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# **The Influence of Policies and Programs on Identity**

(A Qualitative Study on the Sense of Belonging for First-Generation Immigrants in Sweden)

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# Abstract

In this qualitative study, interpretive research will be conducted in order to examine subjective experiences of Middle Eastern immigrants in Sweden as well as their perception of how six selected policies and programs affect their sense of belonging and identity. Individual in-depth interviews were conducted to obtain data for this study. Specifically, in this study, the following policies and programs were examined in relation to identity change and sense of belonging: (1) Language learning policies, (2) Education and training programs, (3) Employment and participation in the labour market, (4) Social networking, (5) Right to plan a future, and (6) Naturalization policies. Based on the empirical data gathered from the interviews, only a few of these policies were shown to be effective, while the remainder were evidently ineffective. However, certain 'complementary elements' were mentioned during data collection; (1) consciously enhancing national identity on behalf of ethnic identity, (2) name changing. This shows that it is important to study migration aspects from the perspective of the immigrants. This study encourages to further examine the relationship between strong national identity, politics, development, and economic growth. It encourages for future research to explore how national and international policies and programs can effectively lead to identity change among immigrants and what the consequences and outcomes may be.

Words: 9895

*'Identity involves knowing who we are, knowing who others are, them knowing who we are, us knowing who they think we are and so on.'*

*By: Jenkins 2008*

*'I am what survives of me.'*

*By: Erikson 1968*

## Acknowledgments

Firstly, I would like to thank my mother and father for the financial and emotional support that they have been providing for me since birth. As much as I appreciate you both and love both equally, what makes you proud and happy makes me proud and happy as well, and I will do my best to continue to make you feel that way. I am thankful for the faith that my family has in me, hopefully I will never disappoint you. I would also like to thank the professors of BIDS and my supervisor for the academic knowledge that so far got me to where I am right now and will help me to continue this path until further notice. Lastly, it is important to acknowledge the role of the interviewees in this study. You are indeed a big part of this study and I wish you all the best in your lives as you wished me at the end of each interview.

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# 1. Introduction

Identity is a complex concept in the sphere of social sciences and development and the complexity relies on the concept's numerous definitions and its relation to social and societal outcomes. Identity can be seen from sociological, psychological or even philosophical perspectives. However, identity's relation to psychology and philosophy is much older than it is to social aspects. Identity as a concept has not always been studied in social and political contexts. According to Brubaker and Cooper (2000) identity was first introduced to social sciences in the US in late 1950s and thereafter identity became a notion integrated in other fields such as gender, ethnicity, sexuality, language, race, religion, immigration, culture and identity politics (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; 2-4). Since the introduction to social sciences, there has been considerable study on the impact of migration on host countries and sending countries, but little has been done to examine the effects of migration policies on migrants' identities and belonging.

Scholars argue that identity can be seen from different angles and domains. Unlike the essentialist view of identity which implies that a person's identity emerges at birth and unfolds throughout life, but unchangeable and remains essentially the same. From a non-essentialist view, scholars have shown the impact of social acceptance towards immigrants or refugees and their identity, and how the social environment and interactions can influence the processes of acculturation, assimilation and identity change (Nathan, 2015; 102) (see table 1). Some scholars argue that identity is conceptually irrelevant to social sciences, stating that social scientists will never be able to use identity as a useful variable due to its elusiveness and slippery nature (Abdelal et al. 2008; 21). Although in some cases this may be true, identity and sense of belonging in this paper is seen as an outcome of migration policies and programs; Identity is seen here as a sense of belonging to the host-country. A recent study highlights the importance of identity formation and the sense of belonging to national identity in enhancing refugees' integration and acculturation processes (Monscheuer, 2023). Additionally, identity is considered as a social aspect that can be exposed to alteration and change in the case of immigration (Nathan, 2015; 103).

Based on the Identity-to-politics link, politics play an important role in this paper. During migration cases, host-countries implement group-based policies to organize and improve the conditions of the immigrants and their inclusion to the host-countries for better integration outcomes (Lee, 2008; 461-463). Identity, belonging and the role of policies are a good example to study in the context of immigration due to many aspects. For instance, the numbers of migration influxes are increasing around the world. On the one hand, we can see the rise of globalization and the emergence of the ‘global village’. On the other hand, wars have been waging and people are trying to flee their countries looking for new opportunities. The recent migration movements across The Brandt Line have led to an increase of interest in the area of migration, including integration, identity, policies, growth and development. However, in an interdisciplinary context of immigration, the role of policies in identity and sense of belonging has not got the attention it needs and therefore is an understudied field.

With all this in mind, this paper aims to explore the concept of identity in its interdisciplinary context, taking into consideration migration-based policy implementations, and the interrelation between identity, the sense of belonging and the role of policies for immigrants and refugees in Sweden. The structure of this study is organized as follows: *Chapter 1* introduces the research topic, outlines the research question, and presents the aim of the study. *Chapter 2* defines the concepts used in this study, such as identity, sense of belonging and policies. It also provides the reader with a background and justifications of the study. *Chapter 3* presents various theories, concepts, and perspectives related to identity and belonging among immigrants and refugees. By reviewing relevant literature, this study establishes a strong theoretical foundation to understand the research problem and to guide the collection, analysis, and development of research. *Chapter 4* details the research methodology, outlines the research design, data collection, and analysis methods used to investigate the research topic and the ethical considerations throughout the study. *Chapter 5* displays the results and presents the empirical data extracted from interviews. *Chapter 6* is the discussion chapter where the findings of the analysis are interpreted and contextualized by relating them to existing literature, providing explanations, and offering insights into the topic of the study. Finally, in the *conclusion*, the research findings, outcomes and gaps are summarized and discussed along with suggestions for future research.

## 1.1 Research aim and questions

This study does not seek to test the general efficiency of policies and programs related to statistics, but to see how policies and programs can change the sense of belonging and identity of an immigrant or refugee. Additionally, an interpretivist perspective for research design is conducted, which does not aim to understand how the society sees the refugees, but how the refugees and immigrants themselves feel about their sense of belonging, and from their perspective, understand if policies played a role in that sense of belonging. A qualitative research approach of interviews will be applied to capture the personal experiences of first-generation refugees and first-generation naturalized immigrants from the Middle East in Sweden. To accomplish this, a distinction was made between social and personal identity to ensure understanding of the individual's self-perception and individual perspective on belonging and identity.

For this reason, this study seeks to answer the following question:

***How do policies and programs play a role in shaping the sense of belonging for Middle Eastern refugees and immigrants in Sweden?***



## 2. Background

Over the last 50 years, the number of immigrants and refugees has increased significantly, especially in Europe, making it the continent with the largest number of migrants and refugees (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2020; 23-24). There is a high probability that migration will continue to increase due to the current severe humanitarian crises throughout the world (Engler et al., 2020). Due to the high number of immigrants in Europe there has been considerable global interest in migration studies' relations with social sciences, psychology, philosophy and other spheres, prompting scholars to examine several aspects of migration, including identity and belonging. In recent years, migration has been a central topic of interest for both Development Studies and political science, particularly in regard to the consequences of migration on immigrants, host societies, and sending countries. But identity and belonging in migration is an understudied field in both spheres. In light of this, further research in this area is needed to understand the relationship between identity, belonging and policy implications.

What makes Sweden the country of study is the fact that since the 1990s, Sweden has maintained an immigration policy that welcomed immigrants into the labour market to boost national development and support (Backman et al., 2020). The UNHCR (2015) then reports that Sweden ranks among the top three receiving countries for forced migration. Sweden received 162 877 asylum seekers in 2015 alone (Migrationsverket, 2020), which makes finding current first-generation immigrants an easy job. Furthermore, policy implications play a crucial role in shaping identity and sense of belonging. Policies such as the naturalization process are used as facilitating tools for the integration and increasing the sense of belonging for immigrants into their host societies. Immigrants and refugees can also feel a sense of belonging and inclusion when policies support cultural diversity and provide equal opportunities for social and economic participation as the ethnic population (i.e. people born in that country and their parents and grandparents) (Martiny et al., 2020; 321).

## 2.1 Defining and conceptualizing core concepts

Many debates have been sparked by the terms immigration, refugee, acculturation, assimilation, identity, and belonging that weave together the topic and aim presented in this study. A generalized and broad understanding of nuanced processes is derived from these abstract terms. Although identity is an unclear and complex concept and has a crucial role in both personal and social contexts. Throughout the literature review for this study, I have noticed that several concepts such as ‘identity’ and ‘sense of belonging’ were used by academics without explaining its meaning to readers. In spite of the fact that identity is the primary dependent or independent variable, the authors simply assume that the reader is aware of its definition.

This study defines *identity* in terms of personal and social factors. The social aspect of identity touches on the perspective of a group of individuals who have been assigned a label and who are distinguished by rules that determine membership and characteristic traits (e.g. self-concept derived from belonging to a certain social group). In addition, personal identity is a distinctive characteristic that a person takes special pride in or views as having interpersonal significance (e.g. an individual's unique characteristics and beliefs of self-perception and sense of self) (Fearon, 1999; 2). Therefore, the term identity has a double meaning in its used form. The term refers both to social categories as well as to the sources of an individual's self-perception and self-image.

Since identity is seen from its non-essentialist view, which states that identity is changeable and dynamic in accordance with the social context, identity is not linked to belonging to a certain ethnicity or race as established by Lee (2008). *Non-essentialist identity* is based on the definitions of the following scholars. Andreouli and Howarth (2012) defined identity as not only a person's sense of belonging to a certain group, but also the specific identification in that group and others' recognition of that person's identity (Andreouli & Haworth, 2012;364). Additionally, Duveen (2013) defined identity as “Their identities are not simply internal elaborations of meanings, but the reconstruction of externally constructed patterns of meanings.” (Duveen, 2013; 186). By the same token, Mead (1934) developed a theory called the social self-theory, which includes that ‘self’, ‘me’ and ‘I’ are based on the recognition and realization from others. In other words, the self which is in this case our identity should be recognized by the social environment and observed within social interactions. Therefore, it is not a biological term, but susceptible to change and alterations during the course of life (Mead, 1934; 204-206). Becker and Bhugra (2005) argued that “Identity is the totality of one's perception of self, or

how we as individuals view ourselves as unique from others'' (Becker & Bhugra, 2005; 21). In addition, Erikson (1968) in his theory of lifespan development included a study examining the relationship between identity shaping and sense of belonging. Identity for Erikson is a subjective experience of creating a sense of sameness and continuity (Erikson, 1968; 19). The above-mentioned scholars have in common the external, social and societal factors that can change a person's identity and sense of belonging. A non-essentialist view encompasses both individual experiences and beliefs, and how those individual experiences and beliefs that form identity are altered through policies, social interactions and expectations.

In the same manner, individuals who fail to integrate experience a lack of continuity and persistence in identity formation. Specifically in the case of immigration, identity crisis is mentioned as a product of migration for refugees from different ethnic backgrounds. This conceptualization of identity, sense of belonging is understudied in its practical importance in relation to immigration (Syed & Mclean, 2016; 109-112). However, a study from Norway shows a distinction between national identity (i.e. a sense of belonging to one's nation-state of residence) and ethnic identity (i.e. a sense of belonging to one's cultural and ethnic group) and emphasizes the relationship between the two (Martiny et al., 2020; 312). A person's identity is not only influenced by internal and personal sensations but can also be influenced by external factors such as policies and the expectations and recognition of their host culture or society.

To sum up, there is a common understanding among all non-essentialist definitions that identity is not solely fixed or predetermined, but can be changed, dynamic, and shaped by social interactions. Identities are more than just belonging to a certain group or ethnicity. Rather, identity is the specific identification within a group, as well as the recognition of that identity by others and by oneself. The application of this definition to the study of migration and identity is useful since immigration often involves a shift in the sense of self and the perception of identity and belonging of an individual. In a new country, immigrants may encounter certain group-based policies, cultural norms, beliefs, and values that are different from those in their country of origin. As a result, they may begin to question their own identity and may undergo a process of self-reinvention. Non-essentialism provides a new perspective which entails that identity is changeable, therefore immigrants can develop a sense of belonging in the host-country.

Table 1: A comparison of essentialist vs non-essentialist implications on identity by Ganesh Nathan (2015).

<b>Essentialist paradigm</b>	<b>Non-essentialist paradigm</b>
Rooted in human nature	Rooted in human conditions
Static	Dynamic (with continuity and change)
Homogeneous	Heterogeneous
Holistic	Internally riven
Deterministic	Changeable
Bounded	Blurred boundaries

Source: [https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-paradigms-of-essentialism-versus-non-essentialism\\_tbl1\\_276832447](https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-paradigms-of-essentialism-versus-non-essentialism_tbl1_276832447)

*Sense of belonging* refers to that in order to belong, one must feel attached emotionally, one must feel at home, and one must feel safe (Yuval-Davis, 2006; 197). It is important to mention that in this context, 'home' is a symbolic space of acceptance, comfort, safety, and emotional attachment, which is symbolic of the home (Antonsich, 2010; 646). Based on a qualitative study to conceptualize a sense of belonging, the term deals with personal belonging to a certain group or place. As well as the social exposure of feeling respected and valued within the host-community, and the feeling of being equally treated, accepted and not discriminated against (Mahar et al., 2013; 1029). In this paper context, I may define the sense of belonging as the attachment of the newcomers (the first-generation immigrants and refugees in Sweden) to their new country home.

A *refugee* is defined in accordance with article 1 of the 1951 Geneva Convention:

*A person who ‘owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of [their] nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail [themselves] of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of*

*[their] former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.’’*  
(UNHCR, 1951).

Hence, a person who resides outside of their country of birth and seeks refuge and refuge in a different country. However, this does not mean that the person is residing illegally in the country, it means that the person has obtained legitimate papers to legally reside in the host-country.

An *immigrant* is the *first-generation immigrant* that has the same definition as a refugee but more particularly born abroad (Nekby, 2010; 4). In addition, an immigrant or first-generation immigrant has been naturalized or awaiting their citizenship decision, however, her host-country’s citizenship acquisition is not an automatic fact but is earned during time of stay (Dronkers & Vink, 2010).

Also, the study of *integration* is the integration of refugees who are new to the country and later adjust and adapt to the new country (Rudiger & Spencer, 2003; 4). Integration is measured in terms of its social and economic dimensions. However, despite the fact that it is possible to quantify economic integration through statistics and research methods such as wage gaps, income gaps, and employment gaps, it is much more difficult to define social integration. According to Nekby (2010) *social integration* is measured through the level of adaptation among the majority group in the host-society. She adds that the process of social integration can be facilitated by the social attitudes of the ethnic majority group towards the immigrants and refugees (Nekby, 2010; 3).

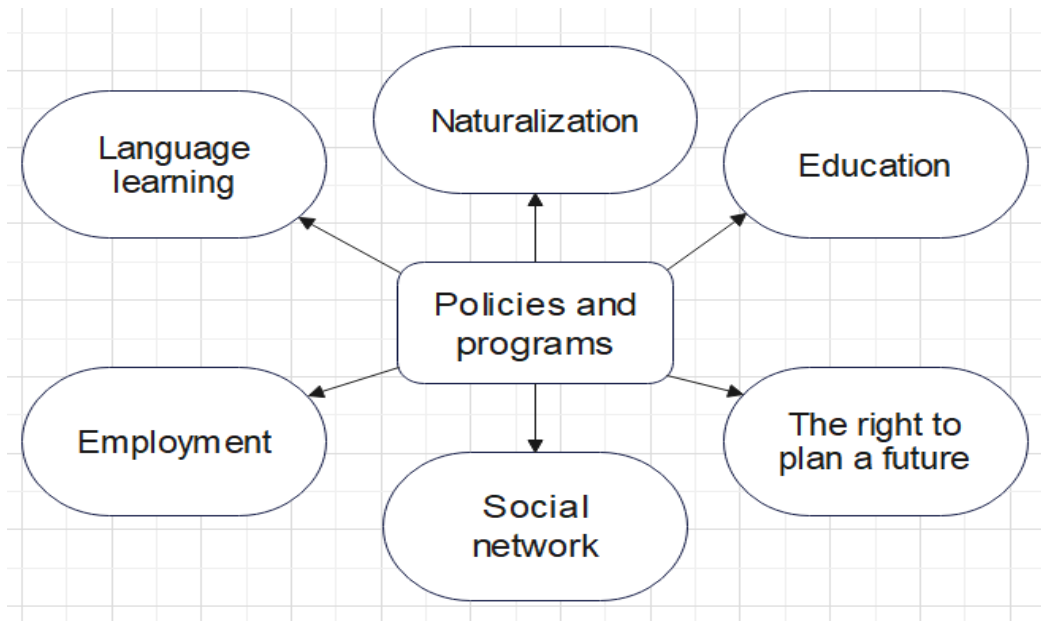
*Acculturation* refers to the process of when individuals from different cultures come into contact with each other during the occurrence of cultural exchange and adaptation (Gibson, 2001; 19). In relation to social integration, acculturation refers to immigrants keeping regular contact with the native population of their host country while maintaining their ethnic identity at the same time (Rubin et al., 2011; 498). On the other hand, based on Berry’s acculturation model (1980, cited in van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2022), *assimilation* involves fully accepting the culture and values of the host country and discarding those related to ethnic identity and home country (van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2022; 120).

*Policies and programs* are going to be used in the terms of Crowley’s politics of belonging (1999, cited in Yuval-Davis, 2006), in which Crowley refers to politics and programs as group-based policies, and they are what distinguishes a minority group to the country’s ethnic majority group (Yuval-Davis, 2006;

204). Policies and programs will be studied from six dimensions targeted to immigrants as follows (see table 2):

(1) *Language learning policies* that are customized to meet the needs of the immigrants; Language plays a crucial role in shaping one's identity since it is a powerful tool for communication and cultural expression. In the case of immigrants, learning the language of the new country that they have immigrated to can have a role in their sense of belonging. (2) *Education and training programs* in the form of activities and interaction opportunities that are used to connect immigrants and the host community. (3) *Employment and participation in the labour market*; Labour market policies have a crucial role in the inclusion and belonging of immigrants and refugees to the host-country. (4) *Social networking*; This aspect refers to policies that increase the interaction and engagement of the immigrants with ethnic individuals or other groups of host-society, and as a tool for social integration. (5) *The right to plan a future*; This represents a set of policies that provide immigrants or refugees with safety and settlement without the threat of returning to the home-country. (6) *Naturalization policies*; This refers to the process of granting citizenship. Since naturalization provides immigrants with the same rights and responsibilities as native citizens, it is argued to influence the sense of belonging and identity for first-generation immigrants.

Table 2: A representation of the conceptual framework for policies and programs.



## 3. Theoretical framework

To proceed with the theoretical framework about the role of policies and programs in immigration, identity and sense of belonging. The discussion is based on existing literature regarding how immigration and target-based policies and programs affect one's identity and the purposes it serves for individuals and society, and then extend to explain how the chosen six aspects of policies affect identity and belonging. This is done by providing thorough answers and explanations to the research question. The development of social and personal identity linked to one's sense of belonging and the selection of the six aspects of policies and programs will be based on the organization and synthesis of existing conceptual guidance. Programs are not only essential for refugees and immigrants to develop a sense of belonging, but also beneficial for the societies receiving them. In the long term, refugees ‘‘can transform the initial expenditure into a worthwhile investment’’ and their contribution and benefits to the labour market will outweigh the costs in the first years of refuge (Fratzcher & Junker, 2015; 612). The aim of this chapter is to first examine existing literature and studies that are relevant to the study. Second and last, to briefly touch upon the six aspects of policies that will be studied in relation to identity and belonging.

### 3.1 The impact of immigration on identity and sense of belonging

There is a profound impact on an individual's identity and sense of belonging when they immigrate, as it involves leaving behind their familiar cultural and social environment and adopting the environment of their new country. A coexisting aspect of migration is acculturation, which results in both changes in ideals, values, and behaviors, as well as implications that affect the way immigrants form, revise, and maintain their identities in the long run. Immigrants will likely experience a change in their identity as they interact with different cultures and interpret the needs of the current social environment in which they are living (Schwartz et al., 2006; Maehler et al., 2019).

### 3.2 The impact of policies and programs on identity and sense of belonging

Based on existing literature, the purpose of this section is to examine the six aspects of policies discussed previously (see table 2) and their relationships to the sense of belonging and identity change among immigrants and refugees. Policies play a crucial role in shaping immigrants' sense of belonging and identity. As a result, immigrants have access to the legal frameworks and protections that shape their experiences in their host-country. An immigrant's sense of belonging can either be facilitated or hindered by policies dealing with immigration status, social integration, and equal rights. Erikson (1968) emphasized the importance of institutions to enhance the sensibility of coherence and identity. He discusses that social institutions could provide individuals with patterns of purposefulness, will power, and instructions to establish a stable identity (Erikson, 1968; 141).

First and foremost, the following: (1) *language learning policies*: Esser (2006) emphasized the role of language learning in the way people perceive their own and other people's identities and belonging in terms of inclusion or exclusion in society. Being unable to speak the language well can negatively impact immigrants' sense of identity and belonging. The lack of fluency may cause first-generation immigrants to feel isolated and excluded. Esser later mentioned the term 'language handicap' which was used in the past referring to the disadvantages that the immigrants face because they were not proficient in the local language (Esser, 2006; 57).

(2) *Education and training programs*: To feel accepted and valued, it is important for immigrants to feel accepted to school values from the personnel and peers. The sense of belonging can develop through inclusion and engagement in educational and program activities (Willms, 2003; 8). A sense of belonging can be promoted through education and training programs that provide immigrants with the skills they need to become members of host-society (OECD, 2019; 15).

(3) *Employment and participation in the labour market*: Policies that influence the labour market play a crucial role in enhancing immigrants' and refugees' integration into host-societies, which is a fundamental aspect to host-societies integration (Badwi et al., 2018; 28). Given that, the contribution in the host-country's labour market has a significant role in developing a sense of belonging to the host-country (Yuval-Davis, 2006; 208). As an example, a recent study concerning German people with Turkish background in Germany, shows a relevance in the studies of identity, integration and participation in the labour market. The study demonstrates that the stronger the endorsement of a



German national identity among adolescents of Turkish origin, the stronger the sense of integration (Froehlich et al., 2020; 94).

(4) *Social networking*. Policy measures that enable immigrants to interact and engage with ethnic groups and individuals in a host society are part of this aspect. These policies can even lead to deeper relationships between the groups, and by so enhancing cohesion and belonging in society (Orton, 2012). Likewise, social networks and organizations can play an important role in the social integration process for immigrants (Spencer & Cooper, 2006; 18).

(5) *The right to plan a future where you live*. Policies that work to give the refugee or immigrant with a feeling of safety and belonging. Naturalization could be part of providing the right to plan a future as it adds a feeling of permanent settlement and is likely leading to identity change (Aptekar, 2016; 1157). For an immigrant to have the sense of belonging to the host-country, the immigrant cannot have the feeling of being at risk to return to their home-country (Yuval-Davis, 2006; 208).

(6) *Naturalization policies*; Naturalization policies are vital to an immigrant's sense of identity and belonging. Naturalization allows immigrants to gain employment, residence, and voting rights similar to those of native citizens. Immigrants also increase their human capital investments, get more involved in national politics, and feel welcome and accepted in the host-country. When immigrants become citizens, they have a greater say in the policies and decisions that affect their lives in the host-country. A study shows that naturalized immigrants in the UK have a strong bond to the national British identity, and they have developed a stronger sense of belonging to the UK (Bassel et al., 2021; 266). Naturalization in this study, is a tool that facilitates a stronger sense of belonging and national identity to the country in which a person resides (Vink & Huddleston, 2015; 1-2). A different perspective suggests that naturalizing immigrants may be considered a form of denationalization. According to some scholars, globalization, international human rights norms, and international institutions have reduced the importance of national citizenship in the world (Bosniak, 2000; 446-447). However, other scholars dispute this claim along with their findings of a positive relationship between naturalization policies and identity shaping, arguing that naturalization policies can be used as crucial tools to develop the national identity and sense of belonging to the host-country (Vink & Huddleston, 2015; 5). In a related article, a study shows that as immigrants become naturalized, they become a full member of the

host-community, therefore develop a shared sense of belonging and feel more included to the country (Hainmueller et al., 2017; 259).

## 4. Methodology

### 4.1 Research design

This study uses a qualitative approach to provide a nuanced understanding of how policies and programs influence identity and sense of belonging. In adopting an interpretivist research design, it is important to recognize that this approach benefits the study by focusing on the subjective experiences and meanings that interviewees attach to policies and programs. Based on Kelliher's (2005) argument, the interpretivist perspective in research design aims to understand how people construct their realities, as reality is not objective (Kelliher, 2005; 123). Through an interpretivist perspective, the researcher can gain a deeper understanding of the sense of belonging and identity of immigrants and refugees in Sweden and the complex social processes that shape their experiences. In-depth semi-structured individual interviews were conducted to examine the experiences of ten first-generation Middle Eastern immigrants and refugees residing in Sweden, specifically those between the ages of 18 and 25. The sample is selected based on Arnett's development theory (2000) of 'emerging adulthood'. The theory highlights the importance of the age group 18-25 explaining that it is a unique and prominent sampling group characterized by the degree of relative independence between the social norms and the expectations that are held by society (Arnett, 2000; 469). As part of the study, a feminist approach is used to capture the voices and experiences of young immigrants. "Interviewing is a particularly valuable research method feminist researchers can use to gain insight into the world of their respondents" (Hesse-Biber, 2007; 114). The feminist lens argues that the researcher should be aware of their own positionality, understand their personal points of view, and acknowledge the power dynamics and authority inherent in interviewing (Hesse-Biber, 2007; 113-114). In contrast to other lenses, the feminist approach emphasizes impartiality, emotional involvement, and trust building in relation to the interviewees, as well as collecting data with "... non-hierarchical research relationships" (Punch, 2005; 173). The interviews are conducted within the context of a particular culture, focusing on immigrants' lives within Swedish society.

Semi-structured interviews entail preparing a list of written interview open-ended questions to be covered during the interview. Despite not having a rigid structure, some control over how the interview

unfolds and what responses are desired should be retained, while allowing flexibility to ask additional questions and explore new avenues of discussion based on the interviewee's responses (Hesse-Biber, 2007; 115-116). In terms of power and authority, the researcher plays a key role in the interview process. During interviews with immigrants, for example, I am aware of my position as both an insider and an outsider. I am a first-generation immigrant, but I am also a researcher collecting data for a study. This study relied on a flexible interviewing process since it has a qualitative approach and pertains to individuals' experience as details evolved during the interviewing process, (Robson & McCartan, 2016; 146-147).

## 4.2 The interviews

This study utilized in-depth interviews to gain detailed information about the perspectives and personal thoughts of ten first-generation immigrants regarding themselves and their experiences in Sweden (Boyce & Neale, 2006). The interviews were held in person or online depending on participant preference and geographical location. The sampling process involved using social media, community organizations, and snowball sampling. There were 8 male interviewees and 2 female participants, they were all with a Middle Eastern background and came to Sweden between 2014 and 2017 as refugees or asylum seekers. A total of ten individual interviews were conducted, each lasting 20-40 minutes. Eight out of the ten interviews were done in Arabic, while two respondents decided to have it in English. The eight Arabic interviews were interpreted and translated by the researcher, with respect to a number of interpreting strategies, constraints and management. Depending on the clarity and coherence of the Arabic sentence, interpretations were sometimes literal and sometimes nonliteral (Filep, 2009; 66). In regards to the semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions, all the interviews were recorded as well as notes were taken. Besides being used to transcribe the interviews, the recordings will serve as representations of the participants' thoughts, as the researcher avoids summarizing or paraphrasing their ideas (Seidman, 2006; 114).

### 4.3 Data analysis

Thematic analysis will be used to analyze the data collected from the interviews. A thematic analysis is used to identify, categorize, and describe patterns and themes in the empirical data (Nowell et al., 2017). Flexible deductive coding has been used primarily in thematic analyses, where predetermined themes and codes are established with expectancy of new codes and themes emerging along within the given codes (Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019; 264). Using the interviews to analyze the experiences and perceptions of immigrants, the findings will be based on the concepts of social and personal identity, as well as the interviewees' self-perception of belonging and the impact of the six aspects of policies and programs on that. The empirical data extracted from interviewees was analyzed through transcribing, translating and organizing, coding and lastly reconstructing and interpreting the data. After transcribing and translating the data, the researcher seeks to find patterns and themes connected to the predetermined conceptualizations that can be labeled under certain categories. Then noting the themes and categorizing them in the coding process. Lastly, reconstructing the collected themes and patterns to group and categorize emerging themes under predetermined conceptual labels (Seidman, 2006; 125-128).

### 4.4 Ethical consideration

Given that this study focuses on personal issues and experiences related to belonging and identity, ethical concerns were a major factor in the data collection process. A brief description of the study's purpose and nature was provided to all participants before they were asked to participate. After having their consent to interview, it was explained to participants that they have the right to withdraw from the study at any time (Arifin, 2018; 30). Furthermore, the study will ensure that their personal information is kept confidential and that their privacy is protected. Their anonymity in this research is important to avoid self-identifying claims and to protect them from any discriminatory reactions or harm (Fleming & Zegwaard, 2018; 211). Although being an insider allows the study to have a deeper understanding of the context and the interviewer to establish a more meaningful connection with the interviewees and uncover hidden insights, that also contributes to the researcher's credibility as someone who truly understands the challenges and experiences of the interviewees (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009; 58).

Considering the researcher's background as a first-generation immigrant in Sweden, additional ethical issues needed to be considered. Furthermore, several participants expressed relief at being able to open up to the researcher during the interviews. Thus, the researcher gained access to more personal data and had to make ethical decisions about which information to use or not use (Fleming, 2019; 315). Lastly, as agreed upon with the participants and to ensure their privacy, the recordings of the interviews were permanently deleted after the study was completed.

## 4.5 Limitations

There are a variety of factors that could affect the results and analysis in this study. As an insider, the researcher is likely to be influenced by personal bias, which can affect their ability to find patterns and interpret results. The downside of an outsider is that they may have assumptions about the participants' lives, while an insider may have an overly optimistic view of data, or may overlook certain details (Chavez, 2008; 475). It is also important to consider the differences between conducting qualitative research (interviews) and quantitative research (surveys). Conducting in-depth interviews makes the data hard to generalize, considering the time consumed and the sample studied (Queirós et al., 2017; 378).

## 5. Analysis

The purpose of this chapter is to present the analysis of the empirical data collected during the individual interviews. The analysis presented will support the research question related to the influence of policies and programs on identity change and sense of belonging for first-generation immigrants in Sweden. The significance of the analysis in relation to the theoretical framework is to analyze if there is a difference between the self-perception of the immigrants and the way the society sees them. The process of the analysis will present the findings in a systematic manner, organizing them according to the six policies and programs investigated that help to conclude.

### 5.1 Language learning programs: Themes and patterns

After asking introductory demographic questions, the researcher aims to ask questions about the knowledge of the Swedish language, how and why they learned it. This gave the researcher accessibility to see their willingness to learn the language, and how the language affects their belonging. Although, nine of ten interviewees said their knowledge in Swedish language is 70% or over, the majority of the interviewees said that **language learning programs have not helped them** to reach that knowledge percentage.

*'I feel that I learned Swedish the most when I, myself forced myself to talk with Swedish people, not through their language-learning programs. When I was in the language-learning class, only the teacher spoke Swedish, while everyone else were Arabs like me.'*

*Interviewee 3 (I3)*

This shows that the language-learning programs did not help the students integrate with the native population. Some even said that **language learning classes were a cause of increased segregation** in Swedish communities.

*'The language learning classes separated us from the rest of the students, they put us in classes with only immigrants for years to learn the language very slowly.'* (I10)

However, younger interviewees who were able to join classes with Swedish students had a different stance on the influence of language learning on a sense of belonging and social identity.

*'To be honest, when I first came here I started in fifth grade and in a Swedish class, but no one could understand me so I felt excluded and lonely. The students even sometimes bullied me. But then me and my family moved to a different area so I got more motivated to learn the language because I met immigrant people like me.'* (I9)

Interviewee 9 demonstrated examples of hateful attitudes from his Swedish classmates towards him, which developed a mutual hate reaction from his part towards entire Swedish society and hindered the interviewee from developing a feeling of being at home. **The programs did not help learning the language** and everybody learned it their own way. But that experience did not kill their spirit to learn the language. The majority of the interviewees stressed **the importance of education as the highest priority to learn Swedish**. Interviewee 5 who was still awaiting their citizenship decision said:

*'When I came here I was 16 years old and I thought my future is in Sweden and I would stay my entire life here. But now I think that if I wanted to go to university I needed to complete my secondary education and highschool.'* (I5)

This indicates that **the intentions of learning the Swedish language has changed** throughout time, in which the interviewees at first thought that Swedish language would help them to be a part of the society and increase their sense of belonging, but later, learning Swedish was mainly for building a future and to proceed with studies.



## 5.2 Educational and training programs: Themes and patterns

At first, the researcher tried to get responses for the reasons of their education level, if there were any group-based policies that helped them reach to this level of education, and the social acceptance in the classroom by peers and personnel. Lastly, if engaging into Swedish classes developed a sense of inclusion, belonging or thankfulness towards Swedish society. This plan helps the researcher to portrait an image of individual experiences of Swedish education policies towards first-generation immigrants.

The empirical results show that the overall understanding of the reasoning behind **studying** (or not) **was at the source of one's own decision, but there were some difficulties getting into it directly.** One of the interviewees who came here with a high school diploma from Algeria faced some difficulties in proceeding studies at a university level.

*'It wanted to study Industrial Engineering and Management and I got it. But to be honest, I mean as I came here like six years ago, I'm studying bachelor's at the moment. My plan was to start studying from the beginning but it took time to transfer the degrees since you are like new in Sweden. So that took I think one year and so I got stuck at my job for four years.'* (14)

Based on the responses of the ten interviewees about their individual educational experiences, a distinction was made for immigrants who arrived at a young age. Some interviewees indicated that that **age represents an important aspect**, for the interviewees who came here at an age that is eligible for elementary school, they did not face many problems but instead experienced group-based tolerations and facilities in indulging education.

*'It depends on the place, to be honest, I mean, in Billesholm two years, It was a lot of help because they used to get Arab teachers. For the students who did not understand the issue, they used to explain to us better, so we got help. And in my school, where I am now, I am not different from other students. But teachers also understand that I am not Swedish, which means that my mother-tongue is not Swedish. Sometimes they help me by explaining.'* (19)

On the other hand, students who came to Sweden alone or with their families when they were 18 or older mentioned faced practical difficulties regarding education policies and programs.

*'It does not matter if you already have a diploma or not, when you come here and want to start university, there is a legal procedure that takes a very long time. I know many people who first wanted to study at universities, they now choose a shortcut to education through training programs.'* (I7)

Moreover, regarding the role of education in shaping sense of belonging, a student of a bachelor's programme pharmacy assistant said that she has a sense of **belonging to the classroom but not to society in general**.

The researcher: *'Considering the way you perceive yourself, do you feel accepted by your peers and professors, or do they look at you differently?'*

*'I do feel accepted, and no one looks at me differently, because three quarters of my classmates are not ethnically Swedes. That is why everyone is accepting and we have mutual acceptance. I think that if everyone was ethnically Swedish they would become friends together and exclude me.'* (I6)

The general interpretation of personal experiences by the interviewees shows that education is a very important aspect of their lives. **A sense of belonging is irrelevant** for them as long as they are treated equally.

The researcher: *'What makes you stay in Sweden?'*

*'I live here with my family, I am studying and I feel that I am settled and have the same rights as everyone else. There is not really a reason for me to leave.'* (I2)

### 5.3 Employment programs: Themes and patterns

Regarding the efficiency of employment policies and programs in finding a job for immigrants, four of the interviewees said that they would be able to get help from Arbetsförmedlingen (The Swedish Employment Agency) in finding a job. The rest showed indications of how migration-based employment policies are non-existent. Additionally, some interviewees talked about **discriminatory and unequal actions by Swedish employers and companies** toward Middle Eastern immigrants in Sweden. A Syrian interviewee who is not currently working but whose partner works at a Swedish solar panel company says:

*'My background as an Arab play a big role in finding a job, even in SFI (Svenska För Invandrare: An educational program for immigrants) the teachers told us about a social experiment in which two individuals with same competencies, one with a Swedish name and one with a foreign name, the employers always take the Swedish one. There are even Arabs who changed their name to Swedish names just for that reason.'* (I7)

Changing one's name to be part of the society is explained by the interviewee as a component of changing the identity in order to make life easier in Sweden. It is irrelevant for the interviewees if changing the name leads to changing the personal identity, **the social identity is more prominent in this sense**. As described by a different interviewee, the discriminatory actions drove them to start working illegally.

*'I went to the Employment Agency and tried to get a job through them but it never worked. So I ended up working illegally.'* (I4)

Then the same interviewee got a legal job and he explains that **nepotism is the only way to get a job in Sweden**.

*'One day I met a Swedish guy at a nightclub in Copenhagen, we became friends and then he fixed me a job at a hotel in Malmö Hyllie as a receptionist. Otherwise I wouldn't get a job. Even if I had like ten years experience with hoteling, with like being a receptionist , I*

*wouldn't get the job if it was not through him. Because let's just be honest, I worked there and many people came to apply for jobs where they have like experience and stuff. And I remember once my manager, she just like told me to throw the CV out, I just put it down without even reading it. Basically all people working there, they just know each other. It's about networking, you know?' (I4)*

In relation to the sense of belonging, for those who work, however, employment can boost the sense of belonging to Swedish society, as they feel included, and show a positive attitude and inclusions towards Swedish society.

*'My job as a school janitor makes me feel as a part of the society, I feel equal to my employees in my work, and equal to everyone else in the society as I am paying taxes and contributing.' (I8)*

*'If I did not have my job I would feel more outside of the society.' (I10)*

#### 5.4 Social networking: Themes and patterns

Regarding the social networks of first-generation immigrants with ethnic Swedes, 50% of the interviewees answered that they do not have any type of networking or relationships with ethnic Swedes. They explained the **differences and the cultural shocks** that emerge in the case of such a friendship. According to a 23-year-old interviewee who arrived in Sweden as a 14-year-old:

*'I have never had any kind of networking or connection with ethnic Swedes, for me I do not feel that I am close to them. My personality does not match with theirs. Although it is my own decision, it would have been hard to have Swedish friends. I feel like generally there is no integration between Swedes and Arabs in the society.' (I1)*

The other 50% who have social networks with ethnic Swedes explain that their **social networks did not come from any programs**, but it is a consequence of exposure to having Swedish colleagues or Swedish classmates.

*'There were some programs such as Språkcafé (Language Café), but when I went, there were no Swedes coming to me, and not once did I see any Swedish young adults attending. It is only elderly people who come.'* (I7)

Programs designed to foster social networking between immigrants and ethnic Swedes were **present, but the effect was not evident**. In like manner, a different interviewee mentioned that **social networking with ethnic Swedes requires changes in personal ethnic-identity and self-perception**.

*'I do not feel that I can agree with a Swedish person too much, I feel like they cannot comprehend who we are, how we live or what our traditions and values are. Similarly, I feel that if now I decided to have Swedish friends, I would need to give up on a part of me.'* (I6)

## 5.5 The right to plan a future: Themes and patterns

The relationship between the right to plan a future and belonging is complex. The complexity relies on the empirical results and analysis of the interview responses. A majority of the interviewees (90%) express confidence and security about their future without being worried about deportation, but 78% of them have plans to move elsewhere, specifically to countries with similar mother-tongue and cultures. They show **a tendency of wanting to finish their education in Sweden and then settle down abroad**.

*'I want to finish my studies and do my master's programme here, maybe gain some work experience and then settle down in the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Qatar or one of the Gulf countries.'* (I9)

A second interviewee who lived in Abu Dhabi between 2012 and 2014 after leaving Syria **shows more belonging to UAE than 9 years in Sweden.**

*'My long-term plans are definitely not to stay here, I want to finish my studies, get married, work for a while and then move back to Abu Dhabi.'* (11)

Similarly, when planning a future, it seems to some interviewees that their subjective opinions about their **family's best is more important than their sense of belonging** to Sweden.

*'Although Sweden provided me with a lot and gave me the feeling that I can stay here forever, I still feel that I cannot build my family here. I cannot raise my child the way I want to and I am afraid that he will grow up distinct from me and his dad.'* (17)

However, the results display a **positive significance between the right to plan a future and acquiring the host-country's citizenship.** When asked about the future plan, Interviewee number five who is still awaiting their citizenship decision emphasizes the role of naturalization to be able to plan a future.

*'Right now I do not feel that I can plan a future until I get the Swedish citizenship, and maybe after that I will stay here and work here.'* (15)

## 5.6 Naturalization: Themes and patterns

Many interviewees connected the acquisition of Swedish citizenship to the feeling of settlement and safety, but **not as a tool for enhancing sense of belonging**, emotional attachment or feeling at home.

*'It feels safe, a citizenship can never be revoked from you. It did not make me feel more Swedish but gave me feelings of safety and settlement. Whatever we do, we can never be Swedes.'* (18)

*'It gave me a sense of settlement.'* (I2)

*'Citizenship did not change my image of myself, it only supported the feeling of safety and helped me travel to different countries because my Syrian passport does not help me with that.'* (I3)

While many interviewees indicated that Swedish citizenship had no influence on enhancing Swedish national identity, two reported being **unable to refer to themselves as Swedish until they acquired it.**

*'In my current situation I cannot say that I am from Sweden, but I think that I will be able to do that when I become a citizen.'* (I5)

*'Becoming a Swedish citizen has given me the right and feeling to call myself Swedish inside and outside of Sweden.'* (I10)

A second emerging element is the location of the individual, where **naturalization has resulted in a change in personal identity, but only outside of Sweden.** Interviewee number four elaborated more by telling me personal experiences in Sweden and abroad.

*'Students in my programme, they saw me speaking Swedish with this friend, a Swedish guy and they were like oh, so you're Swedish. I was like, no, I'm originally from Yemen, but yes, I live in Sweden.'* (I4)

*'One time I went on a vacation to Spain and I got asked many times where I am from, I always said that I am from Sweden.'* (I4)

This shows that personal identity is susceptible to change and that the **Swedish national identity is stronger outside of Sweden.**

## 5.7 Sense of belonging: Themes and patterns.

Regarding identity and belonging to Sweden, the interviewees have not stated that their belonging to Sweden is high. However, when they start talking about their own experiences, the researcher could notice **some aspects and elements that indicate a sense of belonging** to Sweden as a country. For example:

*'I feel that I belong the most when I watch the Swedish national team playing football, I feel that I belong to the country and I want the team to win. So I feel that I belong in that sense.'* (I1)

When asked if **joining the army in case Sweden is in a war** with another country, six out of ten interviewees had similar opinions. They made it clear that their support is dependent on who Sweden is warring against.

*'100% yes, I said that when this thing happened with Russia that I would definitely defend Sweden. Sweden gave us something, as we say in Arabic اذا واحد عطاك جميل لازم ترده (If someone gave you a favor, you must return it). But although I left Islam years ago, I would not fight with Sweden against a muslim or Arab country.'* (I4)

This could imply that some might have developed a **national identity** but only to a certain extent which **does not exceed their ethnic identity**. Additionally, although the researcher defined the term for the interviewees, some interviewees had **different subjective interpretations of 'sense of belonging'**. The interpretations mentioned words like 'thankfulness' 'love' 'appreciation' and 'debt'.

*'I would not say it's a feeling of belonging, it is more like thankfulness, I love and appreciate Sweden that they welcomed us when other countries did not.'* (I3)

*'I feel that I have a big debt that I need to pay for Sweden, they did a liver transplant for me and it is a surgery that saved my life which I would not be able to afford anywhere else.'* (I1)



Lastly, based on their appearance and traditions, some interviewees demonstrated that their **personal identity is affected by their social identity** and how the world sees them.

*'Even if I would see myself as a Swedish person, I do not think that people would look at me and think that I am from Sweden.'* (I9)

## 6. Discussion

To investigate how policies and programs leave an influence on an immigrant's sense of belonging to the host-country, various themes and subjects emerged during the interviews. Since this study is based on a qualitative approach, it presented several different opinions that show how the Swedish programs have led to an endorsement of national identity in some cases, but insignificant to identity in others.

### 6.1 Key findings

An interesting finding that was interpreted by the interviewer is that some policies and programs have helped the participants to feel settled, equally treated, and safe, yet did not lead to development of a sense of belonging or a feeling of being at home in Sweden. This finding implies that the definitions of sense of belonging by Yuval-Davis (2006) and Antonsich (2010) were not yet established by the participants. However, the data leans more toward the interpretation of Mahar et al's (2013) which part of it defines a sense of belonging as equal treatment. A second key finding is the aspect of football to sense of belonging which was mentioned by I1 (I1 interview, 2023-05-12). This finding goes along with Tacon's (2007) research that emphasizes the importance of sports in enhancing national identity and inclusion to the host-community (Tacon, 2007; 4).

Moreover, the majority of the interviewees have shown signs of lack of efficiency in the migration policies and programs that were targeting them specifically. The interviewees mentioned that they had their own approach and way to deal with the first four policies (Language, education, employment, and network). However, the government provided them with the right to plan a future and that is through naturalization and equal treatment. As interpreted, the policies and programs were actions that the interviewed immigrants had a decision in, but they were not effective on creating a strong national identity, as almost all the interviewees take pride in their Arab ethnic identity. Since this finding indicates an emergence of a sense of belonging in Sweden, it does not disagree with Martiny et al's (2020) research paper, in which the authors argue that policies that support diversity and equality boost a sense of national identity and community belonging.

Additionally, despite the efficiency of policies and programs on enhancing sense of belonging for first-generation immigrants in Sweden, the programs' influence was not adequate to feel at home or have the same opportunities as the ethnic population. Based on what Schwarz et al (2006) and Maehler et al (2019) have said about how immigrants' experiences in the host country may alter their sense of belonging and identity, which is in agreement with Nathan's (2015) non-essentialist paradigm of identity. There are however missing elements to these concepts that in some cases occur willingly and consciously by immigrants to belong. The results show the emergence of complementary elements to sense of belonging such as *consciously enhancing national identity* on behalf of the ethnic identity 'I would need to give up on a part of me.' (I6 interview, 2023-05-13), and *changing of name*. The element of enhancing national identity on behalf of the ethnic identity was mentioned with questions related to social networks and social integration. Based on Rubin et al's (2011) definitions of acculturation and van der Zee and van Oudenhoven's (2022) definitions of assimilation (defined in section 2.1), some interviewees indicated that assimilation is the silver bullet for social integration, while others stated that integrating socially does not require disregarding ethnic identity. On the other hand, name changing was discussed in relation to employment policies and their impact on an individual level. Some said that their name may facilitate or hinder their employment prospects. Name changing from foreign-sounding names to neutral or Swedish-sounding names was studied by Bursell (2011) as a result of social stigma forced upon Middle Easterners in Sweden, and as a way to facilitate social and financial profits (Bursell, 2011; 472).

Lastly, the influence of naturalization on identity change and sense of belonging remains unpacked. According to Vink and Huddleston (2015) and the research done by Bassel et al (2021) that naturalization leads to a stronger sense of national identity. The findings in this study do not lead to an overall conclusion, especially since sense of belonging is complex and cannot be measured in its simplified definitions. With that being said, a relevant finding can be deduced, albeit naturalization gives a feeling of settlement safety and equal treatment and belonging to some extent, but it does not overshadow ethnic identity. Taking I1 as an example, the interviewee's future plan is to move back to the UAE, where he/she is neither naturalized there nor has the same rights as a citizen (I1 interview, 2023-05-12).

## 7. Conclusion

The purpose of this research paper was to examine the influence of the Swedish group-based policies and programs to identity change and sense of belonging of first-generation Middle Eastern immigrants in Sweden. By basing empirical findings on existing concepts and literature, the research was able to acknowledge gaps and to suggest further research on this topic.

It is evident from this study that certain policies and programs have successfully contributed to immigrants feeling respected, valued, equally treated, and safe in Sweden. However, despite these positive experiences, participants did not develop a strong sense of belonging or a feeling of being at home in the country. This suggests that the traditional definitions of sense of belonging proposed by Yuval-Davis (2006) and Antonsich (2010) were not fully relatable to the participants. Instead, the findings align more with Mahar et al's (2013) interpretation. Thus, it is important to recognize that immigrants have different perceptions of belonging. Furthermore, most interviewees expressed a sense of inefficiency in most of the studied migration policies and programs. Despite this, the right to plan a future, naturalization, and generally the principle of equal treatment were regarded as positive factors. While these policies were appreciated, they did not necessarily lead to a strong national identity among the participants.

The policies and programs examined in this study have proven insufficient in providing a feeling of complete settlement and belonging. The interpretivist approach to collecting data through in-depth interviews has revealed that the subjective experiences of individuals are crucial in understanding their sense of belonging, as well as their personal and social identity. Further, the interviews revealed complementary elements to sense of belonging, such as consciously enhancing national identity on behalf of ethnic identity and changing of names, all of which illustrate the complexity of the concept of belonging. Lastly, naturalization may provide a feeling of settlement, safety and equal treatment to some extent, but it does not overshadow ethnic identity. Therefore, policies and programs need to consider the subjective experiences and complexity of sense of belonging to effectively enhance the

sense of belonging and identity for immigrants and refugees in Sweden, leading to improved integration in host communities and positive outcomes (Froehlich et al., 2020; 91).

In conclusion, the results of this study indicate that further research is necessary to fully understand the subjective experiences of immigrants and refugees in Sweden in order to enhance their sense of belonging and national identity. The interpretivist approach used in this study provided valuable insights into the subjective experiences of the participants, but there is still much to be learned. For individuals with positions of influence, this study recommends that policy makers adopt a participatory development approach that engages and employs animators from the immigrant community in the development process. These animators are members of the immigrant community who should be selected based on their trustworthiness within the community. As facilitators, animators work as a joint venture between the immigrant community and government officials to develop strategies for community development. By involving immigrants in the development process, policymakers can ensure that their policies are equitable, effective, and reflect the needs and priorities of immigrants. Lastly, recommendation of further research encourages detailed examinations of the effectiveness of public policy in enhancing a sense of belonging. Ultimately, a deeper understanding of these issues will help states develop more effective policies and programs to promote social integration, which may in turn lead to greater economic integration and higher economic growth rates.

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## Appendix 1: Interview list

Interview number	Interviewee pseudonym	Interview location	Age	Date	Duration of interview	Language of interview	Country of birth	Year of arrival to Sweden
1	I1	Zoom	23	May 12	39 minutes	Arabic	Syria	2014
2	I2	In person	24	May 12	36 minutes	Arabic	Syria	2014
3	I3	Zoom	25	May 12	36 minutes	Arabic	Syria	2014
4	I4	Zoom	25	May 13	32 minutes	English	Yemen	2017
5	I5	Zoom	23	May 13	40 minutes	English	Syria	2016
6	I6	Zoom	21	May 13	31 minutes	Arabic	Syria	2014
7	I7	In person	25	May 14	35 minutes	Arabic	Syria	2015
8	I8	Zoom	24	May 14	22 minutes	Arabic	Syria	2014
9	I9	Zoom	20	May 15	24 minutes	Arabic	Syria	2015
10	I10	In person	19	May 15	29 minutes	Arabic	Palestinian	2015