



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

MASTER THESIS IN
EUROPEAN STUDIES

**Exam on multiculturalism -
acculturation process of immigrants from Central and
Eastern Europe in Sweden**

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Spring term 2013

Abstract

The focus of this paper is on cultural integration of migrants into the Swedish society, regulated by Swedish integration policy. Nowadays, when migration flows grow over decades, immigration issues should be paid a special concern. The study is narrowed to acculturation of immigrants from CEES in Sweden. Ekberg & Andersson (1995) have calculated that income effect of immigration has rated in tax incomes growth up to eight milliards SEK. Therefore their successful integration is crucial bilateral benefit.

Most research on immigrants' integration is made by analysis of integration of them into labour market. However socio-cultural integration of immigrants is understudied. This research analyses acculturation of immigrants from CEES, comparing the goals direction of integration policy with the actual state of things.

Firstly Swedish integration policy was analysed. Secondly, information on actual acculturation of immigrants was gathered. Twenty one interviews with CEES immigrants was made and analysed through Berry's (Berry, 1995) theoretical model.

The results have showed that Swedish integration policy keeps multiculturalist approach, which was supported by analysis of immigrants' acculturation. There were no large differences of integration process among three nationalities of the case study group.

Keywords: multiculturalism, acculturation, integration, migration policy, immigrants, CEE countries

Word count: 11 584 words

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1. Introduction

European immigration and integration policies constantly undergo significant changes due to continuous migration. Migration flows play an essential role in the formation of a European community. During the last 50 years Sweden has been faced with an influx of migrants, as have other European countries. Therefore the state has to decide on how to handle this phenomenon. For successful integration of migrants it is important to know the actual state of affairs with immigrants' integration to adjust and improve the policies.

Sweden was among Europe's pioneers establishing integration policy as a tool to better incorporate migrants into society. During the last few years some scholars have claimed that the era of multiculturalism in Europe has ended (Joppke & Morawska 2003, Brubaker 2003) and more countries are now leading an assimilative policy. Therefore the study partly aims to monitor a practical situation with the state of affairs of multiculturalism in Sweden. To do so, firstly Swedish integration policy is analysed on the subject of multiculturalism, and secondly the actual monitoring of immigrants' ability to preserve their culture is made through analysis of migrants' acculturation process. However it should be noted that the study focuses on migrants from Ukraine, Russia and Poland, which are CEE countries, but results are not representative for the whole CEE immigrants' population in Sweden.

Sweden, which has encountered quite high immigration during the past decades (more than 70 000 during the 2000s), received a relatively small share of migrants from Post-Soviet countries (Olofsson & Malmberg 2011). Therefore scientists, making research on migration to Sweden rarely focus on this migrant group. Nevertheless, this is a specific group due to the comparatively large amount of educated people that constitute it (Olofsson & Malmberg 2011). The current research is made to reveal the actual situation with acculturation of this type of migrants.

And finally, the study will analyse how migrants from Central and Eastern Europe acculturate to the Swedish society under the scope of integration policy of Sweden to find out if CEE migrants are able to preserve their culture; whether they make the host society multicultural, or whether they have to assimilate due to societal pressure.

2. Definitions

The term *multiculturalism* refers to the consideration and appreciation of diversity of cultures as additive to and enriching for global humanity and social order (Anderson 2007). Multiculturalism promotes the notion that dual or multiple cultural identities are indeed feasible (Anderson 2007). For example, a migrant's identity is not in conflict with the home country identity and the host country identity. Individuals may identify themselves equally with both ethnic groups (Anderson 2007).

A respect for multiculturalism in society has been implemented at national levels in most democratic constitutional legal systems in Europe.

2.1. Acculturation, Assimilation and Integration – what is the difference?

Acculturation, assimilation and integration all are the terms relating to adaptation of migrants within the host or dominant society. But what is the exact difference and how to classify certain adaptation processes within these notions?

The first thing that should be mentioned is that there are several theoretical concepts dealing with acculturation and assimilation. Therefore there are slight differences in their definitions. .

The classical definition of acculturation was given by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936, p.149): “acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups”.

In the unidirectional tradition, acculturation is of the same meaning as assimilation; generally speaking it is synonymous to absorption of immigrants into the hosting culture. Robert Park (Park 1950) described the contact process of two ethno-racial groups and wrote about assimilation stating that firstly there is competition between immigrants and host society groups which later ends in assimilation (conflict, then competition, and later assimilation). Inspired by Park, Milton Gordon (1964, 1978), presented a model of assimilation where he described the stages of absorption of migrants into the host or dominant culture. Gordon separated out seven types of assimilation: (1) cultural assimilation and acculturation (change of cultural patterns to those of dominant culture); (2) structural assimilation (large scale entrance into institutions of dominant culture); (3) marital assimilation or amalgamation (large scale intermarriage); (4) identificational assimilation (development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the dominant culture); (5) attitude-receptional assimilation (absence of prejudice); (6) behavioural-receptional assimilation (absence of discrimination); and (7) civic assimilation (absence of value and power conflicts).

According to Gordon, cultural acculturation and assimilation is the first step of the absorption process and it will take place no matter happen next absorption stages or not (Gordon, 1964). He states, “Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow” (Gordon, 1964, p.80-81). Therefore, from this perspective acculturation and assimilation are synonyms and constitute the first stage of general absorption.

Alternatively to the unidirectional school of thought has developed a bidimensional one. The most well-known representative of this school is John Berry, a Canadian researcher of cross-cultural psychology. Berry (1974, 1980) has proposed a four-dimensional acculturation model with main strategies which follow groups and individuals abroad. The core of the model is the existence of two dimensions which form the process of acculturation accenting on such indicators as heritage, culture and identity (Berry 1980). According to Berry, acculturation occurs when there is a little interest from individual to maintain the culture of origin and a big interest in communication with a larger hosting society.

Assimilation occurs when individuals adopt the cultural norms of a dominant or host society, over their original one. *Separation* occurs when individuals reject the host culture with a goal to preserve their culture of origin. Integration occurs when individuals adopt the cultural norms of the host culture at the same time maintaining their own culture. *Integration* is always connected with biculturalism. *Marginalization* occurs when individuals reject both their culture of origin and the host culture; According to supporters of bidimensional theory assimilation is one of the dimensions of acculturation process, as well as integration. The main difference consists in level of acceptance and rejection of one’s own culture and that of the host society.

3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

3.1. Previous research, central concepts and position of the study

Successful integration of immigrants leaves the host society relatively unchanged (DeWind & Kasinitz, 1997, Schmitter Heisler, 2000). Brubaker (2003), Joppke and Morawska (2003) detecting evidence of a return of assimilationist policies in Western societies (Freeman 2004, p. 946), stated that multiculturalism has given up its position. Brubaker (2003) was the first, who stated that multiculturalism had already reached its peak and policies have turned towards an assimilative approach. Although he dealt almost exclusively with immigration and citizenship law, Brubaker's path-breaking research convinced many readers that the preferences of states for particular modes of incorporation were deeply rooted in cultural and historical traditions highly resistant to change (Freeman 2004, p. 948). He was supported by Joppke C., who described a policy of European countries concerning immigrants as “repressive

liberalism”, introducing a description of the policy, which is liberal from the first side but sometimes harsh and converging after the closer look.

Jacobs and Rea question whether the situation is as critical as other authors describe. Scholars like Banting (2000), Coulombe (2000), Castles (1998), Hammar (1999), Entziger (1994, 2003), have given praised Canada, Australia, Sweden, and the Netherlands for their more enthusiastic embrace of official multiculturalism. Joppke and Morawska (2003, p.10) note that “de facto multiculturalism has become a pervasive reality in liberal, immigrant-receiving states”, however, they nonetheless claim that official multiculturalism, the deliberate and explicit recognition and protection of immigrants as distinct ethnic groups, is in decline, as is notable in Sweden (Hammar, 1999).

Such conclusions are grounded on integration policy analysis. They are derived from official approaches towards immigrants. However, analysis should be done of the actual state of affairs with multiculturalism, rather than policies alone. Who knows what happens beyond the walls of migration boards that oblige migrants to pass language and culture tests? How to measure multiculturalism in social relationships? The actual state of affairs is understudied. There is a lack of research on situations within the immigrant communities and this study is aimed to fill this gap.

The other authors, like Bengtsson, Lundh & Scott (2005), Rumbaut (1999), Olofsson & Malmberg (2011) analyse assimilation of migrants, their economic integration and inclusion into society. Bengtsson, Lundh and Scott (2005) made a research “From Boom to Bust” on economic integration of immigrants in post war Sweden. They focus on Swedish migration policy after the Second World War, migrants’ income development, their influence on labour market questioning why there is a big difference in immigrant and native citizens’ integration into the labour market. Such type of study, when migrants’ integration is studied, basing on employment and unemployment rates, average earnings, standard of living is more common than research on cultural integration of immigrants.

Rumbaut (1999) in his article “Assimilation and its Discontents: Ironies and Paradoxes”, aims to test empirically the conception of assimilation. He has tried to do this on a subject of theoretical, conceptual and analytical refinement in various areas, from health and criminality to educational and cultural assimilation. Describing cultural assimilation, he emphasises such indicators of acculturation as involvement in informational process of the dominant culture and connection with informational stream of the country of origin. The last indicator is considered an important one and is therefore used in this study.

There is surprisingly little written about immigration from Central and Eastern Europe to Sweden. There is not much research on this type of migrants and even less on their acculturation. Olofsson & Malmberg (2011) have tried to explain a paradox of an unexpectedly low level of

migration between Russia and Sweden, as neighbouring countries with serious macroeconomic differences. They have emphasised the emergence of transnational social space. Focusing on the importance of existence and development of transnational social space, authors have tried to explain the phenomenon of comparatively low labour market integration of migrants specifically from the Post-Soviet Republics.

Research studies into immigrants' actual, not psychological acculturation, are rarely undertaken, since the notion of acculturation is more often used in psychology. One of such works is one of Kurmani, Eshel and Zehavi (1999) "Personal and Group Acculturation Attitudes and Adjustment: Russian and Ethiopian Immigrants in Israel". Although not close to this, the work was valuable by example of application of Berry's theoretical model towards attitudes on social adjustment of migrants from Russia and Ethiopia. Empirical studies of state policies toward cultural practice, according to Freeman (2004), have focused on two broad topics: 1) the location of particular countries along a continuum that includes efforts at marginalization and exclusion, expectations of assimilation, and endorsement of official multiculturalism; and 2) the extent to which states direct their policies at migrants as individuals or as members of ethnic or national-origin groups (Freeman 2004, p. 958).

John Berry's (1996, 1995, 1990) studies are central to the work. Making a research on psychological acculturation of individuals, Berry theorizes, on a basis of his findings that the most recent result of migrants' acculturation is integration; marginalisation is the least successful; and assimilation and separation strategies are intermediate (Berry, 1990a; Berry & Sam, 1996).

Writing about multicultural adaptation Berry has found that the success of adaptation strategy "depends on the willingness of the dominant society to allow it, and the wish of co-ethnics to pursue it" (Berry 1997, p.22).

Therefore *Hypothesis* of the study, basing on Berry's theory will be that most individuals in all three groups of Migrants from Central and Eastern Europe will show Integration strategy, thus showing acceptance of duality of cultures or multiculturalism, pursued by Swedish integration policy goals.

Swedish integration policy changes at cultural level over time

Castles and Miller (2003) argue that there is a strong but imperfect relationship between a country's historical experience of immigration and the kinds of policies they develop towards migrants at home. The traditional countries of immigration (the United States, Canada, Australia) operate annual immigration quotas and support family reunion, permanent settlement, and ready acquisition of

citizenship (Freeman 2004, p. 950). Guest worker countries (Germany, Switzerland, Austria) have tried to prevent family reunion, and adopted restrictive naturalization rules (Freeman 2004, p. 950)

Sweden, as well as other Nordic countries, traditionally tended to be a very homogeneous country in Europe “where the number of foreigners is the smallest, which can probably be explained by Sweden’s remote location” (Jederlund 1998). In 1930 the foreign population of Sweden was less than 1%, including Lapps and Finns (Runblom 1994). It is remarkable that the Swedish census still made that distinction of Lapps and Finns even though these groups had been living for a half a millennium in the Swedish realm (Crepaz 2007, p. 224). The slogan “Sweden for Swedes”, although being popular during the interwar years, lost popularity after World War II, as attitudes altered. (Runblom 1994, p.628).

In 1954 the labour market was opened with the introduction of a common Nordic labour market. Sweden adopted a very ‘hospitable’ approach towards immigrants in the 1960s when a large influx of labour immigration took place. However there were very few refugees. During this period Sweden introduced a ‘guest worker’ program. This made visible a close connection between the universal character of Swedish citizenship and immigrant entitlement (Crepaz 2007, p. 224). Migrants could receive a permanent residence status after one or two years in Sweden and become Swedish citizens after five years. All the social benefits, including unemployment benefits were extended to migrants equally with Swedes, according to the liberal Swedish nationality law. As Geddes (2003) and Crepaz (2007) note, the socio-democratic roots of the Swedish welfare state were “founded on strongly egalitarian principles, (meaning) that immigrants were swiftly included as welfare state members” (Geddes 2003, p.119).

At the end of 1960s labour immigration became restricted and non-Nordic immigration to Sweden was almost stopped (Bengtsson, Scott & Lundh 2005, p.2). Hospitable invitation and acceptance of newcomers has stopped after the oil crises in 1973. However the process of family reunification and the process of immigrants’ influx continued.

Sweden realized early that migrant workers were here to stay and it is more effective to integrate them into society. This notion was reflected in a multiculturalism programme of 1975 which based on grounds of ‘equality’, ‘freedom of choice’ and ‘partnership’. According to Crepaz (Crepaz 2007), the principles of equality and freedom of choice capture the dimensions of the welfare state and multiculturalism whereas equality meant that the living conditions of migrants or new citizens should be equal to those of Swedes, freedom of choice referred to the cultural autonomy of immigrants. Freedom of choice also meant that linguistic minorities could choose to what extent to adopt Swedish cultural identity and to what extent to preserve their culture of origin. Furthermore, partnership suggested solidarity and cooperation with Swedes (Crepaz 2007, p.225). As Crepaz says: “these

policies demarcate Sweden as one of the pioneers of multiculturalism among modern nation - states” (Crepaz 2007, p. 225). It should not be forgotten that this immigration policy was formulated during a stable welfare situation in Sweden, when it had enjoyed a stable economy with forecasts of continued growth.

One should clarify the meaning of the multiculturalism notion for Sweden. If multiculturalism is perceived as recognition, protection and support of migrants’ traditions and culture by the dominant culture, Sweden was not the leader of multiculturalism in 1990s. That time over 80% of Swedes thought migrants rather should adopt Swedish culture than maintain theirs. However, with the passing of time this number has decreased to 66% in 2003 and 51% in 2007 (Freeman 2004).

As Crepaz mentions, “It is puzzling that in terms of nativist prejudice or welfare chauvinism Sweden shows a low incidence, but in terms of its level of multiculturalism, at least as the population is concerned, the Swedes are not that much in favour of it despite the early development of multiculturalism policies” (Crepaz 2007, p.235). Swedish policymakers soon realized that there existed a tension between the universal welfare state and extensive multiculturalism due to growing employment disproportion between Swedes and immigrants and beneficial unemployment policy which treated migrants and natives in Sweden equally. Therefore there was a move “towards an approach that placed more emphasis on Swedish language and culture and adaptation of migrants”, away from multiculturalism policies (Geddes 2003, p.122). Such a shift in social opinion in 1990s was possibly partly a result of an economic crisis which led to increased unemployment among Swedes. Therefore, they were more tolerant in 2003, possibly as a result of a better economic situation.

Swedish and EU integration approach

Entzinger (2000) identifies three domains of integration policies: legal political (state), cultural (nation), and socioeconomic (market). The cultural dimension refers to whether a society expects assimilation or accepts the formation of multicultural ethnic minorities. Immigration laws often constrain the migrant's interaction with market, welfare, and cultural regulations (see Hollifield, 2000, 1994; see also Castles, 1988; Zolberg, 1999). Within the European Union, considerable energy has been devoted to the harmonization of immigration and asylum policies, a key force behind convergence (Freeman 2004, p. 951). In 1999, the Tampere Council mandated the development of a common asylum policy, and the Commission has issued communications on common policies on asylum and legal and illegal immigration (COM (2001)710 COM (2006) 0402 final). However, the Council has approved few of the Commission's proposals on immigration.

There is no clear harmonized framework of citizenship in European Union. Howard (2003) argues that “it is still too early to speak of a convergence process within the countries of the EU” (p.

22). Hansen (1998) provides a slightly different take. He concludes, “There is no clear direction to policy change in Europe, and that one can at most speak confidently of a liberal harmonization of naturalization in North-Western Europe” (p. 760). However, despite the absence of a common citizenship framework, there is elaborated a common understanding of the core principles of migrants’ integration.

The core principles of EU integration process

EU has considered integration of migrants as a continuous process which includes involvement of migrants into host society on equal basis. Member States have confirmed their commitment to further developing the core idea of integration as a driver for economic development and social cohesion, in order to better enhance migrants' contribution to economic growth and cultural richness (COM (2011) 455 final, p.3). Within the integration process immigrants should be well incorporated into the economic, legal, social and cultural spheres of the society on equal basis with the indigenous citizens. As integration is the process that touches all these spheres, all formal and non-formal institutions, as well as governmental ones should be included in the process.

In the EU legislation it is stressed that the basic values should be adhered to the development of integration policy and further efforts should be made for its implementation. The area of integration policy development include such notions as respect for the principles of liberty, democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms and the rule of law.

The key part of the integration process is employment of immigrants and their right to be equally employed with the nationals of the host country.

The Charter of Fundamental Rights has stated the need to practice diverse cultures and religions within the member states. The Communication of the Commission highlighted the fact that tolerance and respect of different cultures stimulates the integration process whilst at the same time stressing the importance of combating discriminative and xenophobic attitudes. The Commission recommended member states to initiate special programmes to create a friendly environment for practicing different cultures insofar as they do not conflict with the fundamental rights of the EU. COM (2010/C 83/02).

The first of the EU’s ‘common basic principles’ of immigrant integration policy states: ‘Integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of the Member States’ (Council of the European Union 2004: 19). This means that integration of migrants is a bilateral process and the host country has to change its approach towards migrants and provide ‘the opportunities for the immigrants’ full economic, social, cultural, and political participation’ (p. 19). Moreover, the EU approach can be treated as multiculturalist, as the EU’s

‘common basic principles’ include full respect for the immigrants’ and their descendants’ own language and culture’ (p. 20).

The other principle of EU statement on immigrant integration policy states: ‘Basic knowledge of the host society’s language, history, and institutions is indispensable to integration’.

However, different member states treat this approach differently. Whereas in Sweden there is no obligation to learn the country’s language, in the Netherlands and Germany this is obligatory after the newcomer enters the country. Moreover, sometimes immigrants have to learn the language before they cross the border.

The development of EU policies and their main principles seem to be more focused on the multiculturalist approach. It implies that immigrants should be granted equal rights in all spheres of society, - legal, economic, social and cultural, without being expected to give up their diversity (Castles & Mitchell 1993, p.248). According to the Commission, immigrants have the right to practice their culture and religious beliefs until they violate the fundamental democratic principles and its communications underline the importance of these rights.

Member states, although sharing their competencies with supranational institutions, still have the freedom of national regulation within the social issues. Therefore the implementation of EU policy depends on a balance between member state’s interests and supranational ambitions to achieve the EU’s common goals (Geddes 2003, p.199). The proliferation of anti-discrimination laws and policies reflects Europe’s structural transformation into a multi-ethnic society, as well as a general willingness to tackle the specific inequalities that go along with it (Joppke 2007, p.5). Sweden was a pioneer in incorporating integration policies into objectives of its social policy.

Integration policy of Sweden

Castles and Miller (2003, pp.249, 252) make an extensive review of policies across the democracies to identify three approaches to ethnic diversity: differential exclusion (Germany, Austria, and Switzerland), assimilation (France, Britain, and the Netherlands), and multiculturalism (the United States, Canada, Australia, and Sweden).

Sweden, with the adoption of integration policy by the Riksdag in 1997 has openly declared that integration policy is an indispensable part of the country’s immigration policy, and elaborated an integral approach towards integration objectives. This approach emphasized the close interlinking of legal, economic, social and cultural spheres within the migrants’ integration process, and therefore appropriate measures with coordination of governmental and non-governmental institutions should be taken. Such an approach was adopted long before the EU has formulated policy of migrants’

integration. Therefore Sweden is a special case within a Europe, a country which has developed such a policy without the EU interference (2001/02:129).

As it was analysed before, after the labour migration flow of the first twenty years after the World War II Sweden has adopted an assimilationist model for immigrant 'guest workers' which implied an exclusionist approach towards newcomers. However, comparing to the wider immigrant population living in Europe, Sweden provided more or less equal condition within the economic and legal spheres. This made possible for elaboration of multiculturalist approach.

In 1975 Sweden declared the necessity of migrants' integration and inclusion in the society. In the last twenty years Sweden has developed policy directed at equal treatment and inclusion of migrants which led to convergence of immigration policy into integration policy. Compared with 1997, when the Riksdag took the decision on integration policy, there is now much greater awareness in organisations and public authorities of the integration policy objectives for everyone living in Sweden to have equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities. Ethnic diversity has affected social development and there is much greater openness towards differences in today's society (2001/02:129). Within the Report of integration policy for the 21st century was the importance of preservation of a mother tongue by migrants' children, an opportunity for everyone to perform or experience the variety of multicultural expressions is put in a focus (2001/02:129).

Within the integration policy, which is aimed at the better inclusion of migrants into the labour market, these key points stated above reveal the multicultural approach in official regulations. According to Berry (Berry 1990) some national immigration policies are clearly assimilationist, expecting all immigrant and ethno-cultural groups to become like those in the dominant society; others are integrationist, willing (and even pleased) to accept and incorporate all groups on their own cultural terms (to an extent); yet others have pursued segregationist policies; and others have sought the marginalisation of unwanted groups (Berry 1990, p.11). In Sweden the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality is responsible for issues related to integration and anti-discrimination. Integration policy approach, if analysed according to Berry's division of policies, is more integrationist, as giving an opportunity to learn the Swedish language allows one to do so by one's own volition. and moreover supports the preservation of the own culture and religion of the immigrant.

According to Carrieri, Sweden is a country that traditionally follows a multicultural model, which is based on the respect and protection of cultural diversity and aims at explicitly guaranteeing the identity of the immigrant community (Carrieri 2006, p.2). Swedish integration policy analysis leads to conclusion that the policy supports the multiculturalist approach even though immigration policies have varied in different periods due to the economic situation and other factors.

Conceptual framework

The central concept used in this study is grounded on Berry's practical approach and theory. This Canadian scientist was one of main representatives of the bidimensional school of thought. Berry presented a theory of acculturation strategies (Berry 1997), which are assimilation, separation, integration and marginalisation. His concept represents an intersection of two dimensions, one of which is a value to maintain culture and characteristics of the country of origin and other – a value of the host society.

An intersection of these two dimensions identifies four strategies. *Assimilation* strategy indicates that an individual does not want to keep his original culture and prefers a host one, *Separation/Segregation* strategy says that an individual does not want to avoid interaction with the host culture with the aim to maintain the culture of his origin “when individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others” (Berry, 1997, p. 9); *Integration* strategy shows that an individual streams to maintain his original culture at the same time interacting daily with the host culture “when there is an interest in both maintaining one's own culture, while in daily interaction with other groups” (Berry, 1997, p. 9); and *Marginalisation* indicates rejection of both host and original culture, “when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination)” (Berry, 1997, p. 9).

The study described below fits within Berry's (1997) comprehensive framework, exploring the ways of acculturation of migrants from the Central and Eastern Europe in Sweden.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Research aim and questions

Today, migrants constitute a significant part of the Swedish population, and therefore it is important to know what is going on in it and through which processes they undergo. It is essential to know whether immigrants become more ‘Swedish’, or keep to close-knit national diasporas within the Swedish borders.

Therefore the aim of the research is to find out if migrants from Central and Eastern Europe assimilate or preserve their culture in Sweden under the scope of Swedish integration policies.

The purposes of the study are:

- To find the prevailing strategy of migrants' acculturation
- To see if migrants' prevailing acculturation strategy corresponds to Swedish integration policy goals

- To see if the migrant group's acculturation goes towards multiculturalist or assimilative adaptation

The research question of the study is:

How do migrants from Central and Eastern Europe acculturate to the Swedish society under the scope of Swedish integration policy?

Significance and potential contributions

As was mentioned before, Sweden and many other European countries are faced with the challenge of immigration and have to deal with large numbers of migrants. The other thing is that each country chooses individually how to handle migrants within their borders. In any case migrants nowadays form a significant part of a country's society. Along with other members of society, they help form the country's agenda. They participate in elections, support social programmes, and participate in formation of the host society. Therefore it is important to know the actual state of things within these migrants' communities to understand them better. This will help to integrate them better, thus making them an integral part of the Swedish community. Integration of migrants is essential to avoid extremist protests from manifesting, like those that have occurred in Franceⁱ, for example. Successful acculturation of migrants will lead to benefits for the host society, from provision of labour force (both low-level and highly educated) to cultural enrichment (Singer 2012, Berry 2005).

Thus, the study will ideally contribute to the better understanding of acculturation situation of migrants from Central and Eastern Europe, on a basis of a pilot study with the 21 people group. It could also serve as an example and a ground for a wider research with a bigger group of respondents.

Limitations of the study

The aim of the research is to find out whether migrants from Central and Eastern Europe assimilate or preserve their culture in Sweden under the scope of Swedish integration policies. In making an analysis of migrants' acculturation in Sweden, this research is geographically limited to one town – Gothenburg.

Data limitations

The interviews were conducted with 21 people, therefore the study is not representative for the whole population of immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe in Sweden, so this is more a pilot study. Some interviewees were from church communities; therefore some interviews were made there. However people interviewed in a church complete a half of Slavic interviewees, others were found

ⁱ In 2005 there were Muslim protests in France that ended in vilifications and public disturbances. Gecker, Jocelyn *Associated Press* (2 November 2005), "[Seventh Day of Violence Erupts Near Paris](#)"

through personal contacts and suggestions. Nevertheless, it should be noted that marginalized and strongly assimilated people would not be in this half of people interviewed in a church. Possibly if this part of interviews was made outside this church community, results would be different.

On a basis of interviews with 21 people it cannot also be concluded about the integration specifics of certain nationalities or gender differences in integration etc. The group is tested as a whole CEE migrants' sample that consists of Ukrainians, Russians and Poles. Since CEE group of countries is more than Ukraine, Russia and Poland, the inclusion of other nationality representatives would possibly change the results. However, Russia, Ukraine and Poland are the biggest countries in CEE group, as representatives of Central (Poland) and Eastern (Russia and Ukraine) Europe. Thus some conclusions about CEE migrants in Sweden still can be done.

Design limitations

The study uses a methodological approach based on Berry's theoretical model and Brugh's findings. Thus, led by Berry's approach, a study follows his pattern. The results possibly could be somehow different if another method was used. However, being a theory led in method, the study makes conclusions basing on testing of the method on respondents of three countries and the results cannot be clearly predicted in the beginning.

4.2. Research design and data collection methods

Overall approach

The choices of research methods and tools were based on the effectiveness of their usage for this type of study. The research question asks how do migrants from Central and Eastern Europe acculturate to the Swedish society under the scope of Swedish integration policy. It is possible to measure economic integration of immigrants through analysis of statistical information and using quantitative methodology. But how to measure the level of cultural integration? There is no statistical data on which festivals migrants celebrate or which kitchen they prefer at home, or which language they speak when they are free to speak the language they like. This information can be gathered only through personal lived experiences. As Marshall states: "...qualitative research can be categorized into those, focusing on a) individual lived experience, b) society and culture, and c) language and communication." (Marshall 2006, p. 55) This study will focus on society and culture, and individual lived experience is crucial for it.

However, this method has its strengths and weaknesses. Since the study uses the personal lived experiences, a subjective factor can hardly be avoided. Nevertheless, the questions are formulated in a way to minimize this possibility. For example, a respondent is asked if it is important for him/her to be aware what is going on in his/her home country. Whatever the answer is, the following question – "do

you read home country newspapers?” reveals the factual information and the actual state of affairs. This is made with the aim to avoid participants’ personal evaluation of their acculturation situation. Qualitative methods are the most appropriate here not only of a lack of necessary information in statistical sources and difficulties to gather such information in other ways; it is also helpful in revealing deep personal motives, which can be explained through personal conversation only and understanding the answers even if there are words unsaid.

As the study has an exploration goal and puts “how” research question, it aims at examination of contemporary events, but relevant behaviours cannot be manipulated. Thus a case study method is suggested as suitable by Yin (2009). The research is a case study of a process which highlights certain aspects of it under taken circumstances.

Material collection

Among six sources of data collection, suggested by Yin (2009), guided interviews are considered as the most appropriate ones. The results of 21 interviews are structurally tested; therefore there is a need in guided interview.

As the research is aimed at analysis of acculturation of migrants’ from Central and Eastern Europe, three groups of migrants from these countries were questioned. They were Russians, Ukrainians and Poles (seven representatives from each country). To make data most representative candidates were chosen randomly, with age variation from 22 to 77 years. The only essential thing for the participants was to have been in Sweden at least for one year, as after one year a person can be under the scope of integration policies. All interviewees were first-generation migrants. Random places were chosen for interviews – a church where Russians and Ukrainians gather, as well as in specially set meetings with an interviewer, or simply with people met in the street.

Interviews made with participants, were factual by type. All interviews were made in a personal conversation, recorded and later transcribed and if there was a need, translated. Interviewees were asked the language they will feel comfortable to answer; therefore interviews were made mostly in Russian and Polish, but sometimes in Englishⁱⁱ. Interviews were collected during three weeks period, in April 2013.

The main aim during interviews was, as suggested by Marshall (2006) – to unfold the participant’s perspective of the phenomenon of interest (the state of participant’s acculturation) as the participant views it, not the researcher (Marshall 2006, p. 101). Thus a researcher’s ethics will be not to share or impose their own view in the conversation.

ⁱⁱ Participants have given interview in English not because they were more comfortable with this language as with their native, but because they knew it equally good to choose it after they were told that the study will be written in English.

The information needed from interviews is of positive or negative answer on questions. Therefore one can suggest a survey for it. However personal lived experiences are questioned during an interview. Interviewees find it important to explain their answers, sometimes not answering directly, but sharing their life stories that clarify their position. These half-answers were reflected in measurement scale and were crucial for identification the strength of immigrants' acculturation strategies. This would be impossible to show through survey answers.

The survey research method is suggested by Yin when answering "what", "who", "where" questions or their derivatives "how many" and "how much". This method is advantageous when research goal is to describe the incidence or prevalence of a phenomenon or when it is to be predictive about certain conditions (Yin 2009, p.9).

Different nationalities were used for interviews thus making *data triangulation; investigator triangulation* requirement will be fulfilled by interviewing people with different systems of values and cultural perceptions.

Sampling procedures

Basing on Miles & Huberman's typology of sampling strategies, presented by Marshall & Rossman (2011), 'maximum variation' sampling will be used, to present people with maximally different backgrounds, perceptions, ages, life views and goals. A large part of Slavic migrants are visiting a Serbian orthodox church, therefore some interviews were made there. However people interviewed in a church complete a half of Slavic people interviewed, others were found through personal contacts and suggestions. Nevertheless, it should be noted that marginalized and strongly assimilated people would not be in this half of people interviewed in a church. Possibly if this part of interviews was made outside this church community, results would be different. However it should be mentioned that in interviews some people answered that although they visit a church in Sweden, they did not do this in their country of origin. A reason for that is that some of people visiting a church come there as to a place to communicate with their home country natives. Nevertheless, these things are visible during an analysis and taken into consideration.

Strength and weaknesses with sample

A number of women and men respondent was not equal. It can be explained by that fact that a number of male and female immigrants coming to Sweden from Central and Eastern Europe is not equal as well. For example, according to Statistical yearbook of Sweden 50% more female than male immigrants come to Sweden from Russia (Statistical yearbook of Sweden 2012). Therefore numbers of female and male respondents reflect this picture.

The number of respondents aged 25-50 and 50-75 is also not equal. According to the statistical yearbook, migration from CEE countries gets younger with years. This can be explained by growing number of students that come to study. However it should be taken into consideration that only a part of them stays to live permanently.

This study does not have an ambition to reflect the situation with the whole immigrant population from Central and Eastern Europe, but is more a pilot study. Therefore the level of education of interviewees was not taken into consideration and the study group may not reflect the actual situation.

As there is a lack of research about migrants from Central and Eastern Europe in Sweden and even less about their acculturation, it is hard to make a proposition of the study. However the proposition will be that integration policies are democratic in sense multiculturalist attitude towards migrants and freedom for them to preserve their culture of origin, which therefore happens in practice.

4.3. Analytical approach

A deductive approach will be used in the study, as expressed in Berry's theory of acculturation (Berry 1980). The goal of the study is to measure to which point migrants have assimilated to the host culture or preserved their culture. In order to help the newcomer fit to the new environment Gudykunst & Kim (2003) encourage the newcomer to "minimize maintenance of their original cultural habits" (Gudykunst & Kim p. 360) by severing relations with their ethnic relational network and abandoning involvements with their own ethnic institutions such as their original language, churches, synagogues, mosques and "ethnic media" (Gudykunst & Kim pp. 365–373). Thus authors underline important cultural indicators, directing which of them are crucial in revealing immigrants' adherence to a certain culture.

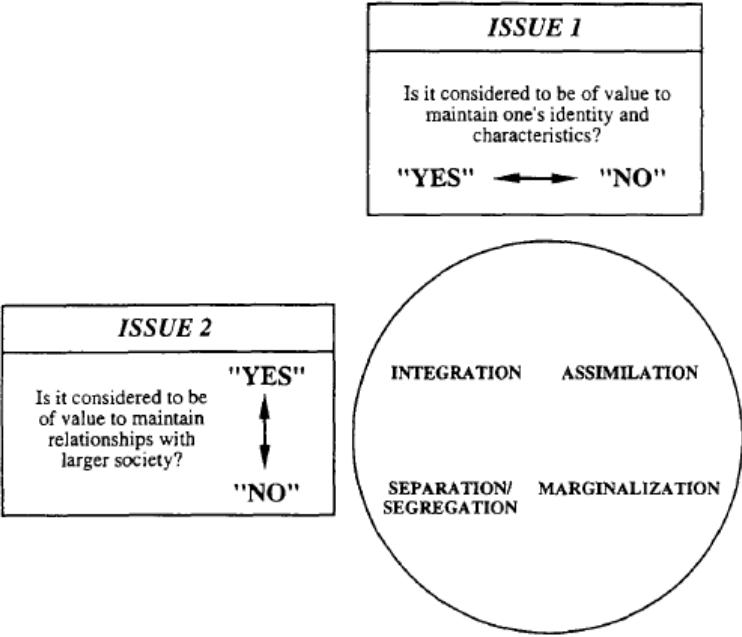
Bhugra (2004), also mentions these indicators which can be linked to acculturation. They include: language, religion, entertainment, food and shopping habits.

Therefore, to analyse the state of acculturation of migrants, they were questioned on: 1) Language they speak at home, work and social life, 2) Church they visit or visit at all, 3) Fests they celebrate, 4) Self-identity, 5) Newspapers they read as indicators of acculturation.

However, indicators as they are do not allow us to analyse an acculturation of immigrants. Therefore they are substituted into Berry's four-dimensional model as indicators of cultural identity and characteristics. Thus, Berry's theory of acculturation becomes and serves as a theoretical method that can be used for analysis.

Berry (1974, 1980) proposed an acculturation theory, outlining four strategies that individuals and groups use in their intergroup encounters. Central is the concept that there are two independent dimensions underlying the process of acculturation of immigrants, namely maintenance of heritage, culture and identity, and involvement with or identification with aspects of their societies of settlement (Berry, 1980).

Figure1. Four acculturation strategies (Berry 1980)



In the research it is planned to use indicators stated above as values for the dimension 1 and leave the dimension 2 question without changes. Using Berry's 4-dimensional model and his four acculturation strategies -

Assimilation – Assimilation occurs when individuals adopt the cultural norms of a dominant or host culture, over their original culture.

Separation – Separation occurs when individuals reject the dominant or host culture in favour of preserving their culture of origin. Separation is often facilitated by immigration to ethnic enclaves.

Integration – Integration occurs when individuals are able to adopt the cultural norms of the dominant or host culture while maintaining their culture of origin. Integration leads to, and is often synonymous with biculturalism.

Marginalization – Marginalization occurs when individuals reject both their culture of origin and the dominant host culture;

Berry's model was slightly adjusted for practical analysis of interviews.

Dimension 1: Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?			
Dimension 2: Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups?		Yes	No
	Yes	INTEGRATION	ASSIMILATION
	No	SEPARATION	MARGINALIZATION

This table was used for interview analysis where in Dimension 1 – a value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics were put indicators meaning culture of origin value and characteristics and in Dimension 2 – a value to maintain relationships with other groups were put indicators of Swedish culture and society (see the example table 1).

Example table 1.

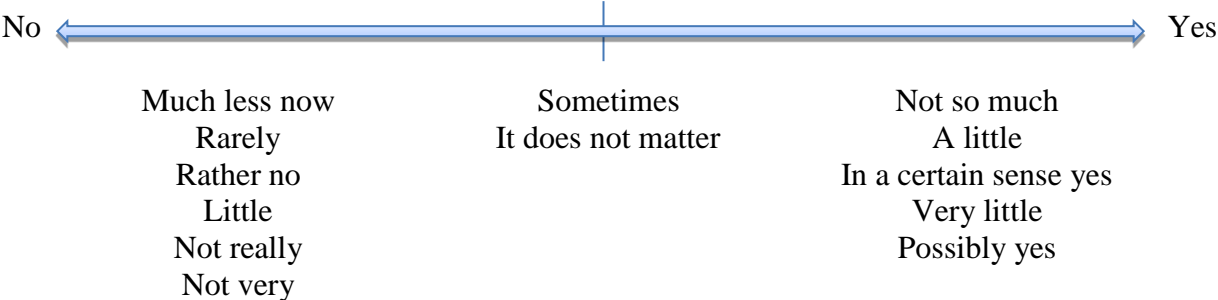
Dimension 2. A value to maintain relationships with other groups			Dimension 1. A value to maintain national cultural identity and characteristics	
Culture			Do you celebrate (country of origin) national festivals?	
			Yes	No
	Do you celebrate Swedish national festivals?		I	A
			No	M
			Is it important for you to maintain (country of origin) national cultural traditions within your family?	
			Yes	No
Is it important to maintain Swedish national cultural traditions?		I	A	
		No	M	
1. Culture			Integration	Assimilation
			Segregation	Marginalisation

Berry’s model asks if it is *considered* to be a value to..., therefore interviewees were asked if they personally consider a value certain values. However to minimize personal evaluation (for the study personal experience, but not personal evaluation of this experience is important), participants were asked follow-up questions on practical things, which aimed to reveal the actual state of affairs. For example, it was asked: “Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?” with a follow-up question: “Do you read home country online newspapers?” To develop indicators of cultural identity and characteristics, the questionnaire was divided accordingly to Bhugra’s indicators into 5 sections – Language, Culture, Religion, Self-identity, and Informational connection with home and host country. This will make it easier to substitute the answers into Berry’s model in a dimension of value of maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics.

The table was divided accordingly to these 5 sections, with questions separated to two dimensions accordingly. For example, a Culture section:

“A”, “S”, “I” and “M” are Assimilation, Segregation, Integration and Marginalisation correspondingly. Each of the strategies was highlighted after the each answer and a final result was made in the end of each section.

Some answers were unclear from the first sight and to “squeeze” the answers into “Yes” and “No” a special scale was created.



To show these uncertain answers in a table, special colours were used. Dark blue, blue and light blue for strong certainty, middle one and weak certainty in answer correspondingly.



This has helped later to identify the level of Integration, Assimilation Segregation and Marginalisation. These categories can therefore be seen as weak, middle and strong. Berry has put four strategies of acculturation into the circle to show that there is no clear division between Integration and Assimilation, and Separation and Marginalisation. To measure the substance of each phenomenon this research uses colours. Dark blue for clear strong indicators of a strategy, blue for middle strength and light blue for weak indication.

To reveal a strategy inside one section two questions needed: one - indicating values of the country of origin, with the other indicating host country values. Two answers on this questions form a strategy. For example, in the case below two answers formed an Integration strategy.

		Do you celebrate (country of origin) national fests?	
		Yes	No
Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?	Yes	Integration	Assimilation
	No	Segregation	Marginalisation

If there were middle yes/no towards strong yes/no in single questions, a decision towards the strength of indicator was taken according to context of interview answer. Or if within a box, (“Culture” for example) where there were equal indicators of integration and segregation, equally strong indicators of two strategies were found, the final decision was again made on the basis of interview answers.

If within a section indicators there are equal number of indicators of two strategies (50/50), “Integration”, for example and “Segregation”, but one of them is middle strong and other strong, the strong will dominate. However in a final version this will be given a middle strength status, as 50% of answers within the section were indicating a less strong strategy. Nevertheless, the final decision is taken with consideration of interview answers. For example:

Culture			Do you celebrate (country of origin) national fests?	
			Yes	No
	Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?	Yes	Integration	Assimilation
		No	Segregation	Marginalisation
			Is it important for you to maintain (country of origin) national cultural traditions within your family?	
			Yes	No
	Is it important to maintain Swedish national cultural traditions?	Yes	I	A
		No	S	M
3. Culture			Integration	Assimilation
			Segregation	Marginalisation

Integration or **Segregation** = **Integration**

If there are equal numbers of Integration and Assimilation within one of the boxes, but one of them is strong and one – middle strong, then: if strong is integration and middle – assimilation, than the final result is Integration, which stays strong, as assimilation is the next step of integration.

Integration or **Assimilation** = **Integration**

If there were three different indicators – strong Integration, strong Segregation and weak assimilation within one section, it was decided towards strong Integration in the final, as assimilation is the next step of integration.

Integration or **Segregation** or **Assimilation** = **Integration**

Note: On the subject of religion, if within a section there were equal indicators of marginalisation, derived from answers “No” on questions of visiting a church in Sweden (so that participant visited neither Orthodox nor Lutheran church), and Segregation, derived from answers that a participant have visited a church in the country of origin, a decision was made towards segregation. The basis for that is that participants may ignore visits to the church in Sweden as there is no Orthodox church of Moscow patriarchate present in the country. Some, but not all, will choose to visit the Serbian Orthodox Church in Gothenburg instead.

Example:

Religion			Have you visited an Orthodox/Catholic church in the country of your origin?	
			Yes	No
	Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?	Yes	I	A
		No	S	M
			Do you visit an Orthodox/Catholic church in Sweden?	
			Yes	No
Do you visit any other Swedish church?	Yes	I	A	
	No	S	M	
2. Religion			Integration	Assimilation
			Segregation	Marginalisation

The same decision was made on Segregation strategy if participant's indicators show marginalisation on answers of visiting church in the country of origin and segregation on answers of visiting a church in Sweden. The reason for Segregation strategy is that being not a strong believer in the country of origin a person visits its church in Sweden in order to meet his country nationals. This is seen as segregation.

Note. A marginalisation result in Language section is possible when a person does not speak either the home country language or Swedish, but English instead, for example.

Note. The male/female ratio of respondents was not equal. This can be explained by that fact that a number of male and female immigrants coming to Sweden from Central and Eastern Europe is not equal either. For example, according to the Statistical Yearbook of Sweden, 50% more female than male immigrants come to Sweden from Russia (Statistical yearbook of Sweden 2012). Therefore the ratio of female and male respondents in this study reflects this. The number of respondents aged 25-50 and 50-75 is also not equal. However this study does not have an ambition to reflect the situation with the whole immigrant population from Central and Eastern Europe. It should be viewed instead as more of a pilot study.

The final results were made by summarizing personal results, dividing them into the number of participants and thus counting a result for an average person. So, the final result pie charts reflect an acculturation of an average Pole, Ukrainian or Russian.

The plan is to evaluate the way migrants acculturate in Sweden and to support or neglect a popular opinion within scientific circles that multiculturalism is dead. The practical outcome of the research will be the analysis of effectiveness of integration theories measured by comparison of integration goals stated in the policies and the actual integration situation.

As the study is theory testing and Berry's theory and theoretical findings are used for analysis, the results of the study may differ from those using another theoretical and methodological approach. It should also be noted, that Berry has developed his model for analysis of psychological acculturation and in this work it is developed for more practical details' analysis of the factual situation regarding immigrants' acculturation.

The criteria for interpreting the findings will be their matching with the chosen theoretical approach, elaborated by J. Berry (1996). The position of migrants in acculturation process will be found out and measured within his theoretical framework. Berry's theory of four acculturation strategies with integration, as the prevailing one, will be tested on case of CEE immigrants. This will help to reveal the actual state of their integration into the Swedish society at cultural level. Therefore the question how migrants integrate will be answered.

Quality, validity, generalizability and ethics

One of the ways to increase the validity of the research, according to Marshall, is to triangulate, as "through triangulation (using data sources, methods, theories, or researchers), the validity of specific knowledge claims is argued to be more robust" (Marshall 2011, p. 42). Transparency in steps undertaken and data which has been analysed also increase validity of the study. A case study method is sometimes accused of weakness due to that fact that it is hard to make generalizations with the case. It is tricky to generalize in the concrete case since the study group of people cannot be treated as representative for a CEE immigrant population in Sweden. As well as it is hard confidently to apply the findings towards multiculturalism in Sweden. However the results can be useful in terms of probe, certain slice of CEE migrant community to make a wider research.

Ethical issues are important for me as interviews are central to my research. As is suggested by Marshall and Rossman, interview relations must be non-manipulative (Marshall & Rossman 2011, p.160). Interviewees should also be not influenced by interviewer's opinion. The content and purpose of the study should also be clear for the participants. Interviewees were informed that they participate in a study and about the aim of the study. They were also asked if they could be recorded anonymously. Interviews were translated into English and transcribed as soon as possible do not to loose credibility. Interviews were transcribed word by word, with notification of long pauses and nodding. Marshall and Rossman (2011) state that every translation involves interpretation of material, which can hardly be avoided, however the interviews were translated as close to the original as possible.

5. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

5.1. Acculturation strategies of immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe

An analysis was grounded on Brugha's (2005) aforementioned cultural indicators (language, religion, cultural traditions, identity). An indicator "culture connection" was added in the analysis process to highlight the closeness of a person to the host or home country. It was taken from the work of Rumbaut (2007). Therefore, as there were 5 main indicators, each of them completed 20% of results (5 indicators, 20% each). Thus, if a person was a non-believer, it appeared in the results 20% of marginalisation strategy in "religion" indicator, since no home, nor host religion was supported.

The same situation with identity – if a person identified himself/herself as a national of the home country, identity indicator made 20% segregation strategy. So, if a person does not change self-identity and religious beliefs/non-beliefs, 40% of result is segregation (in case a person is a believer and does not change a church belonging) or 20% segregation and 20% marginalisation (if a person is a non-believer who does not change self-identity). As identity and religion indicators are not supposed to change, they could possibly be omitted when making an analysis, however they are still important for the reason they are still indicators of cultural integration. And secondly, these indicators still can change towards assimilation strategy, which is also important for the study.

Therefore integration of migrants within the policy scope is successful if 60% of person's acculturation strategy is integration, since, according to Swedish integration policy, identity and religious beliefs are not those that should be changed. However, identity and religion indicators are still important as those that show an assimilation of a person. Under the integration process these two indicators do not change, however if a person changes own religion and identity towards host ones, it is sign of assimilation. Revealing assimilation signs makes it possible to see if the host society (in our case Swedish) is more assimilative or multiculturalist.

Most respondents showed prevailing integration strategy when analysing their answers through Berry's theoretical model (see an example of analysis in appendix). The strategy was similarly chosen by most of CEE respondents when answering questions concerning cultural traditions. For example, a middle integration was indicated by answers to the following questions: Do you celebrate Swedish national fests? Do you celebrate your home country national fests? Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family? Is it important to maintain Swedish national cultural traditions?

(Ukraine) 1) *Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?*

“Only when it is necessary to come, when I am invited, then yes, but personally I do not celebrate”.

2) Do you celebrate your home country national fests? - Ukrainian? –Yes. – eeeem, well, so to say yes.

(Russia) 1) Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family? [Nods] 2) Is it important to maintain Swedish national cultural traditions? [Pause] ...- they come, I cannot avoid them, I live in Sweden, but specially no.

(Poland) 1) Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family? [Breathes out]... - I try to maintain. I have a daughter and a grandchild in Canada. And when I go there I try to maintain...to hold it, polish culture.

- That means it is important for you to maintain?

- It is very important to maintain the culture. It is our task, the task of grandmothers and grand grandmothers.

2) Is it important to learn Swedish national cultural traditions?

- Swedish I won't as I will never learn it. But it is important.

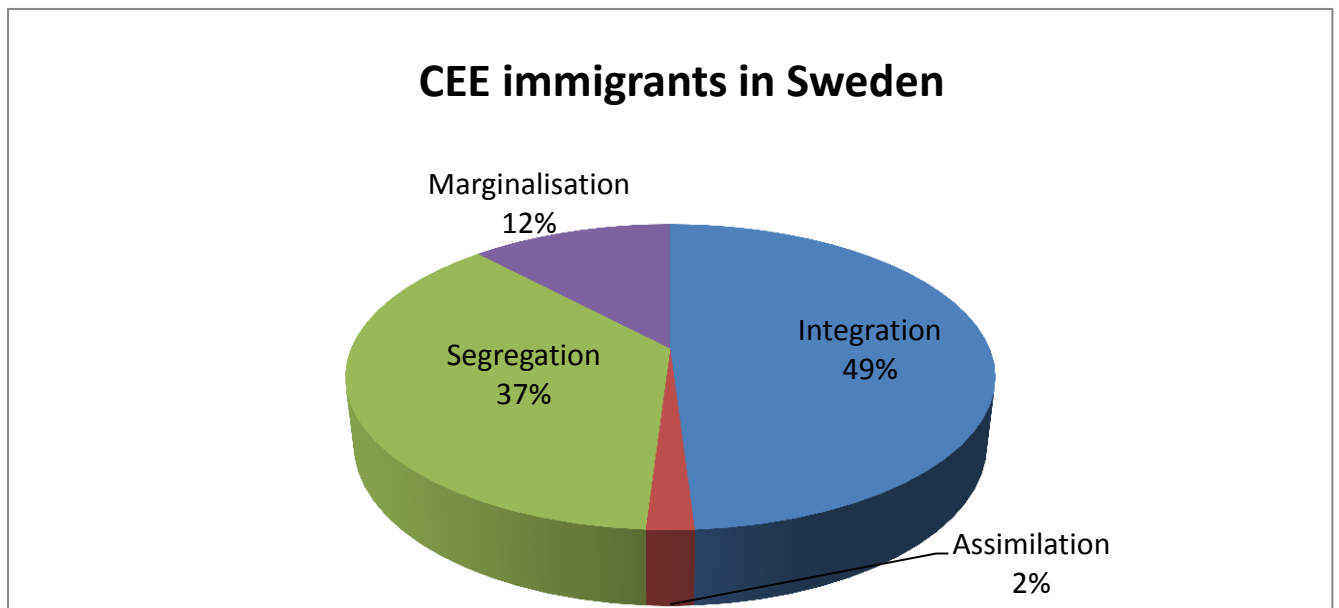
The percentage numbers were counted in accordance with interview answers and questions, which were formed in a way to reveal the most objective picture. Therefore the final judgement of each factor was based on analysis of answers on at least two complimentary questions.

Previously mentioned answers indicate the interviewees' partial involvement in celebration of two cultures' fests. As answers were not surely concrete, an indicator of middle strength was chosen, which led to middle integration result. Such answers on cultural traditions indicator questions were often heard from respondents of all three countries.

The strength of strategies (strong, middle, weak) shows the continuity of strategy formation process. Therefore if a strategy is not homogeneously strong, there is a possibility that it will change (see strength of strategies in appendix).

After the data analysis the following results were found:

Diagram 1. Acculturation of CEE immigrants from Poland, Ukraine and Russia



The results show that an analysed group is 49% integrated and 37% segregated. During an analysis it was found that marginalisation is middle strong and mostly met among younger age group or people who live in the country less than 10 years, which mean that this strategy will most probably change with time flow. Thus it can be concluded that an inspected group of CEE immigrants is well integrated into Swedish society (at least Gothenburg society surrounding them).

The received result was achieved through the usage of Berry's theoretical model, complimented with Brughha's indicators. A theoretical approach was used/tested practically, and the result, appeared in the study, was the one, predicted by Berry's tests and theoretical approach.

Since the study aims to analyse the state of multiculturalism in Sweden under the scope of integration policies, the connection between integration policies' and practical integration of migrants is important. Berry (2005) states, that from a position of positive multiculturalist ideology, some societies accept cultural pluralism resulting from immigration and take steps to support it. According to Berry & Kalin (1995) this corresponds to an expectation that "integration strategy will be the appropriate way in which cultural communities should engage each other." Since Swedish policies use multiculturalist approach (which was revealed after their analysis), therefore well performed integration of the case study group can be explained by it.

However the results can be overlooked through several other theories related to acculturation. Multicultural perspective offers to present members of ethnic minority groups as active integral segments of the whole society rather than just foreigners or outsiders (Algan, Bisin, Manning, and Verdier 2012). It presumes that they are just a part of cultural diversity, present in each society to a

certain extent. Migrants adapt to the host society, preserving some features of their home country culture at the same time. Cultural characteristics of immigrants do not completely disappear; they are constantly reshaped during contacts with the host society. As Berry (2005) writes, they both maintain one's heritage culture while in daily interactions with other groups. Berry (2005) also states that in this case integration is the option. A closer look at interview answers can provide examples of such adaptation:

(Russian women)

Do you speak Swedish in your social life?

Much less now, as at my work and in my free time I am surrounded by Russian people, therefore I have a few chances and a small wish to speak Swedish. I have finished Swedish gymnasium. Now I speak Swedish only if there is such a need at work.

(Russian man)

You identify yourself as a Russian/ Swedish or European?

Russian

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

Well, sometimes it brings me confidence when I speak with Swedish people and we understand each other. I feel myself more integrated. I think yes.

(Ukrainian women)

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

You mean Ukrainian?

Yes

Hm... [breathes out] It is tricky to answer. The most important traditions of course I want to keep. But less important traditions I think it will be too much. Important are Christmas and Easter for example I think it is important. At least to remember that this is the day. Or, for example, about any other holidays. For example, 8th of March. It is not celebrated here in Sweden, but it is celebrated in Ukraine. So why should I skip celebrating it? I'd rather teach my colleagues how to celebrate it.

(Polish man)

Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

Yes, I am from Poland and I always remember it.

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

Yes, I can say I am Swedish, however I will always remember that I am from Poland.

Responses captured indicate the perception of Swedish culture in terms of identity and culture by CEE migrants, at the same time representing the preservation of home country traditions and self-identity (at least partial). The answers that are not be cited (due to their length), have undergone an

analysis through theoretical model's scheme. They showed in most cases different levels of integration (strong, middle, weak). Berry explains the popularity of integration strategy choice, proved by his findings, by the fact that "those who pursue integrative strategies (in terms of attitudes, identities and behaviours) will achieve better adaptations than those who acculturate in other ways, especially those who are diffuse or marginal in their way of acculturating" (Berry 2005, p.710).

Functionalists argue that social phenomena can best be explained by the functions it fulfils or contributions it makes to the stability and wellbeing of society. Cultural sphere, factors and practices are thus treated as functional for the continuity of the society. From the functionalist theory approach, migrants' adaptation to the host society results from the necessity to support the equilibrium in society in terms of harmony at cultural level. When migrants get into a host society, they become its part. Therefore, as members of the host society, they are interdependent or interrelated to other parts of this society and thus arises a need to adapt to each other. Adaptation is made mostly by migrants, however the process is bilateral and the host society overcome integral changes as well, although far slower. The full substitution of own culture by the host one would mean assimilation, which is acceptable from the functionalist approach. However, some of the results reflect the process of bilateral adaptation.

Example. (Women from Ukraine)

Do you celebrate your home country national fests?

For example the 8th of March. It is not celebrated here in Sweden, but it is celebrated in Ukraine. So why should I skip celebrating it? I'd rather teach my colleagues how to celebrate it.

Speaking about gender differences in cultural integration, it should be carried out in memory, that the main indicators, used for comparison of two genders by researchers are normally employment rates or marital (intermarriage) status. Since these indicators were not explored in the study, conclusions on female and male integration are made due to comparisons of their adaptation according to indicators used by Brugha (2005).

Comparing male and female acculturation in Sweden (see Diagram 2 and 3), we can find slight differences within the case study group. As we can see from the Diagram 2, male CEE representatives from the case study group are 49% integrated and 40% segregated; where 40% of segregation can be treated as normal preservation of national identity and religious beliefs (20% each). However, the integration is not perfect since there is still a percentage of marginalisation strategy (12%). As the results have shown, the marginalised percentage complete young people that have spent in the country less than 10 years (see appendix). Thus the marginalisation part can make people that are not integrated in the language sphere (speak English).

Diagram 2. Male acculturation in Sweden

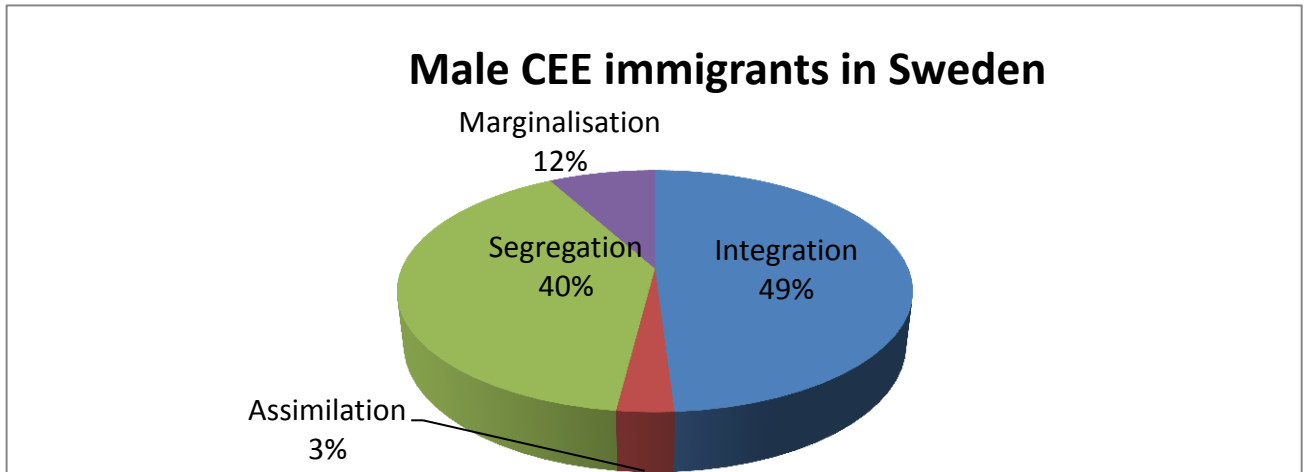
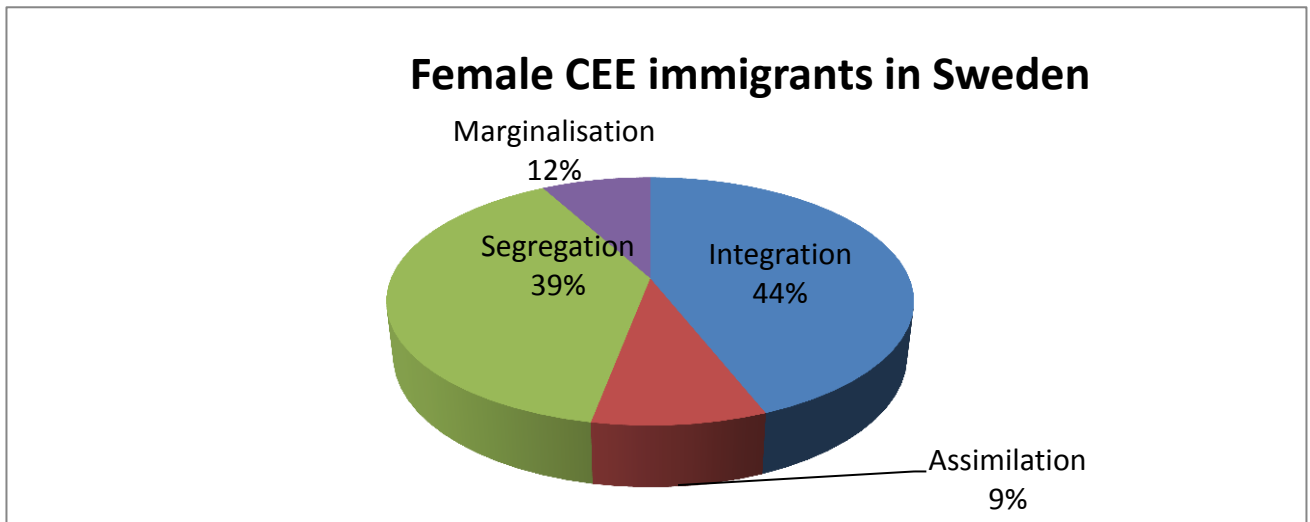


Diagram 3. Female acculturation in Sweden



Female participants from the case study group have shown the following results: CEE migrant women were 44% integrated and 9% assimilated, which in total makes more than 50% of integration (in case assimilation can be treated as a strong integration). They are also 39% segregated and 12% marginalised (which is equal to marginalisation strategy numbers shown by the men of the case study group). The segregation strategy of female participants is also almost equal to the numbers shown by men of the CEE migrants group (39% and 40%). This is supportive of the idea that identity and religion are not subject to change in the integration process (if we do not speak of assimilation, when they are substituted by the identity and religion of the host country community).

Comparing female and male integration of the CEE migrants case study group we can see slight differences in the integration process. Actually, two groups, showing equal numbers in segregation and marginalisation strategy, differ in so-to say “positive” results (integration and

assimilation). Results, found by Algan, Bisin, Manning, and Verdier (2012) in similar study show that migrant group tested, show no gender differences in religious beliefs. Thus, there is no wonder if the case study group participants show no gender difference in beliefs (which results in segregation strategy in case they preserve their home country religion) or non-believing (which results in marginalisation strategy since migrants do not support the religion of any country).

When talking about integration and assimilation strategies, undertaken by male and female CEE representatives of the case study group, it was found that women are more integrated than men and a bigger percentage of women (9%) is assimilated. What can be the reason for that? First of all, as it was said before, there are twice more women migrating to Sweden than men. This possibly could mean that women are more ready to change the place of living and to accept another culture. Analysing cultural integration of migrants in Europe, Algan, Bisin, Manning, and Verdier (2012) found that female migrants coming from Russia and Poland are more educated than males of the same origin (Algan, Bisin, Manning, and Verdier 2012, p.82). Olofsson and Malmberg (2011) state that highly educated migrants integrate better than low-educated ones. Thus possibly it can be presumed that some of migrant women integrate better than men because they are more educated, according to the Swedish statistical yearbook.

Analysing cultural integration through intermarriages and comparing migrants of more than four nationalities, Algan, Bisin, Manning, and Verdier (2012) have found that it is more common for Polish and Russian women to marry early (before 25), with exception of Turkish women; and that they show bigger percentage of intermarriages than men of the same origin. Authors treat intermarriages as a positive sign of adaptation and integration. They also state that second generation Poles and Russians show a lower marriage rates than other migrant groups (Algan, Bisin, Manning, and Verdier 2012, p.84). Thus, basing on this background, we can see that cultural integration of women from CEE countries, rated in intermarriages and marital status is somewhat bigger than men from these countries. Possibly this is the area of psychologists to explore why women (basing on the results of previous research) integrate better than men on a cultural level.

Algan, Bisin, Manning, and Verdier (2012), comparing integration of migrants in Germany, have used several indicators, among which employment rates as well. They have found that first-generation Italian, Greek, and Polish women are more likely to work compared Turkish women. To their opinion this indicates lower economic integration by some immigrant groups, but also very good labour market integration by others (Algan, Bisin, Manning, and Verdier 2012, p.109).

Thus it can be stated that Polish and Russian women, as CEE countries members, have a good integration abilities overall, even when not comparing to men of their nationalities. The authors also write that they find positive results also for men from ex-Yugoslavia, Greece, and Poland (Algan,

Bisin, Manning, and Verdier 2012, p.91). Thus, it can be stated that migrants from CEE countries have a good integration and adaptation potential overall.

If we compare these three nationalities we can find only slight differences within the case study group. Due to the low number of participants, results cannot be treated as representative for the nationalities, however it is possible to see some tendencies within the group.

Diagram 6. Acculturation of Poles in Sweden

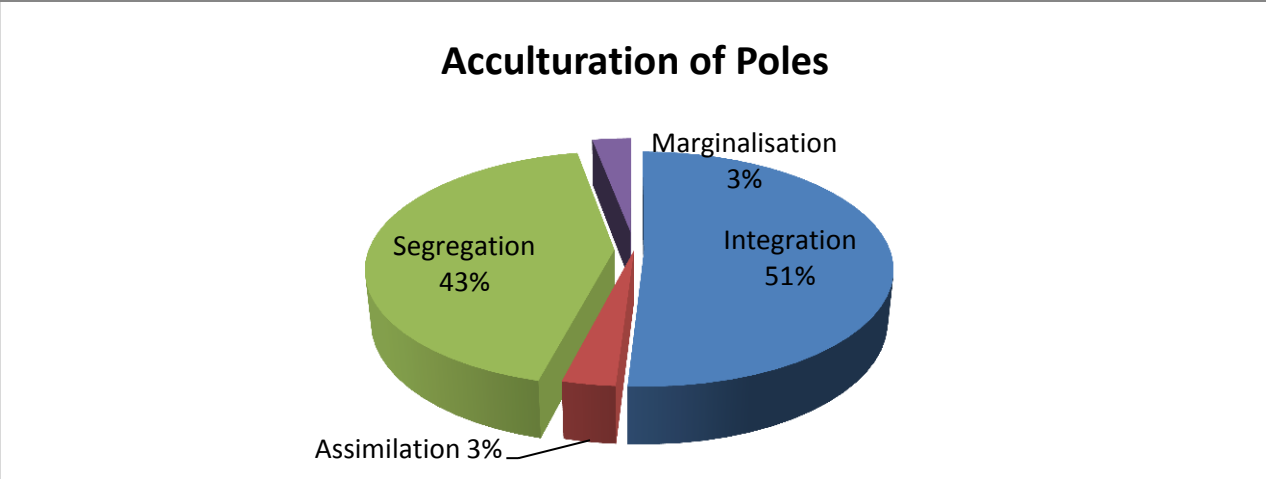


Diagram 4. Acculturation of Russians in Sweden

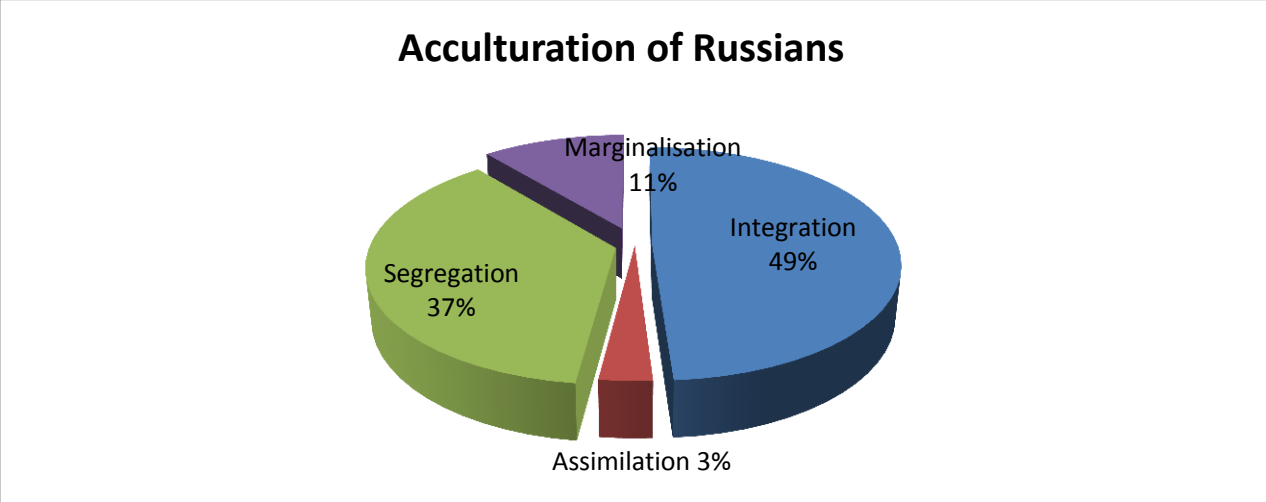
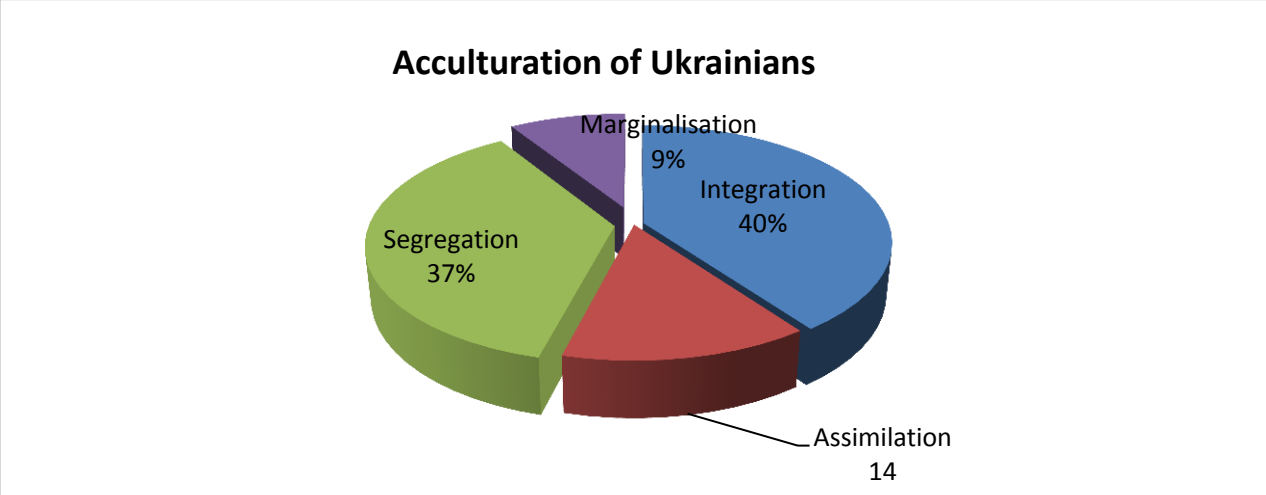


Diagram 5. Acculturation of Ukrainians in Sweden



As we can see from the charts, Ukrainian respondents are most integrated from the three groups - 40% of integration strategy and even 14% of assimilation strategy, which can be counted in total as 54% of strong integration. Russians are a bit less integrated – 49% of integration strategy and 3% of assimilation strategy; whereas Polish respondents show the biggest percentage of segregation strategy – 43% (comparing to 37% of Russian and Ukrainian respondents from the case study group). Possibly here can be applied Lazear's (1999) argument that the costs of cultural assimilation may relate to such factor as the size of migrant groups in the country. The bigger is the group, the stronger is migrant's connection with it and the lower is the need to integrate to the host community. According to numbers, given by the statistical yearbook of Sweden, Poles are the biggest migrant group among these three nationalities in Sweden; and have always been the biggest one. In 2012 the number of Poles that have migrated to Sweden was 4, 443, Russians – 1, 266, Ukrainians – 622. Thus, such slight integration differences between representatives of three nationalities could possibly be explained by the concept of migrant community size and community ties.

5.2. Conclusions

The research question *How do migrants from Central and Eastern Europe acculturate to the Swedish society under the scope of Swedish integration policy?* After an analysis can be answered the following way. CEE migrant representatives from the case study group show prevailing integration strategy in the acculturation process to the Swedish society. This result coincides with the goals of Swedish integration policies. Segregation strategy showed by the respondents, being the second popular strategy, also compliments the goals of the policies, since most often it was met in responses indicating identity and religion. CEE migrants from the case study group are well integrated into the Swedish society which goes in line with directions of integration policies

Differences in acculturation of respondents from Ukraine, Poland and Russia are not so big to be explored. However slight variations could possibly be explained by the influence of migrant community size. In this case leading integration of Ukrainians looks natural since their community in Sweden is the smallest among three nationalities. Gender differences in acculturation are also almost invisible. However, better female integration can be explained due to bigger openness to foreign culture and higher education level (which was found in similar studies).

To finish, CEE migrants show a good adaptation and acculturation ability overall, both men and women, which was found in other studies as well. An analysis of the case study group have shown an ability of migrants to integrate at the same time preserving own culture. Such ability of migrants

makes the society multicultural, which makes a positive prognosis since the results were found in Sweden.

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Appendix

Interviews Russians

1) Woman, 45 years old, lives in Sweden for 13 years came in 1999.

1) Do you speak Swedish in your social life?

Much less now, as in my work and my free time I am surrounded by Russian people, therefore I have a few chances and a small wish to speak Swedish. I have finished Swedish gymnasium. Now I speak Swedish only if there is such a need at work.

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

Almost all the time I speak Russian.

Do you speak Swedish at home?

No, because I have a Russian family.

Do you speak your native language at home?

Yes, only Russian.

Do you consider it important to teach your children your native language?

Yes, sure

Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?

Yes, sure

2) Do you visit a church?

Yes, sure

Have you visited an Orthodox church in the country of your origin?

Yes

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

No

Do you visit an Orthodox church in Sweden?

Yes, Russian Orthodox

Do you visit any other Swedish church?

No

3) Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?

As I do not have a Swedish surrounding, I don't. A few years before I had a Swedish sambo and that time I have participated in celebrations. Not celebrating, but participating in celebrations. Today I do not celebrate Swedish fests.

Do you celebrate national fests?

Yes, our Russian fests I celebrate.

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

My opinion is that it is very important. These are our roots and no tree can live without roots.

Is it important for you to maintain Swedish national cultural traditions?

It is important to know, the other thing is celebrating. Some traditions I like, some of them I try not to follow as I do not see any sense in it.

4) Do you identify yourself as a Russian/Ukrainian/Swedish or European?

Russian

Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

It is important as Russian culture and understanding of life is closer to me.

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

No, not at all

5) Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?

I am interested, but not actively, I am not interested in political life.

Do you read home country online newspapers?

I listen to TV more often. Newspapers - no.

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden?

Yes.

Do you read Swedish newspapers? Not so much, rather superficially

2) Woman, 37 years, in the country since 1997

1) Do you speak Swedish in your social life?

yes

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

yes

Do you speak Swedish at home?

sometimes

Do you speak your native language at home?

yes

Do you consider it important to teach your children your native language?

Yes, it is very important

Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?

Important, it is rather a need, rather necessary and naturally for a kid.

2) Have you visited an Orthodox church in the country of your origin?

Yes

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

No

Do you visit an Orthodox church in Sweden?

Orthodox

Do you visit any other Swedish church?

No

3) Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?

Sometimes. Depends on who have invited whom. Which people. At home, specifically at home in a family - no. If we have been invited in a Swedish society, naturally we celebrate with them.

Do you celebrate national fests?

Which specifically national? 9th of May, 8th of March?

- **traditional for Russia.**

- For example 9th of May, 8th of March? Well, some of them yes.

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

National cultural traditions you mean music, food, etc.?

- yes. Well....[nods]

Is it important to maintain Swedish national cultural traditions?

I think not so important as necessary for not to be a black sheep in a Swedish society. – so, important. Necessary

4) You identify yourself as: a Russian/ Swedish or European?

As I feel myself? I am not a Russian any more, I have a citizenship both Russian and Swedish. I cannot say that or that or that.

– **Whom would you name yourself?** – I could say I am Russian

Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

Yes.

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

[...long pause and then silently/unsurely] - no.

4) Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?

Important.

Do you read home country online newspapers?

No

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden?

Yes

Do you read Swedish newspapers?

Yes

3) Woman, 32, Mosow, 6 years in Sweden

1) Do you speak Swedish in your social life?

Speak Swedish, know Swedish good, a husband is Swedish.

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

Speak, go to the church

Do you speak Swedish at home?

With a husband, yes

Do you speak your native language at home?

At home if with a rabbit only. By phone.

– **So, in a family – no?**

– No

Do you speak Swedish at work?

Yes, I speak

Do you speak your native language at work?

No

Do you consider it important to teach your children your native language?

If I ever have kids I think yes, I think surely possible

Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?

They will learn it by themselves. – no, for you, will it be important? – a question is strange. If they live in Sweden surely it is important to know the language of the country in which they live

2) Do you visit a church?

yes

Have you visited an Orthodox church in the country of your origin?

Rarely

Do you visit an Orthodox church in Sweden?

Yes, orthodox

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

No

Do you visit any other Swedish church?

No

3) Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?

Pause...rather no

Do you celebrate national fests?

I consider fests as a reason to take a rest.

– **I am asking not how you consider it but if you celebrate them.**

– I do not celebrate any fests. I respect them but...no.

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

Nods

Is it important to maintain Swedish national cultural traditions?

Pause...they come, I cannot avoid them, I live in Sweden, but specially no

4) Do you identify yourself as a Russian/ Swedish or European?

Russian.

Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

Important.

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

I don't want to feel myself Swedish.

5) Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?

No. News in Russia as well as in Sweden is not interesting for me.

Do you read home country online newspapers? No. As well as Swedish I do not read.

4) Man, 26, Russia, lives in Sweden for 1 year and 7 month

1) Do you speak Swedish in your social life?

What is social life?

– **everything outside of your house.**

– yes, I speak Swedish.

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

yes

Do you speak Swedish at home?

no

Do you speak your native language at home?

Well...I possibly should answer no because I live alone. If I ever speak when I live alone that would be weird.

Do you consider it important to teach your future children your native language?

My native language? Or their native language?

- **your native language.**

- Russian yes.

Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?

If they will live in Sweden, yes

2) **Do you visit a church?**

yes

Have you visited a church Orthodox in the country of your origin?

Yes, orthodox

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

No

Do you visit an Orthodox church in Sweden?

Yes

Do you visit any other Swedish church?

No

3) **Do you celebrate national fests?**

Yes.

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family? Future family?

Which traditions exactly? Of the country of my origin?

- **yes**

- my origin?

- **yes.**

- Yes

Is it important for you to learn Swedish national cultural traditions?

Me to learn?

- **yes**

- Or my children, my family?

- **For you, is it important to learn Swedish national traditions?**

- Yes

4) **Do you identify yourself as a Russian/ Swedish or European?**

Russian

Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

Yes

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

No

5) **Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?**

Yes

Do you read home country online newspapers? Yes

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden?

Yes

Do you read Swedish newspapers?

Yes

5) Woman, 31, Russia, 3 years in Sweden

1) **Do you speak Swedish in your social life?**

50%

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

Little.

Do you speak Swedish at home?

50%

Do you speak your native language at home?

No.

Do you consider it important to teach your children your native language?

Yes.

Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?

Well, if I live here, yes

2) Have you visited an Orthodox church in the country of your origin?

It is hard to say. I am not religious, but I go to the church.

- **And in which?**

- It does not matter for me. Catholic, orthodox, I have never been to mosque.

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

What is in Sweden that I visit. Protestant.

3) Do you celebrate Swedish national festivals?

Yes

Do you celebrate national festivals?

No.

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

If I live here yes.

Is it important to learn Swedish national cultural traditions?

If I live here yes.

4) Do you identify yourself as a Russian/ Swedish or European?

[breathes out] I don't know

- **If you had to choose?**

- Russian

Is it important for you to preserve national self-identification?

- What is it?

- **Your belonging to a certain nation**

- no

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

- What do you mean?

- **Is it important for you to feel as a part of a Swedish society?**

- It yes. But what you still mean?

- **I mean would you like to present yourself when meeting someone who does not know you to say that you are Swedish?**

- I don't care. If I am asked where I live I say it. For example – where do you come from? I answer from Russia. Where do you live? – I live in Sweden. But I will not add I am Russian. If I am asked where do I come from I say I am Russian, without telling that I live in Sweden. I answer what I am asked. For me national identity is not important.

5) Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?

Well, yes.

Do you read home country online newspapers?

No

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden?

Yes

Do you read Swedish newspapers?

Yes. Not because I am interested in what is going on but because I learn the language.

6) Man, 22, Russia, lives 3 years.

1) Do you speak Swedish in your social life?

Sometimes, more or less. I speak Swedish when I buy stuff in a supermarket, when I ask on the street what time is it.

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

Yes, sometimes

Do you speak Swedish at home?

No

Do you speak your native language at home?

In skype

Do you speak Swedish at work?

Yes, I do a lot.

Do you speak your native language at work?

No

Do you consider it important to teach your children your native language?

Yes, I think it is super important

Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?

Yes, sure, if I stay here of course

2) **Have you visited an Orthodox church in the country of your origin?**

I did visit Orthodox Church back home a couple of times. I'm a godfather to my friend's 2 daughters. But I have never visited it out of a religious wish, e.g. without any specific reason. I've been there only on special occasions like baptizing, marriage, funerals etc.

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

I don't. I don't see any difference between praying in church or at home

Do you visit an Orthodox church in Sweden?

No, haven't ever been to any of those.

Do you visit any other Swedish church?

Sometimes I do but just out of curiosity. Not for a religious sake. Just to see what's inside, how it's organized, decorated etc.

3) **Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?**

Some of them yes. I celebrate Midsommer if I am here.

Do you celebrate national fests?

My national?

Yes

I do.

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family? Or future family.

I think it is important, yes.

Is it important to learn Swedish national cultural traditions?

If I stay here, yes.

5) **Do you identify yourself as a Russian/ Swedish or European?**

Russian

Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

Yes, I think it is important

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

Well, sometimes it brings me confidence when I speak with Swedish people and we understand each other I feel myself more integrated. I think yes.

6) **Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?**

Yes, much.

Do you read home country online newspapers at least?

Very rarely, maybe once 3-2 weeks

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden?

Yes, it is. I read Swedish newspapers more often than I read Russian newspapers.

7) Woman, 31, Russia, in Sweden lives for 3 years

1) **Do you speak Swedish in your social life?**

I do not

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

Yes I do. I speak Russian and I speak English.

Do you speak Swedish at home?

No, because it is not necessary, my husband is Norwegian.

Do you speak your native language at home?

Yes I do.

Do you consider it important to teach your children your native language?

Yes I do and I do this.

Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?

Yes

2) **Do you visit a church?**

No.

Have you visited an Orthodox/ church in the country of your origin?

Yes I have.

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

No

Do you visit an Orthodox church in Sweden?

No, I don't think there is one

3) **Do you celebrate Swedish national festivals?**

No

Do you celebrate national festivals?

Yes, also Swedish, sorry, to go back.

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

Some, we are quite global, some of my family live in the UK and some in California. We are quite mixed cultures.

- **Do you consider it important?**

- Emm, yes, to an extent, but not too important

Is it important to learn Swedish national cultural traditions?

Yes, if we live here

5) **Do you identify yourself as a Russian/Ukrainian/Swedish or European?**

I identify myself as Russian American as I was born in Russia and grew up in America.

Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

Yes

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

No

6) **Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?**

Yes

Do you read home country online newspapers ?

Yes

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden?

Yes

Do you read Swedish newspapers?

I read Swedish news in English.

Ukrainians

1) **Woman, 23, in Sweden for 3,5 years**

1) **Do you speak Swedish in your social life?**

No, English.

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

yes

Do you speak Swedish at home?

I live alone

Do you speak your native language at home?

No...well, with relatives on skype.

Do you consider it important to teach your children your native language?

Yes, I think it is important

Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?

I think it is important, but I think they will teach it by themselves

2)

Have you visited an Orthodox church in the country of your origin?

Yes

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

No

Do you visit an Orthodox church in Sweden?

Yes

Do you visit any other Swedish church?

No.

3) Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?

Only when it is necessary to come to the, when I am invited, then yes, but personally I do not celebrate.

Do you celebrate national fests?

Ukrainian?

– yes.

– eeeem, well, so to say yes

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

I think yes, important

Is it important to learn Swedish national cultural traditions?

Yes, to integrate, as I live now in Sweden

4) Do you identify yourself as a Ukrainian/Swedish or European?

Ukrainian.

Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

Yes.

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

No.

5) Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?

Eeeem, not everything, but yes, generally yes

Do you read home country online newspapers?

I read.

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden?

Yes, very

Do you read Swedish newspapers? Yes

2) Woman, 57, Ukraine, in Sweden since 1988.

1) Do you speak Swedish in your social life?

Yes

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

Yes.

Do you speak Swedish at home?

Eeeem, no, or...mixed

Do you speak your native language at home?

Yes.

Do you consider it important to teach your children your native language?

Yes, sure

Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?

Yes, we live in Sweden

2) Do you visit a church?

Yes, orthodox

Have you visited an Orthodox/ church in the country of your origin?

[Breathes out] – Actually no, well, partly.

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

No

Do you visit an Orthodox church in Sweden?

Yes

Do you visit any other Swedish church?

No

3) Do you celebrate Swedish national feasts?

So far as. Well, participate at work.

– **and at home?**

– no, at home our, orthodox.

Do you celebrate Ukrainian national feasts?

No, we celebrate orthodox.

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

Yes.

Is it important to maintain Swedish national cultural traditions?

Yes.

4) Do you identify yourself as a Ukrainian/Swedish or European?

Ukrainian.

Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

Sure.

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

I am not a Swedish, I am Ukrainian. I have a Swedish citizenship, but I am Ukrainian.

5) Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?

Yes.

Do you read home country online newspapers?

No, not much

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden? Do you read Swedish newspapers?

yes

3) Man 24, year and 7 month in Sweden.

1) Do you speak Swedish in your social life?

No.

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

Sometimes.

Do you speak Swedish at home?

No.

Do you speak your native language at home?

Yes.

Do you consider it important to teach your children your native language?

Undoubtedly.

Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?

In case I stay for work in Sweden, sure

2) Do you visit a church?

Here no

Have you visited an Orthodox church in the country of your origin?

Yes.

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

No

Do you visit any other Swedish church?

No

3) Do you celebrate Swedish national feasts?

Well, not so to say celebrate, observe, but I do not feel to them certain susceptibility, so this is not a main fest for me, just a reason to take a rest. So to say no, not celebrate.

Do you celebrate national feasts?

Yes.

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

Yes.

Is it important to learn Swedish national cultural traditions?

Eem...no. Not the first priority. So if you ask important or no, not very important.

4) Do you identify yourself as a Ukrainian/Swedish or European?

Ukrainian

Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

[Silence.] Well, yes. Yes. Depends on a situation of course...

- In Sweden, is it important for you to preserve a national self – identification?

– yes. That means I want everyone to know

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

No.

5) Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?

Yes

Do you read home country online newspapers?

No

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden?

[Silence]...eeeem ...it is not very important for me

Do you read Swedish newspapers?

No

4) Woman, 24, Ukraine, in Sweden for 2 years

1) Do you speak Swedish in your social life?

yes

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

Yes.

Do you speak Swedish at home?

As my husband is not a Swed, I do not speak often. At work I often speak Swedish.

Do you speak your native language at home?

Yes.

Do you consider it important to teach your children your native language?

Yes, sure.

Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?

Yes.

2) Do you visit a church?

Yes.

Have you visited an Orthodox church in the country of your origin?

Yes.

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

I am a Christian, and I visit Swedish church. There are very pretty churches here.

Do you visit an Orthodox/Catholic church in Sweden?

Also orthodox, catholic.

3) Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?

Sure, I live here.

Do you celebrate Ukrainian national fests?

Not all but yes.

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

Eeem...not all, but mostly yes.

Is it important to learn Swedish national cultural traditions?

Yes, it is interesting.

4) Do you identify yourself as a Ukrainian/Swedish or European?

As Ukrainian.

Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

Say...important.

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

It is possible to stay Ukrainian but to integrate into Swedish society... How to understand? Fully Swedish?

- well, would you like to identify yourself as a swed?

- you mean what?

- if you were asked who you are what would you answer?

- Ukrainian.

- I mean is it important to you to feel yourself concerned to Sweden/Swedish? To feel yourself a part of a Swedish society?

- 50/50

5) Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?

yes

Do you read home country online newspapers?

Rarely, I hear from parents what is going on.

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden?

Yes

Do you read Swedish newspapers?

As I learn the language yes

5) Woman, 25, Ukraine, lives in Sweden for 3 years

1) Do you speak Swedish in your social life?

In my social life I speak a little Swedish.

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

No.

Do you speak Swedish at home?

No.

Do you speak your native language at home?

Yes

Do you consider it important to teach your children your native language?

Yes

Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?

Yes of course

2) Do you visit a church?

No

Have you visited an Orthodox church in the country of your origin?

Yes

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

No

Do you visit any other Swedish church?

No

3) Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?

Yes

Do you celebrate national fests?

Yes. I have a lot of holidays [laughs]

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

You mean Ukrainian?

Yes

Hm..[breathes out] It is tricky to answer. The most important traditions of course I want to keep. But less important traditions I think it will be too much. Important are Christmas and Easter for example I think it is important. At least to remember that this is the day. Or for example about any other holidays. For example 8th of March. It is not celebrated here in Sweden, but it is celebrated in Ukraine. So why should I skip celebrating it? I'd rather teach my colleagues how to celebrate it.

So it is important for you?

Eem...holidays are important for me I celebrate them in Sweden as well.

Is it important to learn Swedish national cultural traditions?

Yes. I even have a book about Swedish culture.

3) Do you identify yourself as a Ukrainian/Swedish or European?

Silence... I identify myself as I was born in Ukraine. I think I am in between of Swedish and Ukrainian.

- So you cannot answer this question?

- You can say European

Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

- What does that mean?

- It is important for you to reserve that you are Ukrainian?

- I will always be born in Ukraine. And I don't feel shame that I was born in Ukraine. But I still will be considering myself as partly Ukrainian. It is tricky thing. I will consider myself that I was born in Ukraine in the future.
- So is it important for you or not?
- This is a tricky to answer; it is not black and white. I live the answer blank.

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

No

4) Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?

Yes

Do you read home country online newspapers?

Yes, sometimes, once a month.

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden?

Yes

Do you read Swedish newspapers?

No, because I can't

6) Man, 29 years, from Ukraine, in Sweden for 2,5 years

1) Do you speak Swedish in your social life?

No

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

Yes

Do you speak Swedish at home?

No.

Do you speak your native language at home?

No.

Do you consider it important to teach your children (future) your native language?

Sure

Do you consider it important to teach your children (future) Swedish?

If they will live in Sweden, yes.

2) Do you visit a church?

No, but I am going to

Have you visited an Orthodox church in the country of your origin?

Yes, periodically.

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

No, just for curiosity, not for religious goals.

Do you visit an Orthodox church in Sweden?

No, I am going to.

Do you visit any other Swedish church?

No.

3) Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?

Well... no, no.

Do you celebrate national fests?

Except the New Year, I think no.

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

I think yes.

Is it important to maintain Swedish national cultural traditions?

Yes, possibly

4) Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

- What do you mean?

- Is it important for you to stay Ukrainian?

- Yes.

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

Yes, rather yes

5) Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?

Yes, it is interesting but I am not very interested in politics. Generally I am interested.

Do you read home country online newspapers?

About Ukraine in general.

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden?

Yes

Do you read Swedish newspapers?

No

Poles

1) Woman, 77, Poland, in Sweden since 1989

1) Do you speak Swedish in your social life?

Very little. As much as I need to contact people on a street, in a shop.

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

Yes.

Do you speak Swedish at home?

No.

Do you speak your native language at home?

Yes.

Do you consider it important to teach your children your native language?

It was my task. Every my grandchild knows polish, to write, to read.

– I mean is it important for you to teach them polish?

– Very important.

Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?

As long as they live in Sweden it is their obligation to speak Swedish.

2) Do you visit a church?

I visit.

Have you visited a Catholic church in the country of your origin?

Yes.

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

No

Do you visit a Catholic church in Sweden?

Every Pole that comes to Sweden goes to a church. It is the only contact with poles. Therefore I go to Polish church.

Do you visit any other Swedish church?

No

3) Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?

It does not matter to me which fest it is, the main thing is that it I a fest, a free time. I like Swedish traditions.

– That means that you celebrate?

- Yes, celebrate

Do you celebrate national fests?

Actually there are no much polish fests. Only the 3-rd of May, for example, 9, 11 of November...

- celebrate?

- yes.

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

Breathes out... I try to maintain. I have a daughter and a grandchild in Canada. And when I go there I try to maintain...to hold it, polish culture.

- That means it is important for you to maintain?

- it is very important to maintain the culture. It is our task, the task of grandmothers and grand grandmothers.

Is it important to learn Swedish national cultural traditions?

Swedish I won't as I will never learn it. But it is important

4) Do you identify yourself as a Polish/Swedish or European?

Polish.

Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

I think it is important

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

I have never been it. I will be polish till the end of life

5) Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?

Oh, Very.

Do you read home country online newspapers?

Not online, but read "Polonia".

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden?

I avoid it.

Do you read Swedish newspapers?

Superficially. We get "Metro", I look at tragedies, politics, etc.

3) Woman, 37, Poland, with a husband, works, 5 years

1) Do you speak Swedish in your social life?

I speak, my husband - no

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

At home.

- No, except home.

– Sure, we have friends Poles

Do you speak Swedish at home?

Rarely.

Do you speak your native language at home?

Yes, only

Do you consider it important to teach your children your native language?

Very.

Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?

Also important, sure

2) Do you visit a church?

Yes.

Have you visited a Catholic church in the country of your origin?

Yes.

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

No.

Do you visit a Catholic church in Sweden?

No

3) Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?

Yes.

Do you celebrate national fests?

Yes.

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

Yes.

Is it important to learn Swedish national cultural traditions?

It is also important because we live here. Surely yes

4) Do you identify yourself as a Polish/Swedish or European?

Polish

Is it important for you to preserve national self-identification?

Yes.

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

No.

5) Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?

Actually I am not interested in politics etc., but yes.

Do you read home country online newspapers?

No.

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden?

Also important

Do you read Swedish newspapers?

Yes, because we have metro in a tram. But at home we look polish television. Therefore we look only polish television.

4) 43, woman,

How long have you been in Sweden?

For 5 years

1) Do you speak Swedish in your social life?

Sometimes

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

Sometimes

Do you speak Swedish at home?

No

Do you speak your native language at home?

No

Do you consider it important to teach your children your native language?

Yes.

Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?

Yes, both languages are important.

2) Do you visit a church?

Sometimes

Have you visited a Catholic church in the country of your origin?

Yes

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

Yes, for Lucia

Do you visit a Catholic church in Sweden?

Sometimes

Do you visit any other Swedish church?

No

3) Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?

Sometimes

Do you celebrate national fests?

No

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

Yes, of course

Is it important to learn Swedish national cultural traditions?

For people who stay here yes.

4) Do you identify yourself as a Polish/Swedish or European?

European

Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

Yes.

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

No.

5) Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?

Yes, I do care of it.

Do you read home country online newspapers?

Yes, I do.

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden?

Yes

Do you read Swedish newspapers?

Yes, I read them.

6) Is it important for you to maintain relationships with Swedes?

Yes , I tried but does not work.

6) **Man, 28 years, Poland, in Sweden for 4 years**

1) **Do you speak Swedish in your social life?**

yes

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

yes

Do you speak Swedish at home?

sometimes

Do you speak your native language at home?

Sometimes.

Do you consider it important to teach your children your native language?

Yes.

Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?

Yes.

2) **Do you visit a church?**

No.

Have you visited a Catholic church in the country of your origin?

Never.

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

No.

Do you visit a Catholic church in Sweden?

No.

Do you visit any other Swedish church?

No.

3) **Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?**

Yes.

Do you celebrate national fests?

No.

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

Moderately important.

Is it important to learn Swedish national cultural traditions?

Moderately.

4) **Do you identify yourself as a Polish/Swedish or European?**

Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

Moderately.

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

Moderately.

5) **Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?**

Moderately

Do you read home country online newspapers?

Sometimes

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden?

Very important

Do you read Swedish newspapers?

Yes.

7) **Man, 65, in Sweden for 45 years.**

1) **Do you speak Swedish in your social life?**

Yes, I do.

Do you speak your native language in your social life?

Yes, when I come here, to our Polish community.

Do you speak Swedish at home?

Yes, we speak two languages at home – Polish and Swedish. I speak Swedish with my children.

Do you consider it important to teach your children (future) your native language?

Of course

Do you consider it important to teach your children (future) Swedish?

Yes, my children speak two languages

2) Do you visit a church?

Yes

Have you visited a Catholic church in the country of your origin?

Yes

Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?

Really rarely

Do you visit a Catholic church in Sweden?

Yes.

Do you visit any other Swedish church?

No.

3) Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?

Yes, like midsommar.

Do you celebrate national fests?

Yes, the 4th of May, for example.

Is it important to maintain national cultural traditions within your family?

Yes, it is.

Is it important to maintain Swedish national cultural traditions?

Yes, we like both cultures.

4) Is it important for you to preserve national identity?

Yes, I am from Poland and I always remember it.

Is it important for you to feel Swedish?

Yes, I can say I am Swedish, however I will always remember that I am from Poland.

5) Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?

Yes, very important.

Do you read home country online newspapers?

Yes, and not only newspapers, we have Polish television at home.

Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden?

Sure, very important

Do you read Swedish newspapers?

Of course.

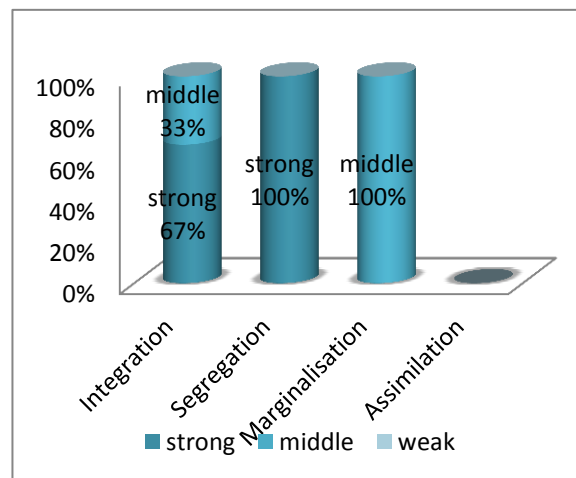
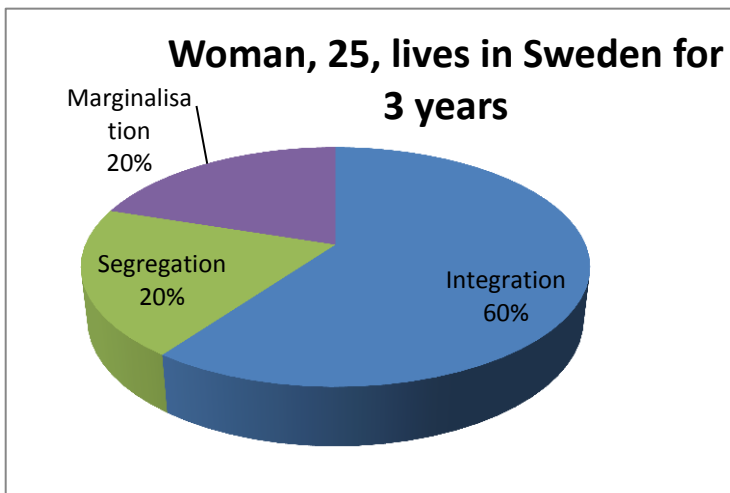
<i>Woman, 25, works, in Sweden for 3 years, from Ukraine</i>	Dimension 1. A value to maintain national cultural identity and characteristics
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Personal interviews analysis

Dimension 2. A value to maintain relationships with other groups			Do you speak your native language in your social life?	
			Yes	No
Language	Do you speak Swedish in your social life?	Yes	Integration	Assimilation
		No	Segregation	Marginalization
			Do you speak your native language at home?	
			Yes	No
	Do you speak Swedish at home?	Yes	I	A
		No	S	M
			Do you consider it important to teach your children your native language?	
			Yes	No
Do you consider it important to teach your children Swedish?	Yes	I	A	
	No	S	M	
1. Language			Integration	Assimilation
			Segregation	Marginalisation
Religion			Have you visited an Orthodox/Catholic church in the country of your origin?	
			Yes	No
	Do you visit a Lutheran church in Sweden?	Yes	I	A
		No	S	M
			Do you visit an Orthodox/Catholic church in Sweden?	
			Yes	No
Do you visit any other Swedish church?	Yes	I	A	
	No	S	M	
2. Religion			Integration	Assimilation
			Segregation	Marginalisation
Culture			Do you celebrate (country of origin) national fests?	
			Yes	No
	Do you celebrate Swedish national fests?	Yes	I	A
		No	S	M
			Is it important for you to maintain (country of origin) national cultural traditions within your family?	
			Yes	No
Is it important to maintain Swedish national cultural traditions?	Yes	I	A	
	No	S	M	
3. Culture			Integration	Assimilation
			Segregation	Marginalisation

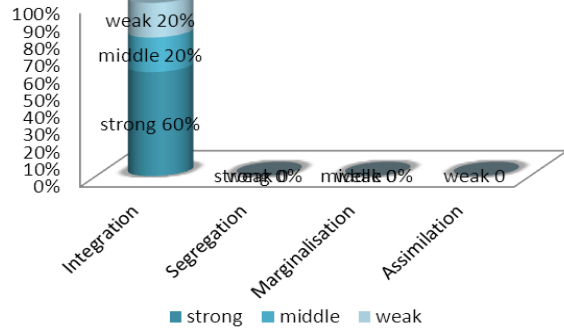
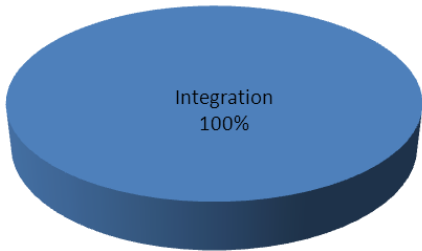
Identity			Is it important for you to preserve national identity?		
			Yes	No	
	Is it important for you to feel Swedish?	Yes	I	A	
		No	S	M	
4. Identity			Integration	Assimilation	
			Segregation	Marginalisation	
Country info connection			Is it important for you to be aware of what is going on in your home country?		
			Yes	No	
	Is it important for you to know what is going on in Sweden	Yes	I	A	
			No	S	M
			Do you read home country online newspapers?		
			Yes	No	
		Do you read Swedish newspapers?	Yes	A	
		No	S	M	
5. Country info connection			Integration	Assimilation	
			Segregation	Marginalisation	

Language	Integration
Religion	Segregation
Culture	Integration
Identity	Marginalisation
Country info connection	Integration

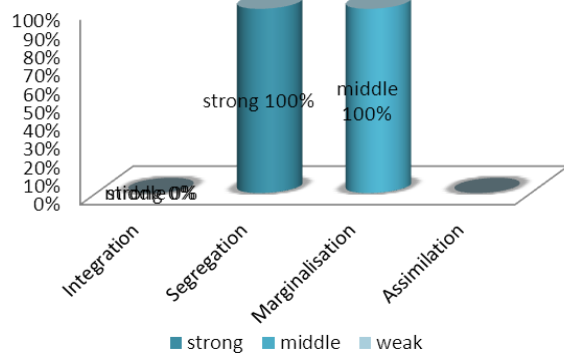
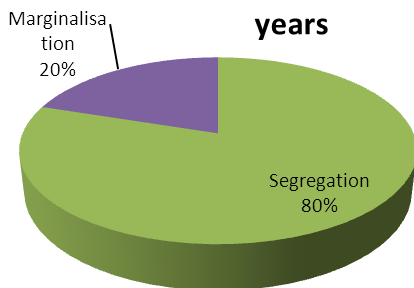


Personal results, Ukraine

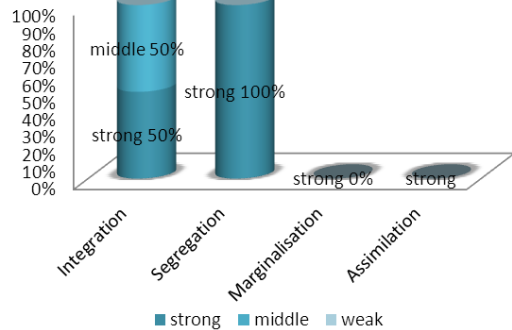
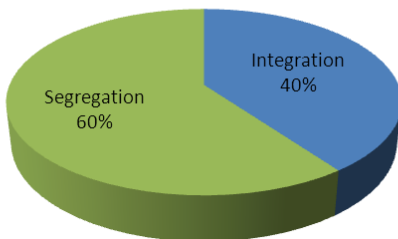
Woman, 24, lives in Sweden for 2 years



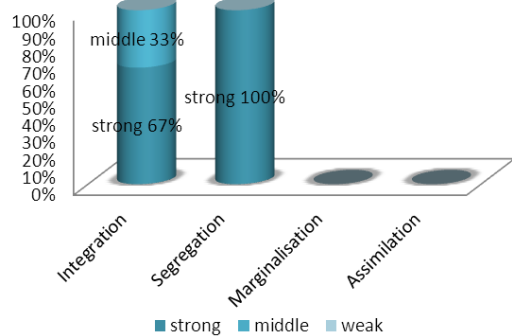
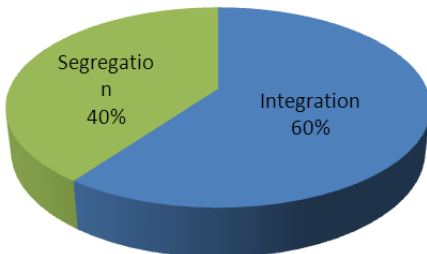
Man, 24, lives in Sweden for 2 years



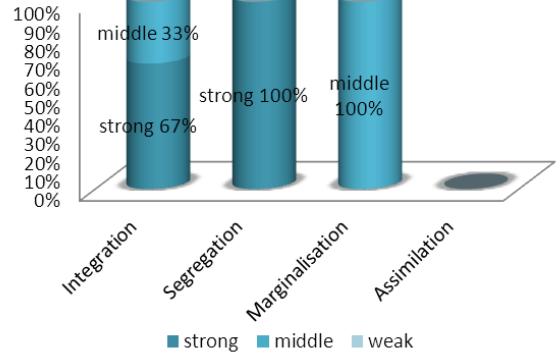
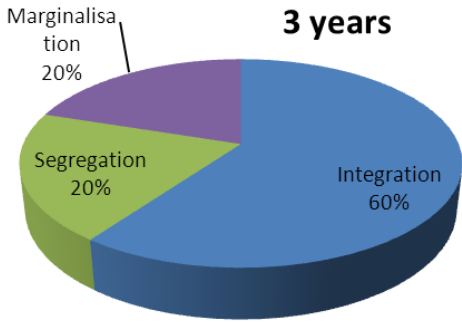
Woman, 23, lives in Sweden for 3 years



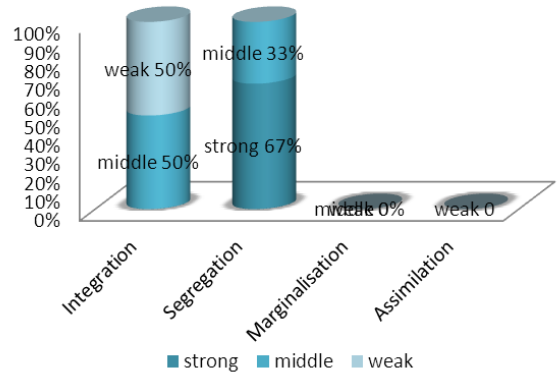
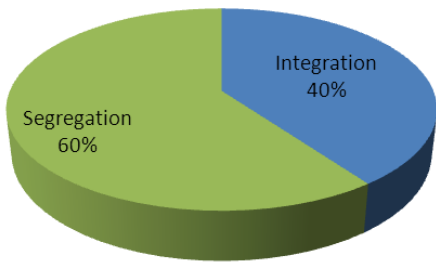
Woman, 57, lives in Sweden for 25 years



Woman, 25, lives in Sweden for 3 years



Man, 29, lives in Sweden for 2,5 years



Woman, 23, lives in Sweden for 1,5 years

