LUND UNIVERSITY
Faculty of Social Sciences

Graduate School   Course: SIMV07

Master of Science in Development Studies   Term: Spring 2016

Major: Sociology   Supervisor: Sara Eldén

The Second Generation of Swedish Indians: the Development of Ethnic Identity

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Abstract

The purpose of the study was to examine how the second generation Swedish Indians (I use "the second generation" to refer to the children of immigrants, born in Sweden) developed their ethnic identity while analysing their self-identification, cultural preferences, social interactions and daily practices. This qualitative study was based on ten in-depth interviews with second generation Swedish Indians (seven females and three males). Ethnicity in this study was understood through Jenkins 'basic social anthropological model of ethnicity'. Results were analysed through social constructivism perspective and Berry's acculturation strategies. Participants have developed a bicultural identity that is continuously negotiated and context dependent. Important cultural elements, which were practiced among participants, were such as the language of the origin, close family relations and respect for elders, celebration of Indian holidays and Indian cooking. In addition, travelling to India appeared as a significant practice in order to feel and understand Indian cultural heritage. Participants of this study distanced themselves from the participation in Indian associations and religious practices, because of the lack of time or interest.

Keywords: *ethnic identity, Swedish Indians, second generation, acculturation*.
Word count: 20446

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all the participants for taking their time for the interviews and sharing their personal experiences and opinions with me. Without your participation this study would not be possible. Many thanks to you!

Further I would like to express my sincere thanks to my supervisor Sara Eldén who guided me through this process. Thank you Sara, for your attentiveness and support, I could not wish for a better supervisor. Tack så mycket!

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1. Introduction

"I realize then that it's not enough to know what someone is called.
You have to know who they are." (Forman, 2013)

Demographic change such as migration shapes Sweden's population and increases ethnic diversity within society. Often Sweden is exposed as one of the most successful countries when it comes to the establishment of multicultural policy. Sweden has been admired together with Canada and Australia, as the model for positive multicultural immigrant integration (Castles and Miller 2014). Moreover, in the European context, Sweden alongside the UK and the Netherlands was frequently described as the country that in the post war period most considerably adopted a multicultural policy (ibid.).

Multiculturalism means that all ethnic minorities "should be able to participate as equal in all spheres of society, without being expected to give up their own culture, religion and language" (Castles and Miller 2014:270). However if we look at the Swedish policies towards cultural diversity adopted in the 1970s it did not meet principles of multiculturalism. Quite the reverse. There are several examples of cultural and religious exemptions from the common law. For example, ethnic institutions such as schools were not allowed, because of the principle that all education should be confessionally neutral (Borevi, 2013:143-144). Slaughter (kosher or halal) ritual is forbidden in Sweden due to laws concerned with the prevention of cruelty to animals (ibid.). Moreover, until the very recent day, consideration for dress codes or other delicate issues towards the traditions or values of specific ethnic and religious groups in public institutions was rare (ibid.).

Above mentioned practices are quite controversial to multiculturalism. There are highly chances it would affect the development of ethnic identity, because of restrictions and limitations to practice one's cultural practices of the culture of origin. Therefore, it is important to explore how people with different cultural background develop their ethnic identity, look into their perspective.

The most notable wave of Indian immigrants are the post-1970 immigrants, whose children are now reaching adulthood (Myrvold, 2012:2). While there has been some research on the first generation Indian immigrants, the second generation has not been studied, even though the population of Swedish Indians has increased significantly since 2000 (ibid.: 4). The increase calls for attention to the experiences of this growing population. Therefore, this study aims to fill this gap while employing sociological perspective.

Ethnic features, such as appearance, language, food or even lifestyles can be observed as 'different' by the mainstream Swedish society, therefore bicultural identities can arise. In this case, there is a great impact on the development of ethnic identity of participants, where two different cultures reside together. Consequently, I became interested in how the second generation Swedish Indians cope with this difference while creating their own identity.

That raises numerous questions. How do second generation of immigrants shape their ethnic identity, with parents coming from India and their birthplace being in another country, such as Sweden with a different culture? How do they connect with members of the same origin and Swedish natives? What determines their identity? Do they feel Swedish, Indians or maybe both? This thesis aims to take a deeper look into these many more questions.

I view ethnic identity development as an ongoing, dynamic process that involves individual subjectivity and agency and that is, at the same time, constrained by social and historical contexts. Therefore, this study employs social constructivist approach.

1.1 Purpose and Research Question

Swedish Indians are the second generation of Indian immigrants who originated from India. The participants of this study were all born in Sweden. Consequently, ways of living participants are highly influenced by two cultures: Swedish, where they were born, and Indian, where they parents grew up. Additionally the representation of Sweden as a celebrated model of multicultural policies towards ethnic minorities that actually did not meet important principals of multiculturalism regarding sensitive cultural and traditional issues of ethnic and religious minorities makes it an interesting case.

A central question of this research is: *how do the second generation Swedish Indians develop their ethnic identity in a multicultural context?* (I use " the second generation" to refer to the children of immigrants, born in Sweden). The purpose of this study is to examine how do Swedish Indians develop their ethnic identity through analysing their self-identification, cultural preferences, social interactions and daily practices. The following sub-questions will help to guide the research:

- How is ethnicity constructed in narratives of second generation Swedish Indians?
- How does acculturation (*contact between two or more different cultures*) affect the development of ethnic identity?
- Which actions are important to maintain Indian ethnic identity?

In order to examine the ways the second generation Indians born in Sweden develop their ethnic identity qualitative research method was employed. Study consists of 10 in-depth interviews with seven females and three males.

2. Previous Research

Ethnicity has received much empirical and theoretical attention in the social sciences. Most of the sociological studies regarding the second generation of Indian migrants concerning their ethnic identity had been conducted in the United States or Britain. However, in Sweden studies regarding Swedish Indian ethnic identity are absent even though the population with Indian origins in Sweden is rapidly growing.

Through the history, migration from India to Sweden was caused by various reasons. The first wave came in the 1950s, consisted of skilled workers and students. Greater migration began in the 1970s, this wave consisted of students, people who came for marrying with Scandinavian spouses, moreover a residence permit in the country provided an opportunity to legally stay and work in Europe. Further immigrants mostly were refugees and asylum seekers who escaped from political arrest at home (Myrvold, 2012:2).

As Myrvold's (2012) study *"Indian migration and population in Sweden"* has shown: within a ten-year period, between 2000 and 2010, the population of Indian origin has increased by 61 percent, as a result in 2010 there were 2,109 Sweden-born persons with both parents from India and 5,592 persons with one Indian and one Swedish parent (Myrvold, 2012:4). Therefore, ethnic identity development of second generation Indians is an important issue to research.

This section focuses on previous research regarding the ethnic identity development of the second generation of Indians in the United States and Britain since as mentioned above, this field in Sweden is unresearched. In addition a qualitative study concerning integration into Swedish society of first generation Sikhs in Skåne will be presented since it is relevant for this study as well.

In America, the second generation of Indians attracted scholars' attention already two decades ago. The Professor of Asian American Studies Sunaina Maira (1996) in her qualitative study *"Ethnic Identity Development of Second-Generation Indian American Adolescents"* aimed to explore the process of ethnic identity development in the second generation of 1965-post immigrants from India while using sociological and anthropological

perspectives (Maira, 1996: 3-4). In order to achieve her aim Maira conducted seven in-depth interviews with second-generation Indian American students between 17and21 years of age (ibid.). The study has shown that ethnic identity was 'dynamic 'and 'complex' for Indian American youth. Maira identified the mainstream education system, family and mass media as central agents in shaping the ethnic identity of Indian Americans (ibid. 11). Adolescents tend to develop hybrid identities, because they switch their identities according to the context. For example, "they use Indian patterns of behaviour, food, clothes, and languages at home and switch to more "mainstream "white middle-class American cultural norms at school or with peers" (Maira. 1996:10). This study is relevant to my study since its aim is very similar to my research aim, however the geographical context is different and this study was conducted twenty years ago. Therefore, there is a need of new studies since our environment has changed a lot during this period from migration flows to the performance of mass media.

Cynthia Brown Sinha (2010) in her sociology dissertation "*Dynamic parenting: construction in the second-generation Indian American family*" focused on negotiation of ethnicity within the family while exploring how the second-generation Indian Americans form the family's culture in order to pass an Indian ethnic identity for their third-generation children (Sinhna, 2010:3). To explore that she has conducted semi-structured interviews with 18 couples, where the couple had to have at least one child, since the focus was on the parental practices. Three interviews were conducted with each couple, one joint, and two individual (ibid. 29).

The study concluded that 'second-generation Indian Americas were a blend of American and Indian cultures' since while growing up they had to negotiate between two cultures and move between the two "worlds" (ibid.229). However, when it came to marriage and raising their children ties with Indian culture remained strong. Children were familiar with Indian culture, religion, language and clothing (Sinha, 2010:2). Moreover, even though mainstream American society were not in the favour of arranged marriages it was extremely important for participants. The study has shown that marrying co-ethnic person meant, "to be Indian", meanwhile transnational marriage meant negation of one's 'Indianness' (ibid.220). Even more parents expected that their children, the third-generation would marry

a person with Indian background as well, in order to maintain the culture (ibid.:223). This study is relevant to my study since I am also looking at participant's perception of transnational families. As this study has shown Indian American ties to their Indian roots were very strong since "marrying outside of culture negates one's Indiannes" (Sinha, 2010:220). Therefore, it is fascinating to see how Swedish Indians respond to transnational families.

Anthropologists Caroline B. Brettell and Faith Nibbs (2009) carried out another study, concerning the development of ethnic identity of second generation Indian Americans. In their study *"Lived Hybridity: Second-Generation Identity Construction through College Festival"* scholars aimed to explore the role of a major annual event for Indian community-Diwali in the development of identity of second generation South Asian American college students (Brettell and Nibbs 2009:678-679). In order to achieve the aim participant observation in the activities of the Indian Student Association during 2005-2007, in-depth interviews, focus groups, surveys and pile sorts were employed (ibid.). The study has shown that Diwali festival played a crucial role in the construction of second-generation identity. The Indian Student Association was a great place for participants to create an atmosphere where they could "come out" and make sense of their backgrounds and feel connected (ibid. 695). Moreover, the Diwali festival helped them to express themselves through various rituals and the feeling of being united (ibid.). This study has shown that the Diwali festival widely celebrated between second-generation Indian Americans and had a great importance in constructing their identity. In my study I do not focus on any specific occasion, however, in my interview guide I have prepared questions about traditional Indian occasions in order to identify which occasion remain important for the second generation Swedish Indians. Therefore, the importance of traditional occasions will arise from data. This study is relevant to my study in order to compare the importance of Diwali festival for second generation Indians within Swedish and American context if this festival will arise as important at all.

Professors Yasmin K. Sekhon and Isabelle Szmigin (2011) in their study *"Acculturation and identity: Insights from second-generation Indian Punjabis"* analysed negotiation of two cultures through economic, social and cultural capital while examining the cultural context, situational factors and consumption choices of participants (Sekhon and

Szmigin, 2011:79). The main aim of the study was to investigate the relation between acculturation, identity and consumption among second-generation Indian Punjabis (ibid. 94). The research was based on 10 semi-structured, in-depth interviews, with second generation Indian Punjabis and 4 interviews with first generation Indian Punjabis (ibid.85). Scholars have identified izzat (family honour) as the key reason for unsuccessful acculturation process of Indian Punjabis in British society. Since before making any decision participants had to consider if it would be the right thing to do from Indian cultural perspective (ibid.90). Izzat has created a tension in daily practices of participants, because izzat required participants to fulfill family expectations and follow Indian cultural values. Therefore, before choosing a partner or consuming, for example buying clothes or car participants had to think collectively before making any decision (Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011:91-92).

Sekhon and Szmigin through their study used adjectives such as 'set of boundaries', 'frustration', 'tension', 'barrier', 'failed acculturation' that gave an impression that the existence of izzat and absence of acculturation were negative outcomes. That I have not felt in the studies in the United States. Scholars of studies in the United States presented previous studies remained neutral meanwhile in the study done in Britain I could feel some kind of bias, because it was not clearly stated if those negative adjectives were expressed by participants or it was an interpretation of researchers. Therefore, this study is a good contrast example and acknowledgment of existence about studies on second generation Indians in Britain.

Harpreet Singh (2012) in his ethnographic study "*Sikh Immigrants' Views and Strategies of Integration into Swedish Society A Qualitative Study of First Generation Sikhs in Skåne*" examined cultural, social, economic and political integration strategies of first generation Sikhs in Swedish society in Skåne region (Singh, 2012:1). Singh had drawn his conclusion from 7semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observation of practices in Gurdwara in Malmö – the public place of worship (ibid. 5). The study has revealed various complexities in the integration process, such as 'discrimination 'which was felt through disrespect, unacceptance because of cultural difference or simply by being

ignored by mainstream society (ibid. 37). Another important finding was that the integration of women was more successful than integration of men; because they could establish broader social networks (Singh, 2012:37).). Singh's study is a great support for my research, because it revealed some complex findings that encouraged me to develop my research. Since there are some drawbacks in the integration of the first generation, Sikhs in Skåne it is important to examine the ethnic identity development of the second generation Swedish Indians and investigate if there is any drawbacks in that development because of cultural clashes or any other reasons.

This section regarding previous research has shown that second generation Indians have caught a great attention of scholars in the United States and have a growing interest in Britain as well. However, in Sweden this issue has been untouched, even though the population with Indian origins in Sweden is rapidly growing. Moreover, Sigh's study has revealed various complexities in the integration process of the first generation Sikhs in Skåne. Therefore, I see a need for my research, to investigate how the second generation Swedish Indians experience their ethnic identity. If they experience any difficulties or complexities while constructing their identity and integrating into Swedish society. This research can be a great starting point in developing or improving various policies regarding ethnic minorities. This is particularly important because of the great difference between Swedish and Indian culture (e.g. different religions, language, holidays etc.), how this cultural clash influences self-identification and lifestyles of second generation Indians born in Sweden. Consequently, this research might reveal important findings that future studies can be based on.

3. Methodology

Before moving to the theoretical framework, this section will discuss the methodological approach chosen for the research and related issues to it, such as: interview guide, participants, data collection, data analysis, researcher's positionality and ethical issues. The overall aim of the study was to examine the development and position of ethnic identities of Swedish-Indians in their lives by analysing their own understanding and experiences of their daily practices, values and cultural preferences. The approach taken in this research aims to examine how these practices contribute to the development of their ethnic identity. Therefore, it is important to focus on understandings, perceptions and identities requiring a qualitative research approach that emphasizes the meaning and understanding (Barber, 2015:84).

3.1 Qualitative approach

As it was mentioned before, the aim of this research is to analyse and explain how Swedish Indian understand and develop their ethnic identity. In order to achieve this aim, qualitative research method with in-depth interviews was chosen. In-depth interviews, as a tool is quite flexible, since it allows the interviewer to move questions around, remove or add additional questions during the interview. This freedom allows deepening some issues or even new important matters to arise (Boyce and Neale, 2006:3). This was the most suitable tool for this kind of research, since the issue of ethnic identity required to understand the issue from the respondent's point of view (Marvasti, 2004:21). This tool allowed interviewees to open up more, share their experiences, opinions and attitudes. Apparently, it would not have been possible to achieve same results while using structured interviews, since it is predetermined and very strict (ibid: 17). Consequently, in-depth interviews let to collect richer data and subjective issues to arise, which might not arise during the structured interviews. At the same time, the researcher can understand and analyse the issue more precisely.

Quantitate research was not suitable for this kind of research, since it would restrict answers of informants. Moreover, answers would be generalized and expressed in statistics.

Meanwhile, the understanding of ethnic identity required a deeper understanding of opinions, it provided insights into the issue, and therefore, a detailed description is crucial (Marvasti, 2004:7).

3.2 Interview guide

Interview guide was divided into four main themes (complete interview guide is available in Appendix B):

1. Identity and ethnicity questions about the nationality of informants, what does it mean to them. With which Indian/Swedish characteristics, traditions and occasions they identify themselves.

2. Family. Their parents' position in the development of their ethnic identity; what is their and their parents' opinion about transnational marriages.

3. The role of ethnic communities. Are they active in meetings of Indian communities, what do they do there? How often do they participate? If do not participate, what are the reasons.

4. Religion. Are they/ their parents' religious, what is their religion? What does it mean to them?

3.3 Participants

The criteria for participants was that at least one of their parent was born and grew up in India. It was important that the parent should have been grown up in India, not just to be born there, since the early socialization process is an important period for the development of ethnic identity.

Initially, this research started with non-probability convenience sampling, however during the data collection, process snowball sampling was employed as well. First, I joined Facebook group "Indian association in Sweden" with 1229 members and with permission from the admin of the group I posted a post with brief information about my research and my contacts. However, I got just two replies and those people did not meet the criteria for participants in this research because they were born in India themselves. After almost one

month of waiting, I decided to contact members of the group personally. I sent more than two hundred messages and received twenty replies. Once again, not all of the people who replied met the criteria for participation in the research. Therefore, I ended up having seven interviews while using convenience sampling. However, after employing snowball sampling, I increased the number of interviews to ten.

10 in-depth interviews were conducted with second generation Indians born in Sweden, between the ages of 18 and 34. Seven informants were female and three male. In order to guarantee the confidentiality of participants, they were given nicknames, which were used in the study. Moreover, facts which did not affect the reliability of the study, such as working and living place were also changed in order to guarantee anonymity.

Presentation of participants

1. Sara

Sara is 22 years old female. Both of her parents were born in India. They came to Sweden in 1970s. Sara's parents got divorced, when she was three years old, therefore she used to stay with her father for 2-3 years and 2-3 years with her mother. She has four siblings. At the moment Sara is living in Netherlands, she is studying there.

2. Matilda

Matilda is 27 years old female. Her mother was born in Indian in Gujarat and father in Uganda, but her grandfather was born in India. Matilda's father came to Sweden in 1970s as refugee from Uganda. In 1980s he went to India to marry her mother and brought her to Sweden. Unfortunately, he passed away when Matilda was very young. Therefore, her mother had play both roles as mother and father. In addition, Matilda has an older brother. She moved away from her hometown after finishing high school and started her education in social work.

3. Linda

Linda is 28 years old female. Both of her parents were born in India. Her father's family moved to Sweden when he was 9 years old. He went to India in 1980s for an arranged marriage with her mother and brought her with him to Sweden. Linda has two younger brothers and sister. Linda got her bachelor degree in England. At the moment, Linda is working in the <…> Company and growing two children. She got divorced several years ago.

4. Alicia

Alicia is 21 years old female. Both of her parents were born in India. Her father's family moved to Sweden when he was 9 years old. He went to India in 1980s for an arranged marriage with her mother and brought her with him to Sweden. Alicia has two brothers and sister. Currently she is working in a store and is dating with a Swede over a year.

5. Henrik

Henrik is 32 years old male. Both of his parents were born in India. His father came to Sweden 40 years ago to visit his sister and cousins for the summer. During the summer, he got the job and later on went back to India, where he met Henrik's mother and after the wedding came back to Sweden. Henrik has two younger sisters. Henrik is a successful business man, he has established several companies. Henrik's girlfriend is neither Indian neither Swede, they been dating for almost ten years.

6. Natali

Natali is 28 years old female. Both of her parents were born in India. Natali's uncle got married with an Indian girl, who used to live in Sweden, later on he helped Natali's mother to move to Sweden in the end of the 70s. In 1980s, she went to India to marry Natali's father. Natali has one brother and one sister. She has studied mechanical engineering and finished her master's degree in design abroad. Currently, Natali is working with the construction and planning her wedding with co-ethnic, who was also born in Sweden. They are planning to get married in 'typical Indian way'.

7. Rose

Rose is 26 years old female. Both of her parents were born in India. Rose's father came to Sweden in 70s and went back to India in 80s, got married with her mother and brought her with him to Sweden. She has one brother and one sister.

8. Steve

Steve is 18 years old male. Both of his parents were born in India. He has one brother and sister. Currently, Steve is studying at the high school, his girlfriend is neither Indian neither Swede. He is open about his relationship with his parents and they are accepting his relationship.

9. Jessica

Jessica is 34 years old female. Both of her parents were born in India. They came to Sweden in 1970s, when her father got a scholarship to do his thesis project in Sweden. They planned to stay here for 5 years, but then he got a job offer and decided to stay. Jessica has one brother and one sister. She got bachelor's degree in Chinese language and master's degree in business administration and currently is for working for NGO. Jessica is married to a Swede and has two children.

10. Paul

Paul is 18 years old male. Both of his parents were born in India. Firstly, his parents moved from India to Germany for a work. However, after the company shut down for which his father was working in 1996 he got an offer to move to Sweden. Paul has one sister. Currently he is in his last year at high school.

3.4 Data collection

The data collection process took place over a period of 3months, between January-March 2016. Seven face-to-face interviews were carried out at interviewees' homes or some restaurants, depending on their preferences. Other three interviews were conducted through Skype video chat conversations, because interviewees lived too far away, for a physical meeting. Interviewees were asked if they preferred to conduct the interview in Swedish or

English language. In the case of the choice of the Swedish language, the translator would be employed. However, it was not needed, all participants felt comfortable talking in English, and therefore all interviews were conducted in English.

3.5 Data analysis

After interviews were conducted data analysis was divided into 5steps. Steps were implemented as follow:

Step 1: Transcription of interviews – in this step I transcribed collected interviews by myself. This process allowed me to get an overview of the obtained data and to start thinking about arising themes.

Step 2: Construction of themes – in this step the coding of data has started. I have read all interviews again, identified emerging themes for data analysis, and organized the data according to those themes. Emerged themes were: nationality;   parents; importance of origins; memories from childhood; role of family; transnational families; uncomfortable situations; friends; participation in associations; religious practices; celebration of occasions; language; food; maintenance of ethnic identity; value in Indian culture; dislike in Indian culture; experiences in India; Like/value in Swedish culture; dislike about Swedish culture; other important aspects.

Step 3: Revision of themes and creation of subthemes – in this step I reviewed themes and divided them into major themes and subthemes.

The first theme was <u>the development of ethnic identity</u> with these subthemes: nationality; parents; the importance of origins; memories from childhood; the role of the family; transnational families.

Second theme was- <u>an expression of ethnic identity</u> with these subthemes: friends; participation in associations; religious practices; celebration of occasions; language; food; maintenance of ethnic identity.

The third theme was <u>cultural values</u> with these subthemes: value in Indian culture; dislike in Indian culture; experiences in India; like/value in Swedish culture; dislike about Swedish culture.

Step 4: *Description of findings*- in this step, I chose the most representative extracts from the data, described and presented them. The outcome can be found in section 5. Findings.

Step 5: *Development of analysis in relation to theoretical framework* – in this step findings were analysed through theoretical lens presented in theoretical framework section. I was reading findings and theoretical framework back and forth to orient the data analysis. Findings can be found in section 6. Discussion.

3.6 Researcher's positionality

"Positionality is thus determined by where one stands in relation to 'the other'" (Merriam, Johnson-Bailey, Lee, Lee, Ntseane, & Muhamad, 2001:411). Who am I in the context of researching the development of ethnic identities of Swedish-Indian youths?

According to England (1994), research is a continuous process and is shaped by both researcher and participants (England, 1994:82). Therefore, identities, of both researcher and participant tend to influence the research. In addition, as Bourke (2014) points out 'our biases shape the research processes' since we as researchers design a research setting (Bourke, 2014:1).

There is a high chance that my presence as non-Swedish-Indian and neither Swedish or Indian, middle class, white woman could shape the process while examining the conception and development of Swedish-Indian youths' ethnic identity. It can have both positive and negative influences. On one hand, if interviewer and interviewee share the same identity it could lead a 'symmetry in the relations', however, on the other hand, if interviewer and interviewee do not share the same identity it leads to "a gap in experience between interviewer and interviewee that creates a space for respondents to describe and tease out meanings and assumptions that may otherwise remain unspoken" (Carter: 2004:348).

During the interviews, I could feel that I was perceived as an outsider; therefore, participants were describing some occasions or cultural practices in great detail. Therefore being an outsider truly turned out to an advantage.

3.7 Ethical considerations

There were ethical issues surrounding the research. I have consulted the American Sociological Association's (ASA's) Code of Ethics to guide ethical issues of this study.

All participants were informed about the study. They were all given an information, sent by Facebook message, where the purpose of the study was presented. In addition, the message contained an information about my interest and background. Moreover, they were informed about guaranty of confidentiality and anonymity, the participants' geographic locations were kept confidential and pseudonyms were assigned to each participant and were used on transcripts and data analysis (for the copy of the message see Appendix A). Before each interview, it was asked for permission to record (ASA, 2008).

4. Theoretical framework

This study focuses on the development of ethnic identity of Swedish Indian in Sweden. The population of Swedish Indians has increased significantly since 2000.

This research did not develop a new theory; instead, it builds on existing theories. Focusing on the second generation Swedish Indians it provides a new aspect on exploring the development of ethnic identity within this community. Furthermore, I use social constructivist approach to understand how this ethnic group identifies their identity within Swedish mainstream culture. Beyond social constructivism, I also employ Berry's (1980) acculturation model with four acculturation strategies (integration, assimilation, separation or marginalization) in order to identify informants' relation with Swedish mainstream society.

The concept of ethnic identity is a dynamic and multifaceted. Therefore it is important to understand other concepts, which influence the development of ethnic identity, such as identity, ethnicity, ethnic group and culture since these factors, are central to my analysis. Hence, this section starts with an examination of those concepts and relation to the study. It will be followed by a discussion of relative theories to the study, such as social constructivism, acculturation strategies, bicultural identity and otherness. My approach to ethnic identity is from a sociological perspective, where identity is understood as socially constructed that is multiple, fluid and context dependent.

4.1 Identity
Identity is a tricky concept to define; it's widely understood by the masses, but few can pinpoint exactly what causes identity.

In the simplest form, identity on one hand is 'our understanding of who we are' and on the other hand "other people's understanding of themselves and of others (which includes us)" (Jenkins, 2014:19). Therefore for sociological purposes 'identity' guides in analyses of the establishment of relations between individuals and collectivities (ibid.). An identity is crucial to a human being, since it gives an understanding of 'who we are'. There are many

ways to express identity. For example, features such as kinship, citizenship, ethnicity, race, sex or simply a name are used for others or ours identification. This study focuses on ethnicity that is crucial to informants, born and raised in different surroundings than their parents, identification.

According to Berger and Luckman, people are conscious of multiple realities at one time, but only one reality is experienced as "everyday life," (Berger and Luckman, 1967:35). Throughout the day, each individual experiences certain routines, through communicating with others, accomplishing tasks, and simply through living as a whole. According to Brah, this is a result of "connecting threads" between everyday life and other realities. Essentially, it is believed that identity is both subjective and social, and is formed through cultural influences, showing that the culture and identity are linked (Brah, 2005). The surrounding culture greatly influences the development of identity.

4.1.2 Ethnicity

The concept of ethnicity itself is a social phenomenon, and is defined by one's social surrounding rather than their genetic makeup (Hall, 1997:32). The word "ethnicity" is derived from the ancient Greek word "ethnos", which referred to a range of situations in which a human collective lived and acted together (ibid.). Even after years of ethnic studies and research, it is hard for anyone to solidly define what makes up ethnicity.

Giddens defines ethnicity as "cultural practices and outlooks of a given community of people which sets them apart from others" and ethnic group as a group, where members "see themselves as culturally distinct from other groups and are seen by them, in return, as different" (Farley, 1995:6; Giddens, 2009:633). For Barker ethnicity is a cultural boundary formation through 'norms, values, beliefs, cultural symbols and practices' of the ethnic group (Barker, 2008:24). Meanwhile, ethnic groups develop in specific historical, social and political contexts (Ibid: 249). Moreover, as Corner and Hartmann (1998) states: "ethnicity is a matter of contrast" (Corner and Hartmann, 1998:20). The admission of ethnic identity is a creation of boundaries between "us"and "them", it is an acknowledgement of some sort of difference, and that there are some things that "we" share and "they" do not (ibid.).

In the early twentieth century Max Weber believed, that phenomena such as ethnicity will decrease its importance or even fade away as a result of the powerful influences of industrialisation, modernization and individualism. (Eriksen, 2010:2). However, after the Second World War, the importance of ethnicity started growing, because of various movements and enormous migration flows (ibid.). Therefore, Weber's assumption was proven wrong and instead of vanishing 'ethnicity' became an important subject in various disciplines, especially in those of social science.

Jenkins (2008) in his book "Rethinking Ethnicity" examines how ethnicity works. According to him, 'the identification of others' and 'self- and group identification' – is central to an understanding of ethnicity (Jenkins, 2008: 3). For the understanding of ethnicity Jenkins developed an approach called 'basic social anthropological model of ethnicity', (Jenkins 2008:14):

• *Ethnicity is a matter of cultural differentiation –identification always involves a dialectical interplay between similarity and difference.*

• *Ethnicity is centrally a matter of shared meanings – what we conventionally call 'culture' – but is also produced and reproduced during the interaction.*

• *Ethnicity is no more fixed or unchanging than the way of life of which it is an aspect, or the situations in which it is produced and reproduced.*

• *Ethnicity, as an identification, is collective and individual, externalized in social interaction and the categorization of others, and internalized in personal self-identification.*

According to Jenkins model, development of ethnicity is a continuous process, there culture is a crucial factor, however the culture by itself is not something static or unchangeable. Culture changes over time, because of various social interactions. Moreover, ethnicity is an outcome of similarities and differences between diverse groups and cultures. Besides, ethnicity is not a unity or integrity; rather it is a complex of collective and individual identities.

Ethnicity in this study, is understood and analysed trough Jenkins 'basic social anthropological model of ethnicity', because it sees ethnicity as dynamic and socially constructed.

As well as Jenkins, Bacon (1999) stresses the importance of ethnic identity as both, personal and collective (Bacon, 1999:141). Collective identity usually is linked to a certain ethnic group, meanwhile, a personal one is more of a unique identity, developed by an individual while creating his own behaviour habits and adopting various cultural practices from the surrounding world.

People do not just state their ethnic identities; they practice them through various cultural practices, such as cuisine, language, holidays, festivals, art or simply through daily practices- that can more or less define what it means to be a member of an ethnic group (Nagel 1994 in Jimeˊnez, 2010:1758). Development of ethnic identity is a continuous process, it is a combination of various practices and feelings. In terms of identification, placing yourself in a group might be confusing or challenging for a second-generation of migrants. It can vary in different situations, in some cases; the person can identify himself with some group or can be positioned by others as belonging to a certain "ethnicity" even though he has not stated that. This is where power relations can appear between mainstream society and a subculture. That can lead to othering, the process of differentiation, where the line between "us"- more powerful and "them"- less powerful is drawn (Lister, 2004:101). Otherness will be addressed later on in this paper.

Taking this into consideration issue of power relations arises. Therefore, it is important to investigate if there is any power relations between Swedish Indians and mainstream society from Swedish Indian's perspective. Furthermore, if there is any, how do they emerge.

4.1.3 Ethnic Group

In academia, development of ethnic identity and ethnic group can be analysed through controversial perspectives, such as primordialism and social constructivism. Barth (1969: 10-11) used primordialism approach and distinguished distinctive features of ethnic group, such as: biological, cultural, linguistic and structural which according to him will remain the same through generations without any alterations (ibid.). On the other hand, from social constructivism perspective, according to Giddens (2009), ethnicity is not static or unchangeable, but opposite, it is changeable and tends to adopt changes in circumstances (Giddens, 2009:634). Traditions and values pass through generations, though they are

influenced by surroundings and trends (ibid.). For example, when Indians came to Sweden they had to adopt new surroundings while maintaining their traditions. Adaptation is highly doubted without changes, because of acculturation processes. Therefore, this study uses social constructivism approach.

Ethnic groups are formed when people with similar ethnic identities come together to share their cultural values. In these ethnic groups, members typically have an assortment of traits in common, whether it be language, religion, or similarities of appearance, and typically members live and migrate together. An example of an ethnic group creating their own community within a community would be any of the China Towns found in large U.S. cities, where large numbers of Chinese immigrants and their descendants live and work (Hall, 1997:32). Not all Ethnic groups create communities as large as these, and many smaller cities play host to ethnic communities within the larger community. There remains significant mystery surrounding the process with which ethnic identity is formed. Spencer noted that "the implication of being a member of an ethnic group is that at some level one has an awareness of shared values and interests and would be motivated to take collective action using this sense of common ethnic identity as an organizing principle" (Spencer, 2006:46). Essentially, Spencer is saying that the members of an ethnic group must share some sort of common identity.

The sense of collectivism can lead to the development of communities of ethnic groups. Basically, it happens because being around people with similar history and interest stimulates the members' sense of peoplehood (Cornell and Hartmann, 1998:19). The first component of ethnicity is ancestry, which gives members of an ethnic group a sense of kinship, as their common descent allows them to relate to each other on a familial level. The second component of ethnicity involves the culture of the group members. Their cultural similarities draw them together, and allow them to feel at home in their own community. The final component of ethnicity is the history of the group's members. This refers to "a collective of events that form a narrative that group insiders (and outsiders) tell about a shared or inherited past" (Jime´nez, 2010:1757). In Sweden, there are many religious and cultural associations. Myrvold (2012) in her study has identified around forty officially registered Indian associations and more than twenty on-line groups (Myrvold, 2012:24). I,

myself have reached out to participants for this study through Facebook group "Indian Association in Sweden" with 1229 members. Moreover, the access to so many Indian associations has raised the question of participation in them of informants of my research. Therefore, in my interview guide I have developed a theme *"Role of ethnic communities",* where I intend to explore if participants of this study are active in meetings of Indian communities, what do they do there? How often do they participate? If do not participate, what are the reasons?

4.1.4 Culture

Concerning the role of culture in identity construction, Hall addresses two different approaches: In the first approach the identity is related to "a shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common." Thus, culturally constructed identities "reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as 'one people', with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history" (Hall, 1994:224). The second approach "recognizes that, as well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant *difference* which constitute 'what we really are'; or rather - since history has intervened - 'what we have become" (ibid.). The second approach can be applied in studying the immigrant groups, which face challenges of living in a cultural setting than the one they have socialized. The questions "what we really are" or "what we have become" are vital in their searching for understanding their identity. There is no concrete definition of the term the 'culture'. For example, Kroeber and Kluckhohn identified around 164 definitions of 'culture', meaning that culture can be seen as "the symbolic construction of the vast array of a social group's life experiences" (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952 in Brah 2005:18). Culture is the epitome of a group's history, and therefore roughly defines their identity as a whole. Over time, cultures change through differences in traditions and values, and they are sometimes affected by economic or political changes. (Brah, 2005:18).

According to Baumann, culture is the 'collective heritage of a group', and serves as a "catalog" of their traditions, ideas, beliefs, and practices (Baumann, 1999:25). Through this,

we can learn more about ethnicity and ethnic identity by learning more about a certain group's heritage and culture, so that we may best understand why people who share these common backgrounds gather together and share similar values and ideas.

Ethnicity and culture are often considered to have a relationship with "social constructivism", a term that refers what one has learned through social interactions. Essentially, this means that one, who is raised in a context that differs from the context of their family was born in, can still very easily have the same ethnic and cultural identity as their parents. Assuming their parents include parts of their historic cultural traditions in raising their children, such as speaking their native language, preparing traditional meals, or teaching them crafts or skills that may have played a big part in their culture, the children will likely develop familiar cultural and ethnic identity as their parents (Baumann 1999:26).

To conclude, the understanding of identity, ethnicity, ethnic group and culture is crucial to the development of ethnic identity, because these factors shape person's self-identification and perception of surrounding world.

4.2 Social constructivism

In academia, development of theories on ethnic identity and ethnic group can be analysed through controversial perspectives, such as primordialism and social constructivism.

Primordial perspective on ethnicity, or the belief that "ethnic identity developed from certain 'givens' of social existence, including blood and kin connections, religion, language (even dialect), region, and customs." (Geertz, 1973 in Spencer, 2006:77). Simplified, primordialism refers to the idea that cultures are fixed and unchanging, and no amount of time spent in another culture will change the cultural beliefs of an individual. This extreme idea proposed by primordialism has been widely criticized, with most experts agreeing that some degree of assimilation will occur when an immigrant spends a significant period of time living, working, and functioning in a foreign society. (Spencer, 2006:77). Through the history, changes have been clearly identified in immigrants as they integrate within mainstream society, proving that culture and ethnicity are not fixed, and unchanging entities

(ibid:78). This perspective is not applicable for this study either, since, in this study, the development of ethnic identity is seen as fluid and changeable process that is influenced by a number of factors. Therefore, the rest of this part focuses on social constructivism perspective that this study is based on.

The term "social constructivism" did not originate from any one source, but rather came to exist over several decades through the influence of North American and British writers. Because of this, the exact timeline of development for this school of thought cannot be accurately presented, and most information regarding its history is consider to be only part of the puzzle (Burr, 1995:6).

Most of the fundamentals of social constructivism perspective have existed in sociological research for years; for example, over eighty years ago a term known as 'symbolic interactionism' was created by American writer, Mead (1934). His book "*Mind, Self, and Society*" discussed social interactionism, describing it as a view that as humans, our identities are developed through daily social interactions. This ties in with what is now called social constructivism, a perspective of sociology that states that individuals and their identity are shaped by their interactions with those around them. Many scholars of symbolic interactionism have contributed to the creation of social constructivism; in their 1967 book "*The Social Construction of Reality*" Berger and Luckmann argue that humans are responsible for the creation of social phenomena, for it is through the human creation and interaction that any social practices take place. According to the two, there are three processes, which are accountable for this: externalization, objectivation, and internalization (Burr, 1995:7). The term 'externalize' is used when referencing to human behaviour that is acted on the world around them; the process of coming up with an idea and then sharing it through verbal or written stories are an example of externalization. These stories are shared through books and word of mouth, and soon enough the idea that was originally presented has come to live through the process of social interaction. For some cultures, ideas become so rooted in the hearts and minds of the people that it begins to develop factual existence for them, a process known as 'objectivation.' When an idea undergoes objectivation, many no longer consider it to be an idea, they see it as something that is independent of human life and interaction. This causes a third process to occur, known as 'internalization;' when

children are born into the world where an idea has already been objectified, they are raised to believe it as true, and have never known the truth to be anything other than the objectified idea that they learned (ibid.).

According to Burr, Berger and Luckman have demonstrated how by social interactions of people, the world can be socially constructed and how it can be experienced as it would be already 'pre-given' and 'fixed' as the social constructivism itself would be objective (Burr, 1995:7).

4.3 Acculturation strategies

Today's world is far more globalized than ever before, as a result ethnic identities become more diverse. The intensity and speed of which we interact with cultures different from our "own" is different. The societies of the world have largely become more involved with each other than any other point in history, leading to complications in ethnic identity development for children born to migrants (Jensen, Arnett and McKenzie, 2011:289-290). Therefore question: *how people of different cultural backgrounds identify themselves, negotiate and compromise cultural values and practices of clashing cultures?* Arise.

Acculturation refers to the process of cultural change that is affected by the interaction between different cultures (Berry, 2005:699). The cultural change has its effects on multiple levels. At the group level, it can influence social structures or cultural practices, such as customization of clothing, food preferences or ways of celebrating different occasions. Meanwhile, at the individual level, it can affect person's values, self-perception or simple daily practices (ibid: 700). This study focuses on the individual level; however, group level remains important, since it tends to have an impact on the individual level.

It is important to acknowledge that acculturation has different impacts on different individuals. On one hand, it can be an uncomplicated and enriching process, on the other hand it can cause confusion and cultural conflict (Berry, 2005:700). One of this study's aims is to examine how participants experience this process while developing their ethnic identity. Acculturation can be experienced at different levels, depending on how much individuals are willing or have to relate to their host culture or heritage culture (Padilla and Perez,

2003:40). In this case, some individuals might seek for complete involvement just in Indian culture or Swedish culture; some might try to maintain involvement in both cultures equally or apportion it to some personal preferences. In this study, the level of acculturation is seen as a significant factor in the development of participants' ethnic identity.

Berry (1980) has developed acculturation model that can lead to integration, assimilation, separation or marginalization. Depending on the distinction of 'maintenance of heritage culture and identity' and preferences for being in contact with members of one's ethnic group or mainstream society (Berry 1980 in Berry, 2005:704). The acculturation model is presented in Fig.1.
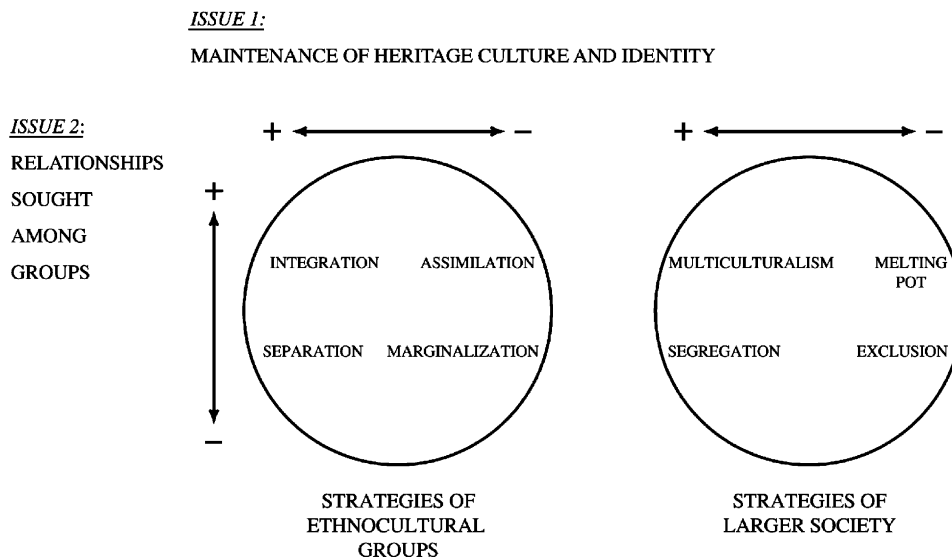
Fig. 1.. Four acculturation strategies in ethno cultural groups, and the larger society.

Source: Berry / International Journal of Intercultural Relations 29 (2005:705)

As presented in Fig.1 the strategy of acculturation depends on the range of attitudes and behaviours by bipolar arrows towards presented issues: 1-'Maintenance of heritage culture and identity' and 2-'relationship sought among groups'. The acculturation strategy is identified by the intersection of "positive or negative orientations to these issues" (Berry, 2005:704).

To analyse participant's level of acculturation Berry's (1980) *'acculturation strategies'* will be employed. According to Berry, these strategies consist of two components: 'attitudes' -an individual's preference about how to acculturate (issue nr.1 in

Fig.1), and 'behaviours' -a person's actual activities (issue nr2. In Fig.1) that are practiced in day-to-day intercultural social life (Berry, 2005:704). In relation to the first issue, participants of this study were asked about their perception of both Swedish and Indian cultures, what do they value and practice in these cultures and how do they apply them in their daily lives. In relation to the second issue, participants were asked about the circle of their friends during their childhood and adulthood in order to understand their level of acculturation.

In the Fig.1. Acculturation strategies are presented from both perspectives, ethnocultural group (in this case second generation Indians) and larger society (in this case the mainstream, Swedish society). However, since this study focuses on second generation Indians' point of view and not on Swedes' point of view the acculturation strategies of larger society would not be discussed. Therefore, the rest of this part of the paper focuses on assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization. Throughout the discussion, Indian culture is understood as the culture of origin meanwhile Swedish society is understood as mainstream society.

4.3.1 Assimilation

Assimilation defines a situation in which an individual does not wish to align themselves with the culture of their origin. Assimilated individuals choose to reject the culture of their origin in order to embrace another, the mainstream society's culture (Berry, 2005:705). Through this process, it is believed that over generations of integration with the society of different cultural values and ethnic identities will cause immigrants to integrate into mainstream society, as they will begin to adopt the ethnic values of those who surround them (Kim, 2008:98).

Milton Gordon is known for his contributions to the theory that has helped sociologists study the theory that assimilation strongly affects ethnic identity. He distinguished the concept of "structural assimilation" that refers to members of the group joining organizations and groups of mainstream society (Gordon, 1964:71).

4.3.2 Separation

Separation strategy is opposite to assimilation strategy. In a cultural context, separation refers to those who place very high value on the culture of their origin, and as a result, they

become distant from their new culture, separating themselves from the people and traditions of the mainstream culture (Berry, 2005:705).

4.3.3 Integration

The integration pattern of acculturation, involves the person accepting the mainstream culture as well as maintaining a strong appreciation for the culture of origin, allowing him to develop a cultural identity that combines elements of both cultures (Berry, 2005:705).

From a global perspective, integration can now happen on a much larger scale due to the global identity many adolescents now share. With the advancement of technology and the internet, adolescents have the opportunity to educate themselves on the cultures of others, and as a result, they can begin to appreciate their global identity, as well as their local identity. A new awareness of specific traditions and cultures has allowed recent generations to better understand other people, allowing them to have a unique sense of global identity that was virtually unattainable in a world that was previously split into isolated regions. Much of this is the result of advancements in communicative technology, such as mobile phones and internet messaging, which allow adolescents from across the globe to talk to each other, learning more about each other's cultures as a result (Jensen, Arnett and McKenzie, 2011:292-293).

The integration response to acculturation is very common among today's second generation immigrants, as it combines the best of both an individual's original culture, as well as the mainstream culture. When an individual is subject to integration, they appreciate certain aspects of their original culture, but also make efforts to better understand and accept the traditions and customs of their new home. This response has also been termed *bicultural*, in the literature on ethnic identity (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Bicultural identity will be addressed later on in this paper.

While integration does not erase one's original cultural identity, there is no doubt that globalization has begun to shape traditional cultural practices and beliefs around the world, largely due to the nature of biculturalism. For example, someone living in a country dominated by Christian or Islamic beliefs may now be more prone to renouncing the traditional beliefs of their culture, as a result of attaining a new identity. This leads to what is known as a *hybrid identity*, which combines elements of local culture with elements of a

global culture in order to create a new kind of cultural identity (Jensen, Arnett and McKenzie, 2011:293)

4.3.4 Marginalization

Finally, the fourth pattern of acculturation as outline by Berry (1980) is marginalization, in which the second generation of migrants do not accept their culture of origin, but do not accept the mainstream culture either. Marginalization can lead to a cultural identity crisis, and may result in individuals feeling as if they do not belong to the culture of their origin or the culture of mainstream society (Berry, 2005:705). As Berry identifies marginalization can be an outcome of 'enforced cultural loss' and because of 'exclusion 'or 'discrimination' (ibid.).

Berry's model is valuable in the sense that it acknowledged the importance of multicultural societies; minority people and the most importantly, that people can decide themselves how much the acculturation process is important for them and how much they are willing to acculturate themselves.

4.4 Bicultural Identity

The term 'bicultural' is largely affiliated with integration. Bicultural individuals have personal experience with two cultures, their ethnic culture and the culture of the mainstream society (Phinney and Devich-Navarro, 1997:3). As a result, they have internalized aspects of both to form their cultural identity (Huynh, Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2011:828).

According to LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993), there are two modes of biculturalism: fusion and alternation. Fused bicultural individuals develop a type of "new" culture as a result of their biculturalism, as they bind aspects of their two cultures together, fusing them into one unique cultural identity. In contrast, alternating bicultural individuals do not combine aspects of their cultures to form another, but rather shift between their two cultures dependent on their feelings and their current situation, keeping each of their cultural identities separate from each other. (Huynh, Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2011:829) This can be seen in second generation Indians who may speak Swedish in public, but speak the language of their origin at home.

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4.5 Otherness

Lister defines othering as a "process of differentiation and demarcation, by which the line is drawn between 'us' and 'them' – between the more and the less powerful – and through which social distance is established and maintained" (Lister, 2004:101); Schwalbe as "the defining into existence of a group of people who are identifiable, from the standpoint of a group with the capacity to dominate, as inferior" (Schwalbe, 2000:777), or as "the process whereby a dominant group defines into existence an inferior group." (ibid: 422). Essentially, the concept of othering defines feelings of inferiority or superiority in individuals because of their cultural identity. People of colour living in a predominantly white nation may feel a sense of otherness from their culture, and may see a specific line between themselves and those of the host country (Schwalbe et al. 2000, p. 422). This is often the a result of the new culture imposing feeling of inferiority on those of other cultures, allowing them to feel othered or separated from the mainstream society.

Otherness plays a key role in ethnicity, as it shows that ethnic identity involves difference and sameness alike to establish itself. When an individual is made to feel inferior due to their cultural background or race by mainstream society, this will work to hinder the development of their cultural identity, and will lessen the likelihood of integration from occurring. In contrast, those who feel a sense of sameness with the mainstream society might be more likely to assimilate into the mainstream society.

4.6 Concluding Remarks

After examining the literature, it can be stated, that identity and the concept of ethnicity are socially constructed, rather than inherited. People are not born with a sense of ethnicity, and as children grow their identities are largely defined by what those around them say they are. If the second generation of immigrant is raised under the principles of their parent's primary race, they will likely identify with that ethnicity, however if they are raised from a Swedish standpoint, it is far more likely they will grow to relate much more to the country they live in. This phenomenon largely defines our sense of identity as a whole, and is essentially the root of ethnicity's existence at all.

Each individual is "constructed" from the raw materials of the life which surround them, shaping them into who they really are (Burr, 1995, p. 34). The interweaving of those materials come together to create an image in our heads of who we are, which in turn defines our hobbies, interests, and behaviours.

5. Findings

The purpose of this study is to understand how Swedish Indians understand and develop their ethnic identity. My theoretical framework implies that ethnic identity is a social construct.

This section of the paper will present the empirical findings thematically from the interviews conducted with 10-second generation Indians born in Sweden. This part of the paper presents the findings of this study. My methodology helped me to find multiple themes which are presented in this section. This chapter has been divided into three sections which describe the respondents (1) self-identification, (2) building an ethnic identity, (3) maintenance of ethnic identity. Further, the findings will be analysed using a theoretical lens and previous research in the following section- discussion.

5.1. Self-identification

In order to examine how the second generation Indians developed their ethnic identity, it was important to understand how they identified themselves first. According to Jenkins, the simplest form of identity is 'our understanding of who we are' (Jenkins, 2014:19). Therefore, during the interviews, after the short introduction interviewees were asked about their nationality to find out with which nationality they identify themselves and how do they feel about it.

When talking about one's nationality all of the interviewees felt that it was a 'difficult' task, they felt somewhere in between a Swedish and an Indian one, because both cultural practices appeared inherent in their lives. Matilda's struggle with self-identification started in her youth. On one hand, her confusion was caused by active participation in both, Swedish and Indian societies, on the other hand, she was perceived as an outsider while interacting with one or another community:

> "*It's a really hard question and it's something I am struggling since I was very young. Because in one way I always felt very Swedish, because I am born and raised here and I grew up in the town there wasn't a lot of other nationalities. There was a lot of Swedes so I grew up with friends within Swedish community. But also in that small town that I grew up there is a lot of Indians. So I had also that community, so we had like both traditional, cultural*

thing, religious things frequently, so we had a lot of both cultures. So it always has been hard for me to identify where I am, because when I am with Indians they often refer to me as Swedish, but when I am with Swedish they refer to me as an immigrant or Indian. So it's always been hard to say and I can't really place myself anywhere, because I feel both identities, I think." (Matilda, 27yr).

Paul's statement reflects the same notion:

"It is kind of hard to answer it, because, living in Sweden people don't really recognize me as a Swedish. I mean I have Swedish citizenship and everything, but they think about me more as of an Indian, because of the way I look. But then I go back to India sometimes to visit, they recognize me more as a Swedish, because I was born here, so I know more of the culture here in Sweden then I do there. So that's why. They know that I am more Swedish than Indian. So it is kind of hard, it goes back and forth, both ways" (Paul, 18yr).

When asked, how does he feel inside, Paul stated, that he feels more Swedish; because he is more familiar with Swedish than Indian culture.

Linda's self-identification was also context dependent. If she talks with someone, who she has known for some time, she introduces herself as a Swedish, but if it is someone newly met, she feels that she has to be more specific: "*I always have to tell them about my origins, that I have Indian parents, but I am Swedish <…> But most often I tell them I am Indian.*" (Linda, 28yr).

Sara shared one of her memories when she got into conversation with two middle age men:

"They asked me where I am from. And I said Sweden. And then they looked at me differently, like it would be something weird. They said you don't look Swedish, you don't have blue eyes, you aren't blond, you are dark. And I said, yes, and I just laugh in a way and I said, well my parents are Indian. And they said, well, you should say that then. Where your parents are from. So that happened a lot of times." (Sara, 22yr).

Sara was not perceived as Swedish because her appearance was not an appearance typical Swede would have, such as blue eyes, blond hair and light skin. Further, Sara added that this kind of situations, when her identity is being questioned makes her *'uncomfortable'.*

As Matilda's, Paul', Linda's and Sara's answers showed in identification process it is not just important how one would identify himself, but how others perceive and identify them is also very important. Participants felt powerless, because they were positioned by others. Other people just positioned them as holding one or another identity without acknowledging their stand. These cases reflect upon the power relations between mainstream

society and subculture, which cause the separation, or in other words 'othering', where the line between "us"- more powerful and "them"- less powerful is drawn (Lister, 2004:101).

5.1.1. Indian origin - *"I am proud of it"*

Even though the identification of one's identity was difficult and causing some tensions. All of the informants had just positive feelings about having an Indian origin. They felt *'enriched'* and *'proud'* about it.

Sara, who felt confused about being multicultural, because as she stated: *"you feel that you are in limbo, you don't belong here you don't belong there"* besides felt that having an Indian background and being born in Sweden enriched her as a person:

> "*I think, that from the moral aspect, ethical aspect and emotional aspect and maybe my reasoning has somehow been a bit more in depth and deeper than I would say, that, for example, my fellow Swedish friends."* (Sara, 22yr).

Linda stressed the importance of Indian cultural heritage, its longevity and richness. Meanwhile, Alicia had a relation that is more symbolic to her ethnic identity. Although, she was not practicing culture or religion, she just felt proud of being Indian:

> "*I am proud of it. I love it. I love it, I embrace where I am from, even though I don't know my culture my religion, but I embrace it a lot."* (Alicia, 21yr).

According to Jessica (34yr), having an Indian origin and being born in Sweden made her *'more international person',* who *'more easily fit in different places'*, because of it.

Undoubtedly, multicultural background has broadened participants' views and enhanced their personalities. They felt that their Indian origin added value to their morality.

5.1.2. Experiences in India – *"India is nice for tourism"*

All of the informants have been to India several times, since still some of their close relatives, such as aunts and uncles live in India. They had both positive and negative experiences in India.

Steve goes to India every 2 years. He really enjoys his visits to India, according to him, he 'changes himself' there. He adopts Indian lifestyle there. He wears Indian clothes, drives without license, spends a lot of time in nature, eats Indian food and just enjoys the

company of Indian people. However, at the same time he calls himself a 'Swedish boy' and states that it is good to visit India sometimes, but he would not be able to live there permanently:

> *"I mean I cannot live in India, for me never. <...> because, it will be very hot. And the language is hard for me and writing in Punjabi is hard, living with the people there forever, would be hard for me. Like going for holidays it is easy, it is fun, but not always. It would never happen, because, I am already used to be a Swedish boy, I mean, I am used to have some warm water, drink good water from the tap.. So that's why. But India is a very nice country for like tourism, if you go there it is perfect. For living, yea, it is okay, but not for me."* (Steve, 18yr.).

Steve relates himself to Indian culture and enjoys practicing it, but at the same time, he distances himself from Indian lifestyle, because he was raised in Sweden and prefers the Swedish lifestyle more. He expressed a strong connection with India, but identifies Sweden as his 'home'.

In last five years, Natali has been three times in India, because of marriages of her relatives or other special occasions. She also enjoys going to India, but is not willing to stay there more than three weeks, after that she gets 'homesick'. She felt a big difference in communication with Indian and Swedish people and preferred the Swedish one:

> *"It is not like the culture that I am used to, the behaviour of people, that's not like. I am more used to Swedish than Indian, so it is strange. I understand the language and everything. <...> Well, people are very noisy and they really wanna talk to you. They talk about when are you getting married, when are you having kids. And people don't ask me these questions. <...>And then there is like a lot of people everywhere. In Sweden, it is different it is a big contrast."* (Natali, 28yr).

Natali felt, that Sweden has a more individualistic lifestyle that has influenced her identity. She found social life in India intensive, where she has perceived uncomfortable questions, which have not emerged in Sweden.

For Linda going to India was a cultural shock. She has experienced a honeymoon phase; she loved everything about it, from the poor to the rich:

> *"It was fantastic, I loved it. <...> the people are fantastic. They are so warm they are so opened even if they are poorest of poor they will give you everything they have. It's a cultural shock them you go to India, because you don't belong there. You don't think like them you don't see things like them. So it was very different, but it was good experience, I liked it. <...> It is unique to see, that there is like multi millions complexes there. People with so much money and then you see those really poor people. But I think that's the charm of India,*

everything and anything exist there. And those colours and smells and the food, I think it is amazing country." (Linda, 28yr).

It is interesting how Linda described her experience in India. It highlights the continuous negotiation of identity. She usually presents herself to others as Indian and is proud of having an Indian origin, but at the same time, when she was in India geographically she realized that she does not see things like people there.

Henrik goes to India every 4-5 years. As he described he has *'love-hate relationship to India'*. He loves the culture, but at the same time, lifestyle there is too chaotic for him. According to him, travelling to India is a good change for him. When talking about his experiences in India, Henrik reflected upon the differences between Indian and Swedish societies:

> *"there were so many emotions, so many people, they are so poor, but they are still being happy. So it is a lot to learn, a lot to learn. So in Sweden, you know, we about 10milljonier, many people eat prescribed medicines; many people drink many people take drugs. It's about 50% of the population in Sweden who are not happy, or lonely, feeling depressed. We have no war, we have stabilities if we don't show up at work for 1-2months I would not have to sleep on the streets, they would provide me with security and still we are not happy. While people there have food for two days and they are still happy, they enjoy, they sing they dance."* (Henrik, 32yr)

Henrik appreciated the optimism of people living in India, how much they value anything they have. Meanwhile, according to him, people in Sweden, who have more resources, tend to be more pessimistic.

Travelling to India let participants to experience 'Indian' lifestyle in India and compare it with the lifestyle they had in Sweden. These experiences strengthened the development of their bicultural identities, since the experience of both Indian and Swedish cultural surroundings let them to situate their preferences for values and lifestyle more reasonably.

5.2. Building an ethnic identity

People do not just state their ethnic identities; they practice them through various cultural practices, such as cuisine, language, holidays, festivals or art- that can more or less define what it means to be a member of an ethnic group (Nagel 1994 in Jime´nez, 2010:1758). Development of ethnic identity is a continuous process; it is a combination of various practices and feelings.

During the interviews, strong differentiation between practices within family and mainstream society arisen. In family context informants, maintained traditional Indian lifestyle. Usually, they speak the language of their origin, which in this case is Gujarati or Hindu, respect their elders, celebrate traditional Indian occasions, such as Diwali, cook Indian food, occasionally wear traditional Indian clothes and sometimes participate in Indian communities' gatherings. At the same time, participation in Swedish society is a big part of their life that is influencing their identity development as well. In mainstream society context they speak in Swedish, celebrate Midsummer, Christmas, New Years and Easter, follow local clothing style and enjoy Swedish food. As several informants have expressed themselves, they tended to follow the Indian culture, but their lifestyle was more Swedish.

This internalization of values and practices of two cultures has been termed *bicultural*, in the literature on ethnic identity (Phinney, 1999). That leads to bicultural identity with accepting values and practices of Indian culture and practicing Swedish lifestyle.

Therefore, this section focuses on the important values and practices for the development of ethnic identity, which have arisen from the data. In this section, the matter of language, family ties, friends, participation in associations, religion, celebration of occasions and food will be presented.

5.2.1. Language
Despite the fact, that all informants were born and grew up in Sweden, they all knew their language of origin that is Gujarati or Hindi, depending on the region their parent were from. Moreover, none of the informants took any language classes, but learned it at home.

In some cases, parents were quite strict, and the language of origin, was the only language they could speak at home. For example Paul speaks in Swedish with his sister, but with their parents they talk in Gujarati. For Henrik it was a set rule to talk in Gujarati at home:

> *"We had rules. That we only speak our language within home, so when we come into the house we would speak Gujarati with our parents. And they would correct us if we wouldn't say it in correct way. At home, we only spoke Gujarati. So we learned how to speak and communicate, so they were quite strict actually. So that was to keep success for us, and we speak today fluently."* (Henrik, 32yr).

However, when he was asked about the current situation, he told, that this has changed, and now his parents tend to speak Swedish more than Gujarati, and now he with his sisters joke with them *"Why do you speak in Swedish?"* Moreover, he adds, that the language of origins is losing its importance and there is no need for future generations to spend such a big amount of time of learning it, since everyone can speak English:

> *"It is challenging. But I mean, in India now everyone speaks English, it is random now. It is not a big deal if you don't speak the language. And we are planning to stay in Europe, so you there is no problem, you don't need to speak the language. And, I think, people put a lot of hours in that things, but does it really matter. I don't think, that your ethnicity comes just by speaking something. I don't think, especially Indian, because there are so many English words even in Indian language, so it is mixed."* (Henrik, 32yr.).

Henrik's example shows how slowly feature of an ethnic group such as language is losing its importance since, according to him there is no actual use of it anymore.

5.2.2. Family ties

When asked about what they valued the most in Indian culture most of the informants talked about their strong family ties and respect for elders, that they felt as contradictory in Swedish society. They described Indian society as family oriented, where family plays an important role in any decision making. Meanwhile Swedish society was seen as more individualistic, where decisions are made without consultations within the family and elders are not given as much importance as they are given in Indian family:

> *"For example, if you take a decision or you want to do something new, you always ask the elders. <…> for example, my cousin was getting married in 2008, so my uncle came to my grandmother too, you know, talk about this. To just generally inform, here in Swedish culture, it's just like you make your own decision and you do whatever you want to do."* (Linda, 28yr).

Rose described the family as *'one of the core foundations of Indian culture'*, where all relatives are closely connected. In addition, she expressed sadness, that she does not have all of her relatives in Sweden:

> *"I think that is a big part of being Indian. And that is something that I actually miss, because I do have well my mom and dad, my brother and sister, I don't have any cousins. I don't have anyone except my family so it is quite sad. <…> Family is the most important thing."* (Rose, 26yr).

Jessica's spouse is Swedish and they have two kids. She was concerned about maintenance and transference of the Indian values to the kids, because she felt that they were practicing Swedish culture more than the Indian one. For her the greatest value in Indian culture was '*the respect for elder'*:

> *"Taking care of your, of the elder of your parents and so on. I think that is a very good tradition, which is very deep within everyone in India. And which is something I would like to also keep on to here in Sweden."* (Jessica, 34).

For her it was very important to maintain this tradition, because the way elderly are treated in Sweden did not meet her moral values:

> *"In Sweden, I think, elderly people are very much alone. I think, very often, when they cannot manage by themselves at home they are put in the elderly home or something <…> I wouldn't like my mother to be in a home like that. In case she can't take care of herself, I would like us, her kids, kind of divide and take care of her. So, I think that is the thing I value the most, that you respect the elder and take care of them like they took care of us, when we were kids."* (Jessica 34).

It can be assumed that importance of family ties is the key reason, explaining why informants have a strong connection with their origin.

5.2.3. Indian culture, but Swedish lifestyle

Since informants have identified themselves as Swedish-Indians, where both Indian and Swedish cultures are important in their identity development it is important to examine their relation to Swedish culture as well. Therefore, they were asked about the role of Swedish culture in their lives as well. According to data, informants tend to follow Indian values and culture, but when it came to the lifestyle they preferred the Swedish one, because of its *'openness'*, *'freedom'* and *'independence'*. Swedish system was more acceptable than the Indian one.

Matilda liked that in Swedish society there is not pressure in a way you do things: "*is a way of seeing that you can do anything. You can do anything if you want to and you should try to do your best and be on top."* Further she stated, that in Indian culture you can do just particular things, which are *'pressured by parents and community'*. Previously during the interview, Matilda shared with me, that in her youth days she was not allowed to do many things as her fellow Swedish friends were allowed. She had to come home earlier than her Swedish friends, she could not stay overnight at her friend's place if her parents did not know her friend's parents and she was not allowed to *'bring boys home'*. She felt that she was missing many things in her life, she desired the same *'freedom'* as her Swedish fellows. As she expressed herself, the Swedish perspective was *'a healthier way of looking at things'*.

Natali admired the way Swedish system works: "*They look after individual, you never see anything left out of the system, the government is always there".*

Although multicultural identity for Sara has caused *'confusion'* and *'disconnectedness'* with Swedish society, because of its *'individualism'* she was *'happy'* that she was born here:

> *"I am very happy that I was born and raised here. I have a Swedish personality as well <...>From Swedish culture I learned a lot about the equality. Like I feel like Sweden is a socialist country and everything is divided equally. But for example, in India that is not a case, in India there is a caste system and people do not have the same opportunities, but in Sweden you do not see that difference. Yea, but I would take something from Indian culture as well, for example, respect your parents and yea… I would take the best from both cultures."* (Sara, 22yr).

Sara has developed critical thinking towards her culture of origin and towards the host society. As she has told during the interview, there were things in both cultures that she liked or disliked. While picking different values that suited her, she developed her unique, bicultural identity. Consequently, she has felt confusion, because, she could not relate herself just to one culture. But at the same time she was happy to be raised in Sweden, since she has learned about the values that she would learn in India.

As these examples have shown, informants admired the things in Swedish society which Indian society was missing or they were practiced in an opposite way.

5.2.4. Friends

When talking about friendship most of the informants stated that their friends were with diverse ethnic backgrounds.

> *"Most of my friends in Sweden are from other backgrounds <...> I have like a couple of Swedish friends but then the majority of my friends are from other backgrounds."* (Sara, 22yr)

Linda explained that she does not have many friends with an Indian background, because she simply did not have a chance to meet people with Indian background. Before she was not worried about it, but after she got kids it became important for her to have this kind of friends, mostly because of the language:

> *"But as I am older now, it feels more important again, because of the language. I want my kids to hear the language and I want them, you know, to experience."* (Linda, 28yr).

Dearest Alicia's friends are neither Swedish neither Indians: "*Right now I have three really good friends, two of them are Bosnians and one is Armenian".* When asked, if she would like to have people with Indian background as her friends, she explained that she cannot answer this question, because she never had them and could not imagine how it would be to have one.

Steve's friends' backgrounds also appeared very diverse:

> "*They live in Sweden, some of them were born here, but they are not like Swedish Swedish, one of them is Serbian and another one is Italian and Palestinian and yea and Philippian."* (Steve 18yr).

Nevertheless, he has developed a very strong friendship with one Swedish guy, to who he referred as a "brother":

> "*I have one guy, he is very good friend with me and he is Swedish Swedish. He is good, I like him, he is like my brother."* (Steve, 18yr)

It is interesting to see, how Steve expressed his friendship. To people born in Sweden with Swedish origin, he referred as *"Swedish Swedish"* to emphasize their Swedish origins or "Swedishness". Meanwhile, while talking about his friends, who were born in Sweden without Swedish origin, he stressed that they were not like *"Swedish Swedish"* and clarified their countries of origins.

Although informants adopted Swedish lifestyle, their relationship with Swedes remained complex. As data has shown their tended to create friendships with people with diverse ethnic backgrounds.

5.2.5. Participation in associations

Even though there are numerous registered Indian associations in Sweden informants were aware just about few of them, usually the ones that were nearby them or the biggest within Sweden. Moreover they were not keen to participate in their activities, mostly because of the lack of time or interest. Sara was more active when she was younger, because her parents were asking her to come, but now since she is not living with her parents anymore she became less active:

> *"I have slipped away, because of me, usually before it was my dad who used to tell me 'you have go', 'you have to this', you know. Like every Sunday, we used to go for praying. But now, I am like, okay, I can do it at home, I don't have to go anywhere."* (Sara, 22yr).

Natali does not participate, because of the lack of time and feeling of disconnection, since she is not religious. Instead, she goes to a club, where she could meet other Indians and listen to Bollywood music. Henrik also felt disconnected, in a sense that he feels different and is not able to connect to other Indian's, even though, according to him, '*they are supposed to be the same'*:

> *"I think we were able to keep our traditions within the family, like others were not. There are big groups of Indians around the Sweden. I feel that we have very little to learn from them, because they didn't keep too much. I don't know, I just can't relate to them. I cannot relate to them."*

How do you fell that, that you cannot?

> *"Because they are different, they are supposed to be the same as you are, but they are different. Their way of seeing life and doing stuff, some old Indian thinking behind. Like people get old and find Indian girl and boy and marry just for the sake of it something like that. I cannot relate to those things. Because I been doing, whatever I want. They put social pressure on each other, stuff like that. So there is nothing that I want to be a part of."* (Henrik, 32).

As Matilda, Henrik has felt a pressure from Indian community members that he did not like and that is why he did not want to keep in touch with them. For him family circle was enough to maintain Indian traditions.

Linda went to association meeting just once, because of the lack of time and feeling the difference between her and people she has met in the attended activity, since most of them were first generation immigrants:

> *"Maybe I am really generalizing now, but most of the people I have met here, that have recently migrated here in Sweden they are like stay-home moms they don't want to work, they want their husband to support them. It's like an Indian mentality and for me, that's like not acceptable. I am my own person I will work, I will earn my money, I don't depend on other people to do that for me"* (Linda, 28yr).

However, she would like to participate more often for the sake of her kids:

> *"I would, definitely especially for my kids. For them to see and understand. <...> definitely I will give a few tries for kids' sake, you know, to meet up and got to see these functions."* (Linda, 28yr.)

For Jessica, after having kids, participation in associations became more important as well. She felt that it is important for her kids to *'feel'* and *'experience'* the atmosphere and be surrounded by the people with the same origin in order to have a sense of their origin.

As these reflections of the informants have shown, the participation in the associations became significant at particular periods of their lives. In some cases, during the youth days it was significant because of their parents' promotion. In other cases, it became important after having kids since they felt a responsibility to maintain and transfer the cultural heritage to their kids.

5.2.6. Religion

The informants of this study are second generation Indians, whose parents came from India with deeply rooted religious beliefs and practices. Through religious events, people maintain their connection to co-ethnics and socialize children to the culture as well. As the informants have talked about their parents, they have mentioned that their parents are still practicing religion and strongly believe in it. However, informants themselves, were not practicing it, but still highly respected it, even those, who considered themselves irreligious. From informants' point of view, religion was seen as '*a cultural practice*', '*some sort of believe*'.

Some of the informants had a critical view upon religion, because some of the practises did not make sense to them. Sara's mother is following religion quite strictly, but it did not influence Sara to become religious. It made her question her mother's practices and since her mother did not have answers to her questions, it actually made Sara critical towards it:

"I feel like, that I have a different association towards religion, than my parents. Because sometimes I can see that they are perceiving many things very literately, so then I question them<…> because in Punjab for example, it says that these and these days you aren't supposed to eat meat and these and these days you aren't supposed to wash your clothes and… I just think, like why? And then go to my mom and ask, like 'why are we doing this?' and then she says, she doesn't have an answer for it, you know. These are the things that makes me to slip away. I mean, don't eat meat on the certain days. <…> I believe if you eat meat, you eat meat, you are a meat eater, you cannot become vegetarian on the certain days." (Sara, 22yr).

Even though informants' parents were religious and some of them practiced it intensively, they were not forcing their kids to profess the religion. That is very interesting, because, as discussed before, language, was something that was obligatory, meanwhile religion did not play such an important role. Some informants identified their parents' liberality towards religion as the impact of their lack of interest into religion:

"I think we are not religious because we were never forced in our house. Religion was never big part in my childhood. Even though my mother prays and does certain things she never forced, but sometimes she wanted us to participate, but just because we are doing this as a family, not because you have to pray. It was a family activity." (Linda, 28yr).

Further, Linda explained that religion for her is a cultural thing. She got married in the Indian, Hindu way, but not because of religious purpose, but because of celebration and the atmosphere. And the same goes with the holidays she celebrates, it does not have any association with religion, but it is culturally important for her, since her family was celebrating them since she was small.

As Linda told, her mother follows religion, but never put a pressure on Linda to convince her to become religious. On the other hand, she was willing to let Linda and her siblings to participate in religious activities. Maybe her mother hoped that the faith will come naturally. Also, it can be seen as uncertainty, how it should be transferred to the second generation within different social and cultural context, since informant's parents grew up without questioning many things and accepting them as they were. Religion can be one of

those things. As data shows, some of the informants have questioned various religious practices, but parents could not answer those questions, since they have not questioned them themselves. Therefore, the lack of information has led to informants' lack of interest into religion.

Alicia does not practice religious and does not consider herself religious, but symbolically relates herself with Hinduism:

"I am not religious at all. If someone ask me: 'are you Hindu? I say: 'yes'. <...> I am Hindu by name. I am not following it. But if someone ask me about religion I am Hindu. In Hindu culture, you aren't supposed to eat meat, drink alcohol, but I do that. So if I am following it? No. If I am practising it? No. If someone ask me, I am Hindu. Because I cannot say that I am Christian or Buddhist or Muslim" (Alicia, 21yr).

Henrik specified that his family is a priest cast and he respects religion, however he claimed that religion is not for him:

"I don't believe in faith, I don't believe in stuff like that, I believe that whatever happens in your life is a result of all actions and choices you have done. There are no excuses in that sense. I believe that religion is good for people who are not so confidence, to gain some confidence. For me, I always been confidence, so I don't need that. I wish though I was religious, because there are really good things coming out from it. I do respect it, I think it is cool." (Henrik, 32yr).

When asked about his parents, Henrik told that both of them are religious, but *'flexible'*. His father *'prays every morning'*, but he *'also drinks beer and eats Tabaco'*. His mother is vegetarian and was making vegetarian food at home, but never forbidden her kids to eat meat:

"My mom, I still don't understand. <...>, my mom, let us eat meet at school, you know, she is like: 'I am not gonna let my children get hungry'. So she didn't understand that, she thought it was nasty, but she adopted it, so she was even making those sausages at home. Because we wanted, because we were eating it at school. So my mom actually bought a different frying pan and wrote M on it, for meat and then she would do it, she would be discussed, but she would do it, and we would eat it. But usually she was making vegetarian food. So that's cool actually, that she was letting us eat meat." (Henrik, 32yr).

For Steve religion is associated with *'old times'* and because of today's *'modern'* lifestyle he felt distanced from religion:

"I mean, for me religion is respect, as a person you have to have a good heart and give people. I am not expert in religion (laughing), I am just a young guy, who wants just do everything in his life. So yea, religion, people were focusing on religion in old times. But now my life is like more modern so we became distant from religion I think". (Steve, 18yr).

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Jessica identified herself as a Muslim who believes in Islamic values. However, when it came to practice she distance herself from Islamic practices:

"But is not like I am wearing, you know, covering my hair or not eating, not drinking alcohol or not eating like a pig or something like that. I think it is more, that I feel that, if I believe, my God understand why I am doing like I am doing." (Jessica, 34yr).

For Jessica, the feeling and the belief was more important than any religious practice.

5.2.7. Celebration of holidays

For Linda celebration of traditional Indian holidays were the most memorable in her childhood. She stressed the importance of Diwali and Navratri holidays. Wearing traditional Indian clothes on those holidays had a special meaning for her:

"Diwali it's like the Christmas of Indian people, where you … It is like Christmas a few days before you start lighting up the house with candles, you decorate the house, you clean up everything, you cook nice food you meet family and friends. And you wear Indian clothes, so that's for when I was a kid was a big thing. As soon as you dress up in Indian clothes it was like wow, something special something big."(Linda, 28yr).

"And there is a holiday, so 9 evenings you meet up together you have special religious dance and everything and you eat together. That was as well a super Indian holiday for me. When I was a kid, you actually looked forward to it, because it's when you meet everybody, you dress up nicely, you do certain things, that you only do once a year. So in that sense those like, especially holidays, were really like big things in the childhood and things that you remember still." (Linda, 28yr).

Now she lives far away from her family and admitted that because of that it is difficult to celebrate it every year. In addition, she stressed the importance of celebrating Indian holidays for the sake of her kids:

"I have my own kids and they will be even more distance to the culture than I am. And I am only second generation and they will be the third generation so for their sake I take them so they know so they understand, that, ok this is an Indian culture. So we try." (Linda, 28yr).

Rose also lives far away from her family; therefore, she does not celebrate Diwali '*to that extent'* as if she would be with her parents. Besides, she has not created her own family yet, that according to her is another reason why she does not celebrate Indian holidays. But after creating a family is willing to practice Indian culture to a bigger extent:

"I Think, when I do have a family of my own, I would like to practice traditions and values that my parents did. "(Rose 26yr)

As Linda's and Rose's cases show, the family is the unit that brings culture to life. If the family is together they felt a need to celebrate Indian holidays and felt responsibility to pass cultural practices to future generations.

Alicia reflected on the importance of celebration of holidays that she knew, such as Diwali and Raksha Bandhan. Raksha Bandhan is a celebration of love and duty between brothers and sisters, where sisters make bracelets and put on their brothers' wrist that symbolizes sisters love to their brothers and at the same time brothers agree to take care of their sisters. These holidays remained important to Alicia, because she was celebrating them since her childhood. Other holidays that she was not practicing were not important for her:

> *"I don't know about other cultural stuff, so I don't miss it, for example. I know the big ones, but not small ones. And because I don't know them I cannot understand or miss them."* (Alicia, 21yr).

Alicia's example shows the importance of parents' role in the development of ethnic identity, because for her important holidays were those that were introduced by her parents meanwhile unintroduced remained unimportant, since she did not know them.

For Paul, Diwali is very important to celebrate:

> *"We still celebrate it. We try to don't miss it as much as we can, because it is a New Year that is one of the most important thing for us. New Year means new resolutions, new starting and new beginnings, I don't think anybody should miss that."* (Paul, 18yr).

Jessica who is a Muslim, did not celebrate Eid since her childhood, because her family did not know any other co-ethnic co-religious people around them, therefore according to her they *'just stopped celebrating it"*. They were not celebrating Christmas either, as she said, it was *'a normal day'*. She felt that she was missing out:

> *"Well, I know I missed it a little bit, when I was younger. And I know we didn't have a Christmas tree, and I know that sometimes I would put some glitter on another tree, that we had at home, which is not a Christmas tree just because I wanted to. Because sometimes we did some stuff in school that was meant to put on the tree or in the house. And of course, I wanted to do that as well. So, and I was always allowed to do it. But my parents never bought a tree."* (Jessica, 34yr).

Further, she added, that her family focused on celebrating birthdays instead. Now, when she has her own family, she is concerned that her kids would not have the same

experience. According to her, they cannot celebrate Eid traditionally, because it is not possible in Swedish context:

> *"You know, the one month, the Ramadan and that we have never done, or you like you slaughter the cow that you don't do in Sweden. So it is very connected to these ceremonies, which we never applied here. So we haven't, but I have been thinking, that we should do it, because I want my kids to learn about it. Because, I know Christmas and all that stuff they will learn, but the Eid, so they wouldn't learn if we don't do it. And for them it would be fun I think, because it is the same thing with gifts and stuff."* (Jessica, 34yr).

5.2.8. Food

During the interviews Indian food emerged as another important aspect of the development of ethnic identity.

Rose could not imagine social life without food:

> *"I think that is a very big cultural thing actually, because we gather and we have food and that's how we communicate and that's how we hang out. That's how we spend our time together, with food. So that's a big thing."* (Rose 26yr).

For Linda Indian food also plays an important role in her life. Especially now, when he got kids, the process of cooking became a meaningful way to maintain a cultural heritage:

> *"Indian food is really cultural, <...> it is important for my kids to eat Indian food to understand to stand by me when I am cooking. For example, when I make the Indian bread, my daughter she really likes to help me, so she stands with me and helps me. So for me, that is India in Sweden, just to keep the cooking and taste and flavours as well."* (Linda, 28yr).

Sara cooks only Indian food, for her it is like an *'art'*. She prefers it over the Swedish food:

> *"I cook only Indian food. Like I cook for example hundred times over Swedish food, because my parents been cooking only Indian food. And I think it has so much flavour and much tastier. Swedish food has only potatoes, meat, vegetables, yeaa maybe salt, and pepper maybe maybe. But I feel that Indian food is like an art."* (Sara, 22yr).

For Jessica Indian food was like an *'art'* also. Moreover, she felt a need to eat rice, because that was the food that could fulfil her:

> *"I want to eat rice every day, because otherwise I feel that I haven't eaten anything (laughing). I think that Indian food is much more better than the Swedish food. <...> It is an art, because there are different ways of doing it, you can't really just follow a recipe."* (Jessica, 34yr).

It was interesting to hear, that Matilda's and Natali's opinion about Indian food has changed with time. As they were young, they '*hated'* Indian food, but with time they started to appreciate it:

> *"I appreciate Indian food a lot more now, like then I was younger I hated Indian food. Like I wasn't hating, but was thinking 'oh boring Indian food again'. I think it's like that with all kind of food when you are growing. But now I really appreciate it."* (Matilda, 27yr).

> *"When I was young, I hated Indian food, because that was the only thing we had at home. And my mom is vegetarian and I love meat (laughing). Usually we had the same Indian food in the evening and then I moved away, so yea, I love Indian food now, because I don't get it. So I like it and I miss it a lot."* (Natali, 28yr).

Not all participants were in favour with Indian food. For example, Alicia, who lives with her sister. Her sister likes cooking Indian food. Alicia has acknowledged, that Indian food is delicious and has a lot of flavours, but personally she did not like it. She expressed herself as *'more like salt and pepper girl'*.

5.3. Maintenance of ethnicity

Matilda is highly concerned about maintenance of ethnicity, she could feel the difference between first and second generation Indians. According to her no one is taking responsibly to keep the community together from the second-generation Indians. As the key reasons, she identifies *'secularization'* and the influence *'individualistic'* lifestyle in Sweden. Consequently, she felt sad about it, the solution for her is focused on passing on the feeling of the identity, the feeling of being Indian:

> *"I would say, people talking about, like people, some, that know tradition and culture around you, talking about it, you being a part of the community, doing events, doing things, that you can see, you can be around all of this. And also give a feeling like what it feels to be this type of person or identity. I think these are the main things. But also like having discussions, like parents having discussions with their children about identity, because, I think, that is lacking a lot, especially in the Indian community <…> For me, visiting India is also, like going back to see how it is there, because also the Indian community in Sweden is very Westernized or Swedenized I would say. So, I think, like doing things and keeping the feeling, because it's more a feeling that is installed, so keeping the feeling that it's something as a part of me."* (Matilda, 27yr.)

Henrik felt responsible for passing Indian culture to further generations. He felt that the third generation *'are losing it up a bit'*, therefore, he and his sister were planning to focus more on various cultural activities. Moreover, he felt, that it is they, the second generation who can make the third generation interested in cultural activities more than the first generation. Because they can present those, cultural practices as *'cool'* and *'entertaining'* to stimulate juniors' interest. Meanwhile, the first generation might present it in *'uncool'* and *'boring'* way and that would make then uninterested.

Informants really felt the need of passing on an Indian culture for future generations and felt responsible for that. Besides, they were concerned about the ways of doing it and were worried that the importance of their cultural heritage might decrease.

5.3.1. Transnational marriages
In this study, transnational marriage is understood as a marriage between two people with different ethnical backgrounds. Arranged marriage is understood as a marriage where the bride and groom are selected by their families.

 "Arranged marriage" is a very old tradition in Indian society, that is practiced until recent day. Some of the informants' parents' marriages were arranged too. Some of them got married before coming here, some went back to India for marriage and brought their spouses to Sweden after that. Therefore, it was interesting to examine what were the informants' opinions about the opposite-transnational marriages and what their parents thought about it. Parents were not asked directly, but informants were asked about their parent's opinion towards transnational marriages.

All informants had positive opinions about transnational marriages. Meanwhile their parents would prefer them to get married to the co-ethnic person, but it was expressed just as their preference, none of them were against transnational marriages either, or became more flexible with time. Especially within families with more than one child, the pressure was felt for the eldest child to date with a co-ethnic person, but later the parents *"got used to"* partners with other ethnic backgrounds of their children.

Henrik has been in a relationship for almost 10 years now, with a woman from Britain and he would never consider himself marrying with a co-ethnic person. According to him,

he was never 'attracted' to Indian girls, even though they are very beautiful. Different backgrounds that is what is appealing to him:

> *"I believe that sometimes it is more fun if you are two different people, that you are opened-minded, but you are two different people. Like you have a different background, so you can learn from each other, right. I don't believe in the same interests, I don't believe in same hobbies, that you have to be same. I think you have to be a bit different, so you can learn from each other. Because it is boring."* (Henrik, 32yr).

At the beginning it was hard for Henrik's parents to accept, that his girlfriend did not have an Indian background, it clashed with their morals and expectations. Moreover, as he explained it was harder for him, because he was the first child in their family (he has two younger sisters). He used to get pressure from his parents every time somebody would marry an Indian girl. But he has convinced them "to see things in a different way". There were many cases, when people with Indian background got married, got kids and at the end of the day got divorced. Moreover, Henrik shared about internally called "importation" of wife or husband from India:

> *"For example, I have seen a guy, who "imported" an Indian girl from India. They get really good girls, with values and everything, but it is hard for them to adjust to life, you know. They need to learn the language, they, you know, all of the guys that are unable to find a girl here, they would "import" a girl from home country. Not just Indians, all. I have couple of friends who have done it, and I have seen girls, who have done it. Never works out, because, if you take Indian guy with Indian mentality, who was raised to take care of the family, who come here and just be a puppet. Because he doesn't have work, he doesn't have that, so just be useless. I know couple of cases like this. So I think a lot of people can feel that they will have something together with these, but once they are married, they are not, especially girls. I see many bad cases with girls, Indian girls, who grew up here and she imports hard-core Indian guy. It becomes a huge cultural difference, because she is so free in her mind, what she does and act in a different way. It is hard. It is hard, but it is fun to see."* (Henrik, 32).

Examples of "importation" of spouses show how complex relationship with a person from the country of origin can become and how much growing up in a different context is actually influencing one's values and lifestyle. Therefore, 'Indian identity' becomes as something symbolic.

For Henrik different backgrounds of a couple was an appealing thing. Meanwhile Sara, who has dated a Swedish guy feels, that it is easier to date someone with the same background:

> *"I feel that there is more of the connection towards someone who is from India for example. For us it is like, I feel like that I do not, towards an Indian guy, I do not need to explain*

something, because it is in our culture, we understand each other easier. For example, now dating a Swedish boy I need to explain a lot of things and it makes life a lot more difficult, but am (thinking) otherwise I do not have a problem getting married to someone who is from any other country. I feel so." (Sara, 22yr.).

Jessica has created a transnational family herself, her husband is Swedish. She admitted that they have a great responsibility of their kids' identity's development. Her daughter was 7years old and son 5years old. Jessica shared, that it is difficult to convince her kids to learn Gujarati:

"I mean I speak Gujarati with my kids, but they don't want to, they only speak back in Swedish. They understand everything I say in Gujarati, but they don't want to say it in Gujarati, because they know that I can speak Swedish and I understand, because I speak Swedish with my husband. So and they, I don't know, maybe especially my daughter wants to speak the language that her friends speak." (Jessica, 34yr).

Further, she added, that she works full time, therefore, she cannot spend as much time as she would like to on making her kids familiar with Indian culture, like for example showing Indian movies to them.

6. Discussion

Research on Indians in Sweden has been limited to studies concerning the first generation immigrants, meanwhile studies concerning the second generation are absent even though this population in Sweden is significantly increasing (Myrvold, 2012:2). Therefore, the purpose of this study was to examine how Swedish Indians develop their ethnic identity through using a qualitative perspective, attempting to discern the meaning of self-identification, cultural preferences, social interactions and daily practices for the participants. The study relied on 10 semi structured interviews with second generation Indians born in Sweden. Collected data was analysed through emerged themes in order to explore the development of ethnic identity.

In this study, ethnic identity is understood through social constructivist approach, where the development of identity is a process of continuous social interactions. Therefore, the construction of identity not only involves how individuals define themselves, but also how others perceive them. Identification appears as a dynamic process of stating who we are and at the same time expressing who we are not. As for participants of this study, their identity appeared context dependent, where the great importance was given to how others perceived them. In this case, informants felt both identities, depending on with whom they are; one or another identity would become dominant. In contact with Swedish people, Indian identity would arise, because of other's perception, meanwhile in contact with Indians; Swedish identity would arise, because Indians would not identify them as the same. On the other hand, Swedes would perceive them as different, for example, as Paul say: "Swedish people don't really recognize me as Swedish". Here the process of otherness arisen, where informants were demarcated and felt inferior by the dominant group. In both cases, informants were powerless to confront the dominant's group perception of them. Lister defines othering as a "process of differentiation and demarcation, by which the line is drawn between 'us' and 'them' – between the more and the less powerful – and through which social distance is established and maintained" (Lister, 2004:101). Therefore, most of the informants felt difficulties and confusion while identifying themselves.

In the second section of chapter five presented participant's values and daily practices illustrated how acculturation process affected the development of their ethnic identity. The study has revealed that participants have greatly integrated into Swedish lifestyle, but are willing to keep core Indian cultural values separated from Swedish culture. Therefore, the rest of discussion is divided into two parts, "the integration into Swedish lifestyle" and "insights of cultural separation" in order to explain how acculturation process affect the development of ethnic identity.

The integration into Swedish lifestyle. All participants have visited India and preferred Swedish lifestyle to the Indian one, because it was more familiar for them. India was seen as 'too warm', 'too noisy' and lacking the comfortable lifestyle, that Sweden has. India was seen as a good tourism destination, because of its exotics.

"Arranged marriage" is a very old tradition in Indian society, that is practiced till recent day. For example, as it was discussed previously in this paper (in section 2. Previous Research) Cynthia Brown Sinha (2010) explored that arranged marriages remained important for second-generation Indian Americans. As the study has shown, marrying co-ethnic person meant, "to be Indian", meanwhile transnational marriage meant negation of one's 'Indianness' (Sinha, 2010: 220). Even more, parents expected that their children, the third-generation would marry a person with Indian background as well, in order to maintain the culture (ibid.:223). In this study, participants have expressed positive opinions about transnational marriages and did not relate it to their 'Indianness' at all. Several informants already had spouses who were not co-ethnic. In addition, informants' parents were not against their transnational marriages, however they would prefer their children to marry with co-ethnic.

Participants of this study have developed a symbolic relation to religion. Religion was highly respected and perceived as a part of their culture, since they grew up in the atmosphere, where it was actively practiced and appreciated by their parents. However, they were not practicing it themselves, because some of the things in religion did not seem rational and since parents could not give a reasonable explanation participants lost their interest in it. Nevertheless, growing up in religious families have led to respect and ascription of religion as a part of their culture.

Integration into mainstream society was strongly expressed through celebrations of holidays of the mainstream society, such as Christmas, New Year's Eve, Midsummer and Valborg. These holidays became more practiced than the Indian ones. Several participants found it complicated to celebrate holidays of their culture because of the cultural and social setting of the mainstream society. For example, Muslim participants do not practice one month of Ramadan and some ceremonies, such as slaughtering the cow, since it is forbidden by law. In addition, Indian holidays are not perceived as public holidays in Sweden, therefore not always participants are able to celebrate them with their families.

Above presented transitions in the perception of transnational marriages, movement from active religious practices to passive and variations in celebration of holidays reflect upon ethnicity as non static or unchangeable. Because traditions and values passed through generation (from participant's parents to participants) were influenced by surroundings and trends (Giddens, 2009:634).

From acculturation perspective these cases reflect upon, what Berry calls the integration strategy, where the person accepts the mainstream culture as well as maintains an appreciation for the culture of origin, allowing him to develop a cultural identity that combines elements of both cultures- bicultural identity (Berry, 2005:705).

Insights of cultural separation. As the most culturally rooted value for informants was the importance of family and respect for elders, that they perceived as opposite in Swedish society. Informants distance themselves from common family relations within Swedish families. According to them, Swedish society is more individualistic and family does not play a big role in Swedes lives, because they do not consult their choices with their family and elderly people are not taken care of by family members but instead they are placed in elderly care homes. Meanwhile, the family appeared as a core value in participants' lives, where they discuss important decisions with family members and respect elders, therefore they are willing to take care of elders by themselves instead of placing them at elderly's homes. According to Jenkins, "ethnicity is a matter of differentiation", where identification depends on similarity and difference, therefore shared values and traditions become essential for ethnicity's existence (Jenkins, 2008:14). The importance of family

appeared as a shared value among participants that at the same time was identified as different in comparison with the attitude towards family in Swedish society.

The language appeared as another element that separated private sphere from the public one. Informants have learned and use their language of origin at home, which in this case was Gujarati or Hindi that they have thought by their parents. However, there is a tendency that this element will fade away within future generations, since several participants think that there is no need to spend such a huge amount of time on learning this language for future generations.

From acculturation perspective these cases reflect upon, what Berry calls separation strategy, where the person place very high value on some cultural practices of their origin, and as a result separates them from the practices of the mainstream culture (Berry, 2005:705).

As these cases show the acculturation, the process has affected participants' self-perception, personal values, cultural and daily practices (Berry, 2005:700). Consequently, participants have developed a bicultural identity. Bicultural identity is an outcome of implemented aspects from both host culture and the culture of origin (Huynh, Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2011:828).

As it was highlighted before, ethnicity is fluid and changes through generations, because of influences of surroundings and trends (Giddens, 2009:634). As this study shows, understanding of participants' ethnicity differs from their parents. Because of acculturation process, some elements have changed, such as attitudes towards religion, language and transnational marriages. Therefore, participants are concerned about maintenance of their ethnicity and ways to pass it to future generations. Identified strategies of maintenance of ethnicity are communication with co-ethnics, celebration of Indian holidays, traveling to India that would give a feeling of being an Indian for future generations.

6.1. Limitations

At the beginning of this study, I aimed to focus on a specific age group, to make this study more precise. My plan was to focus on the second generation youth of Swedish Indians. However, because of the difficulty to find participants I had to broaden my research

population to the second generation without focusing on specific age group. During the study, I came to know that age is an important factor in shaping the importance of ethnic identity. For some informants their ethnic identity is becoming more important as they are getting older. Therefore, I have pointed out the age of each participant in their responses to highlight their age as an important factor influencing their answers and to raise an awareness of it to the reader.

My study does not reflect upon complexities, that class status, race or gender can bring while examining the development of ethnic identity. These complexities did not arise from the collected data naturally; therefore, I have not focused on them. However, I am aware that these factors are important and could be included while creating an interview guide in future research.

Since I am not fluent in the Swedish language, my access to the literature regarding Indians in Sweden was limited to the English language.

7. Conclusion

This study has used the experiences of ten second generation Indians born in Sweden to show how their ethnic identities are being developed. As the study has shown participants could not identify themselves as Indians or as Swedish, instead, they have developed bicultural identity- Swedish Indians, that is continuously negotiated and context dependent. On one hand, this continuous negotiation sometimes leads to frustration and confusion in self-identification process. On the other hand, bicultural identity enriches informants' personalities and provides them a wider understanding of the social world. Moreover, the importance of ethnic identity is changing over time. For some informants their ethnic identity is becoming more important as they are getting older. In addition, informants who have kids give a greater importance to their ethnicity as well, because they felt a responsibility to pass their cultural heritage to their children.

Indian origins participants perceived as a pride. Important cultural elements, which were practiced among participants, were such as the language of the origin, close family relations and respect for elders, celebration of Indian holidays and Indian cooking. In addition, travelling to India appeared as a significant practice in order to feel and understand Indian cultural heritage.

Participants of this study distanced themselves from the participation in Indian associations and religious practices, because of the lack of time or interest.

Social constructivism approach, 'basic social anthropological model of ethnicity' developed by Jenkins (2008) and acculturation model developed by Berry (1980) helped to understand the identity as ongoing, an interactive process where the development of ethnic identity is greatly influenced by social interactions.

For future research, this study can be extended by including the role of gender and class to examine how the development of the second generation Swedish Indians ethnic identity is influenced by gender and social class. In addition, it would be fruitful to carry out an intergenerational study, where the first generation (parents of the second generation participants) are examined as well in order to explore the issue of belonging from a generational perspective.

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Appendix A: informational message

Hi (name),

I am writing you, because I found you in the group "Indian Association in Sweden".

I am a master student from Lund University studying Development studies with major of Sociology. My interest is "ethnic identity"; I am interested how people develop their identity with different ethnic background from the place they actually live. Very soon I will start my qualitative research "Swedish Indian Youth: the conception and development of ethnic identity", where I wish to interview the second generation of Indian immigrants, who were born in Sweden. Mainly talking about traditional practises, values, preferences between Swedish and Indian cultures, which are important while developing an ethnic identity. At the moment, I am looking for people, who would like to share their experiences and opinions, who I could interview. If you are one of them or know someone who could participate, please do not hesitate to contact me and feel free to ask me any questions. All information provided during the interview will remain confidential and personal identification would not be reveal. Your participation is very important!

Kind Regards,

 Kristina

Appendix B: Interview guide

1. Tell me about yourself shortly (where were you born, where do you live)

2. Where were your parents born? Where do they live now?

3. When did your parents moved to Sweden?

4. Very often people ask what is your nationality. Is it easy for you to answer this question?

5. How do you identify yourself? Why?

6. How about your parents?

7. What does it mean to you, to have origins/ background from India?

8. What do you think, what represents or symbolizes Indian culture the most?

9. What kind of behaviour for you as an Indian seems to be unacceptable?

10. What do you think, how much important for a person, his origins can be? Why?

11. Do you think a person has to be born Indian or can become an Indian as well?

12. How often do you meet/ communicate with other Indians?

13. What do you do when you meet?

14. What occasions do you celebrate?

15. Can you tell me more about those celebrations, how do you celebrate them?

16. Which Indian communities and organizations in Sweden you know?

17. Are you participating in their activities? Your parents?

If Yes:

18. Since when are you participating in those activities?

19. How many members are in that community/ organization?

20. Can you tell me more about activities in that community/organization?

21. Would you like to change something in that community/organization? (If yes, what?)

If No:

22. Why?

23. What do you think what role parents have in development of their kids' ethnic identity? Why?

24. What are your memories, from your childhood, what occasions, meetings you remember the most?

25. Are you religious? (If not, why? If yes, what is your religion?)

26. What does religion mean to you?

27. Have you ever been in uncomfortable situation, because of your religion or ethnicity?

(If yes, could you tell me more about it?)

28. What do you think about transnational marriages?

29. What do think, how, transnational families can affect their child's ethnic identity's development?

30. What do you think, what are the most important things in order to maintain ethnicity?

31. Is there anything you would like to add?