the middle of the 1960’s, when it turned out that some of the immigrants had problems to get on well in the Swedish society. People from the industrial surroundings in Middle Europe could relatively easy adapt to the Swedish conditions, but it was different for the ones who came from countryside areas in Turkey and Greece and who were given less qualified work in the industry and service sector (Svanberg & Tydén, 2005).

### ***1970’s and 1980’s – Towards a multicultural society***

In the beginning of the 1970’s the immigration changed in the way that the labour immigration became much less and the refugee immigration increased. Both recession and the trade unions and employer’s association’s aversion against labour immigration combined to strongly decrease the labour immigration from Nordic as well as other countries (Århammar, 2004).

The immigration from the Nordic neighbour countries still made up a half of the total immigration, while refugee immigration from the rest of Europe corresponded to about a fourth. During the middle of the 1970’s refugees arrived from South America, of which many came from Chile as a result of the military coup in 1973. There were also waves of arriving refugees made up of Assyrians, Syrians and Kurds from Turkey and Lebanon. Until 1975 almost 90 percent of the immigrations came from European countries. During the 1980’s there was another change of the immigration structure, with more than half of the immigrants now coming from countries outside of Europe. More than 400 000 individuals immigrated to Sweden during the 1980’s. A big portion of the immigrants during this period was refugees from Iran and Iraq, and from countries in Eastern Africa (Århammar, 2004).

In 1971 a report named “Svensk invandrar- och minoritetspolitik 1945-1968”, written by David Schwarz<sup>5</sup>, was published, which was the first time that the immigration politics in

---

<sup>5</sup> David Schwarz was born in Poland in 1928 and came to Sweden as a refugee in 1950. He has been regarded as the first person in Sweden that, from an “immigrant perspective”, started a debate about the situation of the refugees in

Sweden were analysed and criticized. Schwarz later wrote that “Enligt ett förhärskande synsätt är det ett handikapp att tillhöra en annan etnisk grupp än den svenska. Samhället har trott sig kunna eliminera detta förmenta handikapp t.ex. genom arbetsmarknads- eller socialpolitiska åtgärder” (Lorentz, 2001, s.9). Within a few years time, Shwartz published four different books and a number of articles in the daily press involving more or less critical opinions of what he regarded as flaws or errors in the immigration policy of these days. Following him, more people started to do research and write reports about the immigrant’s experiences in the Swedish society, most of them pointing to the difficulties and problems involved. Notable is also the change in the question of immigrant children’s language at school; before the 1970’s it was seen as a load for the individual to be bilingual and a hindrance for the learning of the “main language of society”, but in 1976 the so called “Hemspråksreformen” decided that the municipalities were forced to arrange education in the parental tongue at home for the pupils regarded as immigration children. The ambition with the reform was to take into consideration not only the child’s language development but also its emotional, intellectual and social development (Lorentz, 2001).

In 1971 Dagens Nyheter reported about some restaurants in Stockholm that had special rules for foreigners; foreigners without a special card were not let in, because the restaurants wanted to choose their clientele in order not to get “disturbing” foreigners inside. At the end of the 1970’s the media started to picture the ethnical discrimination existing in Sweden, doing reportages of both institutional, social, cultural and ethnical cases of discrimination that different members of minorities had been subjected to. In 1978 the government demanded a big investigation of discrimination in order to examine the extent and character of the xenophobic attitudes towards immigrants in Sweden (Lorentz, 2001). In 1989 the commission against racism and xenophobia presented their end report regarding the situations for the immigrants, and a central goal in their directives was to create a national mobilisation against racism and xenophobia, with for example a suggestion to improve the resources for immigration research at the universities (Lorentz, 2001).

The 1970’s and 1980’s can be characterized as the decenniums when both the research and the awareness of the situation for the immigrants in Sweden increased, leading both to “Hemspråksreformen” and to new national movements against discrimination and xenophobia. Both politicians and the Swedish people became more aware of the problems of the *assimilation* strategy, and thus the notions of *integration* and *multiculturalism* started to grow as the more preferred strategies in the Swedish society.

---

the Swedish society. He wrote many reports and books about different ethnic groups and ethnic relations, and he is now the editor of the periodical “Invandrare och Minoriteter” (Lorentz, 2001).

### ***The development since the 1990's***

During the 1990's, new universities and "högskolor" in Sweden started education, research and networks in areas of multiculturalism and ethnic plurality, in some places becoming the totally dominating orientation. Umeå University started a Centre for studies on Migration, Ethnic Relations and Globalisation (MERGE) in 1991, and in 1992 a national IMER-association was created, standing for International Migration and Ethnic Relations and with the aim to be a national framework for all researchers within the area. In 1994, "lagen om etnisk diskriminering i arbetslivet" came into effect and the government appointed a new immigration investigation and created a committee for immigration policy. The committee's proposition included suggestions for a new immigration policy with a radically different way of looking at questions of immigration, and in 1998 the government decided on an integration policy with the message that Sweden was now prioritizing the support of integration processes with individually aimed interventions. The same year the new department of "Statens integrationsverk" was created, changing its name to Migrationsverket in 1999. In 1999 the government also decided that five ethnical minorities in Sweden are to be seen as national minorities, namely the Lapps, Swedish-Finnish, Tornedalen inhabitants, Roma and Jews (Lorentz, 2001).

The development in the 1990's was explosive in the area of multiculturalism (as defined in the introduction to this work), and the new integration policies as well as education orientation with research areas that were created resulted in a change in perspective regarding the view on immigrants and "immigration problems". From having looked at problems from a Swedish and/or ethnocentric perspective, today it is much more common that studies within the area of multiculturalism are conducted from without an intercultural and integrative ethnicity perspective (Lorentz, 2001).

### **An attitude change**

During the 1960s immigrants were normally called "utlänningar" (foreigners) in the Swedish press, and the way that the press discussed about immigrants and the way that they were usually described was in a manner that nowadays would be considered not only as politically incorrect but also as obviously racist and xenophobic. However, in the beginning of the 1970s, this way of representing immigrants in the Swedish media changed rapidly. The word "utlänning" was replaced by "invandrare" in most newspaper articles, and the media began to represent immigrants in a way that is similar to the current politically correct media discourse (Slavnic, 2008).

Before this shift in representation of immigrants, there was a discussion about the way the immigrants “took the jobs” of the Swedish people. Although guest-worker immigration to Sweden was driven in the first place by the economic interests of Swedish big business, political and public life was dominated by the debate on whether any labour needed to be imported at all. Opponents of labour immigration argued that the existing national labour force should be more rationally used, in the first place by employing women to a greater extent, by re-educating unemployed workers, and so on. A significant number of passages in *Folkbladet Östgöten* (FÖ), a local newspaper, are part of this debate. The following quotation from 1966 is an example of this:

*“Foreigners a threat to the wage standard” – At the moment there are approximately 250,000 foreigners in the country, 150,000 of whom are employed, and industry constantly cries for more. At the same time 40,000–50,000 Swedish men are without a job. What is more, in Sweden we have hidden unemployment among approximately 150,000 women who, according to the Swedish Trade Union Confederation’s research department, do want to join the labour market. Since women... appear to be as capable as men of handling any kind of job, we seem to have an unutilized labour-power reserve of approximately 200,000 persons. Why should we then import foreign labour-power at all? [author’s translation] (FÖ, 660303)*

Where does these attitudes stem from? In fact, when looking through existing literature, Daun (1998) writes that in Sweden there exists a dominant conviction about Swedish superiority in labour and societal life, something that probably is connected to the general view about Sweden as a modern welfare society with a rational and modern working life.

*“The core of our national identity is the notion that we are modern, highly developed. That we have come far, while others still live with old attitudes. This way of thinking is built on a comprehension that societies undergo a development from lower to higher states, where we [the Swedes] are closing in on the top. In reality, there are no superior criterions for what the good society is, and it is meaningless to talk about development when all we see are changes of different kinds” (Daun, 1998:175)*

Brune (1993) stresses that the attitudes towards immigrants in the labour market and expectations about their capacity to work are often connected to the way in which Swedish people rank nations and nationalities by the grade of ascribed “modernity” and “civilisation”.



Nations with a similar industrial development are expected to have citizens with qualities suitable for Swedish work life. A Japanese or a North American doesn't have to fight very hard to get his/her dissimilarity recognised, accepted and appreciated in Sweden. The surrounding expects a positive dissimilarity, an almost automatic capacity to use computers and think in a modern way. A woman from the Middle East may be far more educated and "modern"; most probably she still has to prove her competence in a totally different way.

The reason to bring this example of attitude change up is that it shows the ease with which humans tend to classify individuals into specific categories or groups according to some shared attributes and then take for granted that all members of the groups share the same attributes and behave in the same way. Thus if the Swedes see immigrants as a heterogenic group without much individual differences, and at the same time believe that immigrants are less knowable or less suited to do the same thing as they do, they will probably fail to acknowledge if one immigrant might even be well more educated or suitable than a native Swede because they will not see further than what the concept of "immigrant" mean to them. The fact that just a change of name of a group can imply changes in attitudes towards this group shows what a loose ground people's attitudes are based on. If only a name of a group bring about specific behaviour and reactions which will change if the name change, then we should really think about how these attributes were assigned to the group in the first place.

## **Phenomenology**

When doing psychological research, the choice of method(s) of investigation and analysis are of great importance since it will affect what perspective is held by the researcher, the focus of study and the way of collecting and finding the meaning constitution in the data. Because this work sets out to acquire an understanding of the participants individual perspective and experiences it was essential to use a qualitative research method. Qualitative methods are concerned with the construction and negotiation of meaning, and the quality and texture of experience (Willig, 2008).

According to the purpose of this work, one long-traditional qualitative<sup>6</sup> research method have been used that focuses on the study of human experience; the philosophically grounded *phenomenology*. The phenomenological researcher is interested in phenomena, that is, the way something appears to the individual, in his/her way(s) of constituting meaning and experiences, and thus should not use hypotheses for the research as this could restrict the result and neglect important aspects of the participants own experience (Starrin & Svensson, 1994). It

---

<sup>6</sup> Even though phenomenology is often described as a specifically qualitative method, Sages (2003) indicates that phenomenological psychology does not necessarily have to be labelled as either qualitative or quantitative.

rather ought to be of explorative character. Instead, the researcher strives to be as open and free from presuppositions as possible in order to discover what “there is” (Karlsson, 1995, p. 16). In so, it is a descriptive method that aims to answer what and how something appears (the phenomena), as a preliminary to understanding its why, that is, how it gets constituted in the person’s lifeworld (Karlsson, 1995; Sages, 2003), hence the position taken is that of the individual and his or her world as co-constituted. “In the truest sense, the person is viewed as having no existence apart from the world, and the world as having no existence apart from the person” (Valle and King, 1978; cited in Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p. 3). We all have our own meaning constitutions of the world.

Phenomenology as a discipline started in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the work of the philosopher Edmund Husserl, and was to be the science which studied the essence of phenomena (Karlsson, 1995). The phenomenological method is characterized by an attempt to capture what people say and do, that is, the products of how people constitute the meaning of the world; the task is to capture this process of interpretation. This is done by a careful investigation of the patterns that arise from the words (and actions) (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). This “careful” investigation means that the formulation of a concept is done with an advancing structure, going back and forth in the data for further development (Sages et al., 2002). Important is also to note that the relationship between the knower and the known is seen to be interdependent and thus “there must be integrity between how the researcher experiences the participants in the study, how the participants experience the situation and their participation in it, and how those results are presented” (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p.19) as a condition to objectivity in human sciences.

In this work the phenomenological perspective is used, and the author has strived to let this perspective pervade the research process and subsequently it has influenced the choice of method of investigation, the data collection method, the result and analysis of the data.

### ***The qualitative researcher’s perspective***

A qualitative study strives to have a wide and unbiased focus which makes it possible to discover new meanings and which emphasizes an attempt to understand the world that is examined by looking closely at people’s meaning constitutions through words and actions. Human beings explain themselves and creates their world with words, according to a specific pattern (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). When using the phenomenological method, the researcher is trying to find this pattern and rebuild the participant’s world by considering what the subject himself is expressing (Sages et al., 2002).

Within the method, one of the first step of the researcher is a process called “epoché”, or “bracketing”, which means that one should try not to make prejudgements and instead strive to bracket ones presuppositions, setting aside as a researcher ones personal viewpoint (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). The aim is to set oneself free from earlier knowledge, whether it comes from scientific methods, the daily life or cultural thinking, and instead open up the senses for new knowledge, ideas and experiences that can show up in the text (Sages, 2003). In so, the qualitative researcher’s perspective is maybe a paradoxical one; it is to be directly focused on the experiences and meaning systems of others, to take someone else’s perspective, and at the same time to be aware of how one’s own biases and preconceptions may be influencing that what one is trying to understand (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). In this way one can meet the phenomena with a genuine curiosity and not mix together one’s preconceptions with the phenomena that is to be described (Starrin & Svensson, 1994). It is also important to bear in mind that to be able to understand a person or phenomena one also have to understand the surrounding context (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994), which includes that facts can never be purely objective as they are always present in relation to a subjective attitude. Diverse happenings or facts can for different people represent the same meaning, and one happening or fact can have different meanings for different people and in different situations (Karlsson, 1995). There is not one truth or way to describe something. Knowledge always stem from a subject, whose understanding is established in his or her lifeworld (Sages, 2003).

## METHOD

### **Participants**

The participants in the study fulfilled four criteria set up beforehand; they had moved to Sweden from another country (and hence were considered immigrants); their country of birth were outside of Scandinavia; they were at least fifteen years of age at the time of moving; and they had lived in Sweden for at least two years. The reasons for the three last criteria needs an explanation, and thus the thought behind their country of birth being outside of Scandinavia was that they should come from a country that is not too similar to Sweden. In this way, the move to Sweden involves more changes and differences than if someone comes from example Norway, where the culture is relatively similar to the Swedish culture. I was interested in understanding how the immigrants deal with the new, the unknown, and with the differences in cultures. The criterion of an age over fifteen at the time of moving was set because at that age people have already developed a sense of identity, of history and experiences, they more or less understand their lives and cultures and thus have something to compare with when coming to a new country.

If someone is moving at for example six years of age it might be easier to adapt to a new culture because this person has not yet developed a strong identity or strong beliefs. Because of the wish to look at possible identity changes and if the participants had some experience of difficulties because of their background and former experiences, they should have lived for at least fifteen years in one or more cultures different from the Swedish. The last criterion, which was that they should have lived in Sweden for at least two years, came from the wish to investigate the acculturation process over a longer period of time. As mentioned, acculturation involves many changes where some are instant but where many also are involved in a long term process. Thus, in order to have a look at long term changes as well as experiences over time I thought two years of having lived in Sweden to be a sufficient time for this.

In this study, no specific immigrant target group were identified (such as based on education level, country of birth, current employment status, age etc.). There was one main reason for this decision; a wish to include as diverse a sample as possible in order to search for shared patterns of experiences of being an immigrant, regardless of other criteria as mentioned above. The results from this study, in turn, could function as a base for further research in relation to what aspects are most important when it comes to successful acculturation.

Initially, the wish was to contact immigrants from geographically different places in Sweden by getting in touch with immigrant organisations, SFI (Swedish for Immigrants) classes or other groups where immigrants are involved. However, this proved to be more difficult than expected, as many groups did not have updated contact information, did not respond or were not interested in participating because of language barriers. As time past and pressure raised, finally people known to the researcher from work and university were contacted and asked whether they would like to participate in the study. Even if time pressure stressed this option, one thought behind this choice of participants was that people who had already met the researcher would be more comfortable in discussing their experiences and thus reveal more personal thoughts and feelings that they might have been reluctant to talk about with someone unknown.

The individuals were informed about the background and aim of the study and that their participation would be in the form of a “conversation” with the researcher (not mentioning the word “interview”, with the intention to make them feel as comfortable as possible). A total of four people were contacted in this way, of which all four agreed to participate. They, in turn, were asked if they knew any people who fulfilled the criteria and who they thought would be interested in participating. In this way, another five people were contacted of which two agreed to participate. The other three fell out because of language barriers or lack of time from their side. Thus, a total of six participants took part in the study; five men and one woman between

the ages of 24 and 42. Four of the six were known to the researcher. Their countries of origin were Chile, Russia (the woman), The Netherlands, Costa Rica, Tunisia and Tunisia/France (this man was born in Tunisia but had lived many years in France with his family), and they now lived in Stockholm, Lund and Malmö. No further details from the participants were asked, because even if this would have been done, from the very diverse individuals no conclusions could be drawn from a possible relation between a specific background, personal trait etc and a certain outcome; if that would have been the purpose of the research, then groups of people with the same traits, backgrounds or countries etc should have been examined and compared. In this work one of the aim was to examine if there are similar experiences of being an immigrant in Sweden, regardless of background or other characteristics.

## **Instrument**

In qualitative research the people is used as instruments, meaning that it is human experiences and situations, that will say individual abilities, knowledge, experience and precomprehension, that is the main source in qualitative data collection (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). With that in mind, qualitative interviews were used in order to get an understanding of each individual's experiences, thoughts and feelings. The interviews were recorded with a Dictaphone.

## **Qualitative interviews**

The qualitative research interview is a conversation with an aim and a structure, where knowledge is created by the interaction between the interviewed and the interviewer about a subject of common interest. The aim is not to quantify but to try to understand the subject from the perspective of the interviewed. Qualitative interviews were chosen for data collection because of the aim to gain knowledge about the phenomena under investigation and to be able to be open for the new and unexpected (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

The interviews were open, there were no fixed answers and they had the characteristics of a conversation, with one main question asking the participants about their experience of moving to and living in Sweden and then spontaneous questions during the interviews such as “can you explain that a bit more?” or “can you give an example of what you mean with that?”.

The reason of using an open, general question to start the interviews was to let the interviewees freely talk about their thoughts and feelings without leading them to focus on any particular aspect of their experiences. They were free to talk about anything that came to their minds.

The reason not to use a questionnaire was because in order to create a questionnaire the researcher has to choose the questions. If one has to choose the questions, these will be subjectively chosen from the researcher's own thoughts about what information is interesting from the participants. In this way, questions can be asked that the participants do not find interesting, or they do not understand them, or they would never have thought to speak about it, etc. On the contrary, the researcher can miss out on important information because he does not know the personal experiences of the participants and therefore will not ask questions about it. Thus, letting the participants speak about anything they wanted made it more likely that they would reveal things that are important to them.

## **Procedure**

The first step in the process was to gain a theoretical understanding of migration and acculturation, as well as knowledge about the history of immigration to Sweden, in order to develop a knowledge base about different aspects of the migration process and the experiences involved. A big amount of literature was used for this task, with a range from classic to new research as well as stories and reports from or about immigrants in different times and places.

The interviews were conducted in different places; two by telephone, three at the house of the researcher (considered most convenient by the participants) and one in a study room at the university. All interviews were conducted personally by the researcher and recorded with the help of a Dictaphone, which made it possible to transcribe the interviews word-by-word afterwards. The interviews were ranging from 30 minutes to 1 hour and 40 minutes, and the transcriptions were written on the researcher's computer and saved. No personal details from the participants were stated anywhere in the interviews or on the transcriptions; only the code-numbers P1 to P6 (standing for Person 1, Person 2 etc) were used to differentiate the interviews.

## **Data analysis**

The complete interviews were transcribed closely after the recordings and saved in one document. Another document was then created where all questions and resulting questions from the interviewer were taken away so that only the words from the interviewees remained, as the analysis would be focused only on the participants' stories. In the first step of the analysis the material was carefully read through in order to get an overview of the themes and meanings that arose from the text. A theme can be made up by a spoken sentence that is present in most or all of the interviews, or in a set of facts that have an obvious or emotional value (Ely, 1993). Themes illustrate spoken or unspoken attitudes from one or more of the individuals and their

perspectives and they can be interpreted as the researcher's conclusion of his or her discoveries (Ely, 1993).

The transcriptions, the version without the interviewer's questions, were worked through with the help of the computer software Sphinx Lexica. During the process the transcriptions were also read through several times in order to get a better knowledge about the material and to control that no important aspects were overlooked.

### ***Sphinx Lexica***

Sphinx Lexica is a computer software program for lexical text analysis that can be used to analyse the content of texts, open questions and questionnaires. It is an instrument that can be used for a systematic treatment of qualitative data where it is possible to encode text and make possible different types of statistical processing of the material. With the help of the program one can get a quick overview of the main components of the text and count the frequency of existing words (Stjernquist, 2009). Sphinx Lexica can work with big amounts of text and allow for a control of the inevitable influence the culture has on the researcher (Sages et al., 2002). The software also allow for grouping of closely related terms and identifying contexts. The reason for using the Sphinx Lexica was to be able to work more convenient with the big amount of text and to explore the categories in a more valid way by examining the words that were actually present in the text, the context of chosen words as well as usage frequencies and the words used by each participant.

### ***Validity and reliability***

It is important that all steps in the research process are validated and that a systematic approach pervade the study from beginning to end (Sages, 2003). Validation means that the researcher controls, questions and review the research process, especially the analysis, in a critical way (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). In most research conducted, the researcher influences and shapes the research process, both as a person and as a theorist. This is even more present in qualitative research than in quantitative research, as validation of qualitative research mainly focuses on that the interpretation of the material should represent the reality, that is, to what extent the description represent the views of the participants (Starrin & Svensson, 1994). It is therefore important to be aware of the subjective nature that will undoubtedly affect the research. Reflecting upon the ways in which the researcher's values, experiences, interests, beliefs, political commitments, wider aims in life and social identities shape the research is part of what is called *reflexivity*. Willig (2008) states that reflexivity is important especially in qualitative research because it encourages us to centre, and reflect upon, the ways in which the researcher as

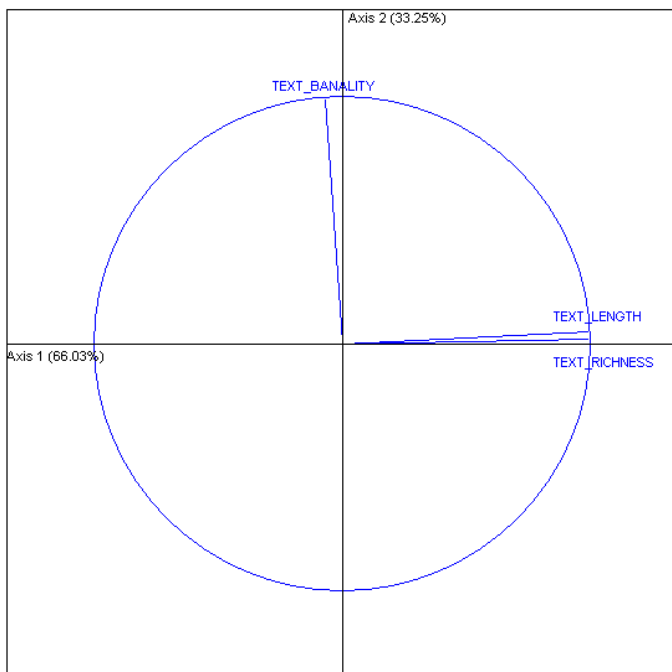
a person is implicated in the research and its findings. In this way, reflexivity should be an integrated part of the research – in all stages of the research design. In this work the researcher has strived to repeatedly reflect upon the own influence on the research process and data analysis in order to be aware of how and why certain decisions are made in the process, so that validity could be accomplished by demonstrating for the reader the understanding of the participants' perspective and experience as representing his or her reality by the use of citations.

In the phenomenology one strives to understand individuals in their own terms (Sages, 2003), and by transcribing the interviews word by word the ethical aspect that the written text should be representing the participants' oral statements is reached (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). It is also important to get rich and diverse descriptions from the participants during the interview in order to get as much information as possible about their perspective and thoughts about the phenomena under investigation. Two criteria for validity of an interview are said to be that the interviewees should have given rich, relevant and specific answers, and that the questions should be short while the answers should be longer (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). It is also important to comprise a high ecological validity of the text as it is a sign that it mirrors the experiences of the participants, and this can be achieved by studying the participants in their natural environment or as close as possible to their normal life situation (Sages et al., 2002). The participants in this study were asked to decide themselves the time and place for the interviews in order to make them feel as comfortable as possible, and the researcher was careful to make the situation feel relaxed and personal, all in order to let the participants feel they could speak freely about their experiences. In Sphinx Lexica it is possible to evaluate the ecological validity of the text. This is done by examining the text for its richness, length and banality, and thus in **figure 1** the result of this examination is shown. To explain the figure; *Text Richness* illustrates that the text contains many variations of expressions, being a sign that the participants have used their own words and expressions taken from their own experiences and thus have found the subject interesting to talk about; *Text Banality* is the opposite of *Text Richness* and thus gives signs of the participants not being interested in the subject and hence not using their own words or expressions. In the figure, *Text Richness* is placed on the horizontal axis which indicates that it is more prominent than *Text Banality*. *Text Richness*, the variation of the text, also coincides with the *Text Length*, showing a big variation in words and not many repetitions of themes. A high ecological validity makes the results credible and can lead to useful practical appliance (Sages et al., 2002).

Last, when presenting the results from interviews it is not possible to cite them in their totality, but rather selected citations are used to resume the content. It is the task of the



researcher to choose the citations to be used and shown for the reader (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).



**Figure 1.** *The total ecological validity of the interviews as explained above; Text Richness and Text Length show to what extent the individuals have used their own expressions, here indicating a big variation in words and not many repetitions of themes; Text Banality is the opposite and is showing a weak position.*

## RESULT

The result is presented in four different themes that were inspired by the theory of acculturation; *acculturation and identity, cultural maintenance and contact-participation, integration*, and the last one *groups or individuals?*. Within these four themes, which are separated by headlines, words connected to the themes have been assembled to create groups of words which are then analysed from their usage in the text. For example, the group “Integration” contains the words connected to integration as mentioned by Berry, and then the text from the interviews have been examined from without this group of words to see how they are used and in what context they are used. In those groups, conjugations of the words have been used as well, including for example “förändras, förändrat, förändrades” under the word “förändra”. The result is presented with the help of one table for each theme (except for the first theme where two tables are presented). The tables show the words that belong to the group and how many times each word is mentioned in the text. The tables are created from analysing the text in Sphinx Lexica. After

the tables a presentation of a number of citations can be found, demonstrating examples of what the participants have said in connection to the specific words in the theme. The words are marked in bold in the citations. Every theme is finished up with comments about the theme and the citations presented, whereas interpretations and conclusions from the themes are presented in the discussion section. The participants have been given an individual code, from P1 to P6 (Person 1 to Person 6), in order to be able to separate them and see which one has said what regarding the citations.

A textual summary of all interviews can be found in *Table 1*, where the total number of words for each participants is presented, as well as the most frequent words, number of different words used and mean word repetition for each participant. The column to the right shows the total sum of each row. The numbers are interesting in different ways; the *total numbers of words* gives an indication of the length of the interviews; the *number of different words* shows how many different words each participant have used, thus high numbers are preferable as they indicate an interest in discussing the topic, hence showing the richness of the interviews; *mean word repetition* indicates the mean repetition rates for words used, as in how many times each participant repeat the words, with low numbers as preferable because they indicate that the participants have not repeated the same words too much and thus discussing different topics and using a rich language. The other numbers are not discussed in this work; they can be used for an even deeper examination of the interviews, however this is not carried out here.

Lexical analysis of TEXT - (3331 observations)											
Analyse	Count	Compare	Lexicon: Words	View: Contextual summa	Transfer	Modify	Describe	Illustrate			
Cross	Sort	Select	Mark	Reduce	Match	Lemmatise	Dictionary	Recode	Replace	Detail	Other
	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	Total				
Frequency of category	540	779	407	328	708	569	3331				
Number of respondents	540	779	407	328	708	569	3331				
Total number of words	6156	9517	6653	3391	10796	9935	46448				
Most frequent word	Jag	Jag	Det	Jag	Det	Det	Det				
Word frequency	304	473	439	202	587	491	2404				
Mean length (words)	11.40	12.22	16.35	10.34	15.25	17.46	13.94				
Number of different words	945	1203	963	669	1075	1421	3351				
Number of unique words	227	327	229	127	229	485	1624				
Mean word repetition	6.51	7.91	6.91	5.07	10.04	6.99	13.86				
Percentage of corpus	13.3%	20.5%	14.3%	7.3%	23.2%	21.4%	-				
Percentage of reading	85.3%	89.2%	85.9%	81.4%	88.5%	89.5%	-				
Weight of the 189 common words	73.2%	73.0%	74.1%	75.8%	75.1%	72.2%	-				
Number of exclusive words	299	434	291	162	302	624	-				
Weight of the exclusive words	7.4%	6.6%	6.4%	6.1%	4.0%	9.1%	-				

**Table 1;** A summary of the interviews. The numbers of interest are “Total number of words”, showing the total amount of words used by each participant; “Number of different words” showing how many different words each participant has used, and “Mean word repetition” showing the mean repetition rate for words used.

## Acculturation and identity

As stated in the introduction of this work, acculturation is claimed to be a process of changes that groups and individuals undergo when coming into contact with another culture and thus adopting a different cultural system. On the individual level it is said that various psychological changes will occur within individuals, changes that are dependent on their attitudes regarding the two basic aspects of intercultural contact; cultural maintenance and contact-participation, referring to the distinction between orientation towards one's own group and those towards other groups. According to Berry's framework for intercultural strategies, four different types of intercultural relations can take place depending on the strategies of both the non-dominant group and the dominant group. However, as this framework have been criticized one aim of this study was to use the theory with a critical approach and have a look to what extent the acculturation strategies can be used as a theory foundation when studying the adaptation of immigrants to the Swedish society.

When discussing acculturation, words such as *identity*, *changes*, *different* and *new* are mentioned, thus these words as well as their different forms have been used to create two groups; one named "Annorlunda" which contains words that are connected to *differences*; the second one is named "Identitet" and contains words that are connected to *identity* and *changes*. The words and total number of occurrences for each word in the groups are presented in *Table 2* and *Table 3*.

"Annorlunda":	Occurrences
Annat	51
Annorlunda	80
Annan	40
Ändrade	3
Exotisk	2
Ändras	4
Ändrat	4
Ändringar	4
Främmande	8
Konstigt	15
Konstiga	3
Konstig	1
Nytt	11
Nya	14

**Table 2.** The words included in the group "Annorlunda" and the total occurrences of each word.

"Identitet":	Occurrences
Kommer	153
Svenska	67
Svenskt	7
Svensk	49
Blir	131
Känner	66
Identifiera	2
Identitet	12
Identiteten	1
Förändrar	4
Förändras	7
Förändringar	2
Förändra	10
Förändring	1

**Table 3.** The words included in the group "Identitet" and the total occurrences of each word.

## **Citations**

Following is a selection of citations taken from the six interviews. The citations are chosen because they contain words from the two groups above and thus show in which way the participants have talked about issues in relation to acculturation and identity. The words found in the groups are marked in bold in the citations, and so are some words before and after these words because they show in which *context* the words are mentioned. For example; “och då **är man annorlunda**” demonstrates that “**annorlunda**” is mentioned in connection to “**man är**”, thus that the participant reveals that “annorlunda” is something *one is*.

*”Det är konstigt som jag ser här; jag ser inte folk le, utanför, i vardagen”. P4*

*” [...] här det är lite konstigt att ni tar hand om djur lite mer än folk. Alltså, ni är intresserad av djur, men ni glömmer [...] alla som bor här i Sverige; det finns massa saker, massa.. dom glömmer att se sig själv, dom kan inte ta hand om sig själv, utan det.. och mesta av dom som jag har pratat med, dom är villiga att ha en typ hund hemma och sitta på soffan istället för att träffa folk, eller prata lite och sådant”. P4*

*”till exempel vårdcentralen i Sverige och vården i Ryssland dom skiljer åt jättemycket. Totalt, det är absolut **annorlunda**, och detta som jag förväntade mig, alltså, eller förväntade mig.. detta som jag van vid, det var inte här, det känns liksom.. att allt detta är, ja, också lite **konstigt**”. P2*

*”Det kan vara så att när man flyttar hit, då tror man att man är på ett visst sätt, att **man är annorlunda**, man är lite **exotisk**. Man är rolig och man är duktig och man får många, många.. eh vad ska jag säga, positiv feedback om hur man är och, spontan och modern och någonting. Va käck man är. Men i själva verket är det negativt, för ett vanligt liv. För så länge **man är annorlunda** då är man **annorlunda**, och då är man **annorlunda** i alla lägen, eller vad ska man säga, i alla aspekter av livet”. P6*

*”det är som ett spel, i och med att alla har förutfattade meningar om omgivningen, alla har fördomar eller en självbevarelseinstinkt att klassificera folk som fiender, kompisar, som icke-fiende eller icke-kompisar, nobodies [...] ja, då tvingar man den, då tvingas man leva upp till vad andra förväntningar är, egentligen, även för min del [...]och det tror jag är väldigt mänsklig men det är någonting man måste vara väldigt, väldigt medveten om, att om du befinner dig i en folkmassa som, som alla **ser dig annorlunda**, och alla förväntar sig att du ska hoppa. Då kanske du börjar hoppa, bara för att du känner att alla vill att du ska hoppa. Men därefter, ja, hur*

förstår man det? Fast, du hoppar, då bekräftar du för alla andra att **du är annorlunda**, för du hoppar, och inte alla andra. Så det är som en ond cirkel. Folk har sina fördomar som säger att **man är annorlunda**, då **blir man annorlunda**, och därefter bekräftas fördomar om dig att **man är annorlunda**, och då **är man annorlunda**. Då **kommer man aldrig bli** en av oss, eller en av dom, utan det blir jag eller vi, ni eller jag”. P6

[...] när man flyttar hit då får man upptäcka att man **föds på nytt**, på något sätt. Att man inte föds på den bra, positivt sätt, utan man måste **födvas på nytt**, och det är jag som måste **föda upp mig**. Så [...] det är som att gå, ja, och vara både mamma och barn samtidigt. För att man måste ha ansvar att ta hand om sig själv, och ändå vara barnet som inte vet hur man ska ta hand om sig själv, och tro att någon annan ska göra det. [...] Och det spelar ingen roll hur mycket mamma vill hjälpa; om mamma vet inte var någonstans kan man få hjälp, då är det lika illa. Och tyvärr tror jag att det är alldeles för, det händer alldeles för ofta när man flyttar hit.”. P6

”Alltså detta som **personlighet**, jag tror att **man förändrar sig** jättemycket, **personlighet förändras** jättemycket. **Förändras** på grund av kultur, du är inte hemma, det där som är kring dig, du vet inte vem dom är, vad dom tänker, hur dom upplever dig [...] och jag är inte hemma, och jag blir aldrig hemma här. Men det är naturligt, inte onaturligt. För att jag har gener som **inte är svenska**, och det betyder att jag kan inte ta bort dom, dom sitter i mig, dom sitter i mina barn också. Det är **annat** temperament och så [...] Nu jag är en **hybrid**. En **grapefrukt**”. P2

”För att jag känner mig att **jag har blivit** lugn, stabil, och.. det är många, alltså **jag har ändrat mig**, **jag har anpassat mig**. Så att det är positiva saker, faktiskt. [...] Så det är därför när jag sa till dig att **jag har ändrat** mig, det betyder inte att jag var typ, inte bra person liksom, men det, alltså, det är små grejer men det är bra om man blir av med dom, förstår du. Om man säger att man kommer klockan fyra så man måste komma klockan fyra. En liten exempel liksom. Det, punktlig alltså, faktiskt, det är jättebra”. P5

”Jag tror att när jag kunde språket väl, att då tänkte jag ”nu är **jag svensk**”. Nu är det enda som folk kan säga att jag **inte** var **svensk** det var mitt språk. Det är det fortfarande lite, men..[...] Jag kände mig hemma här, därför kände jag mig **svensk**. När vet jag inte precis. Det går i vågor också, när personer säger till exempel att jag bryter, i sådana stunder tänker jag ”ja men vad fan, när **blir jag**..[...] För mig är det lite svårt också, eftersom min **svenska** förmodligen är bättre än min holländska, så vad är man då, om man inte kan något språk väl? Förra veckan när

jag var i Holland sa någon "jamen du bryter, var **kommer du ifrån?**". Ja, jag menar, vart **kommer jag ifrån**, [skratt] när alla tycker att jag bryter?". P1

"Svenskt.. **jag** är i deras land. Men mina barn, **dom kommer** att bli kanske **svensk**, men inte jag. Även om jag ska bli **svensk** medborgare, det känns.. det, jag kan **inte ändra identitet**, men jag **kan ändra** historia bara. Jag vet inte, jag **kan inte ändra** min **identitet**. Typ jag **kommer** leva här, om jag har långt liv, jag **kommer** leva här kanske trettio, fyrtio år. Så det är historia". P4

"Jag trivs här, men jag saknar mitt folk. Alltså omgivningen, det saknar jag, för att **identifiera mig** ändå liksom, med dom". P2

"Jo alltså, det blir lättare **att integrera** där i Ryssland, helt klart, men jag får problem också där nu. För att jag **lärt mig** under dom fem år att värdera sakerna ungefär som min man [från Sverige] värderar, nu till exempel som mina barn, hur dom ser på verkligheten. "[...] jag tror om jag skulle flytta tillbaka nu, då skulle jag inte förstå hur funkar dom där, för jag har fått här nu mycket, på grund av att **jag omvärderade** många saker, **tänker annorlunda** nu också". P2.

"Dom uppskattar inte [i hemlandet] att man har **ändrat sig**. **Man är inte** som innan, **man är en annan person**." P5.

"**Jag** märker att **jag** blir mer och mer en **främmande person** i Holland." P1.

"[...] var det första gången som jag åkte på semester till Chile. Och då var det kul att åka tillbaka, och då kunde man verkligen se att dom åren som man har varit i Sverige lämnade sina spår, för man kände sig inte direkt hundra procent Chilenare. För man **tänker annorlunda** än dom, och man **beter sig annorlunda** än dom, på grund av att man får **helt annan upplevelse** och grundvärderingar och alltihopa [...] och då tyckte dom att "ja visst, ni bor inte här så ni förstår inte", sa dom. [...]men sen när man är där då märker man att nej, det är ingenting för mig det här längre. Man **upplever något annat**". P3

These are statements of differences and changes brought up in the interviews. The differences are pointed out as both something in the new society and its people, and as a feeling of being different. Changes are mentioned in connection to themselves, that they have changed, and it is often mentioned in the context of changing in relation to their old culture/country. Some

participants mention that the society and people are different from what they are used to. One thinks that it is strange not to see people smiling, and another mention that the Swedish people seem to be fonder of animals than of people. The woman (P2) point out that she was surprised by the reception in the medical care which was not what she had expected. One participant discuss the notion of being different in the new society, believing that it starts as a positive thing when being a bit exotic but that in the end it is a negative thing because it mean one will always be different, making it hard to have a “normal” life. The same individual also reveal that moving to a new country is like being born again, having to learn everything from scratch but with the difference that one has to be the mother as well, trying to teach the child. Some individuals also bring up changes in personality that has occurred after moving to Sweden. They have changed as a consequence of adapting to the new culture, to new customs and behaviour.

One person claims that she can never take away her “genes” from birth which means she will always carry parts from her old culture with her, thus resulting in that she is now a hybrid, sharing behaviour with two different cultures. This has also led to a believe that she will now have problems to move back again as her values and thoughts have changed, an issue that she shares with many of the other participants. Many claim that because of the changes they have gone through in Sweden they no longer feel at home in their old culture, or they see their old society a different way and experiences feelings of being a stranger when going back there. The interviews revealed that none of the participants would like to move back to their former home country. Almost all of them mentioned that the fact that they had changed in Sweden made it hard, or impossible, to move back. There are more statements of being different both in the new country and in the old country, than there are statements of Sweden being different.

### **Cultural maintenance and contact-participation**

In the acculturation process, *cultural maintenance* was described as “a relative preference for maintenance of one’s heritage culture and identity” (cultural maintenance manifested by each group) versus not maintaining them, and *contact-participation* as “*seeking relationships* with other groups” and *participating* in the larger *society* (actual *contact* and the resultant participation of each group with the other) versus avoiding such relationships. The words mentioned in cursive above, together with their different forms and synonyms, have been used to create the group “Söka kontakt”, seeking contact. Words such as “anpassa” and “prata” have been included because they are also a demonstration of trying to be a part of something and communicating with others. As with the former groups, also the words in connection with the words in the group are presented as well as the number of occurrences for each word.

“Söka kontakt”	Occurrences	“Söka kontakt”	Occurrences
Anpassa	24	Kontakt	18
Anpassad	1	Samhället	41
Anpassade	3	Söka	8
Anpassar	2	Söker	4
Anpassat	3	Sökte	4
Dom	1002	Sökt	4
Försöka	27	Svenskar	30
Försöker	33	Svenskarna	27
Försökte	11	Sverige	204
Prata	39	Trivs	17
Pratade	8	Vilja	11
Kontaktade	1	Vill	173
Kontakten	1	Ville	13
Kontakter	5	Undviker	1

**Table 4.** The words included in the group “Söka kontakt” and the total occurrences of each word.

### Citations

Following is once more a selection of citations taken from the six interviews. The citations are chosen because they contain words from the group above and thus show in which way the participants have talked about issues in relation to contact seeking and participation. Regarding cultural maintenance, no specific words could be found in relation to this theme. The words found in the groups are marked in bold in the citations, and, again, so are some words before and after these words because they show in which *context* the words are mentioned.

”[...] då började jag där [i musikgruppen], och sen det väckte upp en jättestort intresse för musiken och.. [...] Och då kunde man **få lite kontakt** med folk och så, vi hade inte direkt samma intressen på grund av att det, **dom** flesta killarna som var i den där gruppen, **dom** var lite..[...] blyga för att ta **första kontakter**, och på grund av att jag var inte så bra på svenska då hade jag också begränsningar, och **ville prata med dom** och sådär, och känna att visst, vi kanske kan bli kompisar och hitta på någonting. Det var.. det var svårt”. P3

”De första åren då hade vi också ganska **mycket kontakt** med en kyrkoförsamling, som fortfarande idag har vi mer eller mindre **kontakt**, som finns i Gustavsberg. Och **dom, dom** har en speciell plats i min hjärta för att det, det.. **dom** tog oss så väl, och eh, vi kände oss jättevälkomna när vi började komma till kyrkan där och sådär”. P3

”Alltså det är jättebra med deras [invandrarnas] kultur och så här, men; nummer ett är **Sverige**, nummer ett är flaggan, nummer ett är det och så. Och sen; allt annat. Men ibland är lite.. folk är rädda att stämpas för rasism, och **DET** är fel. [...] jag kan stå för vad jag säger, och säger ”vet



du vad? Du har fel! Du ska **anpassa** dig, inte låta hela svenska **samhället** **anpassa** sig till dig!”  
För att det, då är det en, hur ska jag säga det, **samhälle** till varenda en”. P3

”men här man knackar på dörren, ingen öppnar dörren typ. Jag ringer för att **jag vill** söka jobb, **jag vill prata** med något kontor, vem som helst som sitter på kontoret, [...]”du kan söka på vår hemsida bla bla bla”, [...] Jag skickade **ansökan** överallt, men ingen svarade.[...] För mig det handlar allt om jobb, för att den enda väg att.. att **komma in i samhället**, förbättra mitt språk, känna mig inte utanför, känna mig inte att jag går och tigger pengar från socialbidrag, det är jobb.”P4

”när jag kommit här [...] först det känns allt annorlunda, hur jag ska **komma in i samhället**, och vilken.. which way ska jag ta; hur ska man, alltså **hur ska jag kommunicera** med folk. [...] för det är inte öppet här. Folk är inte öppna. Så det är jättesvårt att.. att **känna** folk [...] Alltså, det händer, men inte ofta. Så folk är lite försvar här, för främlingar. Och [...] det gör det svårt för en invandrare som jag att **komma in i samhället**, och för att du vet, allt funkar med **kontakter** och sådant. Även om du känner folk så du blir begränsad, du kan inte gå vidare. Bara fika och du vet [...] det är bara kompisar, och **ha kontakt**; att **knyta kontakt**. Det gör det svårt för en **invandrare**, för att du vet allt funkar med **kontakter** här. Jag hittade mitt jobb, jag kunde få jobb med **kontakt**. ”. P4

”Så när jag kom, [...] försöka **komma in i samhället**, det är jättesvårt för mig. Men det är ändå, jag kämpade lite, **försökte** lära mig svenska, **jag pratade** med mitt kroppsspråk istället och på franska [...] Om **dom** kan, så **pratar dom**, **försöker** förstå vad man säger. Det är därför det var tufft för mig när jag kom hit, så jag åkte tillbaka. Jag kunde inte klara mig här i **Sverige**; det känns annan kultur”. P5

”det bästa saker som, **dom** [svenskarna] ljuger inte. **Dom** är stabila, artiga, punktliga, så det är faktiskt jättefint. Även ibland när man känner att det är svårt att **konversera** med **dom**, förstår du, det är **svårt att förstå dom**. Det är inte alla är öppet här alltså, [...] Det är inte lätt att, så man **blir själv som dom** liksom. Det är inte fel liksom, men det.. om man åker utomlands, så det blir.. man märker det liksom”. P5

”Jag **vill** också gärna betala skatt för att hjälpa människor, därför bor jag i **Sverige**. [...] jag **vill plugga** i **Sverige**, så jag behövde översätta mina betyg och sådant”. P1

*”Men när jag försökte prata med dom sjuksköterskor, så sa dom att dom har en läkare, som nu, här i sjukhuset, som har operationer, eller något annat att göra. Så läkare kommer inte”. P2*

*”Jag vet inte.. om, om jag hade inte den, den paranoia känslan liksom, att... dom ser.. dom [svenskarna] är alltid trevliga och liksom, dom ler och så.. man kan tänka att dom är glada för det.. men på grund av att jag har den paranoian så tänker jag att ”nä det är inte dom är glada”, det är bara ett sätt att bemöta liksom, men sen får man.. tillbaka, alltså så.. det är bara, det är en stil att kommunicera, för.. nej jag vet inte [...] jag har ingenting mot ett jobb, jag har bara mot omgivningen som är där, för att liksom människor som...[...] det är jättesvårt. Snart upptäcker dom att du är invandrare, så du får inte öppna munnen. Du får öppna munnen, men dom säger.. dom hör och ser dig inte”. P2*

The participant's experiences from seeking contact with the Swedish people and society are more often problematic than easy. There are many confessions of difficulties in communicating with the Swedish people because of them being closed and careful in their contact with strangers. This, in turn, is stated as an obstacle to merge into the society, as, one state, everything works via contacts. Two of the participants also reveal that the Swedish people are hard to understand as they have a different style of communicating. One participant tells about the feeling of not being seen or listened to as an immigrant, and she also mentions a paranoid feeling when meeting Swedish people as she cannot interpret the fact that they are often smiling, sensing that they are actually not happy. The language is also mentioned as a hinder during the first time when not speaking Swedish. One participant is also clear in his believe that the immigrants have to adapt to the Swedish society and not the opposite, an attitude that can also be found among the other participants as they state that they try to adapt, they want to study, want to work and they try to communicate with the Swedish people even though they do not always succeed.

## **Integration**

*Integration* was identified as the preferred acculturation strategy and was defined as an interest in both maintaining one's original culture while at the same time interacting with other groups. However, Berry noted, integration could only be successful if the dominant society is open and has an inclusive orientation towards cultural diversity as it requires a mutual accommodation and acceptance. In the interviews, the participants were not asked any direct questions of whether they felt integrated or not, however most of them did bring up a discussion about integration giving their thoughts about what integration is and the processes behind it. It seems as integrating, or not integrating, are the main processes the participants think about when

reflecting over the way that immigrants live in a new society. In order to get the point of view of the immigrants regarding integration, a group called “Integration” was created, including words such as “invandrare, integrera, samhälle, kultur” etc. These words were chosen from Berry’s discussion of integration and also from the words mentioned in connection to “integration” from the interviews.

### **Citations**

As before, some citations have been chosen to demonstrate in which way the participants have talked about the theme mentioned. The group “Integration” includes words such as “kultur”, “integration” and “invandrare”, words that have been used by the participants when discussing the issues of integration and how to become a part of society.

<b>"Integration":</b>	<b>Occurrences</b>
Acceptera	9
Accepterad	6
Accepterar	11
Anpassa	24
Invandrare	81
Invandraren	2
Invandrarna	8
Invandrarkillar	2
Invandrartyper	1
Integrationen	3
Integration	12
Integrerad	5
Integrera	6
Samhälle	7
Samhället	41
Kultur	5
Kulturer	11
Kulturella	4
Kulturell	1
Kulturen	8
Välkommen	12

**Table 5.** The words included in the group “Integration” and the total occurrences of each word.

*”Att folk måste bli som svenskar är, att **invandrare måste** göra det, det ser jag absolut **inte som integration. Integration är** för mig att man **accepterar** varandra och att man kan fortsätta göra vad man vill göra. Inom svenska ramverken, eller lagen och sådär. Det betyder inte att man måste känna sig svensk, men bara att man trivs med att bo bredvid varandra och att man **accepterar** varandra.[...] Det är att göra vad man vill, att man inte blir tvungen att ändras. Det är **inte integration** för mig.”. P1*

*”Det är att det, kommer man hit, och man **måste också anpassa sig till den kulturen**. Alltså, man måste vara mottaglig och också öppna sina ögon för att **kunna anpassa sig**. Så att det är för mig en nyckel till framgång, att det från början, för att **bli integrerad**, man själv **måste integrera sig**. [...] men om jag är extrem inom **min kultur**, att ”nej, men det där får du inte säga, nej det där kan du inte göra, nej det kan jag inte äta”. Vad är det som händer? Så är du behandlad. Är det **integrerad**? Nej, det är **inte integrerad**. Det är det jag syftar på, man kan inte gilla allt, du ska inte heller behöva äta surströmming bara för att du känner du är svensk, för alla gör inte det [skratt], men då får du veta vad det är för någonting, smaka. [...] Det finns **invandrare som** inte ens har svensk television. Dom vet inte ens vad som händer i Sverige. Och*

*då undrar jag; vilken värld är det dom lever? För att det, om du vet inte vad som händer politiskt här, eller i din hemtrakten, kan du förvänta dig att du **blir integrerad?**”. P3*

*”Jag förstår att det är många **invandrare som** tycker att visst ska man leva som man har levt i sitt hemland och så vidare, men det går ju inte, det funkar inte här. Därför tror jag att, därför tror jag att vi **invandrare** måste ta tag i det här och göra bättre för sig innan man försöker förändra något annat **samhälle**, som man inte har rätt till, egentligen”. P6*

*”Viktigt att man inte jobbar under sin nivå. **Invandrare** som är utbildade någon annanstans, dom kan inte, förmodligen inte känna sig helt **integrerad**, eller helt **accepterad** om dom måste jobba under sin nivå. Då är det svårt att **integrera** tror jag, eller i alla fall svårt att vara lycklig, och det är något som går ihop förmodligen. Om dom kan jobba på sin nivå, då blir det förmodligen mindre kriminalitet, från vår.. vårt håll[...] dom som inte kan jobba på sin nivå är.. ja, mår inge bra [...]. Man blir, ja, uttråkad, och kanske man blir lite kriminellare eftersom att, inget att göra, eller man är inte lycklig. Och det är viktigt för svenskar också, först att dom ser att det finns nysvenska **invandrare**, flyktingar på samma nivå som dom, att dom är lika, jämlika. Plus att, att det inte finns stora skillnader i kriminalitet, mellan dom två”. P1*

*”Efter att jag blir utbildad, det blir inte lätt för mig. Jag vet inte varför jag tror det men, det blir helt omöjligt att få jobb. På grund av att jag är **invandrare**. Språket, olika syn på rutiner också, olika syn på livet också kanske. Dom tar den som är svensk, inte den som är **invandrare** som blir hundra gånger duktigare kanske”. P2*

*” [...]att de kraven som folk ställer på oss, skulle jag säga, **invandrare**, är högre än de krav man ställer på gemena man, så att säga, om jag kan säga så. Det är vad jag tror. Därför man måste vara lite duktigare, lite.. ja godare, helt enkelt. Så är det”. P6*

*”Och så länge man är turist så är man väldigt **välkommen**. Då är man väldigt **välkommen** att prata engelska. Alla vill väldigt gärna prata engelska, för att det, vi är inte mer än människor, så alla vill praktisera sin egen engelska. Och sedan några dagar efter när jag flyttade in, då kom verkligheten som en liten kalldusch. Och det är att, så länge man pratar engelska så är man turist. Sen börjar man prata svenska. Då pratar man dålig svenska. Då är man **invandrare**. Och då status förändras väldigt fort, när man börjar prata svenska. Från att få ett väldigt trevligt bemötande till att få folk som tröttnar på att lyssna på vad jag säger för att jag hackar så*

mycket, i språket. Att dom inte lyssnar på vad jag säger utan HUR jag säger saker. Och då tappar jag helt och hållet poängen i mitt tal, både uppmärksamhet eller rätt att prata eller, ja. Man förlorar jättemycket av sin trovärdighet, eller vad ska man säga; folk bara inte lyssnar på vad man säger. [...]Så det, det var en liten kalldusch faktiskt, att upptäcka att man kan prata hur mycket engelska man vill och bli accepterad som turist, framgångsrik turist, till att vara en belastning för samhället, till **en invandrare** som inte har jobb och inte skaffar jobb överhuvudtaget”. P6

”När dom, när **invandrarna** bemöter folk, servicefolk. Du vet **invandrare** i stort, i helhet, har en tendens att inte vilja.. jag menar man är också trött, man vill inte säga att man inte fattar hela tiden. Om man tror att man fattar, och så står man framför sin arbetskassa, eller handledare eller förvisso Tele2, och man bara säger ”ja, ja, ja”, och sen fattar man ingenting. Och sen upptäcker båda parter att dom har gjort, sagt för mycket ja, och inte förstått det hela. Då blir det ett irritationsmoment som skapar viss fientlighet. För att man förstår inte varför den här personen inte sa att ”jag vet inte”, eller ”jag förstod inte”. Och om dom säger det, då blir man sur för att man måste berätta den här personen tio gånger så att den förstår vad jag menar, och det är inte ens säkert att den förstår. Jag tror **språket** är en av dom viktigaste, och inte nog med det, för att kunna gå vidare och kunna lätta upp den här situationen vi befinner oss”. P6

”Svårt att.. ta bort de här fördomar. Om man är arab och muslim. Om man åker buss, man kan se ibland, det händer, att en kvinna som har hennes väska [visar hur någon flyttar sin väska från sitsen bredvid till sitt knä och håller händerna över för att skydda den]. Men det händer inte innan typ en främling kommer. Inte främling, **invandrare** jag menar. Det gör ont. Jag känner om jag hade varit yngre än nu, så hade jag kastat henne och hennes väska fram i bussen. För det känns, alltså det gör ont, det gör jätte jätte ont”. P4

In the first interview (P1), the person claims that integration occurs when the immigrants are free to live as they wish in the new society, as long as it is within its rules and frames. Mutual acceptance is for him a keyword when living together in the society, and to not be forced to change. Contrastingly, another participant state that as an immigrant, one has to adapt to the new culture. Still, he mentions that you don't have to like everything in the new culture as an immigrant, but you have to be open and try new things to know what they are. As an example he mentions that some immigrants do not even have Swedish television, how are they then supposed to know the society and know what is happening there, and how are they suppose to

integrate? A similar argument is told by another participant when he mentions that immigrants that believe they can live in Sweden as they lived in their homelands are on the wrong track, it does not work. Suggestions on how to improve the integration are raised, such as that the immigrants should not work under their level (of knowledge/education) because if they do it is harder to feel well in the society, to be happy. Working under their level can make people bored which in turn can lead to criminal behaviours. Still, the last citation reveals a hopeless feeling of not being able to find a work in the future, because even if an immigrant are one hundred times better than a Swede they will still choose the Swede just because the other person is an immigrant. One participant also note that people demand more of the immigrants than on other people with the result that as an immigrant one has to be a little better, a little more good, than the natives.

The three last citations are stories about experiences of being an immigrant, experiences that reveals some of the difficulties in integrating. Person 6 talks about the feeling of being well accepted as a successful tourist as long as he spoke English, but as soon as he started to speak Swedish, bad Swedish, the attitude towards him changed dramatically and he was now seen as an immigrant, as a burden for the society. Suddenly, people did not listen to him, he had no credibility anymore. He continues to talk about the importance of language and the problems connected to not knowing the language very well. As he mentions, at some point as an immigrant you get tired of not understanding what people are saying, resulting in even more misunderstandings and hostile feelings because of failings in communication. The last citation is an emotional confession about how hurt he feels when people openly demonstrate prejudices against him as an immigrant, such as when a woman in a bus protects her bag only when an immigrant is entering.

### **Groups or individuals?**

Last, when having a closer look at the basic thought of Berry's acculturation theory, one can see that it is based on the notion that acculturation mainly focuses on *groups* of people; the minority culture or minority group, and the majority culture or the majority group. As one of the critiques raised in this work regarding Berry's theory deals with this division into groups, an examination of the participant's standpoint in this question have been done. All personal pronouns and group words were gathered from the interviews and the sum of the usage of the words for each person was noted, as well as the total usage of each word.

Word	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	Total
<b>jag</b>	304	473	260	202	381	281	<b>1901</b>
<b>man</b>	148	214	77	41	200	422	<b>1102</b>
<b>dom</b>	91	231	119	66	402	93	<b>1002</b>
<b>du</b>	24	76	47	34	225	45	<b>451</b>
<b>mig</b>	35	50	44	23	66	46	<b>264</b>
<b>vi</b>	38	25	71	18	55	57	<b>264</b>
<b>sig</b>	27	35	24	9	34	65	<b>194</b>
<b>andra</b>	19	12	20	7	20	44	<b>122</b>
<b>invandrare</b>	15	13	8	6	14	25	<b>81</b>
<b>oss</b>	6	2	14	0	10	18	<b>50</b>
<b>svenskar</b>	15	1	0	2	5	7	<b>30</b>
<b>svenskarna</b>	0	12	2	0	11	2	<b>27</b>

*Table 6: All personal pronouns used in the interviews and the number of times they were spoken by each participant (P1 to P6). In the last column the total usage of each word is presented.*

As seen in *Table 6*, the word “jag” is the most frequently used word, followed by “man” and “them”, while the words used to define oneself as belonging to a group, namely “vi” and “oss”, are used much less frequently. “Invandrare” is used more often than “svenskar” and “svenskarna” together.

## DISCUSSION

The six participants in the study come from different countries, they have lived in Sweden for different amounts of time and they live in geographically different places in Sweden. Still, many of the topics brought up by the participants are similar, giving an indication that there are, in fact, some experiences that are shared by many immigrants in Sweden, regardless of background and other characteristics. As an example, difficulties in getting into contact with the Swedish people are mentioned by most of the participants, as well as the often negative attitudes they are, or have been, met with when speaking “bad” Swedish. However, the general opinion seem to be that Sweden is a good country to live in, that the people here are nice but distanced and that the immigrants have a big responsibility in making the acculturation process successful. Still, it becomes apparent that the fact that Swedish people are rather closed and often distanced towards strangers is something that complicates the acculturation process and becomes an obstacle to the immigrants’ strives to participate in the society.

Following is a discussion about each of the four themes brought up in the Result section. Two of the themes include one subheading of issues that was brought up in the interviews but that was not specifically mentioned in Berry’s theory and thus was not include in

the groups of words. However they were found to have relevance in connection to the themes and thus were included in the discussion.

### **Acculturation and identity**

Identity is something changeable and flexible. As we create our identity in relation to the things around us, the identity we have from our home environment is often challenged in the meeting with strange habits and attitudes. This is noted in the participant's discussions about their own identity and the feelings of being in the middle of two cultures, or maybe two identities. One individual also mention the feeling of being born again, being a helpless child that needs to learn everything from start, that needs his mother to explain the world for him. At the same time, he also understands that he himself has the role of the mother that ought to help the child. This pictures a feeling that the person he was before moving, the individual with all knowledge and experience from a lifetime, suddenly finds himself in a situation in which this former knowledge might not be all useful anymore, things do not appear as they used to, reactions are different, society is different etc. This knowledgeable person is now diminished into a child but is still struggling to use former experience to handle the situation, giving the feeling of also being the mother, the one who is supposed to take care of this new and unknown. This frames not only what happens when an individual have lost the daily life that maintained his identity, the feeling of who he is as a person. When the old daily life no longer exists, the individual is set in situations and states that no longer confirm his idea of who he is, he no longer gets the same reactions and responses that strengthens his feeling of identity. It also shows that in the struggle to recapture his identity he has to give up his self, start from the beginning, in order to build it up again. In this situation, when trying to regain one's identity and feeling of self, the society and conditions around the individual inevitable affects and shapes this new identity. If things go wrong in this situation, it might be hard to adapt well and to find oneself at home in the new place. This clearly indicates the importance of acceptance and respect, as well as support when needed, from the society in order to create the best possible outcomes for both the individual and his new surroundings. The least we should expect is that the public policy is focused on the multicultural strategy, respecting the right of the immigrant to choose the most convenient strategy and way of living, and that he or she has the same rights, but also duties, as the rest of society. As an addition to this, the society should be aware of the difficulties of being new in the country and offer support and understanding to its new members.



### ***To be different***

Logically, when moving to a new country the person will find the new society more or less different from what he or she is used to. What does this mean to the individual? In the result we had a look at how the participants used words in connection to *different*. Interestingly, in the participants accounts the words “man”, “någon” and “är” are mentioned more frequently in connection to the group of “annorlunda” words, than are the word “något”. This gives an indication that the participants are talking more about the fact that *they are* different or *they are* someone else than before, than talking about the fact that *something* is different. This could be a sign that the participants are open minded when it comes to the new things in the society, that they are accepting the fact that things are different and that they are not being too affected by the differences. However, it might also indicate that the feeling of *being different* from others have a greater impact on the participants and therefore occupies their thoughts more than do the differences in society. When examining the contexts in which the combinations of “är annorlunda” and “tänker annorlunda” are used, these words are often mentioned in connection to the participant’s old culture and country, indicating that they reflect more upon that they have become different in relation to their old culture, country and friends, than they are considering themselves as different in the new society. However this differs between the participants, as one (P6) mentions the word “annorlunda” 49 times (out of 80 occurrences in total) in his reflections about how it is to *be different* from the surroundings, while most of the other participants discuss their differences in relation to their old culture. One person also brings up an interesting reflection; he claims that if people see you as different they will expect you to be different, and if they expect you to be different you will act different just because they expect you to. This, in turn, *confirms* the fact that you are different *because you act* different, generating a vicious circle of expectations that produce behavior that confirms the expectations. What this tells us is that the expectations people have about each other can have a great impact on the way the relationship between this people turns out. More or less unconsciously, we can *make* people act different from us just because we expected them to be different in the first place. It again raises the importance of being aware of one’s own attitudes and stereotypes towards other people. If we understand ourselves and our attitudes we might get a better understanding of why people act as they do in our company.

### **Culture maintenance and contact-participation**

Discussions about identity changes and the situation of living between two different cultures were something almost all participants brought up. The participants also reveal positions of

trying to approach the new culture and its people, indicating that contact and participation are important aspects of their attitudes toward the acculturation process. These topics of identity changes and contact-seeking behavior can also be found in Berry's theory of acculturation, confirming their importance when trying to understand immigrant's experiences in a new society. However, the framework identified by Berry to describe the strategies used by the groups in contact is based on two issues; *culture maintenance* and *contact-participation*. *Contact-participation* is as mentioned an issue also found among the participant's accounts, though *culture maintenance* is not. Thus, the participant's level of maintenance of their heritage culture and habits is hardly a topic that is raised during the interviews, giving signs of it either being less important to their relation with the new society or that they are unaware of its impact on the acculturation process.

Still, what *is* present in the participant's accounts is that because they had change when living in Sweden they experienced implications in regard to their relations with the old countries. As some mentioned they now felt different from their former compatriots, or they were even seen as a stranger in their old countries. These feelings of being an outsider could possibly influence their attitudes towards their heritage culture, making them less prone to maintain a contact with this culture and thus creating a distance from some of the behaviors and traditions connected to their old cultures. However, this does not automatically mean that these participants had a bad relation to their former countries and cultures; it rather seemed as they had more or less lost their connection to and the interest in their heritage culture. According to Berry's framework, a low maintenance of heritage culture and identity, together with a wish to seek contact with the larger society, points toward the strategy of *assimilation*. However, Berry claimed *integration* to be the most positive strategy for the individuals and groups involved, and *multiculturalism* to be the most positive strategy imposed by the public policy. The latter statement, multiculturalism as the best policy strategy, is easy to agree with as it represents a freedom of choice for the immigrants to both use the integration and the assimilation strategy, but claiming that integration ought to be the best strategy for the immigrants is arguable, as the participants in this study who can be identified as using the assimilation strategy seem to be very well adapted, not revealing much negative outcomes from this approach. On the contrary they seem to feel more as a Swede than as an immigrant, talking about "us" as in "the Swedes", and mentioning Sweden as their home country. In this case, assimilation involves the feeling of becoming or being a "Swede" instead of an "immigrant", which I believe must be seen as a positive outcome, or direction, of the acculturation process.

We have seen in the introduction that the policies in Sweden are based on an integration strategy allowing for a multicultural society. According to Berry, this approach represents a freedom for the immigrants to choose the strategy they wish to use. From the interviews we can see that this seems to be a successful approach since there are no signs of feelings of oppression or force from the participants. They claim that they *have* changed, but not that they were forced to change. However, it is understandable that one also have to change and revalue some things in order to live more smoothly in the society; an example is the participant who states that he have changed because he now arrives in time to meetings and gatherings. As punctuality is known to be important for the Swedish people it constitutes a good illustration that there are some things a new member of the society has to get into the habit of in order to facilitate his or her relations to the other people around. Conversely, it also demonstrates that as a Swede we should not take for granted that other people understand or know about our ways of doing things and that we can facilitate immigrants' adaptation by explaining what things are important to us.

## **Integration**

In the participants' accounts, the issue of *integration* is frequently brought up (however, note that the participants use the word *integration* as Berry would use the word *acculturation*). Interestingly, most of the participants discuss ideas and thoughts about how they think a good integration would come about, both from the side of the immigrants as well as the society they move to. This demonstrates that the individuals have reflected over their own role in the new society and that they share an attitude that it is important to be active in the integration process. As one individual state, he does not believe that immigrants need to act and live in the same way as the Swedish people in order to integrate, rather that they can live as they wish as long as they obey to the Swedish rules and laws. For him, acceptance from both sides is the most important thing to be able to live successfully together. Another person mentions the importance of adapting to the new society and not stubbornly stay with the traditions of the old culture. He claims that as an immigrant you do not have to like everything in the new society, but you have to be open and try out new things to know what they are.

One of the individuals point out that he is not one hundred percent Chilean because in his daily life he does not eat Chilean food every day, or do things according to Chilean routines such as eating this in the morning or that in the afternoon. Thus, essentially he is Chilean, but in some ways he is not at all Chilean. He also claims that he thinks it is important to find a point in between; not too much, not too little, in order to integrate well. Another person mentions that

Tunisia is the country of his father and grandfather, and Sweden is the country of his future children. As a joke he states that he will be on a plane between these two countries. Behind the laughter one can sense the problematic feeling of being in between two cultures; one representing his history and heritage, and one representing the future; and how this affects both the life and family of today and that of tomorrow.

Accordingly, three of the participants mention that in order to integrate well one needs to find a point in between the two cultures; not to leave too much of the old life behind, and also not to strive to live as before, but rather find the balance between the both. This actually accords to the *integration strategy* as defined by Berry. Still, the participants claiming this balance to be the best strategy seem to be more inclined towards the assimilation strategy themselves, which might actually imply that assimilation could also be a *development* of the integration strategy; when an individual have lived integrated long enough in a society, he or she becomes more and more similar to its culture until most of the heritage culture and traditions are forgotten, and thus the person all at once represents the profile of an *assimilated* individual. However, at this stage the individual probably identifies him/herself as one of the majority society more than as an immigrant, and what acculturation strategy is he or she then using..? Do the acculturation strategies depend on any time limit? Are there different degrees? Can a person be totally integrated or totally assimilated, or is it a never ending process? These dimensions of time and degree are issues that are missing in the description and discussion of the acculturation theory, and thus they are interesting questions for further research within the area of acculturation.

### ***Language***

The issue of language is another shared experience that is brought up as an important part of the acculturation process. In the result there are not many citations regarding the participant's discussions about language, however this is due to the limitations of space; most of the participant's do mention something about language. The citation taken from participant number 6 (P6) stands for a good representation of the general experience; as long as he spoke English he was seen as a tourist, being very well accepted and received by the Swedish people. He felt welcome and people enjoyed "practicing their English" with him. However, as soon as he started to speak Swedish, "bad" Swedish, his status changed quickly and from being well received people now got tired of listening to him. They no longer listened to *what* he was saying but instead focused on *how* he was saying something. He also mentions the change of attitude towards him; when he started to speak Swedish, people saw him as an immigrant, a burden for

the society. The same thing is mentioned by another participant; if you do not speak well Swedish, people will always see you as an immigrant.

This is not a very pleasant thing to hear. When people struggle to learn the Swedish language they are suddenly treated worse compared to when they were speaking English. The attitudes towards them change when they speak a Swedish that is not perfect. This clearly tells us about the importance of understanding the difficulties in connection with learning a new language. It is a general opinion that language is the key to integration, but what support do we give to the people who are struggling to learn Swedish? The next time you hear someone speaking Swedish with difficulties; instead of focusing on the mistakes this person makes you should be proud of the fact that he or she is trying to learn and support his or her efforts to approach the Swedish society. However, I do recognize that there are much more to understand regarding these negative attitudes and how they have developed in the first place. It would be interesting to examine the *concept* of immigrant and its connection to language further, yet this is a task for future research.

### **Groups or individuals?**

Last, when having a closer look at the basic thought of Berry's acculturation theory, one can see that it is based on the notion that acculturation mainly focuses on *groups* of people; the minority culture or minority group, and the majority culture or the majority group. However, what is not mentioned in Berry's discussion is how these groups are defined; who, exactly, belongs to the minority group and who belongs to the majority group? If the minority group is supposedly made up from the immigrants, is an immigrant always an immigrant? What if he or she does not feel as an immigrant, who decides that he or she in fact is? The division of people in "us" and "them" is always problematic as individuals differ from each other even though they could be considered to belong to the same group. However, looking at the participant's stories it becomes clear that they talk much less about "vi" than they talk about "jag", "man" and "du". And when looking closer at the contexts of the different personal words mentioned, it becomes apparent that "dom" is most of the time referred to *the immigrants*, and not the majority group. Accordingly, the use of the word "vi" is mostly used to refer to the family of the participants, but it is also used in connected to the Swedish people, in the meaning of "vi, svenskarna". "Vi" as referring to the immigrants is only used about twenty times of the 264 times mentioned. The fact that the participant's talk more about themselves and their family than they mention other immigrants or members of their former culture indicates that they do not consider themselves as directly part of any ethnic minority group. Berry states that "the longer term outcomes when

referring to both psychological and sociocultural adaptations often correspond to the strategic goals set by the groups of which they are members” (2001), but in this case there are no indications of any particular group belongings from the participant’s side. Instead they bring up their personal thoughts and strategies as individuals trying to find their ways into the society, and also the problems they run into when doing so. The problems seem mostly to stem from attitudes and behavior they are met with from the Swedish people when these are different from what the participants are used to and when they have difficulties to interpret them. The fact that the Swedish people are somewhat closed and sometimes hard to come into contact with is also mentioned as an obstacle regarding their efforts to participate in the society. These problems can be related to Berry’s claim that the strategies of the majority culture play a great role in the acculturation strategies that are possible for the immigrants, as the majority culture in this case sometimes hinder the participants from integrating the way they would like to. Still, the majority culture is defined as one group and one culture, which again raises the issue of thinking of many individuals as alike, sharing the same attitudes and acting as one. Sweden as a society is of course inhabited by millions of individuals, all different in some way, and cultural meetings happens in many different situations and contexts which, again, makes it hard, if not impossible, to talk about “the strategy of the majority culture” as a single strategy with a specific consequence. Every meeting between individuals is influenced by the people involved and the situation at hand. However, people living together tend to share some attitudes and behaviors, and we do get affected by the people around us. This implies that Sweden, for example, is a society which is fairly open and respectful towards immigrants, something also seen in the political strategies of stressing the rights of minority cultures etc. If, on the other hand, immigrants come to a country where the politics and people are less open and more hostile towards them, it is not hard to imagine that the immigrants seek more contact with their own ethnical group and/or other immigrants in the same situation. In this way, the context is very important when it comes to what strategies are used and which reactions are provoked from the people involved. Thus the fact that the participants in this study do not seem to define themselves as belonging to a group of immigrants or people from their own countries could be because there is no particular reason for them to seek this kind of support as the contact with the Swedish society goes about relatively well. Still, as some of the participants do sometimes talk about immigrants in a way that they see that some of them experience problems with integrating or that some of them do not try to adapt to the Swedish society, this could be an indication that they feel that the concept of “immigrant” is not always positively received by the Swedish people. If they think that being defined as an immigrant is a negative thing it could also imply

that they are reluctant to identify themselves as belonging to a group other than the Swedes if they can avoid doing so. It is thus important for the Swedish society to avoid categorizing immigrants as one homogenous group and instead be sensitive to each individual's own identification.

Thus, concluding this I believe that studies of acculturation should focus less on categorizing people into groups and instead have a look at the different stages of identity changes that the individuals go through, because the concept of *immigrant* seem to be more flexible than static. Focusing on groups in the acculturation research might imply that important aspects of the individual changes and identity development are disregarded. I would like to see a greater focus on different steps in the development in regard to the acculturation process; what is happening with the individual; are there critical moments when things go in the "right" direction or in the "wrong" direction; are there steps that most individuals go through or is it a highly individual process? These and similar questions would be very interesting to examine in relation to the acculturation process.

## Conclusion

Thus what can we conclude from the outcomes of this study? I believe that a better knowledge of the experiences of being an immigrant can help us understand what measures should be taken in order to facilitate the acculturation process in all aspects and from both sides (the immigrant and the society). Regarding public policies it is important to acknowledge the obstacles and hardships identified from an *immigrant perspective* instead of imposing strategies based on issues that the majority society *believes* are important for the immigrants. As an example; let's say that the main goal of a governments' integration policy is to decrease the time it takes for an immigrant to get access to the labour market, but when talking with immigrants about their biggest obstacles they all mention the problems they experience with the Migration Board. Where should the government then focus its efforts? Accordingly I stress the importance that strategies, both public and individual, should be based on actual experience and real obstacles; knowledge that comes from qualitative studies where people can talk, or write, freely about their experiences.

In regard to Berry's acculturation theory, my conclusion is that it focus too much on groups and thus fails to acknowledge the individual's role and development in the acculturation process. Another issue regarding the theory is that it describes the strategies used by the groups in contact as based on two issues; *culture maintenance* and *contact-participation*. However, from the result we could see that the issue of culture maintenance is not specifically brought up by the

participants, something that could indicate that it is of less importance than the theory framework. The relation to the old culture is also something that seem to become less strong as time goes by in the new culture, something that do not particularly mean that the individuals will experience more difficulties in living in the new culture, and thus I am missing a discussion of this issue in Berry's theory. A third weakness of the acculturation theory is that it seem to focus on *integration* as the preferred acculturation strategy; however some of the participants in this study, if using the definitions proclaimed by Berry, seem to be more *assimilated* because of their distance to their old cultures. Still, they live a quite satisfactory life in Sweden, and thus the notion of assimilation might be discussed in the wrong way; it is not a "second-best" strategy but rather a development towards becoming included as a new member in the society, leaving the old culture behind and defining oneself as a "Swede". Thus I believe that the four different strategies defined by Berry are too static in that they define someone as using "this" strategy or "that" strategy, without considering or revealing the development processes and changes of attitudes within the individuals in a time perspective. Lastly, I am missing a discussion of language in Berry's theory of acculturation; the language of the new culture seems to have a very important role in the way the acculturation process develops. In the interviews it has been brought up as one of the bigger obstacles in the participants' relation to the Swedish society, thus I believe it should have an obvious place in the discussions of acculturation.

In a more general perspective, I believe that a better awareness of one's own way of defining people as part of a group and instead see them as individuals would facilitate the relations between people of all backgrounds thus leading us humans to focus less on our differences and more on our similarities.

## **Discussion of the method used**

The quality of the data generated from the study is a good measure in evaluating the choice of method. The data can vary depending on factors such as verbal capacity, interest in the subject, experience within the area and willingness to answer (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). As demonstrated, the ecological validity and quality of the data in this study is verified by Sphinx Lexica and illustrates a high willingness to answer as well as a frequent use of own and unique words. It might still have been affected by the verbal capacity of the participants; as none of them had Swedish as their mother tongue this could have implied some limitations in the way they expressed and formulated themselves. However the alternative, to conduct the interviews in the participants' own mother tongues, was naturally not possible within this study; firstly because I do not speak their mother tongues; and secondly that the use of other interviewers would be too difficult when it comes to time and costs.



The topic of discussion can have further influence on the result as some issues can be sensitive to the participants; however the use of open interviews with no leading questions assured that the participants only spoke about the things they brought up themselves, and thus they were not forced into any discussion they might have disliked.

The fact that I as an interviewer am Swedish could also have had an effect on the willingness from the participants' side to speak about the Swedish people or Sweden in negative terms of fear that I would be offended, however as they in fact did mention negative things indicate that they could separate my role as an interviewer from the fact that I am Swedish. The roles of the interviewees and the researcher can further influence the interview situation, as when for example the interviewed feel he or she is expected to talk about something special. This can be hard to avoid when both parties expect the participant to speak about something that is relevant for the study. Thus I kept reminding the participants that there are no right answers and that the interest was in his or her personal experiences.

The number of participants is an issue that keeps coming up in research situations. Of course it is of interest to get as many participants as possible; however in qualitative research this is not as important as in quantitative research. This study was set out to examine the experiences of being an immigrant in Sweden, thus the more material one obtains from each participant the better understanding one acquires about the person and his or her experiences. At the same time, analyzing data from interviews is a very time-consuming task, thus this is also a concern when choosing the number of participants. In so, my focus was to obtain a lot of information from a few participants, and thus I felt that the six participants used in the research were enough for the purpose of this study. However, for the future it would be interesting to involve even more participants of different backgrounds and characteristics to get an even more complete picture of the experiences of being an immigrant in Sweden.

Another issue is the fact that four of the six participants were chosen because I already had their contact information, thus they had met me before.

## **Further research**

Some ideas for further research have already been mentioned in the discussion, such as having a closer look at the construct of the concept "invandrare" as well as its meaning in the Swedish society. We could also see that people's expectations about each other can affect behavior, thus research about the Swede's view on immigrants could give further knowledge about the reasons for some of the behavior and attitudes towards immigrants in Sweden. Involving more participants is always a good way to further develop the research, and as it concerns immigrants

with a different mother tongue than Swedish it might be even better to use interviewers who speak the same language as a conversation in your own language can be easier. Another possibility is to use interviewers who at least are not Swedish – in this way the participants might feel more comfortable in speaking about the Swedish society and people and be more open to express negative experiences and criticism.

## REFERENCES

- Adler, L. L., Gielen, P. U. (2003) *Migration: immigration and emigration in international perspective*. Westport, USA: Praeger Publishers.
- Anjou, L.A. (1866). Svenska Kyrkans Historia, ifrån Uppsala Möte År 1593, till Slutet af Sjuttonde Århundredet. P.A. Norstedt & Söner, Kungl. Boktryckare. Stockholm.
- Berry, J. W. (1990). The role of psychology in ethnic studies. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 22, 8-21.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, 46, 5-68.
- Berry, J. W. (1999). Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies. *Canadian Psychology / Psychologie canadienne*, 40:1.
- Berry, J. W. (2000). Multicultural and ethnic attitudes in Canada: Overview of the 1991 survey. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 27, 301-320.
- Berry, J. W. (2001). A Psychology of Immigration. *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 57, No. 3, 615-631.
- Berry, J. W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29, 697-712.
- Berry, J. W. (2008). Globalisation and Acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 32, 328-336.
- Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L. & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant Youth: Acculturation, Identity, and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 55 (3), 303-332.
- Berry, J. W., Poortinga, Y.H., Segall, M. H. & Dasen, P. R. (1992). *Cross-cultural psychology: Research and applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Berry, J. W & Williams, C. L. (1991). Primary Prevention of Acculturative Stress Among Refugees. Application of Psychological Theory and Practice. *American Psychologist*, Vol. 46, No. 6, 632-641.
- Brune, Y. (1993). *Invandrare i svenskt näringsliv*. En rapport till Statens invandrarverk våren 1993. Statens invandrarverk, 117.
- Dalhede, Christina (2009). *Invandrare som Resurs. 1540 – 1820*. Hisings-Kärra: Göteborgs Länstryckeri AB.
- Daun, Å. (1998). *Svensk mentalitet – ett jämförande perspektiv*. Stockholm: Nordstedts.
- Ely, M. (1993). *Kvalitativ forskningsmetodik i praktiken – cirklar inom cirklar*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

- Escobar, J. I., & Vega, W. A. (2000). Mental health immigration's AAAs: Where are we and where do we go from here? *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 188, 736–740.
- Geijerstam, Sven af (1951). *Flyktingarna i Sverige. Volym 6 av Bra att veta; Nordstedts Samhällsorientering*. Stockholm: Nordstedt.
- Graves, T. (1967). Psychological acculturation in a tri-ethnic community. *South-Western Journal of Anthropology*, 23, 337-350.
- Hámori, Lászlo (1957). Ungerska flyktingar i Sverige. *Sociala Meddelanden 1957:04*. Stockholm: Kungl. Socialstyrelsen.
- Kamali, Masoud (2004). *Distorted Integration. Clientization of Immigrants in Sweden*. Uppsala Multiethnic Papers 4, Second edition. Uppsala: Centre for Multiethnic Research.
- Karlsson, G. (1995). *Psychological qualitative research from a phenomenological perspective (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)*. Göteborg: Graphic Systems AB.
- King, J. C. (1981). *The Biology of Race*. England: University of California Press, Ltd.
- Kohler, H-P; Billari, F. C. & Ortega (2006). Low Fertility in Europe: Causes, Implications and Policy Options. In F. R. Harris (Ed.), *The Baby Bust: Who will do the Work? Who Will Pay the Taxes?* (s. 48-109). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Kvale, S. (1997). *Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Kvale, S. & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *Den Kvalitativa Forskningsintervjun (Upplaga 2:1)*. Lund: Studentlitteratur AB.
- Ljunggren, Gustaf (1864). *Svenska Dramat intill Slutet af Sjuttonde Århundradet*. Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, Berlingska Boktryckeriet.
- Lorentz, H. (2001). *Forskning om mångkulturalism i Sverige utifrån ett pedagogiskt perspektiv: en överblick och historisk tillbakablick 1950 – 2000*. Pedagogiska rapporter, 2001:77. Lunds Universitet: Pedagogiska institutionen.
- Macionis, J. J. & Plummer, K. (2008). *Sociology: A Global Introduction*. USA: Pearson Education.
- Matsumoto, D. & Juang, L. (2008). *Culture & Psychology. 4th edition*. USA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Merendi, H. (1952). *De estniska flyktingarnas anpassningsproblem i Sverige: en sociologisk undersökning bland ester i en västsvensk stad 1950-1951. Volym XI*. Stockholm: Svensk-estniska samfundet.
- Maykut, M. & Morehouse, R. (1994). *Beginning qualitative research: A philosophic and practical guide*. London: Falmer.
- Proctor, R. (1988). *Racial Hygiene: medicine under the Nazis. Eight printing, 2002*. USA: Harvard University Press.

- Rich, M. A. (2009). "It depends on how you define integrated": Neighbourhood boundaries and racial integration in a Baltimore neighbourhood. *Sociological Forum*. Vol. 24(4), 828-853.
- Rudmin, F. W. (2003). Critical History of the Acculturation Psychology of Assimilation, Separation, Integration, and Marginalization. *Review of General Psychology*, 7(1), 3-37.
- Sages, R.B. (2003). Truth as unveiling. I Lindén, J. & Szybek, P. (Red). *Validation of Knowledge Claims in Human Science*. (s.51-80). Lyon: l'Interdisciplinaire.
- Sages, R.B., Lundsten, J., Lahlou, M., Kurc, A. & Moscarola, J. (2002). New methods and approaches in the study of values for management decision making. Sages, J. Lundsten (Red.). *Papers and Articles in Meaning Constitution Analysis, II* (s. 52-88). Lund: Repocentralen.
- Sam, L & Berry, J.W (). *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*.
- Starrin, B & Svensson, P-G. (1994). *Kvalitativ metod och vetenskapsteori*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- SCB (2009). Befolkningsstatistik, Statistiska Centralbyrån. Internetpage:  
[http://www.scb.se/Pages/TableAndChart\\_\\_\\_\\_231104.aspx](http://www.scb.se/Pages/TableAndChart____231104.aspx)
- Stjernquist, S. & Sages, R. (supervisor) (2009). *Expatriater: överbetalda lyxlirare eller utsatt personal? – En fenomenologisk studie på fyra svenska multinationella företag*. Lund: Lund University, master thesis.
- Svanberg, I. & Tydén, M. (2005). *Tusen År av Invandring. En Svensk Kulturhistoria*. Viborg: Norhaven Paperback A/S.
- van de Vijver, F. J. R., Helms-Lorenz, M., & Feltzer, M. J. A. (1999). Cognitive assessment in education in a multicultural society. *International Journal of Psychology*, 34, 149–162.
- Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology*. England; Open University Press, McGraw-Hill Education.
- World Migration Report 2010 (2010), from the International Organization for Migration (IOM).  
<http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/policy-research/migration-research/world-migration-report-2010>
- Århammar, A. (2004). *Migration och Integration – om framtidens arbetsmarknad. Bilaga 4 till LU 2003/04. SOU 2004:73*. Stockholm: Elanders Gotab AB.