



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

**“I am a Swede born in Bosnia with roots from Montenegro”**

Communication and identity development for second generation immigrants  
in Sweden – a pilot study

OANA GEORGESCU  
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University of Gothenburg  
Department of Applied Information Technology  
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**Abstract.** This paper represents a study regarding identity and communication of second generation immigrants in Sweden. The mediated kind of communication used by the informants, their common social activities and their self-perceived identity were the aspects explored in order to establish the stage of integration into the majority. The study is based on the four stages minority group identity development theory: unexamined identity, conformity, resistance and separatism, integration. In this paper second generation immigrants are referred to as the minority. The hypothesis formulated at the beginning of this study was that second generation immigrants resist the majority by forming their own group with own culture, different from the native Swedish one. The research was conducted through ten structured interviews, some of them enriched with additional information provided by answering spontaneous auxiliary questions, according to each informant's case. The study revealed integration of the target group into the majority and the typical means of communication mentioned by the informants outlined a type of youth culture rather than a non-Swedish culture. Therefore in this case communication reinforces identity and facilitates integration, contrary to the formulated hypothesis. Second generation immigrants have a clear image of their mixed identity, of their minority group and of the majority group, typical for the integration stage. The study concludes that the aspects of communication studied affect positively the development of identity for second generation immigrants and help their integration into the majority.

**Keywords:** identity, communication, minority, second generation immigrants

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## 1. Introduction

Identity has become increasingly interesting in nowadays diverse world. As we are visibly moving towards McLuhan's "global village" (McLuhan, 1962), the concept of identity has developed new dimensions in a multicultural context. More and more people coming from different countries meet, they belong to multicultural families, they have multiple nationalities, friends with different ethnicities and speak several languages. How does one develop and define his/her identity in such complex circumstances and how does he/she communicate it to people who are culturally different?

From a psychological perspective, a basic definition of personal identity given in the [Oxford English Dictionary](#) is "the condition or fact of remaining the same person throughout the various phases of existence; continuity of the personality". Nevertheless identity is a much more complex concept which nourished research from many points of view, such as sociological and anthropological. Erik Erikson is one of the researchers who have been mainly preoccupied with identity. According to Martin and Nakayama (2000), Erikson argues that identity is a dynamic process, self-created throughout our entire lives, through crises and conflicts. As well as Erikson, Alan Roland recognizes the multiple aspects of one's identity and emphasizes the role of culture in defining and expressing it (Martin and Nakayama, 2000). The notion of identity will be given a closer look further on, in the following section.

The relationship between identity, culture and communication becomes most relevant in multicultural places, such as Sweden. Sweden has already a long tradition in receiving immigrants – over 70 years – which has been leading to a culturally diverse environment. Nowadays almost 20% of Sweden's population is of foreign background – inhabitants either coming from abroad or born in Sweden with foreign-born parents ([Statistika Centralbyrån](#)). Therefore, in Sweden it is possible to discuss not only about immigrants, but about second-generation immigrants as well. In this study the term "second generation immigrants" refers to people who were either brought to Sweden by their parents at an early age or they were born in Sweden having foreign-born parents. This target group is exposed permanently to at least two cultures, the Swedish one and the one of their parents, and uses at least two languages in daily interactions: Swedish and their mother tongue. The **purpose** of this paper is to find out in what way communication influences the development of identity in the case of second generation immigrants in Sweden. Therefore the research question becomes: **how does communication contribute to the development of identity?**

Identity is a complex concept with several facets such as: gender, age, ethnicity, religion, class, nationality, personality. The focus of this study is on ethnic identity since almost all participants have the same nationality, but different ethnicities. Given this common ground, personal observation and the analogy to third culture kids (TCK), the hypothesis concerning second generation immigrants is that they **resist the majority group by forming their own culture and defining themselves as a separate group**. Third culture kids are "children of parents who live abroad in foreign countries" (Peterson & Plamondon, 2009). The term was originally developed by Ruth and John Useem in the 1950's. This social category distinguishes themselves by not belonging to a certain place or a certain culture and the tendency of associating together rather than with the majority group of their original country. Third culture kids build "relationships to all of the

cultures they inhabit, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture are assimilated into the TCK's life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship to others (with sojourner backgrounds)" (Pollock and Van Reken, 1999 in Peterson & Plamondon, 2009).

Regarding second generation immigrants as a resembling group to third culture kids and considering Sweden a multicultural context, this study explores how identity has developed and how it is shown in daily interactions. Communication through electronic means, code switching, typical ways of having fun and hobbies/interests have been looked upon. Here it must be mentioned that the study does not aim to cover all aspects of communication.

Further on in this paper we will see how and why is Sweden a multicultural place, we will look at identity from a theoretical perspective and we will see how this concept relates to culture and communication. A description of the method and target group follows, an overview of the results and a discussion about it accordingly. In the end the findings of this study are stated and the research question is answered, in relation to the hypothesis.

## 2. Background

In order to achieve a better understanding of the topic of this research, some background information and literature overview is given. First, there are statistical data about immigration in Sweden, reflecting a clear image about the ethnic diversity of the Swedish population. Secondly, the notion of identity is given a closer look. The focus is on identity development, namely the development of identity for minority groups according to a four stages theory. Higher attention is paid to ethnic identity since the target group is ethnically diverse and the study focuses on how communication affects their identity. Therefore relevant studies are presented; these studies were chosen in order to be as closely related as possible to the topic of this research and recent as well. On one hand they refer to second generation immigrants and on the other hand to integration in the Swedish society for people of foreign origin. At last, the literature overview includes a section about culture and communication where the relation between the two concepts is explained. It is relevant for this study to see how culture affects communication and how cultural background is reflected in the way people communicate.

### 2.1. Sweden – a multicultural place

Sweden has not always been as culturally diverse as it is today. For instance, Charles Westin was preoccupied with immigration policies and multiculturalism in Sweden. [Westin \(2006\)](#) gives a historical overview on immigration in Sweden after World War II. He divides the “the modern era of immigration” in four stages:

- 1) Refugees from neighboring countries (1938 to 1948);
- 2) Labor immigration from Finland and southern Europe (1949 to 1971);
- 3) Family reunification and refugees from developing countries (1972 to 1989);
- 4) Asylum seekers from southeastern and eastern Europe (1990 to present) and the free movement of EU citizens within the European Union.

Passing the nine million mark in 2004, Sweden has nowadays about 9.3 million inhabitants. The latest figures provided by Statistics Sweden ([Statistiska Centralbyrån](#))<sup>1</sup> show that 14% of Sweden’s population were born abroad. Most of these people come from Finland and Iraq. Moreover, nearly 400,000 persons born in Sweden have two foreign-born parents. Overall, approximately 19% of Sweden’s population was of foreign background, either foreign-born or Swedish-born with two foreign-born parents at the end of 2009. Predictions made by Statistics Sweden show that 2010 is expected to be another record year in terms of immigration, following the trend from 2006, with more than 100,000 immigrants. Afterwards immigration is expected to drop and stabilize at around 70,000 people per year.

[Westin \(2006\)](#) tries to clarify the use of the terms “immigrants” and “second generation immigrants”. He says that nowadays generally “immigrant” in Sweden refers to people of

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<sup>1</sup> Statistics Sweden (Statistiska Centralbyrån) is an administrative agency which supplies statistics for its customers (the government, different agencies, researchers and customers from the private sector). Statistics Sweden supports and coordinates the Swedish system for official statistics and takes part in international statistical cooperation as well.

non-Nordic origin. “Second generation immigrants” are those born in Sweden but whose parents immigrated to the country. Referring to integration policies and the use of terms, Westin (2006) mentions also the questions that have been raised regarding how long one must remain an immigrant in the Swedish society. In this study the target group is addressed as “second generation immigrants”, meaning people who were wither born in Sweden with foreign-born parents or came to Sweden before the age of 12.

## 2.2. Identity

Identity is a complex concept with many facets. We can talk about gender identity, age identity, racial and ethnic, religious, class, national, and above all personal identity. One can identify him/herself through one of these dimensions, some of them, or all of them. Each individual prioritizes differently the multiple identities he/she may have, but relevant for this study is the ethnic identity in relation to the cultural one.

Definitions of identity vary according to the perspective from which the concept is studied. Steph Lawler for example recognizes the difficulty of defining this notion right from the beginning of her book about identity: “Identity is a difficult term: more or less everyone knows more or less what it means, and yet its precise definition proves slippery. (...) It is not possible to provide a single, overarching definition of what it is, how it is developed and how it works. There are various ways of theorizing the concept, each of which develops different kinds of definition” (Lawler, 2008, p.1,2). Thus, the definition provided by the Oxford English Dictionary, and already mentioned in the introduction, can serve as basis in the study of identity in this paper:

**Identity = “the condition or fact of remaining the same person throughout the various phases of existence; continuity of the personality”.**

In her attempt to define ‘identity’ Lawler (2008) starts from the root of this term – the Latin ‘idem’ which means ‘same’. Lawler (2008) mentions that the notion of ‘identity’ involves both sameness with the self and sameness with the other. This idea was supported and explained by Erik H. Erikson as well: “The term identity expresses such a mutual relation in that it connotes both a persistent sameness with oneself (selfsameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others” (Erikson, 1959, p. 102).

When studying identity inevitably one has to deal with the social roles involved. ‘Roles’ were defined as “clusters of rights and obligations” (Banton, 1965, p.2). Roles build the identity and it is important to know the types of existing roles and their place in the big picture of identity. In his book about roles, Michael Banton (1965) presents a simplified classification based on the one made by Nadel (p.29-31):

**I. Ascribed roles** (“assigned to individuals without reference to their innate differences or abilities”):

1. *Non-relational*: age, sex, race, and descent;
2. *Relational*: kinship.

## II. Achieved roles (“left open to be filled through competition and individual effort”):

### 1. *Non-relational:*

- a) *Proprietary:* smith, diviner, sage, and other roles characterized by the possession of skills, resources, or learning;
- b) *Expressive:* demonstrator, artist, orator, and similar roles indicating belief, creativeness, or communication;
- c) *Service:* teacher, salesman, labourer, and other occupational roles.

### 2. *Relational:*

- a) *Symmetrical:* colleague, partner, rival;
- b) *Asymmetrical:* manager, leader, patron, etc.; hierarchical roles and those paired with them.

This paper studies the development of identity for second generation immigrants in Sweden, therefore ethnic identity in relation to national identity is of high importance. Ethnicity is a non-relational ascribed role; increased attention is given to it further, in a separate section.

### 2.2.1. *Minority group identity*

In present times identity is studied from three perspectives, as mentioned by [Martin and Nakayama \(2000\)](#):

1. **The social psychological perspective** - views the self as static, in relation to the community it belongs to;
2. **The communication perspective** - is based on the role of interaction with the others in developing the self;
3. **The critical perspective** - is the most dynamic one and views identity as the result of contexts, distantly from the individual.

This paper focuses on the communication perspective, therefore social interactions are explored as a mean of developing identity. According to this view, identities are not created by the self alone, but are co-created through communication with others. “They are negotiated, co-created, reinforced, and challenged through communication” (Hecht, Collier, & Ribeau, 1993, in Martin&Nakayama, 2000, p. 114). However, the other two perspectives are not to be neglected. For instance, since this study is based on second generation immigrants, their ethnic groups play an important role, therefore the social psychological perspective is to be taken into account. Speaking of it, [Martin and Nakayama \(2000, p.112\)](#) mention that members of minority groups develop a sense of identity earlier than majority group members in whose case it occurs between the ages of seven and nine.

Speaking of minority identity development, there is a theoretical model presented by [Martin and Nakayama \(2000\)](#), according to which an answer to the research question will be formulated. This model was elaborated by social psychologists and is based on four stages of identity development in the case of minorities:

- **Unexamined identity** – at this stage there is no exploration of ethnicity. Subjects lack interest and concern in this aspect of their identity;



- **Conformity** – during this stage subjects internalize the values and norms of the dominant culture and they show a strong desire to assimilate into the dominant culture;
- **Resistance and separatism** – the minority becomes resistant to the dominant culture. “Resistance is the metaphor used in cultural studies to conceptualize the relationship between culture and communication” (Martin & Nakayama, 2000, p. 73).
- **Integration** - is the last stage, the ideal result of identity development. At this point minority members have strong group identities and can appreciate other cultural groups as well.

In this study second generation immigrants, regardless of their ethnicity, are to be considered the minority group and native Swedes represent the majority. As already explained when formulating the hypothesis, second generation immigrants presumably act like a separate group with own culture, distinctive from the majority group.

### 2.2.2. Ethnic Identity

When talking about ethnicity, Gudykunst (2004) refers to several aspects mentioned by other authors in their definitions:

- “ethnicity can be based on national origin, race or religion” (Gorden, 1964);
- “individuals using some aspect of a group’s cultural background to separate themselves from others” (DeVos, 1975);
- “those individuals who identify themselves as belonging to the same ethnic category” (Giles&Johnson, 1981).

Therefore, ethnicity is based either on origin, race or religion and it serves to the group’s unity and distinction. Gudykunst defines ethnical groups by three characteristics:

- the group is perceived by others in the society as different;
- the group perceives themselves as being different;
- the members of the group “participate in shared activities built around their common origin and culture” (Yinger, 1994).

Further on Gudykunst argues that if any of these three traits is present in an interaction, then ethnicity influences what happens. According to Gudykunst, a strong sense of ethnic identity influences our entire communication with strangers.

Other researchers, such as Dennis Day, have been preoccupied with the ascription of ethnic identity. ‘Ascription’ is “the process by which others attribute identities to an individual” (Martin&Nakayama, 2000, p.114). Dennis Day (1994) speaks about ‘ethnification’ and negotiating ethnic identity. He defines ‘ethnification’ as “a series of actions which either directly and indirectly make an ethnic characterization of some individual or group a normatively and/or conventionally ‘proper’ description”. In 1998 Dennis Day made a study (“Being Ascribed, and Resisting, Membership of an Ethnic Group”) regarding linguistic ethnic group categorization at two work places in Sweden and found different ways in which people resist to this ethnic categorization. Based on Sacks’ (1974) membership categorization device (MCD), Day states that an ethnic

characterization of someone is a description of that person as a member of a particular type of social group, in this case an ethnic group. Sacks' MCD refers to common nouns whose senses rely on social categories (e.g. "policeman", "mother", "deviant") and the connection between them and the social categories themselves. The question that Sacks addresses is "what are the principles of a 'proper' description?"

When talking about resistance to 'ethnification', Day (1998) says that it occurs regularly, on a daily basis. "It occurs as brief counters to often subtle 'ethnification' process in ongoing social activities; and, interestingly enough, such counters seem to produce a certain turbulence among participants" (Day, 1998, p.167). Day (1998) found five ways in which resistance to ethnic group categorization was done verbally at the two workplaces he studied:

1. one can dismiss the relevance of the category;
2. one can minimize the supposed "difference" between categories;
3. one can reconstitute the category so that one is excluded;
4. one can ethnify the ethnifier;
5. one can resist 'ethnification' by actively avoiding it.

Day conducted his study at two workplaces and he found ways in which one can resist ethnification verbally. However, the relevance of his work for this study resides in the high degree of similarity between his target group and the one studied in this paper. When it comes to the relation between minorities, nationality and identification with the majority, a study by L. Gong (2007) emphasizes the differences between national identity, identification with the majority group and identification with the society. Gong conducted this empirical study by distributing questionnaires to Asian American and African American students at a large public university in Ohio, USA, and analyzed how the three notions differ in practice. In this case national identity was studied as the connection between minorities, the majority and the society. Different from Gong's point of view, in this present study the minority is assumed to be resistant, so national identity does not appear to be strong enough to aggregate minorities and the majority together. According to the formulated hypothesis, second generation immigrants are thought to give greater credit to the ethnic aspect of their identity and to the fact that they are all immigrants, rather than to their nationality – Swedish.

### *2.3. Culture and communication*

As well as 'identity', 'culture' and 'communication' are broad notions which can be defined in multiple ways. Since the four stages identity development theory presented by Martin and Nakayama (2000) plays an important role in this paper, their definitions of 'culture' and 'communication' are to be mentioned:

**Culture** = "learned patterns of behavior and attitudes shared by a group of people"  
(p.339);

**Communication** = "a symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired, and transformed." (p.338)

Martin and Nakayama (2000) gave an overview of the relation between culture and communication. According to them, the link between the two concepts is *cultural values*. “Values are the most deeply-felt, zero-order beliefs shared by a cultural group” (Martin & Nakayama, 2000, p.63). Values are originated in our culture, they are embedded in our cultural mental programming therefore they affect the way we communicate. Some researchers tried to understand cultural groups through their values. For example, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) mentioned by Martin and Nakayama (2000) made a study on contemporary Navajo and descendants of Spanish colonists and Anglo-Americans in the Southwest. They emphasized the importance of cultural values, which represent an important part of our identity, and they showed how these values shape our view of the world. They studied cultural groups according to their answers to the following questions:

- What is human nature?
- What is the relationship between humans and nature?
- What is the relationship between humans?
- What is the preferred personality?
- What is the orientation toward time?

Trying to explain how communication affects culture, Martin and Nakayama (2000) give as an example the study made by Tamar Katriel in 1990. Katriel made an analysis on ‘griping’ based on the speaking framework. ‘Griping’ refers to a communication ritual among middle-class Israelis which is meant to reinforce their cultural identity. The pattern of ‘griping’ is friends gathering around on a Friday night in a private home and starting to talk about a public life problem. The purpose of this ritual “is not to solve the problem but to vent pent-up tensions and to affirm the shared reality and togetherness of being Israeli” (Martin&Nakayama, 2000, p. 72). Therefore through communication not only people express their cultural identity but they constantly reinforce it.

Remaining at the communication level, namely verbal communication, code switching should be mentioned as one aspect of this study. Code switching is an everyday habit in the lives of the subjects investigated in this research. It is part of their daily communication, it represents dimensions of their ethnicity therefore it shapes the development of their ethnic identity. Hinnenkamp (1987) is one of the researchers who studied code switching. According to him ‘**code switching**’ (CS) refers to “the alternative use of two or more languages, varieties of a language, or even speech style” (Hymes, 1974:13 in Hinnenkamp 1987, p.138) within the course of a speech event. In one of his studies Hinnenkamp (2003) analyzed conversations between adolescents of Turkish origin in Germany. The code switching they used and the combination of languages showed the use of an ingroup language, a ‘we-code’. In another study Hinnenkamp (2009) demonstrates how code switching in foreign talk transforms an ongoing exchange completely.

### 3. Method

The method chosen for this study is interviewing. This method has unique advantages, in this case stimulating the informants and bringing to light aspects which would have stayed hidden otherwise. Most studies on second generation immigrants presented in the literature overview were quantitative, based on questionnaires. As Joseph A. Maxwell (1996) explains, “Qualitative and quantitative methods are not simply different ways of doing the same thing. Instead, they have different strengths and logics and are often best used to address different questions and purposes” (p.17). More specifically, “Quantitative researchers tend to be interested in whether and to what extent variance in x causes variance in y. Qualitative researchers, on the other hand, tend to ask *how* x plays a role in causing y, what the process is that connect and y” (p.20).

One reason for choosing interviews was the investigation of other aspects which are normally missed when using other quantitative methods, such as standard questionnaires. For instance, a question like *What is the ethnic background of: your best friend, your closest friends, your boyfriend/girlfriend?*, which was meant to see if the subject is integrating into the majority or not, could not be part of a questionnaire. *How important is your ethnic identity for you?* involved complex answers which cannot be compared with choosing a number on a grading scale. Moreover, additional questions were asked in order to clarify, enrich and stimulate the informants’ answers to the set questions.

The second reason in choosing this method was the restriction imposed by the language. Our discussions therefore English constituted a middle way. Other methods would have involved the use of Swedish as language of interaction followed by translation into English which would have caused possible misinterpretations and would have affected negatively the reliability of this study. Instead, when talking face to face with the informants, the interviewer has the possibility of clarification and obtaining the type of information looked for immediately.

#### 3.1 Choice of target group

The target group consists of young people in their twenties who were either brought to Sweden during childhood or born in Sweden and having parents of foreign background. The informants were chosen in such a way that they satisfy a diversity of ethnic backgrounds as big as possible. The ethnic groups they represent are: Polish, Serbian, Bosnian, Montenegrin, British, Mexican, Turkish, Palestinian, Iranian, Somali.

Tsai, Ling and Lee, mentioned by [Gong \(2007\)](#), conducted a quantitative survey on Chinese American college students and they split the subjects in three groups: American-born, immigration age no greater than 12, and immigration age greater than 12. Following this classification the first two categories were included in this research. The common ground of the interviewees in this study is that they were educated in Swedish schools starting with primary level. This is a very important common point since it has a great influence on the development of one’s identity.

When it comes to the age of the informants, there were several reasons for choosing this segment. One of them refers to general identity development; the target group has passed the critical teenage period when identity crises can occur and confusion reaches higher levels. Identity crises refer to the times “in which people are not quite sure who they are”

(Lawler, 2008, p.1). Thus, the present time in their lives was considered optimal to see if they resisted the majority and what directions they would like to follow next, in relation to the country they would settle in.

The second reason refers to professional development. The informants are in the final stages of their higher education studies and the beginning of their career. Thus their identity has not been shaped yet by professional communication and/or any kind of organizational culture. In this case other aspects of one's identity (age, religion, culture, gender, race/ethnicity, class and personality) persist.

### *3.2 Data collection*

The data were collected using ten structured interviews, as presented in appendix A. Seven interviews were conducted face-to-face, and three by email. The set of questions presented in appendix A was addressed to all interviewees. Moreover, depending on each individual situation, additional questions were asked in order to reveal deeper information.

The face-to-face interviews were audio recorded and transcriptions of each informant's answers followed. This kind of procedure allowed deeper and detailed analysis by repeated review of all answers. As well as that, in order to avoid misinterpretations additional questions were asked and/or same questions were reformulated so that the informants would understand correctly what they are being asked. Due to the fact that the object of this study is not language, appendix B includes only an overview of the relevant information that the interviewees provided and not the entire transcription of their answers.

In this section about data collection it is important to mention the external restrictions as well. Some of them refer to the impossibility of meeting face-to-face three of the informants which led to collecting their answers via email. The other restrictions, and most important ones, refer mainly to the language. Verbal communication was impossible to study because of the use of English as lingua franca. Nonverbal communication did not represent the focus of this study. The subjects were exposed to a great diversity of cultures during the development of their identity and some cultures, especially when associated with religious matters, are more influential than others.

Therefore the questions were organized in three sections following three different aspects of this research, all from an ethnic identity development perspective:

- personal opinion about ethnic identity (Q1-Q5; Q17-Q20);
- communication through electronic means (Q10-Q13);
- aspects of daily life interactions - hobbies, interests, group of closest friends (Q6-Q9; Q13-Q16).

### *3.3 Data design*

This section is meant to provide a better understanding of how the actual deployment of this study led to the formulation of an answer to the research question. A punctual explanation reflecting the reason behind every question and the type of information desired follows.

**Q1. Background information (age, sex, ethnic background, born in Sweden/the age when you were brought to Sweden, educational level).**

Q1 consists of short questions regarding the specific demographic characteristics mentioned between brackets. These questions were asked in order to define a general profile of the informant and his/her affiliation to the target group.

**Q2. What languages do you speak?**

Q2 was meant to find out the languages the informant speaks fluently and to explicitly set which one is the mother tongue, or tongues for people born in bicultural families.

**Q3. In what type of interactions do you use each language?**

Q3 concerns code switching. Language is a reflection of identity, therefore by the use of a specific language in a particular interaction people chose to display specific aspects of their identity. This question was meant to provide information about the type of identity the informants display in different situations and the occurrence of each language.

**Q4. How often do you switch languages?**

Q4 was meant to establish the frequency of switching between languages.

**Q5. Do you see switching languages as an advantage or as a disadvantage in your interactions? Why? Please explain.**

Q5 was meant to offer insights to the use of different languages, therefore to the display of different identities.

**Q6. What is the ethnic background of: your best friend, your closest friends, your boyfriend/girlfriend?**

Q6 was meant to obtain information about the group of closest people the informant interacts with frequently. The answer to this question provides information regarding the relationship with the majority group, therefore indications about the stage of identity development.

**Q7. What are your interests/hobbies?**

Q7 was meant to reveal information about how one aspect of communication, namely interests/hobbies, affects the development of identity.

**Q8. Are you part of any interest based group? If yes, who else is part of that group?**

Q8 was meant to find out whether the interests/hobbies of the informant have a strong influence on his/her identity and whether they are connected to their ethnic groups or the majority.

**Q9. Are you part of a group based on your ethnicity? If yes, what kind of group? What kind of activities do you have? Do you meet often with this group?**

Q9 was meant to reveal information about the importance of ethnic identity for the informant: if it is important for the interviewee, how important it is, if there are any contradictions between the answer to this question and the answers to other questions regarding identity.

**Q10. Do you use facebook/twitter/myspace? Who are your friends on facebook/twitter/myspace? Do you reveal true information about yourself on facebook/twitter/myspace?**

The questions included in Q10 were meant to reveal information about how one aspect of communication, namely communication by electronic means and the use of social media, affects the development of identity. *Who are your friends on facebook/twitter/myspace?* is related to Q6 and seeks to find the connection to the reality. *Do you reveal true information about yourself on facebook/twitter/myspace?* is looking for the connection to reality as well, but also contradictions to it, all in relation to the stage of identity development.

**Q11. Do you use messenger? How often and with what purposes?**

Q11 was meant to reveal information about how one aspect of communication, namely communication by electronic means and the use of messenger kind of applications affects the development of identity.

**Q12. When using your mobile phone, do you prefer sending text messages or calling? Why?**

Q12 was meant to reveal information about how one aspect of communication, namely mobile phone communication, affects the development of identity. The opposition between written messages and verbal messages is looked upon.

**Q13. If you were to organize your birthday party, how would you invite the guests?**

Q13 was meant to reveal information about how one aspect of communication, namely communicating with people in the case of organizing a party, affects the development of identity.

**Q14. What are the typical ways of having fun in your case?**

Q14 was meant to reveal information about how one aspect of communication, namely typical interactions that have positive effects on the informants, affects the development of identity.

**Q15. Tell me about one night out/party/trip memorable for you. What did you do? Who was with you?**

Q15 was meant to develop the idea of Q14 and stimulate the informant in offering reach, valuable information to be analyzed in relationship with the four stages identity development theory.

**Q16. If you were in trouble, whom would you contact first? (Who is on your emergency list?)**

Q16 was meant to obtain information about the closest people of each informant and to seek for contradictions with Q6 (if any).

**Q17. How important is ethnicity in your social interactions?**

Q17 was a direct question meant to get insight to the issue of ethnic identity from the informant's point of view. Q17 seeks for direct relation to one of the four stages.

**Q18. How important is your ethnic identity for you?**

Q18 was a direct question meant to get insight to the issue of ethnic identity from the informant's point of view. Q18 seeks for direct relation to one of the four stages.

**Q19. If somebody would ask you – are you a Swede or a ...(other ethnicity)? – what would you answer?**

Q19 was a direct question meant to get insight to the issue of ethnic identity from the informant's point of view. Q19 seeks for direct relation to one of the four stages.

**Q20. In what country would you like to settle? Why?**

Q20 was meant to find out the relation the informant has with his/her 'adoptive' country, therefore leading to one of the four stages.

### *3.4 Limitations*

This study can be seen as a test or a pilot study which can be the basis for several extended types of research. The limitations of this study come first and foremost from the method itself. The informants offer their own view on the studied aspects, but their behavior in different circumstances might lead to different conclusions. However, in



order to reduce the influence of this limitation, the informants were asked to describe activities as well (e.g. Q14, Q15), not only to express their opinions directly.

As well as that, the language used while conducting the research imposes limitations to this study. English was not my native language nor of the informants' (with two exceptions). Therefore, the interviewees' answers would have been slightly different and maybe more extended if the language of communication would have been Swedish for instance.

The place where the research was conducted might also be considered a limitation. All informants come from Southern Sweden, west coast. Three of them have been living in Helsingborg and the others in Gothenburg. Therefore, it cannot be said to what extent similar results would have been found all over Sweden and/or in another country with high immigration ratio.

### *3.5. Ethical considerations*

The participants of this study were informed verbally about the purpose of the interviews, namely the study of aspects of communication in relation to identity development for second generation immigrants in Sweden. They agreed taking part in this research and their words being used in this paper. As well as that, anonymity represented an ethical consideration towards them. There was a verbal agreement with each participant saying that identity will not be revealed and the interviews will not be used for anything else but this study.

The interviewees were let to talk freely as long as they answered to the questions asked and they provided relevant information for this study. At the end of the interview each participant was given the possibility of additional comments or special remarks. The discussions took place in friendly environments such as a café, the university, or the informant's home and relaxed circumstances were aimed at. Some interviewees requested this study after completion in order to see the findings.

#### 4. Data results

The ten structured interviews were conducted in English and an overview of each informant's answers can be seen in appendix B. These data represent the core information although the spoken answers were more detailed and included auxiliary information analyzed further on in this paper.

From a quantitative point of view, the similarities resulted from the informants' answers provide valuable results for this analysis. First of all, the existence of similarities itself strengthens the position of second generation immigrants as a group and constitutes a solid basis of the reliability of this study. Secondly, since the research was conducted through structured interviews, the possibility of a quantitative analysis exists and balances with the regular critique on using interviewing as a research method.

The data description from a quantitative point of view shows the following figures. The target group consists of people between the ages of 23 and 28 with half of them being women. The ethnic background of the informants is quite diverse, including people born in mixed families and people born in other countries than the ones related to their ethnicity and then moved to Sweden. Two of them come from Arabic countries, one from Africa, and the others have European roots. A couple of interviewees were born in Sweden and the rest were brought to this country during childhood, before the age of 12.

In terms of languages, all informants speak fluently Swedish, English and their mother tongues. They use Swedish most often in daily life interactions, English with non-Swedish speaking friends and/or at school and their native languages at home with their families. Switching between languages occurs every day, repeatedly, and they all see in it an advantage. Being able to speak more than one language increases their ways of expressing themselves and broadens the segment of people they can interact with; it also enriches their understanding of different cultures. This type of information provides the first hints concerning the informants' opinion about their own identity.

When it comes to their group of friends, the interviewees mentioned a great mix, a high degree of diversity. Their friends have different ethnic backgrounds, as well as themselves.

Speaking about hobbies, almost all interviewees mentioned watching movies and/or television. Most of their other hobbies or interests are related to social activities and involve their group of friends. However, only two persons are part of organized groups related to one of their hobbies. Subjects are not part of any ethnicity-related groups, but some of them said they used to, when they were younger.

Moving on to the second section in the interviews – communication through electronic means- it could be seen that 80% of the informants use facebook. Their friends are people they know in real life and the information included in their profile is real. Twitter and MySpace proved to be irrelevant in this case. One person mentioned using Twitter in the past. Regarding other ways of communicating on line, almost all interviewees use messenger; 70% use it regularly and 20% very rarely. In relation to phone conversations, most informants were of the opinion that it depends on the situation whether they would call or send a text message. Usually the reasons for choosing one or another are related to time, whether they need a quick response or they do not want to spend much time on the phone. Still, 40% of the target group said they would prefer sending a text message. As well as that, when having to contact more people at once, all informants mentioned a mix

of phone calls, text messages and/or other messages sent via facebook, messenger or email.

At last, when it comes to ways of having fun and memorable times when the informants had fun, the common point is friends and social activities. A way or another, being around friends and going out or on trips with them could be highly noticed. As well as that, in case of emergency friends, together with family, represent again a common solution.

Ethnicity seems to be an important aspect of the informants' identity, both for themselves and in relation to the ones around them. The degree to which ethnic background is more important or less important is hard to determine and difficult to analyze. However, when asked where they come from informants give complex answers which include the country where they were born, the ethnicity of their parents, and Sweden. It is also interesting to see how when they go abroad, they feel and behave more Swedish than they thought they actually were.

90% of the target group considers living in Sweden for the rest of their lives. However, in the case of a good career opportunity they would move to another country.

*Table 1: Data results –quantitative summary*

<b>Q1. Background information</b>	<b>Age:</b>	<b>Gender:</b>	<b>Ethnic Background:</b>	<b>Age of coming to Sweden:</b>	<b>Education:</b>
	2 (20%) - 23 years 3 (30%) - 24 years 2 (20%) - 26 years 1 (10%) - 22 years 1 (10%) - 25 years 1 (10%) - 28 years	5 (50%) females 5 (50%) males	1 (10%) Serbian-Montenegrin 2 (20%) Montenegrin from Bosnia 2 (20%) British-Mexican 1 (10%) Somali 1 (10%) Palestinian 1 (10%) Iranian 1 (10%) Polish 1 (10%) Turkish from Bulgaria	3 (30%)- 3 years 2 (20%)- born in Sweden 1 (10%)- 3 years 1 (10%)- 7 years 1 (10%)- 9 years 1 (10%)- 4 years 1 (10%)- 12 years	3 (30%) - high-school 5 (50%) - bachelor 2 (20%) - master
<b>Q2. What languages do you speak?</b>	10 (100%) speak Swedish+English+mother tongue(s): Turkish, Yugoslavian, Spanish, Somali, Arabian, Farsi, Polish.				
<b>Q3. In what type of interactions do you use each language?</b>	10 (100%) use: - Swedish in daily life - mother tongue at home - English with friends and/or at school				

<b>Q4. How often do you switch languages?</b>	10 (100%) every day
<b>Q5. Do you see switching languages as an advantage or as a disadvantage in your interactions? Why? Please explain.</b>	10 (100%) advantage
<b>Q6. What is the ethnic background of: your best friend, your closest friends, your boyfriend/girlfriend?</b>	10 (100%) mixed
<b>Q7. What are your interests/hobbies?</b>	9 (90%) mentioned movies/TV together with other hobbies 1 (10%) mentioned others hobbies
<b>Q8. Are you part of any interest based group? If yes, who else is part of that group?</b>	8 (80%) no 2 (20%) yes
<b>Q9. Are you part of a group based on your ethnicity? If yes, what kind of group? What kind of activities do you have? Do you meet often with this group?</b>	10 (100%) no
<b>Q10. Do you use facebook/twitter/myspace? Who are your friends on facebook/twitter/myspace? Do you reveal true information about yourself on facebook/twitter/myspace?</b>	8 (80%) use facebook 2 (20%) do not use facebook Twitter and MySpace are irrelevant in this case.
<b>Q11. Do you use messenger? How often and with what purposes?</b>	7 (70%) use messenger 2 (20%) use it rarely 1 (10%) does not use it
<b>Q12. When using your mobile phone, do you prefer sending text messages or calling? Why?</b>	4 (40%) prefer sending text messages 3 (30%) prefer calling 3 (30 %) said it depends on the situation
<b>Q13. If you were to</b>	10 (100%) mentioned a mix of phone calls, sms and texts

<b>organize a birthday party, how would you invite the guests?</b>	sent via facebook/messenger/email
<b>Q14. What are the typical ways of having fun in your case?</b>	7 (70%) mentioned social activities involving their friends 1 (10%) activities related to their hobbies 1 (10%) activities in the company of a partner 1 (10%) relaxing activities
<b>Q15. Tell me about one night out/party/trip memorable for you. What did you do? Who was with you?</b>	6 (60%) mention going out to clubs/partying with friends 3 (30%) mentioned trips they took with friends/family 1 (10%) traveling and studying related
<b>Q16. If you were in trouble, whom would you contact first? (Who is on your emergency list?)</b>	8 (80%) mentioned family and friends 2 (20%) mentioned family
<b>Q17. How important is ethnicity in your social interactions?</b>	10 (100%) signaled their ethnicity as important to a certain degree
<b>Q18. How important is your ethnic identity for you?</b>	10 (100%) signaled their ethnicity as important to a certain degree
<b>Q19. If somebody would ask you – are you a Swede or a ...(other ethnicity)? – what would you answer?</b>	10 (100%) mentioned complex answers including their ethnical background and Swedish
<b>Q20. In what country would you like to settle? Why?</b>	5 (50%) consider the possibility of moving away from Sweden in the case of a job opportunity 2 (20%) would like to stay in Sweden 2 (20%) have an open perspective 1 (10%) would move away from Sweden

## 5. Discussion

The discussion concerning the topic of this study is oriented towards achieving the following purposes:

- answering the research question;
- deciding whether the hypothesis is confirmed or not;
- connecting the data results with the literature presented in the background part and following the three categories mentioned in the set of questions (personal opinion about ethnic identity, communication through electronic means, aspects of daily life interactions).

Quotes of the informants, numbered from I1 to I10 as in appendix B, have been used in order to support the data interpretation.

### 5.1 Identity development

The purpose of this study was to investigate how communication affects the development of identity for the target group. The hypothesis was that the target group resists the majority by making their own culture and forming groups together with other second generation immigrants rather than native Swedes. However, the interviews have shown the opposite. The informants have reached the final stage of their identity development – integration- therefore they are part of the majority now, invalidating the hypothesis.

[Martin and Nakayama \(2000\)](#) describe the integration stage as the ideal result of identity development. In this phase minority members have strong group identities and can appreciate other cultural groups as well. The informants of this study show a clear image of their identity and they include all aspects of their ethnic background when asked where they come from: *I'm a Swede born in Bosnia with roots from Montenegro (I8).*

When asked where they would like to settle, nine out of 10 subjects answered Sweden. Even though 50% would move somewhere else in case of a career opportunity and 20% are open to any possibilities, the target group enforces the idea of integration.

*I actually like Sweden, but I don't like the weather. If I get a good job opportunity somewhere else then I might move but I like it here. Of course the weather it's not the best, but the other benefits are better (I2).*

The four stage theory of identity development for minority groups is sustained as well by the subjects' answers concerning their ethnic groups. All informants are not part of any ethnicity-based group, but some of them said they used to be when they were younger. This could be interpreted as a switch from the resistance stage to integration. One informant (I2) attends some dance classes where he learns traditional dances from the country of his parents and the other participants have the same ethnicity as him. However, this kind of group is more hobby-based rather than ethnicity-based.

Even though overall the target group is integrated in the majority group, some signs of resistance could be identified:

- two informants do not have Swedish citizenship, even though they have been living in Sweden for almost 20 years;

*“I noticed in many ways I am very Swedish so it wouldn’t bother me to be Swedish. In that sense also to begin with is why I didn’t apply to Swedish citizenship, I’m more proud to be English.” (I6)*

*“Yeah, I don’t have one either (Swedish citizenship). I have British and Mexican citizenship. I didn’t get the Swedish one because I’m lazy.” (I1)*

- one informant would settle in another country than Sweden;

*“In UK (London) or UAE (Dubai, Abu Dhabi). These countries are very civilized and have such a nice diversity (diverse range of people, cultures and religions). I would like to live in a country with more open-minded people and people that accept you as you are!” (I9)*

- one informant embraces more his parents’ culture rather than the Swedish one.

*“I don’t really know how important it is for me to be a Turk. I think there are a lot of benefits because the culture is different from the Swedish one. When I was raised by my parents, I was told one should show respect for the elder, you should respect your parents more. If I compare it with my Swedish friends, they don’t even say “dad” to their dad; they call them by their first names.” (I2)*

None of these signs of resistance suits the categories identified by Day (1998) in his study regarding ‘ethnification’ at work places in Sweden. Once again, the integration stage is confirmed. Still, in one case one informant said ethnicity is not that relevant, personality is more important. This answer could be related to one of Day’s (1998) ways of resisting - dismissing the relevance of the category:

*“But you know in time those things they disappear because you start thinking about people in general. If they are good people, this is not so much a part of their ethnic background or nationality and that is something that comes with hanging out with people with different backgrounds. So now the ethnic identity is less important than it used to be.” (I5)*

As described in the four stages theory, integration is characterized by a clear understanding of both the minority group and the majority group. The informants do have this kind of judgment when it comes to their identity, they see its complexity and they are able to appreciate it fairly.

*“It does color everything I do in many ways because regardless of me having growing up here, I’m still not Swedish and it shows not only in my appearance also in how I talk and what I say, my expressions, hand gestures so it shows that I am from Southern Europe sort to speak. It’s important in how people perceive me but it’s also important in how I perceive myself.” (I3)*

The general idea that comes out from the informants’ answers is integration. However, since this study is not a quantitative one it is hard to decide whether all second generation immigrants in Sweden are integrated or not. As well as that, it is hard to decide the degree of integration of each informant. They show differences in their answers and some of them show signs of resistance but generally the information they provide leads to the idea of integration.

## 5.2. Language use

All informants of this study switch languages on a regular basis and they all see it as an advantage. They use both their mother tongues and Swedish in everyday life and in some cases English is a third language they use on a daily basis. This kind of communication reinforces their identity and the use of both languages, Swedish and mother tongue, contributes to a better understanding of both groups, the minority and the majority, specific for the integration stage. Therefore, language use could offer one answer to the research question: communication contributes positively to the development of identity by reinforcing the different aspects of ethnic/national background. As positive aspects of switching languages the subjects identified:

- wider possibilities of expressing themselves and fun generating;

*“The more words I use, the more languages I speak, the more fun my expression becomes. It’s more than using just one language; I have a triple word count (...), so I have triple the amount of words to chose from so I can put them in different ways, it’s like a puzzle. I think it’s fun.” (I3)*

- being able to communicate with a significant bigger number of different people;

*“I think the more languages you know, the more it gives you a lot of opportunities to interact with other people. Also when you learn some languages you also basically learn the culture of the country and someway you interact with people that know the language.” (I7)*

- improved self-confidence;

*“It’s kind of empowering how you could be talking to a guest in Swedish and then just suddenly in a flash you start speaking Spanish. I don’t have a Swedish foreign accent, I speak like a Swede. I guess it’s just kind of funny to see how shocked they are about that and it feels nice to know that you can control the language like that.” (I1)*

- improved adaptability;

*“I see it as advantage because you can fast adapt to any kind of situation where people in a group or individuals speak more than one language.” (I10)*

As negative aspects in switching languages the informants mentioned: confusion, the alteration of one of the languages they use, incorrect mixture of languages in speech. Related to language use and identity development, it is worth mentioning the use of *we* versus *they*. In the informants’ discourse *we* was not referred to as me and my minority group; *they* was not referred to as the group of native Swedes. *We* meant either me and my family or me and my friends, therefore the main distinction was made between the informant and his/hers close circle of people and the rest of the society. In one case *we* referred to the informant’s ethnic group and in the second case, a group of second generation immigrants, but the informant talked about activities which are not part of her life anymore:



*“We have these clubs, Montenegrin or Bosnian clubs, we basically go and hang out and do stuff which we used to do but it wasn’t necessarily like being part of a group or whatever (...). When I was little we had folklore (...), my mom was a teacher.” (I3)*

*“So we were very much into hip-hop music is like some kind of poetry and it’s very hard to follow so we would print out texts at school so we could memorize them. For us it was important that we knew English better than the Swedes, it was a sort of a pride and I’ve noticed that with many of my situations.” (I3)*

In one situation we referred to the majority group, but the interviewee included herself in this group as well:

*“I think in Sweden. I’ve been outside of Sweden and I think it’s a really safe country, it’s a good environment, and even though we have some negative parts of the culture, it is still a good place to grow up in. I felt that way so I felt safe.” (I7)*

### 5.3. Youth culture

As discussed above, the results of this study invalidate the hypothesis formulated in the beginning. The subjects do not form a separate group with own culture, but they integrate in the majority group. Moreover, their ethnic/national identity seems to fade, living room for other identity aspects to come forward.

*“My ethnic identity used to be more important for me, but now...(…) But you know in time those things they disappear because you start thinking about people in general. If they are good people, this is not so much a part of their ethnic background or nationality and that is something that comes with hanging out with people with different backgrounds.” (I5)*

Apart from ethnicity/nationality the target group seems to be characterized by other common aspects which reveal some kind of youth culture rather than a second generation immigrants culture. Usually the sociology of youth culture (see Epstein, 1998; Moore, 2010) is related to music genres, associated with typical behaviors and fashion trends. In this case some traits tightly connected to the age segment of the target group play an important role in the informants’ identities and patterns of communication: their friends and their social activities, all in the context of fun.

The informants seem to pay a great deal of attention to their friends. They are social, the show a wide openness towards multiculturalism, their leisure activities, best memories and emergency lists involve their friends. When asked what was the ethnic background of their closest friends, all informants replied with very complex answers. Their friends are all mixed including several different ethnicities and ethnic combinations.

*“My closest friends, except for the girlfriend, they are very mixed, they usually also came to Sweden either when they were really young or they were born here but they have parents that immigrated, usually about 20-30 years ago. And then of course there are some Swedes and they are usually brought up in the same area as me.” (I5)*

When it comes to their hobbies and ways of having fun, there are again similarities among the informants. They all mentioned watching movies/TV as a hobby and their ways of having fun are always related to social activities involving their friends.

*“Travel, hanging out with family and friends, exercise and play the piano.” (I9)*

*“Being with friends, obviously, and other than that it depends... I do like to go out and I do go out quite frequently with friends, not necessarily to the night clubs to party, but*

*pubs or half pubs just to hang out and talk. I also enjoy watching movies and reading books and discussing them with my friends (...).” (I3)*

*“I hang out a lot with my boyfriend actually so with him it could be anything that’s more interesting than like just cooking and watching TV (...). With my friends is also going out to eat.” (I6)*

One characteristic of the target group which is related to age and the type of youth culture they represent is fun. The informants show a natural desire of having fun and even aspects of their mixed identities entertain them. They think it is fun to speak more than one language and to switch between languages; they think it is fun to be surrounded by people with different ethnic backgrounds.

*“I prefer happy people and people who aren’t all the same. If everybody’s from my people it’s fun, but after a while, if all are Swedes or all are this...I want mixture because it never gets boring.” (I3)*

*“I don’t have a Swedish foreign accent, I speak like a Swede. I guess it’s just kind of funny to see how shocked they are about that and it feels nice to know that you can control the language like that.” (I1)*

#### 5.4. Communication through electronic means

Electronic means of communication are part of the target group’s daily life. The informants use phones and computers regularly and communication via text messages, facebook or messenger is an integrated part of their daily communication. 90% of the target group uses messenger and 80% of them have a facebook account.

*“I have facebook. I have around 140 friends; a part of them are family and relatives and another part are mostly friends. A lot of people I have in my life right now but the others are friends from elementary school and so on. I don’t write to everybody but I just check to see how they are doing.” (I5)*

Generally they reveal true information about themselves on their facebook page and the people they are friends with are usually friends from real life, relatives, acquaintances and/or friends of friends. When asked what means they would use in order to contact the guests for a birthday party, all informants said they would use a mix of messages via phone/ facebook/messenger.

*“Of course by calling them or like one month before email all of them and make a guest list on facebook or something else.” (I10)*

*“Well here I would tell them in advance that I am planning a party by texting/emailing, and then I would call to confirm.” (I9)*

*“The closest friends, I would call, of course, and then send also a facebook message. Then if something changes maybe I use sms, or just call; depends on how many people there are. If there will be like 40 people, I cannot call every one of them. But I think it’s better to call because this way you will also get an idea of whether they want to come or not, so you can know how many people are coming. If you just text, you don’t get the feeling of the voice, like ‘aaa, I don’t know...’.” (I2)*

In terms of communication via phone there is no clear preference for sending text messages or calling. Most informants said it depended on the situation, but eventually 40% of them said they would chose texting and 30% calling.

*“I don’t use my mobile phone that much. Texting vs. calling depends on the situation. Sometimes it’s easier to text, sometimes it’s easier to call. If it’s something important I call, if it’s stupid comments I text. I use my phone only to call the closest people. I don’t call randomly and talk for hours. I’m not a caller.” (18)*

The mix of communication via facebook, phone and messenger and the frequency of this type of communication reveal again some common characteristic specific to the age segment rather than the ethnic identity. The way the informants communicate does not reveal any attachment to their ethnic groups, but to their closest circles of people.

### *5.5. Directions for future studies*

As this paper represents a pilot study, it offers several directions of development. Depending on other researchers’ interests parts of this study considered to be valuable might be used and combined with other types of research.

Considering this study as it is, future studies may address either research on other aspects of communication or the study of the same target group, several years later.

The informants have talked about their own experiences and gave their personal opinions. The next step in studying such a topic would be a more objective perspective, namely observing the target group in daily life interactions. This type of research could be done through video recordings. This way, verbal and non-verbal communication could be studied. Eventually, the final study, comprising this paper and the future research, would offer a complete image on how communication affects identity development for second generation immigrants, both from an inner and outer perspective.

The second direction for future research addresses the same informants, but in a different stage of their lives. It would be interesting to investigate whether their image on identity has changed, whether they still live in Sweden, what means of communication they use and how do those means affect their self-perceived identity.

### *5.6 Validity and reliability*

The value of research studies is measured in terms of validity and reliability. In the case of interviewing, “reliability refers to the degree of invariance that is achieved when the same procedures are repeated, while validity points to the accuracy of a given technique in measuring the phenomena in question” (Briggs, 2009, p. 203). Regarding this particular study based on structured interviews, “As Hyman et. Al (1954) argued in a classical study, standard interviews techniques are oriented much more toward reliability rather than validity” (Briggs, 2009, p. 203). Speaking of validity, Maxwell (1996) says that it represents “a goal rather than a product; it is never something that can be proven or taken for granted” (Maxwell, 1996, p. 86). However, even though both terms contain questionable aspects, here are the points which support each one of them in the case of this specific study:

#### 1. Reliability:

- The informants are found to be integrated;
- Similarities were found among them, making possible a quantitative inventory. The similarities refer to: diversity of friends, use and switch of languages, ways of having fun, means of communication.

## 2. Validity

- The face-to-face interviews were recorded and transcribed;
- The informants were not given any prior information regarding the features of each stage of identity development; they were only told that the purpose of this study was to see how communication affects the development of identity.
- The conclusion of integration was reached by asking the informants about aspects of their communication, not by asking them directly whether they think they are integrated or not.

## 6. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to find out how communication affects the development of ethnic identity for second generation immigrants in Sweden. In relation to the four stages theory of identity development for minority groups, the hypothesis was that second generation immigrants resist the majority (the third stage) by forming their own group with own culture, different from the Swedish one and the ones specific for each ethnic group. The results of this research invalidate the hypothesis and show integration of the target group into the majority. The informants have a clear image of themselves, of their identities, and a clear understanding of both their ethnic groups and the native-Swedish group. Therefore, the question mentioned by [Westin \(2006\)](#) must be once again addressed: how long does one have to be an immigrant in the Swedish society?

Their regular activities, their daily communication, and the closest groups of people the informants have, show a type of common youth culture. Their age and all characteristics specific to this age define the informants as a group more than the fact that they are not Swedish-born or they were born in Sweden but have foreign-born parents. The interviewees embrace diversity, multiculturalism and the purpose of having fun dominates their activities. It is fun to be surrounded by people with different ethnic backgrounds, it is fun to switch languages all the time, it is fun to know more people and go to different places. The target group shows a high degree of sociability, openness towards multiculturalism, and “hanging around with friends” is a part of their daily life, it is a hobby, it is a way of having fun. The fact that the informants have friends with different ethnic backgrounds does not contradict their integration into the majority, but rather reflect the diverse Swedish society.

The informants have a complex perspective on their identities and being young seems to be the dominant aspect at this point in their lives. Nevertheless they discover their ‘swedishness’ when being abroad and they do not manifest a strong desire of leaving Sweden; Sweden is their home.

In conclusion, the answer to the research question is that communication consolidates and reinforces identity, it contributes to the integration into the majority. Switching languages on a regular basis, being around friends frequently, using facebook, going out and watching movies are ways through which the subjects outline their complex identity. The informants live in Sweden, they have a different ethnicity than Swedish, they are young, they like to have fun, they spend a lot of time with their friends, and all these aspects of their identity are revealed through the way they communicate.

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## Appendix A – Interview questions

- Q1. Background information (age, sex, ethnic background, born in Sweden/the age when you were brought to Sweden, educational level).
- Q2. What languages do you speak?
- Q3. In what type of interactions do you use each language?
- Q4. How often do you switch languages?
- Q5. Do you see switching languages as an advantage or as a disadvantage in your interactions? Why? Please explain.
- Q6. What is the ethnic background of: your best friend, your closest friends, your boyfriend/girlfriend?
- Q7. What are your interests/hobbies?
- Q8. Are you part of any interest based group? If yes, who else is part of that group?
- Q9. Are you part of a group based on your ethnicity? If yes, what kind of group? What kind of activities do you have? Do you meet often with this group?
- Q10. Do you use facebook/twitter/myspace? Who are your friends on facebook/twitter/myspace? Do you reveal true information about yourself on facebook/twitter/myspace?
- Q11. Do you use messenger? How often and with what purposes?
- Q12. When using your mobile phone, do you prefer sending text messages or calling? Why?
- Q13. If you were to organize your birthday party, how would you invite the guests?
- Q14. What are the typical ways of having fun in your case?
- Q15. Tell me about one night out/party/trip memorable for you. What did you do? Who was with you?
- Q16. If you were in trouble, whom would you contact first? (Who is on your emergency list?)
- Q17. How important is ethnicity in your social interactions?
- Q18. How important is your ethnic identity for you?



Q19. If somebody would ask you – are you a Swede or a ...(other ethnicity)? – what would you answer?

Q20. In what country would you like to settle? Why?

## **Appendix B – Overview of the informants' answers**

### **Informant 1:**

- Q1.** 23, male, British-Mexican, 6, high school.  
**Q2.** Swedish, English, Spanish.  
**Q3.** Swedish in daily life with friends, English at home with family, Spanish at work and sometimes at home.  
**Q4.** Every day.  
**Q5.** Switching languages is an advantage, “it’s kind of empowering”.  
**Q6.** Most friends are Swedish; Polish living in Sweden, Finnish-Swedish, Finnish-Italian.  
No girlfriend.  
**Q7.** Reading, movies, TV-shows, working out, spending time with friends, my work.  
**Q8.** No.  
**Q9.** No.  
**Q10.** Facebook. Most friends on facebook I know in real life also.  
**Q11.** I don’t like messenger. I used to use it before.  
**Q12.** Calling.  
**Q13.** Talk to them, send some messages, send a message on facebook.  
**Q14.** I could do pretty much anything as long as I am comfortable. As long as I am with my good friends, we don’t need to do anything or we could go do whatever we want and that would be fun.  
**Q15.** Trip to Thailand with my friend.  
**Q16.** There are four people I would call: my sister or my mother, my Finnish-Italian friend, a Swedish friend.  
**Q17.** It’s hard to say, nothing that affected me that I’ve known.  
**Q18.** It’s good, I like it. I’m all three of them.  
**Q19.** I would say all three.  
**Q20.** I don’t know, I want to travel more. I have no plans.

### **Informant 2:**

- Q1.** 24, male, Turkish-Bulgarian, 3, Bachelor acquired, studying for Master.  
**Q2.** Swedish, Turkish and English.  
**Q3.** English with people who don’t understand Swedish, Swedish regularly, Turkish at home, mixed with Swedish.  
**Q4.** Every day.  
**Q5.** I think switching languages is a good thing. I think when you know many languages it’s easier to express yourself.  
**Q6.** My friends come from many different places: Iraq-Russia, Montenegro, Croatia, Bosnia, Sweden, Nigeria, Turkey. The first ones live in Sweden; we usually just talk Swedish. I have also native Swedes.  
**Q7.** Music, cars, going out, party, chill.  
**Q8.** No. When I was a kid I only played football. It was in a club, nothing professional, just for those who lived in the area.

**Q9.** No, but there is a girl in my class who is teaching Turkish traditional old dance so I'm taking her class.

**Q10.** Facebook. My friends on facebook are classmates, different people, cousins, relatives. Some of them I don't really know, but it's not so many. I saw them on some friends' lists and I added them. The information I reveal is real.

**Q11.** I use MSN every day. I think I use it more than facebook. I talk to my friends on MSN. I think it's an easy way to communicate.

**Q12.** I use my mobile phone every day. It depends on the situation, but texting I like more. I think it's easier. In texting you don't get the silent moments – “what should I say?”

**Q13.** The closest friends I would call of course and then send also a facebook message. Then if something changes maybe I use sms, or just call. I think it's better to call because this way you will also get an idea of whether they want to come or not.

**Q14.** Usually with my friends, but the friends have to give me something as well. Usually I meet my friends, but I think it's more fun when you meet other people and have fun together with them and you get new connections with other people.

**Q15.** One night we went out and first we went to one place, then we left and we went to another place waiting for my cousin to hook up with them (he and his friends). Afterwards we left and went to another club and to another club and to another club. So we met new people all the time so it was fun.

**Q16.** I would call somebody in my family or some close friend.

**Q17.** I don't really know how important it is for me to be a Turk. I think there are a lot of benefits because the culture is different than the Swedish one. When I was raised by my parents, I was told one should show respect for the elder, you should respect your parents more. If I compare it with my Swedish friends, they don't even say “dad” to their dad; they call them by their first names.

**Q18.** I don't feel a Swede at all. I feel a little bit Swedish but not so much that I could say I'm a Swede. The reason is that I don't like the Swedish culture.

I like some of the parts of my culture (like the respect for the parents). Swedes don't have the respect at the same level as Turks.

**Q19.** I can't say that I'm Swede, but depends on who asks. If someone asks me in another country, I usually say that I'm Swede because I'm raised here. If I say I am Turk, then people ask me wherefrom in Turkey? Then I say I'm from Bulgaria. But I usually say I'm from Turkey.

**Q20.** I actually like Sweden, but I don't like the weather. If I get a good job opportunity somewhere else then I might move but I like it here.

### **Informant 3:**

**Q1.** 24, female, Montenegrin-Bosnian, 6, high school studies, studying for Bachelor.

**Q2.** Swedish, Bosnian and English.

**Q3.** Swedish mostly at work and in everyday life, English at school and with some friends, Bosnian mostly at home. With my brother I speak all three at once.

**Q4.** It happens every day, at least like ten times. I switch between languages constantly.

**Q5.** For me it's automatic, I find it an advantage for me, but maybe for some people it might be hard to follow. The more words I use, the more languages I speak, the more fun

my expression becomes. I have triple the amount of words to choose from so I can put them in different ways, it's like a puzzle. I think it's fun.

**Q6.** All of them have different ethnicities: Palestinian, Swedish, Turkish Jew, Albanian, Somali. They are kind of mixed, but they are usually either first generation immigrants in Sweden or something like that. I think it comes from having most in common with them, regardless of their ethnicity if they don't have my ethnicity.

**Q7.** I like musical art, I read a lot, I'm a fan of movies and television and I tend to be really geeky about everything I do as far as hobbies go.

**Q8.** No, unless you count my school which is based on books (I do English studies).

**Q9.** No, I am not. We used to go to these Montenegrin and Bosnian clubs until two-three years ago, but that's not because we mind them, it's just because our roads have changed. When I was little we had folklore, my mom was a teacher.

**Q10.** I have recently acquired facebook, about a month ago. I just got it because I have two friends who want to get in touch with me and they don't use phone, they prefer facebook. I have a twitter actually, which I also used like three times and then I couldn't take it anymore because it has so little characters, that it's impossible for you to write grammatically correct which makes my skin itch. For me facebook has a practical purpose. I am friends on facebook with people whom I maybe need to get in touch with in different ways. I do not want to have everybody I know on facebook because I don't want everybody to know what I am doing.

**Q11.** I count messenger as online communication, together with facebook and emailing.

**Q12.** I use it every day. It depends, if it's something small, I can't be bothered calling and talking to somebody because that always goes on for too long and I don't like speaking on the phone; so it's texting. I prefer face-to-face communication.

**Q13.** I would use all means. I think phone is the primary one. If there's somebody I cannot get in hold of, then I would revert to facebook or emailing.

**Q14.** Being with friends, obviously, and other than that it depends... I do like to go out and I do go out quite frequently with friends. I also enjoy watching movies and reading books and discussing them with my friends.

**Q15.** One night that we went out to a club. It was such a wired thing because we were so hip and there were so much people and we were dancing on the sofas without shoes. Everybody was in a good mood and there was not one person who was like the other which I find entertaining, it brings diversity. I had many good nights. Usually they involve many fun people and the right mood.

**Q16.** Yes.

**Q17.** It does color everything I do in many ways because regardless of me having growing up here, I'm still not Swedish and it shows not only in my appearance also in how I talk and what I say, my expressions, hand gestures.

**Q18.** I see it as a positive thing. It's a very strange thing because you get perceived negatively sometimes if you stick out too much, but on the other hand for me personally it's more fun to not conform. When I was younger I didn't speak Bosnian and tried to speak the most correct Swedish, but the older I got, the more comfortable I got with my identity which is that I have no clear cut identity. I am all things at once.

**Q19.** I'm both I would say. I'm originally a Montenegrin who was born in Bosnia. So I always say I'm a Montenegrin born in Bosnia who is now a Swede; or I just say I'm from Sweden but from the Balkans originally.

**Q20.** Depends. Because of the whole mixed identity thing I don't feel like I necessarily have to stay in one place. I don't have the attachment to places, locations or countries that I suspect other people do. For me, personally, I am comfortable in Sweden, I don't have the desire to go anywhere else, but at the same time I wouldn't mind it.

**Informant 4:**

**Q1.** 23, male, Polish, born in Sweden, Bachelor degree.

**Q2.** Swedish, Polish, English and some French.

**Q3.** Swedish – every day, Polish – at home (and when going to Poland), English – when watching movies, TV, series, talking to people over the internet, playing games, reading newspapers etc. French – mostly in school when learning it and some (but very little) with a French friend.

**Q4.** A couple of times every day.

**Q5.** It's an advantage, because you can communicate with more people. The only disadvantage is that you can sometimes mix up the languages and use words that are from another language. Sometimes it can be hard to express yourself in one language when you know exactly how to say it in another language.

**Q6.** Most, nearly all, of my friends are immigrants. For example, Morocco, Iraq, Iran, Palestine, Bosnia, Croatia, Poland etc. I think my best friend is Polish, best female friend from Palestine. My girlfriend is Polish.

**Q7.** I like cars very much, computers, meeting friends, roller skating and working out at the gym.

**Q8.** No.

**Q9.** No.

**Q10.** Yes I do. But I only add people that I really know and talk to, my friends, and my family.

**Q11.** Yes. Every day. To talk to friends, enjoy myself, and to find out information about school.

**Q12.** If I'm in a hurry and need an answer quickly I prefer calling. But otherwise I prefer sending a text message, because it's faster than talking to someone over the phone, calls can sometimes be very long.

**Q13.** Over facebook and by calling them or meeting them in person.

**Q14.** Activities related to my hobbies/interests.

**Q15.** This Easter I went to a road trip with six Spanish/grand Canarias people from my dorm in Poland. We visited Prague, Vienna, Bratislava and Budapest. We had a lot of fun even though I was the only person not speaking Spanish.

**Q16.** My mother and my father, and then my friends from school, or whoever got me into the trouble.

**Q17.** Don't know. Probably very important, as I am influenced by my ethnicity all the time.

**Q18.** Very. I am proud of it and I never deny it. People often mistake me for a Swede, but I always correct them.

**Q19.** When I am in Poland I feel Swedish, because it's easy to tell that I'm not from here, and also I am a bit different. But when someone in Sweden asks me, I feel Polish, because I don't fit in as a Swede either, and have a different cultural background.

**Q20.** I would like to move to Poland but I'm not sure if the economic point of view will allow this. I prefer the social life here.

**Informant 5:**

**Q1.** 24, male, Serbian-Montenegrin, born in Sweden, Master student

**Q2.** I speak Swedish, Serbo-Croatian, English and a little bit of German. I learned German at school.

**Q3.** English I usually speak at school, because it's an international master program, with my girlfriend (Russian) and usually with people from school who don't speak Swedish. Montenegrin or Serbo-Croatian I speak with family usually and Swedish with the rest of society.

**Q4.** I use all three of them every day.

**Q5.** I think it's a huge advantage, it gives me a huge span of people that I can talk to which would have taken a lot of effort otherwise. Sometimes you can't find the word for exactly what you want to express in that language.

**Q6.** My closest friends, except for the girlfriend, they are very mixed, they usually also came to Sweden either when they were really young or they were born here but they have parents that immigrated, usually about 20-30 years ago (Bulgaria, Turkey, Iraq, Russia, Africa, Nigeria, the Balkans, Lebanon).

**Q7.** I like gadgets, everything that has to do with technology, mobile phones, cars, playing games like ex-box for example. As everybody else I watch TV-series, movies.

**Q8.** No.

**Q9.** No. What about religion? I identify myself as a Muslim but I'm not so tied to the community.

**Q10.** I have facebook. I have around 140 friends; a part of them are family and relatives and another part are mostly friends. I reveal true information about myself, the basic stuff.

**Q11.** I used to use messenger a lot until a couple of years ago but now I barely use it. I realized it steals a lot of time every day, you're tied up.

**Q12.** I use my mobile phone a lot. Calling vs. texting depends on the people.

**Q13.** Last year I sent an email actually, but now I think I would call people.

**Q14.** I just stay home, maybe watch a movie, read some magazines, just hang out.

**Q15.** For example, last summer I went to Serbia& Montenegro. I go there almost every summer because I have family and relatives. Me and my brother we met up with a lot of cousins and we went out, we just spent time drinking and talking, eating, we went to another place, drank some more...we just had fun. That particular night was cool because we met with a lot of people that we don't meet so often, especially not together.

**Q16.** It depends on. If I was in the same town and I got into a fight or something I'd probably call one of my friends, if I knew that they were nearby. Or, generally I would call my brother I think.

**Q17.** My ethnic identity used to be more important for me, but now... I realized in time that this is not so important. For me it's important to be able to connect with everybody. I try to be open and communicate with everybody.

**Q18.** Mentality changes. It happened some time in my life that I felt strongly that I am Montenegrin and stuff like that. Then I thought I was more Swedish but in time you come to balance. In time you realize that these things do not matter.

**Q19.** If in Sweden I usually say I'm Swedish. Abroad I would say I am from Sweden, but my parents come from... I can't say that I am exclusively Swedish or Montenegrin; it's hard, you can't do that because I have both cultures as a characteristic of me.

**Q20.** I'm pretty happy in Sweden. I can't see myself trying to move to another country.

#### **Informant 6:**

**Q1.** 26, female, British-Mexican, 7, Bachelor, Master student.

**Q2.** I speak Swedish, English and Spanish. I know basic French.

**Q3.** English at school and at home, Swedish every day, Spanish I speak only with my relatives.

**Q4.** Every day.

**Q5.** For me I think it's an advantage, because I was really young when I moved here. Switching languages does not cause a hindrance for me so I think it's an advantage. I think English language has more descriptive words or a better vocabulary so I think it's easier or better or more creative way to express myself in English than in Swedish.

**Q6.** It's difficult because I've spent a lot of years overseas as well. My closest friends now in Sweden, they're Swedish. It's also because when I moved here I went to a Swedish school, my parents put me into Swedish school and lots of those friends I still have and so they are all Swedes and I was the only foreigner.

**Q7.** I like horses. I don't do it anymore (horse riding), but horses have been my huge hobbies since I was younger. Now it's more like running and sports, walking in the woods, just watching movies and cooking. I like fashion a lot.

**Q8.** Now not that much, but I still have contact with friends who are part of the horse society.

**Q9.** No, not that I can think of. I get mails from the Mexican society in Gothenburg but I don't pay a membership and I don't really go to any of the things.

**Q10.** I use facebook. Most of my friends are actually non-Swedish. They are either from Mexico, friends and relatives, and most of my other friends are from my time in London. It's real information. I don't show a lot and I have like a private account.

**Q11.** I don't have that many friends on messenger. Normally I don't use messenger that much because to send long messages to communicate with people I'd just use email or facebook messages more.

**Q12.** If it's just a quick thing I have to ask, then I text, and I don't need an answer straight away. If I need an answer and I need to make sure they noticed that I called or something, then I would call.

**Q13.** I've done it in two ways. The last time I did it, I did it on facebook and then it was fine and everything went well. But another time I did a party on facebook with another friend people said they were coming and then half of them didn't show up because they haven't checked their facebook or got the reminders. I think if I was to do one now, I would probably call everyone.

**Q14.** I hang out a lot with my boyfriend actually so with him it could be anything that's more interesting than like just cooking and watching TV.

**Q15.** A recent time we went out, we went to a club here in Gothenburg. We ate and then stayed longer when the restaurant turned into a club. We just stayed there at those big round tables and sofas, just drinking, good music, dancing. And we left quite early, which is also most time the reason why I have a good time.

**Q16.** Depending on the emergency I would either contact my mum or boyfriend.

**Q17.** In many ways I think it is. If I am out in a club and I meet people and they ask me things, of course lots of conversations start just because of that – “where are you from?...”

**Q18.** I don't think about it that much in that sense. I always mention it in my CV where I am from. Other than that I never really think about it. You can see it, maybe my actions, the things that I do, my thoughts, but I don't think it's that important. I don't think about it but if it comes up I'm not one of those who would say I'm Swedish and leave because I don't look very Swedish. I've always had good response to not being Swedish and I sound Swedish when I speak Swedish so no one would really guess anyway.

I remember I always said I don't want to be Swedish. Now it's getting better because I've been here long enough and older I noticed in many ways I am very Swedish so it wouldn't bother me to be Swedish. In that sense also to begin with is why I didn't apply to Swedish citizenship, I'm more proud to be English.

I think my identity might change more on paper. Ok, I will have a Swedish citizenship but I don't think I will be more Swedish or less Swedish.

**Q19.** People ask me “where do you come from” and I say England because for me I think where I was born and I was born in England. It's not just straight forward to say I'm from here because for me, I see myself as these three nationalities in some way.

**Q20.** I don't have a preference really. There are lots of places where I would like to go to but nowhere where I would like to settle because when I was younger I moved to lots of countries as well, not just here so I've always traveled. In some way to begin with I think Sweden is good because it's a lot safer and more open, they also have very good parenting regulations, you always get money and time off, that is really good.

#### **Informant 7:**

**Q1.** 26, female, Somali, 9, Master degree.

**Q2.** I speak Swedish, English and Somali.

**Q3.** Somali I use mostly with my grandmother and my mother, at home. I used to work also as a translator between Swedish and Somali and then I used it. Swedish I use in my daily life and English when I am abroad or when I am with somebody that can't speak Swedish.

**Q4.** Every day, mostly between Somali and Swedish.

**Q5.** Absolutely! I think the more languages you know, the more it gives you a lot of opportunities to interact with other people. The negative aspects, for example when I was growing up, the younger you are it is hard to have an identity because you are always between different languages and communicating with people from different culture.

**Q6.** It's so many! I have some Swedish friends, Arabic, from former Yugoslavia, Chinese, Iranian, but they all live in Sweden, they are like me.

**Q7.** I like movies, TV, music, I like to party, to travel.



**Q8.** Maybe I have some movie people, but I am not part of any groups. I work as a voluntary in the Red Cross.

**Q9.** No. I used to be when I was younger, there was this youth organization for Somali girls. I quit because I was too old I think, I started university.

**Q10.** No. I am an anti facebook person.

**Q11.** Yes.

**Q12.** My mobile and my computer are the most important things in my life. I call most of the time.

**Q13.** I would text I think. I would write one text and send it to everybody, by phone.

**Q14.** I like to party as I said, I also go out and just want to have a drink with my friends or coffee. We go a lot bowling and I love laserdoom, that's a really fun thing to do with your friends.

**Q15.** Actually last weekend I went to Helsingborg at my friend's birthday. We arrived there around 4.00, we cooked some different food like Arabic, Indian, Somali and we mixed it, then we ate cake, and danced and went after partying, perfect night!

**Q16.** I think I would call my best friend. It depends of what kind of problem it is. If she would be in the city then I would call her, if not I would call my younger brother.

**Q17.** I think it's important for me because it is a part of who I am and I think that the more I embrace it the easier it is, just because I get more understanding.

**Q18.** It is also a bit confusing, that part it is not cleared up yet because my parents are from Somalia, I know that, but in many ways I feel also as a Swedish person. Maybe the way I feel about my identity will change over the years, or at least for my kids if I will have them here. Maybe they won't face the same problems that I did. For me, I feel like I am half Swedish, half Somali.

**Q19.** If I was in Sweden I would say I'm Somali. If I was outside the country, I would say I was Swedish.

**Q20.** If I would find a job after my internship I think Sweden. If not I will go either to Canada or the UK because I speak the language and I have a pharmacy ID.

I think I would like my children to grow in Sweden. I've been outside of Sweden and I think it's a really safe country, it's a good environment, and even though we have some negative parts of the culture, it is still a good place to grow up in.

### **Informant 8:**

**Q1.** 22, male, Montenegrin-Bosnian, 4, high school, studying for Bachelor.

**Q2.** I speak fluently Swedish, Yugoslavian and English.

**Q3.** English I probably use it in my studies or when I meet people who can't speak Swedish. At home we use both Swedish and Yugoslavian, but it's a mix.

**Q4.** I switch languages all the time, everyday.

**Q5.** There's both sides of the coin. The good thing is that I can use more languages in an automatic response. The disadvantage is that it gets confusing because you use different structures of language.

**Q6.** My best friend is Yugoslavian. Other friends, I don't look that much to ethnicity; I have Swedes, Arabians, Yugoslavians, Italians, etc.

**Q7.** My biggest hobby is football. I like watching movies and music.

**Q8.** When I play football I play with friends, or we go to random clubs.

**Q9.** I'm not part of any groups based on my ethnicity. I was before, when I played football, but not anymore.

**Q10.** I use facebook a lot. I used to use MySpace but not anymore. Twitter, I didn't have the motivation to check it out, I'm not the blogger type. My friends on facebook are mostly Swedes. Most of them I know, we had conversations before. In my profile I use basic real information, but I don't reveal too much about myself.

**Q11.** Yes, msn. Well pretty much every day for every kind of purpose. Chatting with friends, school purpose, date purpose, everything more or less.

**Q12.** I don't use my mobile phone that much. Texting vs. calling depends on the situation.

**Q13.** I'm not that much of an organizer, but probably the core I will call and talk a while with them. The other people I would probably text them or use facebook.

**Q14.** Mostly I like to do stuff; partying, watching movies, football games, maybe go out and eat.

**Q15.** One night we got really drunk and we went all out and the most stupid things happened on an ice course. We were competing, who would be the fastest.

**Q16.** If I were in trouble I would call my parents first.

**Q17.** It's kind of hard to say. When I came here I was very young and I was in a crowd where there were mostly Swedes. I got much of the Swedish way of acting, especially in school and how to communicate with people. I've been easily adapted and we didn't have that strong of a group of Yugoslavians where we lived so there wasn't much of an influence.

**Q18.** For me personally it's not that important.

**Q19.** I'm a Swede born in Bosnia with roots from Montenegro.

**Q20.** I would like to settle in Sweden because I'm raised here.

### **Informant 9:**

**Q1.** 25, female, Palestinian, 12 years old, Master studies.

**Q2.** Arabic, Swedish and English.

**Q3.** In everyday life. Arabic most at home and with Arabic friends. Swedish most at work and with Swedish-speaking friends, English with English-speaking friends.

**Q4.** Every day!

**Q5.** I see it as an advantage. Speaking more than one language makes you flexible and also expands your verbal abilities. Some other advantages are: divergent thinking and general reasoning. Knowing more than one language also means knowing more than one culture.

**Q6.** My closest friends have got different nationalities. They are from Palestine, Somalia, China. I don't have a boyfriend at the moment.

**Q7.** Travel, hanging out with family and friends, exercise and play the piano.

**Q8.** No.

**Q9.** No.

**Q10.** No.

**Q11.** Yes I do, almost every day. The purpose is to keep in touch with my friends, be updated and have fun.

**Q12.** I prefer texting, it's a matter of time! When you don't have time to talk or discuss something you just text and that's it.

**Q13.** Well here I would tell them in advance that I am planning a party by texting/emailing, and then I would call to confirm.

**Q14.** Being with people I love. Having a cup of coffee with friends is a very relaxing thing.

**Q15.** All days and nights I spent in London doing my Master thesis are unforgettable. People in London are very open-minded, helpful, nice and just wonderful.

**Q16.** My family, my friends.

**Q17.** Very important. I feel like I represent my ethnic group (Palestinians/ Arabs/ Muslims) in social interactions in my everyday life. Therefore I always aim to do my best and give a good impression.

**Q18.** My ethnic identity is a big part of my personal identity and a part of my thinking, feelings and behavior.

**Q19.** Palestinian of course. However, since my passport is Swedish, my "nationality" would automatically be Swedish. Therefore when I apply for jobs, my nationality in my CV is Swedish.

**Q20.** In UK (London) or UAE (Dubai, Abu Dhabi). These countries are very civilized and have such a nice diversity (diverse range of people, cultures and religions). I would like to live in a country with more open-minded people and people that accept you as you are.

#### **Informant 10:**

**Q1.** 28, female, Iranian, 6, bachelor degree.

**Q2.** Swedish, Farsi, English.

**Q3.** With family Farsi, with friends or colleagues Swedish and sometimes English.

**Q4.** Daily.

**Q5.** I see it an advantage because you can adapt fast to any kind of situation where people in a group or individuals speak more than one language. And also as translation to help people understand and communicate.

**Q6.** Most of my closest friends are from different ethnic backgrounds such as: Swedish, Macedonian, Indian, Pakistani and Iranian/ Kurdish, Palestinian and Somali... I don't have any boyfriend.

**Q7.** Dancing, especially Bollywood and classic Indian dance. I like travelling a lot, reading books and cooking and watching drama series, especially Asian.

**Q8.** Yes. I am part of a dance group (Bollywood). Those who are part of it are mostly girls that are now friends of mines; we meet 1-2 times in a week. Then I am coach leader for an organization that works with girls in their adolescence.

**Q9.** No.

**Q10.** I use facebook, but I still keep it in a low profile.

**Q11.** Yes, to chat and talk with friends from other parts of the world. Well, it depends; sometimes once in a week, sometimes more rare like once in a month when I am busy.

**Q12.** Calling. The person can hear my voice and there will hopefully be less misunderstandings. It is easy to use but not cheapest; I am to slow with sms and when I do text I type long texts and it takes lot of time.

**Q13.** Of course by calling them or like one month before email all of them and make a guest list on facebook or something else.

**Q14.** Enjoying the time with people that I feel comfortable with and like, and chat and laugh and just have fun together.

**Q15.** I believe it was in London in one of the clubs, traveling around with friends and enjoy. And one that I really have good memory about is when I went to Madeira with a friend and neighbor. I got so much positive energy that I did well for a whole year in almost everything.

**Q16.** Parents, dad or mom.

**Q17.** It's very important because it represents my roots and where I am from. If other people can't respect that it's their problem and I don't have so much to discuss with them. Sometimes we understand each other better when we come from the same country and we speak the same language.

**Q18.** It's important to me and I can't deny it. But I don't like to get hurt or hurt other people's thoughts and feelings because of my own identity.

**Q19.** I would say I was born Iranian and lived in Sweden for most of my life. I am Swedish too, but first of all I am Iranian.

**Q20.** Well, it depends on work economic situation and also if I have good memories from that country. It doesn't matter as long as I feel OK, but I always thought of living in England or somewhere else than Sweden as well.