Second-generation immigrants’ participation and feeling of belongingness in Swedish society.

A qualitative study about second-generation immigrants’ identity and integration in Sweden

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ABSTRACT

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The focus of this study was to gain an insight on the second-generation immigrant’s view on their integration and identity in Swedish society. To accomplish this, the empirical material was gathered through semi-structured interviews. The answers from the respondents have been analyzed through the theoretical lenses of Social Identity Theory and Third Identity Theory. Among the results of the interviews, it showed that the respondents with parents outside of Europe felt less included in the majority society. It was also found that individuals without a traditional Swedish name have a harder time accessing the labor market. Language and social networks were evidently helpful for integrating second-generation immigrants into society. When it comes to the perception regarding identification it was found that two out of the five respondents felt rootless, and it was found that both residential area and one’s social circle had an effect on all the respondents’ identities.

Keywords: Second-generation Immigrants, Identity, Integration, Segregation, Ethnicity
Table of Contents

ABSTRACT .................................................................................................................................................. 2

1. INTRODUCTION ................................................................................................................................. 4

2. PURPOSE & QUESTIONS ......................................................................................................................... 5

3. METHOD & MATERIAL .......................................................................................................................... 6

   3.1 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS ......................................................................................................... 6
   3.2 CODING .............................................................................................................................................. 8
   3.3 SELECTION ....................................................................................................................................... 9
   3.4 PARTICIPANT ATTRITION .................................................................................................................. 11
   3.5 ETHICS AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS ...................................................................................... 11

4. CONCEPTS ............................................................................................................................................ 12

5. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ........................................................................................................................ 13

   5.1 MIGRATION AND LACK OF STRATEGIES IN EUROPE ..................................................................... 13
   5.2 POLICIES AND PRACTICES FOR INTEGRATION ............................................................................. 13
   5.3 SECOND-GENERATION IMMIGRANTS AND EMPLOYMENT ............................................................ 14
   5.4 THREE ASPECTS OF IDENTITY ...................................................................................................... 14
   5.5 “WORKING HARDER TO BE THE SAME”: EVERYDAY RACISM AMONG YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN IN SWEDEN.” ................................................................. 15
   5.6 IMMIGRANTS’ MOBILITY TOWARDS NATIVE-DOMINATED NEIGHBORHOODS. ............................ 15
   5.7 THE PROMISE OF BELONGING: RACIALIZED YOUTH SUBJECT POSITIONS IN THE SWEDISH RURAL NORTH .............................................................................................................. 16
   5.8 CONSTRUCTIONS OF SELF-IDENTIFICATION: CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS IN SWEDEN .............. 17

6. THEORY .................................................................................................................................................. 18

   6.1 Social identity Theory ....................................................................................................................... 18
   6.2 The third identity ................................................................................................................................ 19

7. RESULT AND ANALYSIS ..................................................................................................................... 21

   7.1 IDENTITY .......................................................................................................................................... 21
   7.2 VARIOUS TYPES OF EXCLUSIONS, INTEGRATION, AND LANGUAGE ............................................. 23
   7.3 RESIDENCE AND SOCIAL CIRCLE ................................................................................................... 28

8. DISCUSSION ....................................................................................................................................... 32

   8.1 INCLUSION/EXCLUSION .................................................................................................................... 32
   8.2 IDENTITY ......................................................................................................................................... 34
   8.3 FUTURE RESEARCH ......................................................................................................................... 36

REFERENCES .......................................................................................................................................... 37

APPENDIX .............................................................................................................................................. 40
1. Introduction

Migration is a hot topic that is relevant in the society of today. Currently, there are about 184 million people that are immigrants, this is a total of 2.3% of the world’s population (Worldbank, 2023). If migration is being handled well it can lead to prosperity for the host-country. If migration is not handled properly, it can result in brain-drain for the sending country while the host-country fails to properly take advantage of the valuable resource that migrants could have in the new host-country. For instance, to find a way to let the immigrants work in the area that they have experience in, instead of low-income jobs that do not require an education.

Sweden is a country that throughout history has dealt with a higher influx of immigration, primarily during the 1990’s and more recently during the migration wave of 2015. Recent research has shown that 2.145 million inhabitants in Sweden are born abroad (SCB, 2022). This has led to increased awareness and raised questions about the everyday struggles and challenges of immigrants in a new host society, where the aspect of integration and segregation has become central parts of the migration discourse.

This topic is now more relevant than it has ever been before. There were 9.7 million citizens in Sweden 2015, and it is assumed to reach 12.9 million by the year 2060. This data was based on statistics over how many people die every year; how many people are born every year as well as how many migrate to Sweden. The next few years after 2015, it was assumed that up to 150 000 people will migrate to Sweden every year (SCB, 2015). This is something in retrospect that was fairly accurate (Statista, 2023).

There has been less attention drawn to the people who are born in Sweden but have at least one or two parents who is foreign born, also known as second-generation immigrants. This has relevance in the society of today, where different nationalities and backgrounds are interacting in a more globalized and multicultural society, where people have different needs and values which needs to be taken into consideration. There has been plenty of research of immigrants and their participation and sense of belonging in the society, while the second-generation immigrants lack this amount of research. It is interesting to know how they perceive their lives and identities with eventual struggle of national or cultural belonging, and how the environment around them is affecting the issue. The intention in this study is to investigate how second-generation immigrants can encounter setbacks and experience integration and identification difficulties, to attempt finding connections between this eventual problem in society and this group of focus (Brå, 2021).

In relation to this area of study and the context given, the focus of this research is on how the second-generation immigrants identify themselves in Sweden, in relevance to their inclusivity/exclusivity in society. The focus of the research will investigate what makes it easier and harder for second-generation immigrants to integrate into society, to understand the situation of these individuals better.
2. Purpose & Research Questions

The purpose of this research aims at gaining an insight into second-generation immigrants and their perceptions of belonging and participation in the Swedish society.

1. How do the respondents perceive their inclusion/exclusion in relation to society?
2. How do the respondents perceive their identity in society?
3. Method & Material

The method chosen to conduct this research was a case study approach, because we wanted an in-depth understanding of a complex issue in real life. The method that was chosen to gather the empirical material for the case-study were semi-structured interviews. This helped and allowed us to collect useful data through interviews and facilitated coding data for the results and analysis chapter. After the transcription process, the data was divided into categories to be able to accurately describe and interpret these themes separately, thereby reducing possible ambiguities compared to if the coding would not have taken place. The semi-structured interviews contributed to and were well adapted for this research, it helped facilitate the results and made it easier to find the relevant information when answering the research questions.

Case study was chosen as a methodology due to that the phenomenon under investigation is well suited for a case study approach. Using a case study has both strengths and weaknesses. One potential weakness is that it can be hard to adjust or start from scratch if it is found that the research questions need to be reformulated. While conducting case-study research it is very common that a researcher is reusing already collected empirical data. This could be an issue as the researcher could be biased and use materials that are not well suited for a potential new research question (Yin, 2018). Using semi-structured interviews as a primary data source as was done in this essay, could have led to a lot of time being spent on finding new respondents, conducting new interviews and transcripts. This is something that was considered, luckily the research questions, or the area being researched have not changed in a drastic way since the collection of the empirical material, so this was not an issue. Another weakness is that more sources should be used, to make a conclusion than with other methodologies. This can be difficult as it takes a lot of time, resources, and knowledge to do this properly (Yin, 2018). This is a big challenge that had been experienced while writing this essay. Due to not being educated researchers with limited time and resources, this has not been possible. The empirical material that has been used for this research is primarily based on semi-structured interviews and partly by previous research. Therefore, the resources are lacking to properly meet this challenge. However, due to the circumstances this is deemed acceptable, and does not render the study useless.

3.1 Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interviews consisted of a total of five respondents, these respondents were chosen carefully by planning how many different perspectives and respondents would be appropriate for this project. The limited time that was being given for this essay was considered in relation to the total number of respondents involved.

A semi-structured interview is where a set of questions have been prepared before the interview takes place. The order of these questions can vary and are usually more generally formulated than during structured interviews. However, the most important aspect of conducting semi-structured interviews is the opportunity for the interviewer to ask additional questions (follow-up questions) in relation to what is considered necessary and relevant to ask. In interviews, the interest is directed towards the interviewee’s position, which was highly relevant as the purpose of this essay was to gather information about the second-generation immigrant’s perspective.
Semi-structured interviews were selected because it has an interest in personal stories, views, and perceptions of things, which made it suitable for a study like this, compared to a quantitative approach that has the aim to measure, describe or explain structured data that can be expressed in numbers, and are structured and statistical (Bryman, 2018).

All of the five semi-structured interviews were conducted through Zoom (video-call) and not over a phone call, where we got a chance to see each other on camera throughout the interview. This gave an opportunity for us as interviewers to see the body language of the respondents. This was not distinctive or analyzed during our zoom interviews but could have been more included and focused on, which could have provided us as researchers with different lenses. Hence the lack of a connection to body language in the analysis part (Bryman, 2018).

By having a video-call through Zoom we create a chance for future researchers within this field to notice similarities and differences in their research and conclusions compared to this one where we used video-calls, in relation see how other different methods, such as conducting interviews out in real life and not digitally might lead to other conclusions within this field of study. Possible affecting issues could be bad internet connection, environmental issues around the respondent in that moment (sound, noise, etc.). People in the respondent’s environment can influence the respondent to make the individual talk about something different. There is also an increased probability that the respondent is dropping out of the online-interview or not answering questions than if a personal interview would be conducted (Bryman, 2018). This was seen in our case, as one of our planned six respondents dropped out of the study. Other than this no major difficulties when it came to respondents dropping out or not answering questions in the interviews emerged. To be secure and avoid this, we kept as much constant contact with the respondents as much as possible before the interviews were conducted.

The interviews were conducted in the following way: Background questions were created, to get a better understanding of the interviewees and their answers. These background questions were regarding age, gender, place of residence etc. After this, interview questions that concerned the topic of this study were created, where we had a list of questions related to the research questions (See the Interview Guide in the appendix chapter). This helped as a memory list on what areas and questions were going to be brought up, to avoid forgetting it as well as making sure that respondents would be asked the questions in the same way. Before the interview all the participants agreed on a consent form that informed them about the interview, their right to cancel, the secrecy, the anonymity right and processing of personal data (Bryman, 2018).

During the interview’s, the online calls were recorded through a cell phone (while the Zoom-interview were conducted through a computer) to facilitate the transcription of the given answers later on, as it seemed more time efficient than writing down notes during the interview, which could have distracted our main focus and goal of the interview by instead putting this work and focus on including all possible notes (Bryman, 2018).

The time of the first interview (Catarina) took 32 minutes to get done, while the second and third interviews took 25 minutes each (Michael and Carl). The fourth interview (Kevin) took 30 minutes, and the fifth interview (Jessie) took 50 minutes to finish.
The semi-structured interviews were held in Swedish, after the transcription and coding part, the responses were later translated to English. As we the authors are not educated translators there is a possibility that some responses were not properly translated and that some important parts might have been misrepresented or lost in translation. Furthermore, the citations used were directly translated from Swedish to English within our best abilities, but it is important to note that nuances may have been lost in the process. Any discrepancies or inaccuracies in the translation process were unintended.

During the transcription, Microsoft Word’s own transcription tool was used to put the voice memo into words. The answers that were written by Word’s transcription tool got controlled by us, by listening to the voice memos multiple times until the sentences checked in with the things said in the voice memo. After the interviews and the transcriptions were complete, the answers were put into different categories, which will be explained below.

3.2 Coding

When it comes to coding of semi-structured interviews, the theme should be concise of a red thread through the entire process. When formulating the themes, an active interpretation of the empirical material should be conducted. If the semi-structured interviews consist of several respondents, you should try to find consistent themes in the respondent’s answers and out of that you categorize it (Klingberg & Hallberg, 2021).

Coding is often the starting point for most qualitative analysis of data, and when you are creating categories, it is important that you ask yourself some questions; The questions used during the coding were based on Lofland & Lofland (1995) as described in Bryman (2018) “What theme is this information an example of?” “What is this information about?” “What general category is this information an example of?”. After asking ourselves these questions, the different categories were created. The data was read through multiple times to make sure that the information was in the right categories, not misunderstood or that a lack of categories was created. At the first part of the analysis of the data a few categories were created. While doing the second category Charmaz (2000) recommendation of making a code for every row of data was followed, this was done so that the connection with the data and perspectives would not be lost. This resulted in a lot of categories and after this stage, the above-mentioned questions from Lofland & Lofland (1995) were used, to recognize similarities between the answers to create a smaller number of high-quality categories. (Bryman, 2016). These categories in some cases consisted of the responses from different questions, and other cases just consisted of the answers from one particular question.

In total there were five categories created. The categories have partly been used to develop the different subheadings and what they should consist of in the result chapter. This does not mean that all the categories were used this way. The background category was mainly used to present an overview about the respondents’ similarities in their backgrounds. Some of the other categories had too few responses tied to them to be able to make it their own subheading in the result chapter. Therefore, they were tied together with the subheading that was deemed the most relevant for this. The different categories and examples of what they consist of will now be
presented. The first category was background and consisted of their responses to the background questions. For example, the respondents were between the ages 21–36, two of the respondents had parents from Europe and three had parents from outside of Europe, the respondents consisted of two women and three men. However, the respondents’ actual names are not being revealed in this study out of respect of the anonymity and ethical concerns which is why they all have pseudonyms instead. The second category was “Various types of exclusions, integration and language”; it consisted of the respondents’ answers related to this theme. The third category created was “Labor Market”. The fourth category that was created was “Identity”. The fifth and last category that was created is “Residence and Social circle”.

3.3 Selection
At the planning stage of picking these respondents, prejudices and biases were considered. This was conducted by not picking respondents from a specific group such as classmates, or people considered as close friends (in our primary group) or family that could possibly share similar characteristics or values as us, which could lead to the responses being too similar. The only certain common thing among respondents is that they are all second-generation immigrants in Sweden. The term “Social Desirability” refers to an assumption that the respondents will give answers that might make them look better or provide an answer that they assume the interviewers are searching for (Bryman, 2018). Therefore, social desirability was considered during the planning phase of the interviews and in consideration of the interview questions. This was furtherly expressed by informing the respondents that they will be anonymous, hoping to increase their willingness and sense of being able to express themselves honestly with confidence without being worried about exposure.

At the planning stage, it was planned to approach individuals seen on the street to avoid the above-mentioned factors. This was not carried through, since there was no guarantee that these desirable respondents would efficiently be found in Jönköping, leading to time wasting and possibly a higher degree of participant attrition. There are other factors that could have an effect in other ways, possibly also, such as the weather affecting the availability of these respondents’ or respondents being stressed. If it is raining or the individuals being approached are under stress it would have limited our chances to get a sufficient and efficient interview. Instead, we contacted six respondents we were slightly familiar with (only to facilitate a way for us to contact them) but not too familiar with, to try to keep it as neutral and unbiased as possible in consideration to the research. The group mostly consisted of previous students, current students, and some old contacts that were considered relevant for this study – not in the primary group, or what can be called the main friend group. Therefore, we took contact with these respondents to give them information about the interviews and to plan a time to conduct them.

The type of strategy used in this study to gather respondents is called a convenience selection. A convenience selection consists of people available to the research at the moment, such as these second-generation immigrants for our study who were available and appropriate for the aim of the study in consideration with the limited time we had. The issue of a convenience selection is how to be sure it is representative on a bigger degree, as the chosen respondents were the ones available for us as researchers, which reminds us that a different time, place, and
some other respondents would have probably brought some other answers and perspectives (Bryman, 2018). The importance of mentioning the convenience selection is in relation to being transparent and that it may have affected the study and its result in various possible ways, and how the chosen respondents were not completely strangers to us but were still appropriate for a study within this area.

In relevance to finding a good sample group for this research, the background about us as researchers is important to take into consideration when reading this study. The responses could have been changed due to the respondents’ prejudices against us, one white man that has been ethnically Swedish for multiple generations, and the other one being a second-generation immigrant born in Sweden with two Lebanese parents. This was not a visible or obvious issue during the interviews with the respondents, which is why it will not be further analyzed in the result/analysis section. Instead, we had an early assumption from our side about how our respective backgrounds could have influenced the interviews and the respondents who participated, since it is important to keep in mind and to increase transparency. However, to try to overcome any type of false statements it was made clear from the beginning that the answers will be anonymized and that the answers we are looking for are their views, opinions, and pressing on the importance of being honest so that the study would not become faulty due to false statements. Some assumptions that can be made and should be kept in mind to understand the study and the interviews better will be presented here.

Starting off, one author with a historically ethnically Swedish background may cause him to have more understanding of the Swedish values, traditions and so on. This means that, we get an insight from an ethnic Swedish perspective that enables us to compare this author's life, experiences, thoughts and so on with those of these respondents, in order to see similarities and differences that may arise in their lives, and in this author's life. However, it is not possible to generalize their answers and this author's life and experiences, as it can differ greatly on an individual level from person to person. On the other hand, the second researcher of ours is a second-generation immigrant, which allows him to have more understanding of second-generation immigrants and their situations and contribute with a different perspective in relation to the other author, and at the same time recognize himself in some contexts. The other author (with the ethnically Swedish background) may encounter an opposite problem, that is, he may have difficulty understanding all the experiences, thoughts and experiences of these second-generation immigrants who participated and thus misunderstandings may arise in connection with this. This contributes to seeing this research area from two sides which contributes to a more comprehensive and strengthened study with more than just a single perspective. A significant problem is how the author, who is a second-generation immigrant, can experience himself very close to this area, which creates a risk of connecting the respondents' answers to his own interpretations and experiences, thereby influencing the results.

To make it easier for the reader to follow through the results, it was decided that the respondents will be presented and given pseudonyms. In total, five respondents were picked, and they will now be presented:

- **Respondent 1 - Catarina**, she is in her thirties, lives in a small city and studies at university. Her parents are from eastern Europe.
- Respondent 2 is a man in his twenties, he is called Michael, he lives in a suburb in a pretty big city, he is currently studying in university and his parents are from the Middle East.

- Respondent 3 is a man in his twenties, his name is Carl, he lives in a big city, has a high-school degree, he is currently working, and his parents are from western Africa.

- Respondent 4 is a man in his twenties, he is called Kevin, lives in a decently big city, is studying at university and his parents are from northern Africa.

- Respondent 5 is a woman around 25 years old, her name is Jessie, she lives in a big city, has a university degree and is currently working. Her parents are from northern Europe.

### 3.4 Participant Attrition

Additionally, this study had one omission worth mentioning. The plan from the beginning was that six respondents would participate in the interviews, but this became difficult due to the fact that the intended sixth person could not participate in the interview for personal reasons, this obstacle came unexpectedly during the period when the interviews were taking place.

Therefore, for this study we had to settle with five respondents, with one less respondent, the study will be smaller and may lead to us missing potentially important information that this respondent could have contributed with. Given the time and phase we were in, the only solution was to proceed with the five respondents.

### 3.5 Ethics and ethical considerations

During the planning phase, ethical aspects were carefully considered. As mentioned, the consent form that was handed out before the interviews revealed all the information needed for the respondents, as an example it gave information that the respondent could cancel their participation anytime, they would be anonymized through the use of pseudonyms, and they were informed about the purpose of their cooperation in this study. Most importantly, it informed them that it was voluntary and that they were not forced to participate. The utilization requirement was part of the consent form where the participants got informed that the information collected will only be used for the study’s purpose. These are all appearing and central through our consent form and can be related to the ethical principles provided in the literature (Vetenskapsrådet, 2023).

The age of these participants was not an issue for this study, as they were of legal age and could make their own decision regarding their participation without consent from their parents or caregiver.
4. Concepts

Second-generation immigrants: Second-generation immigrants is a term for people born in Sweden who have at least one foreign-born parent who immigrated to Sweden (Regeringskansliet, 2000).

Identity: Identity consists primarily of awareness of oneself (that is, the experience of being alive), that there is a sharp boundary to others, to decide one's own thoughts and actions, to fundamentally be the same despite the changes that occur during life and to have only oneself. On the other hand, identity consists of awareness of one's own personality, that is, of the content of all the experiences during life that gradually shaped the personality (NE, n.d. A).

Multidimensional identity: Our identities comprise multiple layers with diverse meanings across various contexts. These identities are at times hierarchical, and one identity might be more important than all other identities for an individual. The multidimensional identity shapes an individual’s self-perception, their view on the world, and view on other surrounding people, whether they are aware of those underlying identities or not (Pope & Reynolds, 2017).

Segregation: “The spatial separation of population groups. Segregation can occur due to socio-economic status, skin color, religion, ethnic affiliation, and it can be involuntary or voluntary” (NE, n.d. B).

Integration: A process that leads to the unification of separate entities; also, the result of such a process. The term is used, for example, for processes through which a society is formed and preserved or through which several societies unite with each other to form larger units (NE, n.d. C).

Culture: Culture can be defined as something that enables communication, the individuals within a culture share a common language and common experiences which are important elements in the cultural community. A modern definition of culture is that it is knowledge, symbols, beliefs, common rules, customs, morals, values, and habits of a group of people (Texas Academics & Research University, n.d)

Ethnicity: is an aspect of social relations between different groups of humans that see themselves as a part of a group due to their cultural distinctions in relation to other groups. It is something that is created in historical processes and social relations. Ethnicity is a dynamic term, the group’s self-identification is something that can be changed as a consequence of historical, economic, social, or political processes (NE, n.d. D).
5. Previous research
Below is a presentation of previous peer-reviewed scientific articles regarding issues and different aspects within this area of study that were considered relevant and important as a basis for the investigation and analysis. The chosen peer-reviewed scientific articles are presented in relation to appropriate themes that each article mainly regards.

5.1 Migration and lack of strategies in Europe
According to Algan et al. (2010) there are a lot of economic and social problems for the children of immigrants since a long-term strategy to incorporate immigrants into society is often lacking. Policies related to labor market integration and societal structure are often lacking. The article compares integration of migrants in France, United Kingdom, and Germany. The comparison has been on the outcomes of education, earnings, and employment. They concluded that the gap of education was lower for second-generation immigrants rather than first-generation immigrants. In the UK and Germany, the employment gaps for men that are first- or second-generation immigrants seem to be similar, but in France, male second-generation immigrants seem to have a larger unemployment rate than first generation immigrants. It was concluded that women who are second generation immigrants had a lower rate of unemployment and is similar to those of the first-generation immigrants. There is clear evidence that native-born citizens have a higher rate of employment than second-generation immigrants in these countries.

Many countries have made policies to make migrants feel more inclusive, in the UK such policies have been things such as policewoman being able to wear hijabs on duty, Sikh motorcyclists to wear a turban instead of a helmet. Creating policies that are adapted for migrants (such as being able to wear hijabs on duty for female police officers, as the case has been in the UK) has, according to these authors, not been fulfilling their goals of creating common core values. This has made it so that some communities chose to not be a part of the wider community, and instead became a sub-society.

5.2 Policies and practices for integration
Maurice Crul and Hans Vermeulen wrote about second-generation migrants in Europe in their scientific article “The Second Generation in Europe” (2003) with a focus on Turkish and Moroccan migrants, instead of focusing on integration models it is primarily focusing on policies and practices. It examines the integration process itself in vital institutional arrangements, for example the education system and the mechanism of transitioning into the labor market. According to Crul and Vermeulen (2003), due to the structural integration being more difficult than in the past, it has led to that it is more difficult to climb up the social hierarchy, especially if you are on the low end of the hierarchy. In other words, if you are a second-generation immigrant with parents of a low socio-economic status, it is harder than in the past to climb up the social ladder and get to where you want in life through hard work. The authors also argue that due to globalization it is more likely that second-generation immigrants develop bicultural or hybrid identities instead of adapting to the majority identity.
According to the study “Evaluating Migrant Integration: Political Attitudes Across Generations in Europe” by Rahsaan Maxwell (2010), first generation immigrants have the most positive outlook and trust on the politics in 24 European countries, meanwhile second-generation immigrants and natives have the same outlook. Maxwell claims that the reason for this is due to the fact that the migrants have experienced the disruptive process of changing countries, they have lower expectations and look more positive on the host countries institutions. Meanwhile natives and second-generation immigrants are raised in the same society and therefore they share the perspective on the country’s institutions (Maxwell, 2010).

5.3. Second-generation immigrants and employment
In the research done by Lena Nekby and Magnus Rödin (2009) the authors wanted to investigate how ethical belonging affects the individuals’ possibilities in regard to getting employment. The researchers used acculturation as their framework to investigate and analyze this area of research.

This study had the focus on second-generation immigrants and how their ethnic group influence their economic status in society as well as future job prospects.

The conclusion was that there are no significant differences in employment probabilities between the assimilated and the integrated second-generation immigrants. Thereby, the connection to ethnic groups of these second-generation immigrants is not harmful to their employment rate as long as it is combined with a strong connection to the majority society at the same time.

The results highlight the importance of using a multidimensional measure of identity because a strong connection to the ethnic group does not necessarily mean a low connection to the majority society. Hence, the most important result was that a connection to the majority culture is helpful and is assisting in terms of employment.

5.4 Three aspects of identity
Heelsum and Koomen (2015) analyzed how Moroccans in five countries look at their identity. They focused on three different outlooks on identity: religious identity, ethnic identity, and national identity. The authors wanted to find out if there are any correlations between these three types of identities. They are doing this research on both first-generation immigrants and second-generation immigrants and then they will compare the results with each other to see if there are any differences between these groups. The methods used have been a cross-sectional survey, media content analysis and interviews. The results found by conducting this research was that the first-generation immigrants that identified themselves more with their ethnicity, also identified themselves as Muslim in a higher degree. It is worth mentioning in this context that Morocco consists of 99% of Muslims.

Meanwhile for the second-generation immigrants, no such correlation was concluded, furthermore second-generation immigrants viewed themselves closer to their nationality than their ethnic background, compared to the first generation. It was also apparent that the
respondents who felt more accepted into the society also viewed their national identity stronger. It was shown that the second-generation immigrants felt more confident to have multiple identities than first-generation immigrants.

5.5 “Working harder to be the same’: everyday racism among young men and women in Sweden.”

In this scientific article written by Camilla Häggren (2005) the focus is on how young men and women in Sweden from both majority and minority ethnic backgrounds and their perceptions and experiences of prejudices and racism. Precisely, Häggren aimed to find what, how and where these young people think they have to work harder than a native Swede to become “full members” in the society. The study was conducted through semi-structured interviews, with 30 respondents. According to the article, Sweden has claimed an international reputation for human rights and values that can be seen as democratic, however the study concluded that despite this reputation Sweden has there are existing issues within the country in regard to racism and xenophobia, and the place where you come from matters and can increase or lower the chances of being exposed to racism. Another conclusion was the importance and need of education that shows how racism operates in different Swedish contexts, and that it needs to be addressed both inside and outside of school.

The study found that the eight main occurring themes of the provided answers from the interviews were:

1. Overt and hidden aspects of racism.
2. The need to be watchful at all times.
3. Needing to work hard to ‘adapt’ to society.
4. The importance of language and having the ‘right name’.
5. Being let down by adults.
6. The complexity of ‘us’ and ‘them’.
7. Needing to be strongly motivated to become successful.
8. Having to learn different strategies to survive.

5.6 Immigrants’ mobility towards native-dominated neighborhoods.

This scientific article written by Kati Kadarik (2019) aims at investigating immigrants’ integration and residential patterns in Swedish society. It focuses on native-dominated neighborhoods, and how immigrants’ country of origin along with their socioeconomic status play a role in their settlement in Sweden. Besides this, the segregation aspect is also included partly in this article in connection to creating mixed neighborhoods, and its close relation to integration.

Kadarik’s study concluded that the background of immigrants’ have a strong connection to their residential outcomes, and that the existing spatial segregation can be fought by a better
housing market position at the beginning of the immigrants’ arrival in Sweden, for instance starting in a neighborhood where more natives live. The country of origin and geography is crucial, as it may facilitate or make it more difficult for the immigrants’ residential mobility depending on where you come from. Another conclusion that the study found being evident to facilitating the immigrants’ integration into society and increasing the likelihood of moving to a native-dominated neighborhood is through participating in the labor market and having high levels of education.

The study brings up how income in metropolitan areas has less impact on the people living there and their residential mobility, in comparison to the foreign-dominated places outside of the metropolitan areas and the people who end up in those areas (which consists of an immigrant majority), who struggles to get equal opportunities in society compared to those outside these foreign-dominated areas, and how they thereby have it harder to affect their residential mobility in society.

5.7 The promise of Belonging: Racialized Youth Subject Positions in the Swedish rural north
Goicolea et al. (2022) have been focusing on analysing how the “racialized others” are treated and viewed in rural northern Sweden. This was conducted through a discursive psychology approach where 15 group discussions took place with a total of 63 young participants. The study is looking at how these identities are formed and how they fit into the community.

According to the researchers, due to stereotypes, ideas, and notions that northern Sweden (Norrland) is considered homogenous and white as well as being traditional and backwards may produce (notions) of who “belongs” there and who is positioned as “not belonging” there. Furthermore, the researchers are investigating how belonging to the countryside can make the “racialized others” feel like they are a part of the rural community or feel excluded from it.

The research concluded that there are boundaries that get created that exclude young people without a Swedish ethnicity, however possibilities to resist these boundaries and try to cross them exists. “The racialized others” are depicted based on stereotypes and get a promise that they will feel included or be welcomed there if they meet specific norms that can be seen and interpreted as Swedish.

The results of the study revealed that even if these specific norms are met it does not eliminate the boundaries, instead a hierarchy of acceptance is created, where the ones that conform to the norms in a higher degree are accepted into society while those who do not are perceived as misbehaving and posing a threat. This places the responsibility on the individual to integrate instead of addressing the structural issues such as discrimination and racism. The authors critique the welfare system for not meeting the needs of racialized youth, especially in the rural areas where services are diminishing.
5.8 Constructions of self-identification: Children of immigrants in Sweden

In this research by Alireza Behtoui (2019) the focus is on young people in Sweden with various foreign backgrounds (second-generation immigrants) and their self-identification. Behtoui researched about their self-identification in varying contexts, such as being in school, work, neighborhoods or when travelling abroad Sweden.

The study and its conclusions presented that identity is shaped by a variety of social (friendship network and school composition) and individual factors (class background, parents’ country of origin). One finding was that those who had a segregated friendship network are more strongly linked to a religious and ethnic identification than others, and another finding was that those similar patterns was found in school for these participants, where if they attend an ethnic segregated school, they tend to identify themselves with an ethnic label and rarely perceive themselves as Swedes.

The results of the surveys conducted by Behtoui showed that the participants who identified more as a Swedish person tended to have similar characteristics with each other, while the ones who presented themselves with the parents’ country of origin did not have as much in common as the other participants. The findings of this study was that these participants’ identities are not fixed and bounded, but are rather fluid, situational, and dynamic processes.

The results of Behtoui’s study showed that these young participants with parents’ origin from Europe often felt less excluded and stigmatized in Sweden, as they also to a less degree have to choose to be Swedish or choose to be from the country of their parents in comparison to someone with parents from outside of Europe, where they usually end up in greater conflict between these identities. However, on a general level this issue of one’s self-identification becomes more occurring in reality when travelling abroad Sweden.
6. Theory

In this section the two theories that were chosen will be presented. The chosen theories are the social identity theory and the third identity theory.

Social identity theory will be used in our analysis to investigate how the chosen second-generation immigrants of this study might perceive themselves as members of a particular group. As well as investigate how that might affect these second-generation immigrants’ view on their inclusion and identity in society. Social identity theory will be used to see how these second-generation immigrants relate to their ethnic group in comparison to their feeling of being Swedish and see how their belonging with a group might affect their values and answers differently.

The third identity theory will be used in our analysis to investigate whether the theoretical concept of “third identity” can be seen and identified in these respondents. This in relation to the fact that these second-generation immigrants do have a different ethnic background than just Swedish which makes the concept of the third identity theory further relevant for our study and can be used as a helpful tool to analyze possible answers provided from the interviews, as the third identity is formed through the mixture of national and ethnic identities. Furthermore, there is an interest to see how the possible experience of a third identity will affect these second-generation immigrants’ answers and views on living in Swedish society.

6.1 Social identity Theory

Social identity theory was developed during the 1970s by the Polish-British Social-Psychologist Henri Tajfel and British Social-Psychologist John Turner. Social identity theory deals with the fact that the individual is influenced by the groups they are a part of. The theory aims to predict and specify the circumstances where individuals think of themselves as group members or individuals. Social identity theory brings up how we tend to exaggerate two things: the differences between groups, and the similarities of things within our group. Social identity theory includes that the individual sets great emotional value on group membership which can lead to biases within various stances. Social Identity Theory points out that each of us belong to numerous groups such as religion, sport, family, and other possible groups (Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

Based on our personal identity we create our individual goals and achievements, while we form a social identity based on achievements and goals of the groups we belong to. This is important to understand an individual’s goals and is central in Social Identity Theory.

The individual uses his varying group affiliations as a basis when creating definitions of oneself and one’s self-concept, this means that the characteristics which are associated with a specific group gets used by the individuals of this group when defining themselves.

Social Identity Theory is based on three assumptions (Tajfel & Turner, 2004): Social Categorization (1), Social Identification (2) and Social Comparison (3).
1. We categorize people (including ourselves); individuals are assigned to a social group.
2. A belonging to a particular group can be viewed as positive or a negative thing, meaning this group belonging can affect our social identity in a positive or negative way. In this stage, the individual adopts the identity and conforms to the norms of that group.
3. The individual identifies with one’s own group and compares it to other groups.

Importantly, an individual can belong to many different groups. These groups can be many, some examples are: Man, Woman, Muslim, Catholic, Lesbian, Straight, Student, Bus driver and other possible groups existing.

For every group or also called “in-group” that you belong to, there is another group. These are people that do not identify the same way, also known as the “others” or, “out-group”. In-group favoritism may result in negative and discriminatory outcomes against the out-group. The central hypothesis is that group members of an in-group will try to find negative aspects of an out-group.

6.2 The third identity

Today, people strive to find groups that they can tie together with their primary identities. Such groups could be religious, ethnic, territorial, or national. It is probably the strongest basis for personal security and collective mobilization (Goldstein-Kyaga & Borgström, 2009). The third identity is a mixed cross-border identity, adopting such an identity also means taking distance from cultures that are separate from their own, and setting up boundaries against other groups.

The third identity as a theoretical starting point aims at the globalization that takes place today that is creating new cross-border identities. Identities become flexible, changing, and shifting through globalization. The third identity is formed through a mixture of national and ethnic identities, which leads to a mixed identity of these rather than each identity on its own. The common thing is the crossing of borders and the fact that one includes several belongings in one’s identity. The third identity is more common among people who live in a multicultural country or stay in environments that are multi-ethnic (Goldstein-Kyaga & Borgström, 2009).

This third identity is not a “we and them” or an “either-or”, but rather consists of a “both-and” point of view. As an example, instead of identifying as Swedish you identify as Swedish-Turkish, an identity that is mixed and across borders. A third identity is about the ethnic and cultural aspect that is being mixed and creates a third one, instead of just identifying as your cultural identity or your ethnic identity your identity as a mix between these two. Besides, the third identity gives rise to something described as code-switching. Code-switching according to Goldstein-Kyaga & Borgström (2009) aims at adaptation of the different cultures, that is, the ability to switch between cultural codes, different languages, mindsets, and values. You learn to shift between different cultural codes by being in a multicultural context. The code switching takes place to adapt to a situation where you want to create understanding for a situation then and there (Goldstein-Kyaga & Borgström, 2009). This third identity can have negative aspects such as the individual feeling rootless but also positive aspects such as the belief that the world
consists of one society, that all people have the same moral rights. It can lead to wanting to learn about the cultural contexts that they are in, to possibly see different perspectives. Rootlessness can have both positive and negative aspects, that they do not feel like they belong anywhere but also that they do not feel like they need to belong (Goldstein-Kyaga & Borgström, 2009).
7. Result and analysis

In this chapter the results that have been gathered from the semi-structured interviews will be presented. This chapter will also include an analysis of this material. The analysis of the results will primarily be analyzed through the lens of the chosen theories, and partly through previous research (which instead appears in the discussion section to a greater extent). Through these three subheadings there will be similarities and citations brought up more than once, this is done because the themes got similarities and were in some cases relevant in multiple subheadings.

7.1 Identity

Identity was seen throughout the interviews as a central theme and was one of the research questions, it was found and recurring in different parts of this analysis. However, this section is delimited to this specific theme and will not be too broad or general in this section.

When interviewing our respondents, a common theme found was that some of the respondents felt as if they were not Swedish, but they did not identify strongly with the ethnic background of their parents either. When they are in Sweden, others look at them as if they are from their parents’ country, meanwhile when they are in their parents' home-country people view them as Swedes. This is closely related to the third-identity theory as these respondents experienced a “both-and” identity which can create confusion in terms of identification and a feeling of not belonging anywhere, this was more apparent than that they struggled with an “either-or” identity crisis. Catarina and Michael said that they experienced an identity in between two or more cultures, without specifically using the terms “third identity”, whereas Catarina stated the following in relation to the question if she identifies as Swedish: “Both yes and no, I feel a little rootless. I do not always feel like a Swede. I have eastern state values but in my home country I have Swedish values. I do not identify as anything here”. Regarding Michaels answer in relation to the question about obstacles that might occur when integrating to majority society, he stated:

It is difficult to fully participate in the tradition that exists in Sweden and the ethics here in that it differs from my parents’ culture and background that existed with one, mainly during growing up in the home which means that you end up somewhere in the middle between these two cultures and traditions during the course of life but which you eventually get used to and learn to deal with and adapt to, even though I personally am mostly used to the Swedish tradition because I lived here all my life.

The fact that the respondents have different genders, could have affected the way the respondents answered each question which is a lens important to include. The two women (Catarina and Jessie), and the three men (Michael, Carl, and Kevin) could have different experiences and life situations beyond what was revealed during the interview related to their genders, however this was not proven but instead an assumption that could be interesting to bear in mind when conducting a study like this one. Another lens important to bear in mind is that two of the respondents’ parents are from Europe and the parents of the other three are from outside of Europe, which could have been a possible influence on this area of study.
without being completely certain, where a commonly perceived European identity, or common values can lead to different answers, experiences and meanings compared to people from places far away from Europe. The gender perspective did not emerge clearly from the interviews and no answer was clearly related to the respondent's gender which made it difficult to draw conclusions related to it, but having the gender perspective is still good to have in order to have a background understanding for the interviews and the answers given.

The aspect of the respondents whose parents are from Europe or from outside of Europe was kept in mind to find noteworthy differences. After interviewing and analyzing the answers collected, we found out that Catarina and Jessie who are second-generation immigrants with parents from Europe, plus Kevin (with non-European parents) felt as a part of the majority society, while the other two non-European second-generation immigrants (Carl and Michael) did not feel like a part of the majority society. In the answers given by each and one of these respondents we could tell how they answered differently when it comes to how they identify as Swedish and feel integrated in society, but how their names, appearance and values were an obstacle for these non-European second-generation immigrants for integration or identification in the society. For the European second-generation immigrants, it was easier to feel as a part of the majority society due to factors such as the language, common values, and appearance. This shows both the discrimination happening in the society, and the importance of language skills, values and unfortunately the importance of appearance and names. To exemplify, Catarina mentions that “I believe the factors that help your identity as a Swede is language, something that binds you together to society as well as values that are consistent with the society’s values.” On the other hand, Michael explains that “Language, to be able to have a sufficiently good language knowledge and mastery to be able to feel involved and dare to take a place in the majority society”.

Shared Swedish values within a group can be seen as binding for friend groups, which was shown in Carl’s friend group, where despite differences within the group such as different ethnic backgrounds, the shared values creates a common group feeling and group identity where everyone is seen as having equal value. Finding these groups can be easier to do at places such as schools, workplace, or similar places where you can create networks and easier integrate to society through these networks. This was illustrated in the interview with Michael where he mentioned the benefits of attending school and that it helped him to find networks and become part of groups. Michael states:

My studies (both during school and now at university level) help me get into social circles, possible study associations and other things that makes me form contacts and feel like I am a participating person in the Swedish society, and the studies is helpful for me to get future job opportunities and thus my Swedish identification is strengthened, I would like to say because I feel that it contributes to my integration into society at various levels.

Identity according to Third identity theory can be seen as flexible, changing, and shifting through globalization. Third identity theory was visible in the answers collected after analyzing the answers, where the discussion of contexts got attention. Catarina mentioned that
by being in a different country or culture we get new identities, and that this respondent's identity was not Swedish or linked to their parent's ethnic background, but whereas it is seen as changing, depending on the context, time, and people. Catarina's statement can be seen as central in the third identity, where the same point of view is used. Third identity theory discusses that the third identity is formed through a mixture of both ethnic and national identities that leads to a mixture of these identities rather than each identity on its own, which is the case with Catarina in this study. This was also seen with Michael, but more specifically discussing student identity and its meaning.

The answers provided through the semi-structured interviews showed that there may come difficulties with trying to identify as Swedish, whereas Carl claimed there are issues with this. Carl stated that:

Difficulties are different approaches to things, for example I have a different view of child rearing than what you have in Sweden, which means that I may deviate from that value and stick to mine, which means that I deliberately make it difficult for myself to fully integrate in Sweden but at the same time I retain my will and approach to this, in addition to this, as previously stated, unfortunately my dark skin effects to a great extent.

The issue brought up was that there were some difficulties with views on things in relation to the respondents perceived view of the Swedish majority society, such as the view on child rearing in this case, which could create culture clashes for second-generation immigrants by keeping up with more than one culture and value. This shows an issue that needs to be kept in mind. The third identity theory claims: A third identity is more common among people who live in a multicultural country or stay in multi-ethnic environments – which goes in hand with the second-generation immigrants in Sweden, as it has become a more multicultural country throughout the last years making this more actual and an important social issue.

7.2 Various types of exclusions, integration, and language
The reason for choosing various types of exclusions as a title was due to the fact that there would be too many subheadings if every sort of exclusion would be under a new title. Therefore, the choice was made to write them together in this chapter. These exclusions consist of exclusions such as in the job market and in the majority society.

Three out of the five respondents saw themselves as being a part of the majority society, in relation to Carl and Michael’s answers who both felt like a part of the majority society, but only to a small extent. Carl and Michael explicitly said that they felt like a part of majority society but due to the other responses they gave during the interview, the conclusion can be taken that they do not really see themselves as a part of the majority society. For example, in the interview regarding eventual obstacles they have faced when integrating to the majority society, Carl said:

It is difficult to fully participate in the tradition that exists in Sweden and the ethics here in that it differs from my parents' culture and background that existed with one, mainly
during growing up in the home which means that you end up somewhere in the middle between these two cultures and traditions during the course of life but which you eventually get used to and learn to deal with and adapt to, even though I personally am mostly used to the Swedish tradition because I lived here all my life.

The respondents mentioned a few factors that they thought were extra important. Every respondent thought being able to speak Swedish properly was important, Catarina and Carl expressed that sharing Swedish values and mindset were additionally important to further enter society and participate to the maximum. Catarina said “The factors that helps you to identify as a swede is language, something that ties you together with society as well as values that are consistent with society” even though the respondent is talking about identity, we as interviewers were under the understanding that she was also talking about being a part of the majority society. When asking Carl if he have met any challenges when integrating to the majority society he answered:

Absolutely, I have. As a black man it has earlier been a challenge to get into other people’s circle, but it was easier for me as I was born here which makes it so I share the Swedish mindset as well as speaking good Swedish, so it could have been worse for me…

The amount of data is too low to properly be able to answer the research question “How do the respondents perceive their inclusion/exclusion in relation to society?” and get a substantial result that can relate to all the second-generation migrants; however, this was not the aim of this study. Rather the aim was to gain an insight of a part of a whole group, to see how it might look for certain second-generation immigrants without drawing a general conclusion for the whole group. This is not something that we have claimed nor is it something that a qualitative method easily can accomplish, it is however important to be transparent about this. The aim of this research is to give a view into how some second-generation immigrants view their inclusion, exclusion, and identification in society. Catarina was one of the respondents who claimed that they feel like a part of Swedish society, she has a common popular Swedish name, and has more than acceptable language skills in Swedish. Jessie is another respondent who also claimed that she felt included in the majority society, and Jessie has parents from a country with very close ties to Sweden, which can indicate that the country your parents’ origin from can affect how you are perceived and admitted to society. The third respondent that said they felt like a part of majority society is Carl, who had a multicultural upbringing with a lot of Swedish friends that led to him participating to a higher degree of Swedish culture. Furthermore, Carl has a Swedish first name and as previously stated “Shares the Swedish mindset” while he has not experienced discrimination or racism that he considers stood out. Carl claimed that due to him being able to shift the way he is speaking depending on the group, he would stop using slang when he was having societal discussions which made him feel like he is a part of the majority society and give the perception that he has the same level of language as other ethnically Swedish people in that given context. From these factors there can be a conclusion that those respondents who feel like a part of the Swedish majority society are partly due to the fact that the individuals have close ties to Swedish people during their upbringing, as well as sharing common values and the importance of the language.
Some important factors that the respondents viewed as being crucial for integrating and being included is to have a sense of belonging. Educating yourself in a university for instance helps to create this sense of belonging, it strengthens your identity as a Swedish person, makes it easier to get a job and create social connections where you might keep a valuable social network for the future. These factors brought up so far strengthens the possibility to feel like a part of the majority society. Kevin expressed that when there was nation versus nation competitions such as soccer or Eurovision song contest it made it easier to be a part of this and felt a bigger connection to being Swedish, showing how different events and arrangements can bring together people with differences because you feel like a unit during that moment. This ties together with the social identity theory where individuals like to exaggerate the similarities in their own group and find a connection between us and the group members, these groups can in this case be a sports group where all the members are cheering for the same team, or all the Swedish that cheer for the representing artist in Eurovision song contest.

The respondents described that there were hardships related to not having a Swedish name or a Swedish appearance and claimed that it could make it harder for individuals to feel like a part of the majority society. When we asked Catarina if she feels like she is not a part of the Swedish majority society she said:

No, I have very little against me because I have a name that is common in Sweden. I talk very good Swedish and I am white. So, I do not feel like I am being left out. Without those three factors I do not think I would be a part of the majority society

When Carl was asked the same question, he said:

Absolutely, I have. As a black man it has earlier been a challenge to get into other people’s circle, but it was easier for me as I was born here which makes it so I share the Swedish mindset as well as speaking good Swedish, so it could have been worse for me. From people around me I have heard stories about how they have easily become victims of bullying for an example in schools because they do not know Swedish or because they look different than people here. This makes it so I feel like I must prove something to be able to get accepted fully by this group. Maybe by proving that my Swedish language weighs more than my appearance to make people like and accept me.

The third respondent that shared a similar view was Kevin who said that:

I feel like I am a part of society. My language abilities make it easier for me to take part in society, but I can also feel like that it becomes hard to be a part of the Swedish majority society without fighting a little extra because of our difference such as appearance, name, and other things. It is important that you are ready for these setbacks but that you are willing to keep being a part of the majority society.

Kevin said, “that it have been a challenge to get into other people’s circle and that he feels like he has to prove something to get accepted”. The consensus here is that all these three respondents felt like some Swedish people can be closed off and that it is hard to get into the
Swedish circle or that they feel like they must prove something to truly get accepted by the Swedish circle. At the same time Kevin claimed that the assumption that Swedish people can be perceived as closed off is a self-created pattern. To handle this, Kevin claims that he realized this himself and tried to be very social as he viewed this as something important to end this negative pattern and preconception.

All the respondents had the perception that it was harder for people without a Swedish name to get a chance to get a job interview. One of the respondents (whose pseudonym will not be mentioned due to that the information could help identify the respondent together with the other information mentioned) answer when we asked if the respondent had a perception about if it is harder to get a job if you have a name that sounds foreign were “I think it affects very much. I have been a recruiter for clients. In that process, people with a foreign name have been rationalized away. It was not only foreigners, but also single parents. If something is not to the hiring personals liking, you might get discriminated against on-the-job market. In some cases, foreigners have not been picked because the client was straight out racist. Others have had that attitude without expressing themselves racist, politely but firmly declined”. The other respondents had either experienced discrimination on the job market or have friends that had experienced this. Carl who has a stereotypical Swedish name, but not a stereotypical Swedish appearance told a story about when he went to a job interview:

I remember once when I went to a job interview and the boss looked at me shocked when he realized that it was me who was there, probably because he had a different view on who I would be because of my first name. In that moment it felt like that I would not even have gotten that job interview without my Swedish name.

These three answers provided a first-hand view on how second-generation immigrants perceive themselves on the job market. This makes it obvious that this is a big issue that a lot of second-generation immigrant’s experience, and it could potentially lead to a feeling of hopelessness for the second-generation immigrants. Carl did however express that he had hope and felt like it is easier in the current society than the past one. This is due to Carl’s statement that the society has become more multicultural than before and nowadays CV’s and merits are weighing more and gaining more focus than an individual’s ethnicity and background. Two of the respondents expressed how important a social network is in Sweden for employment, and how lacking a network complicates getting employment and access to the labor market for this group. Even though they have spent their whole life in Sweden this is harder, partly due to discrimination but also due to the fact that if their parents were born in Sweden, it is more likely that their social network would be bigger due to the ties and connections their parents or grandparents may have gotten or created during their lifetime. Combined with discrimination in the job market and fewer social connections, it makes it problematic to get the job that the individual really desires, which helps them become motivated to perform in connection to working with something you really want to work with. This is highly problematic for multiple reasons. One reason could be that it leads to a harder time for them to feel like a part of society, and by also not getting into the labor market can lead to poorer well-being and mental illnesses for these individuals. The issue of the second-generation immigrants feeling excluded, and their merits
not perceived as high, will likely hurt their sense of feeling that they are accepted into society and can create a feeling of not getting treated equally in comparison to other civilians in society where the second-generation immigrants’ merits do not have the same worth as if a Swedish person with the same merit would have. This combined with a lack of long-term integration strategy and structural integration can be a major issue.

Despite similar upbringings between second-generation immigrants and ethnic Swedes, it becomes problematic for second-generation immigrants to get employment or integrate, as you may fall victim to discrimination because of your name, appearance and other things that can exclude second-generation immigrants from the majority society. This can worsen and create problems for second-generation immigrants where they feel despair and anger at how, despite growing up in Sweden, they do not get justice and similar opportunities as the ethnic Swedes.

Another issue with being excluded from the job market except for the lack of monetary gain, you can also be excluded from the social interaction a job gives you as well as possibly get excluded from community services (Giddens, 2016) the last factor, however, is not as common in Sweden as in other countries. Structural integration is more difficult than it was in the past. Due to this it is harder for second-generation immigrants who have parents of a low-socioeconomic status to climb up the social hierarchy and get the same possibilities as a native who is doing the same work (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003).

It is important to note that due to second-generation immigrants being raised in the same society as natives, they often share a similar view on society and politics. Some of these similar views were shown while conducting the semi-structured interviews, as some of the respondents claimed to share Swedish values and mindset which they viewed as contributing to their integration and participation in societal discussions and society. Contextually, according to Maxwell (2010)’s study on European countries it was found that migrants are the group that have the most positive outlook on the country's politics compared to natives and second-generation immigrants, this due to that migrants have experienced the disruptive process of changing host countries and have lower expectations on the new country (Maxwell, 2010). In relation to Maxwell’s findings regarding migrants’ positive outlooks in a new host country, it seemed interesting to study second-generation immigrants as a group, to notice any differences and similarities between the second-generation immigrant’s view on politics and comparing to the earlier findings and conclusions of Maxwell, to see how well the second-generation immigrants agreed, disagreed, and related to those findings. This similar view on society and politics between second-generation immigrants and natives can be problematic as the second-generation immigrants do not have the same positive outlook as their parents but at the same time experience a lot of difficulties that natives do not experience such as discrimination and exclusion on the job market.

All these factors can lead to a third identity being created, which was the case where for example Catarina spoke about feeling rootless. Michaels answer in relation to a question about obstacles that might occur when integrating to majority society, he stated that:
It is difficult to fully participate in the tradition that exists in Sweden and the ethics, in that it differs from the one that existed mainly during growing up, which means that you end up somewhere in the middle between these two cultures and traditions during the course of life but which you eventually get used to and adapt to, despite the fact that I am personally most used to the Swedish tradition here because I have lived here all my life.

In Sweden they are perceived as someone from another group, a migrant group of sorts, meanwhile in the country of the parents they are perceived as a Swedish person. The perception that this is a quite common occurrence both related to personal experience and the respondents’ answers indicates that there could be a sense of community among those experiencing this rootlessness and third identity. This could lead to a subculture being created in Sweden. A subculture could potentially be damaging, meanwhile it gives those experiencing this a sense of community, the long-term effects could be that they never really feel like a part of the Swedish majority society, but rather a part of sub society. This turns into a negative spiral of not feeling like a part of the majority society, leading to them moving further away from it and creating a stronger sub-society which in turns moves them even further away from the majority society and a higher sense of not belonging, increasing segregation.

7.3 Residence and social circle

The theme of residence and social circle was seen throughout the semi-structured interviews and could be found in the provided answers, in relation to our interview questions, which was why the decision to have it as a separate category in the results was made.

The interviews made it clear that there are different existing difficulties in Sweden to face as a second-generation immigrant, but there are problems that seem to be common for many of these second-generation immigrants. One problem brought up by Catarina and Kevin was the difficulty with creating social contacts and how people here in Sweden can be seen as isolated or hard to get close to. This is a problem that can be seen as further creating xenophobia and raising stereotypes amongst other negative consequences. Kevin mentioned that this is a self-created environment, whereas in reality, people are social and friendly but the problem, according to Kevin, is the society’s self-created mindset and patterns.

This answer can be related to the social identity theory, which brings up the fact that we tend to exaggerate two things: differences between groups and similarities of things within a group. In this context, the theory can be related to the answer of isolation and the lack of communication between groups in society, where we can see how stereotypes and prejudices against groups and individuals appears, but with the experience of being around other groups than your own one we could see these prejudices and stereotypes lowered and explained through other lenses, such as Kevin talking about how this is a self-created patterns in society that has to be worked on to bring each other closer.
All of the respondents’ explained that they had diverse and varying friend groups consisting of people with different backgrounds. Michael, Carl, and Kevin had some friends in their current primary friend group with a similar parental ethnic background as themselves. The interview showed us that four out of the five participants (except Michael) claimed that their social circle affects the identity and self-image of the respondent, Michael had no attitude or opinion regarding whether his identity got affected by his social circle and therefore did not provide an answer for that specific question. The third identity theory can be related to this part as it discusses how in today’s world, groups of people like to organize themselves around primary identities which was the case just presented with Carl, Kevin, and Michael’s interviews (where they all shared similar parental ethnic backgrounds in the group with each other). This can be seen positively and negatively, as it is comforting for these second-generation immigrants to know they can find a group where people share similarities with them and have that social network assured, but negative when it reaches a point where you feel the need and have no other options than staying in that group where you share these similarities, that could be of ethnic, religious, territorial and national (in this case from these respondents’ answers, it was revealed it was mostly ethnic or territorial).

Kevin said that one’s association and social circle affects how others perceive one (furthermore because it is visible) which can affect how well one is let into the society and “accepted”, and to what degree by others. Therefore, the social circle is important in an integrating context and can be seen as coherent with the possible welcoming and integrating received in the society from others. Analyzing the interviews, it was noticed that Catarina, Kevin and Jessie out of these five respondents’ said that they felt that they were included and part of the majority society and all three had ethnically diverse friend groups, which shows how possibly a correlation between hanging out with other groups (amongst other factors) and that it make you feel like part of the majority society, which shows us the importance of creating friends, social life and establishing a network. Lack of these might lead to more people feeling that they are not part of the majority society followed by increased stereotypes between groups in society, due to this lack of contact with other groups. Prejudices against groups other than one's own are also tackled by socializing with people from other groups. Social identity theory talks about how we compare in-groups and out-groups and thus we evaluate whether it is a positive or negative thing, but the interesting thing here is how the evaluation of in- and out-groups might get affected in this context depending on how much you hang around other groups, as it will affect your perspective and give you different insights.

Jessie mentioned that a good social circle makes it easier to integrate into Swedish society, since she had established a stable social circle and saw it as a key factor for her integration into society. Highlighting the importance of solidarity and it leading to a feeling of being a part of majority society, Kevin stated in the interview:

Shared interests, for example football, when it is the World Cup, creates a feeling of togetherness and a good environment where it is easier to experience and identify as Swedish during this time, among other things such as wearing Sweden T-shirts that others around do at that same time, facilitates. So, in addition to common interests, symbolic things, like this Sweden T-shirt in this
example that I came up with helps to feel included. Other similar events might be Eurovision, where you commonly support the artist representing Sweden, and other possible events that do not appear in my mind right now.

Which shows the importance of trying to find this sense of belonging in groups. Solidarity and creating the feeling of belonging between groups are essential for the best outcomes, this was widely agreed upon. Another aspect of the social life in Sweden is the chance to find or form a social circle in schools or universities, as this was seen throughout the interview answers where many had known their friends and many others in their social circle from school or university which shows how important it is to be willing to get an education and be in places where there is great chances of meeting other people, to integrate.

When it comes to perspectives and answers regarding the respondent’s residential area, all five claimed that their identity got affected by their residential area. This was seen throughout the answers given by the respondents. In relevance to this, one example of this is when Michael mentioned that they are a student and live in a student accommodation area which created an identity or a sense of belonging with other students that made this respondent feel like the other possible identities this student could have had (such as religious, ethnic background, etc.) was taken over by the student identity shared with the rest around. Catarina claimed that the context you are in creates your identity, and this identity is part of you for the rest of your life and will form you up to a certain degree. Catarina added that the area you live in can affect and create a sense of belonging, the resilience and can affect whether or not you end up in a sub-society, and how much authority in society you have in that sense.

A recurring theme found by reading and comparing the answers was that the social circle of these respondents is closely connected to where they live and the people they hang out with, which strengthens the thought that the residential area you live in might affect your social life and the way you integrate to the society through your social circle. This reveals that besides the search for belonging, there is a big chance that the social circle you create in your residential area might become your primary group. This was illustrated in Carl’s answer where he stated that his current group of friends got together because they lived in the same area, even though some of them share a common ethnic background together within the group (meaning that their parents heritage from the same country) but which was however not the main factor for their friendship, whereas Carl clearly stated that he hangs around these people because they live nearby which further strengthens the assumption that people seeks themselves to people nearby to find a group identity and comfort:

Growing up, I had a very varied circle, many Arab, Kurdish and ethnically Swedish friends and so on. Lately, however, it has become that I am drawn to people who are quite close to me and have common interests, but they also all happen to share an African background, as I do myself (my parents actually). Our group of friends has happened because we live relatively close to each other in the same area, so we automatically became closer and not planned based on the fact that we share African roots, then maybe the African background we share in a way helped to push on our
friendship to what it looks like today. Some of these are also from the same country as me.

This shows how much place and identity can be related, and how places can form different types of identities in a society which unfortunately could lead to more segregation because people find it easier to be around the people nearby their residential area.

Social identity theory discusses how we tend to exaggerate two things: differences between groups, and similarities of things within the same group. In this paragraph, the differences between groups will be useful to describe how Carl felt in the society depending on where he used to live and lives currently. Back in the days when Carl used to live in the suburb, he felt like people had a different view on him and his suburb, and there used to be negative rumors that could paint up how you are as a person to them, just because you come from a specific part of the city. The difference was that Carl now lived centrally where there is more diversity when it comes to people living there, which has shown a difference in how Carl got treated differently living centrally and can be seen today less as a stranger compared to back then when he was resident in the suburb.

The provided information showed that these respondents had diverse friend groups consisting of friends from different countries but however they seemed to agree on how it could possibly have an affection if they had grown up differently in another place. Kevin explained that his social circle is diverse and explained that he could not affect his residential situation since he lived with his parents but mentioned that it is thanks to his residential area (which consisted of people with diverse backgrounds) he has got a chance to meet people with different backgrounds and learnt about different values, ways of thinking and about other cultures just because of the experience of living among other groups. Interestingly, Jessie and Kevin brought up how they agreed that they could have been more influenced by their residential area if they had lived in a more segregated place. It was seen by comparing the answers from the interviews that they shared different views regarding residency, where they added the aspect of growing up around different groups such as growing up with ethnic Swedes, or with a specific group of people would most likely have created a different identity for these respondents compared to the actual group they are surrounded by today. The goals, vision, feeling of living there, and social circle of the respondents could have been different depending on who you are surrounded by, and where you live which would have made a completely different identity for them than the ones they are today.
8. Discussion
This study has contributed to a wider understanding of the lives of second-generation immigrants in Sweden. Aspects were related to how they view and identify themselves in society, if they feel as a part of the majority society, what they believe is facilitating to make one feel like a part of the majority society as well as what makes it harder. In this following discussion section, our study will mainly be put in context to the previous research on this area to further deepen, analyze and to create some comparisons between our empirical results and the results that have been concluded in previous research. The subheadings in this section are based on the themes that were produced during the course of the work through the early coding of the empirical data provided from the interviews.

8.1 Inclusion/Exclusion
1. How do the respondents perceive their inclusion/exclusion in relation to society?”

In short you can draw the conclusion that most (3) of the respondents in this study perceived that they are for the most part included into the majority society. However, some claim they experience more difficulties and hardships than natives, such as having to overcome difficulties related to appearance, stereotypes, and names, which was mainly within the labor market. Our interviews revealed similar findings as in the previous research regarding the existence of xenophobia and discrimination in Sweden that was presented by Hällgren (2005). As Hällgren pointed out, the importance of language and having the ‘right name’ which was an appearing and recurrent issue found during our interviews. This reinforces the assumption that these are significant factors for a successful integration in Sweden and deserves more attention.

In our interviews it was evident that being around a diverse group of people affected the perception of to what degree you felt included in the majority society, and also related to how you identified in this context. The aspect of residency and its relation to one’s upbringing are closely tied, as it can affect what type of individuals you have around yourself and what networks you establish through these acquaintances. In the context of residency, there is a need for a better housing market position when the parents of second-generation immigrants’ move to Sweden. It is crucial for second-generation immigrants to have an opportunity to live and socialize with natives, create a diverse social circle, and to get the possibility to establish other worthwhile networks. As evidently the foreign-dominated places outside of cities struggle to get equal opportunities in society compared to those outside of these foreign-dominated areas (Kadarik, 2019). Besides, our study showed it was important to be part of a group to get a sense of feeling included into society. It is worth mentioning that such groups could for instance be those found in university or within their residential area (as was the case with multiple respondents). This illustrates the importance of universities and residential areas when it comes to the aspect of integration and finding ways to get included into majority society, by establishing basic networks by attending and being around those places.

A central finding of the interviews was that having a common shared language, made it easier to be able to participate in society, dialogues, and connect with others. The common shared language improved their perception of belonging and being part of the majority society, and in
that context also affected their identity where language facilitated their adaptation across diverse temporal and spatial contexts. Acquiring these language skills is found important for a successful integration and increased participation in the majority society amongst these second-generation immigrants.

Most respondents in our interviews expressed that they felt excluded in the labor market and had to work harder for employment than a native (due to language, name, appearance, lack of network and more). This reinforces the conclusion that was found by Hällgren (2005) where it was pointed out that you need to adapt and learn different strategies to survive in Sweden as a second-generation immigrant. These strategies could be finding useful networks or developing good language skills. The results provided from our respondents relate to the previous research by Algan et al. (2010) where they found it evident that native-born citizens had a higher employment rate than second-generation immigrants. This could be due to the factors mentioned by respondents in our interviews (names, network, language, etc.)

The results of this study highlighted how networks and education facilitated the respondent’s integration into the labor market and majority society. A similar finding was apparent and concluded in the previous research by Hällgren (2005) and Kadarik (2019) where it was commonly shown how education and networking can be meaningful for the integration of second-generation immigrants. The focus on getting second-generation immigrants into the labor market and employment is crucial for a successful integration into the majority society. The assimilated or integrated second-generation immigrants have the same probabilities in regard to employment no matter their connection to their ethnic group (name and appearance had a greater significance in our study), as long as it is combined with a strong connection to the majority society. This finding reveals how the focus of getting second-generation immigrants into the majority society should be a prioritization in the integration discourse. It is evident that it is helpful and leads to increased employment (Nekby & Rödin, 2009). Thereby, the focus whether choosing or abandoning your ethnic background or not should not be a main focus. The focus should be on finding ways to get second-generation immigrants to feel included in the majority society. Such could be through prioritizing the factors recurring in our interviews such as language, education, and networking.

Getting second-generation immigrants into the majority society has been a problem historically. This has been presented in the previous study by Algan et al. (2010), where it was pointed out that there are social and economic problems for second-generation immigrants. This due to a lack of a long-term strategy and policies to incorporate them into society which shows the need for early planning. Such could be as Kadarik (2019) concluded in her previous research, which aimed at creating mixed neighborhoods when the parents of these second-generation immigrants arrive in Sweden. The interviews of our study revealed that the respondents did have issues correlated to social integration. Aspects such as feeling that it is difficult to become a part of the Swedish social circle, as well as being discriminated against for their appearance or their name. Hence, a solution or improvement here is creating mixed neighborhoods to try to reduce the social segregation, xenophobia (both directions) and improving their social lives.

As evident in our study, the issue and its focus need to be aimed at getting second-generation immigrants to feel included in the majority society. Instead of focusing on ethnicity, or a
selection between cultures for second-generation immigrants. Rather, our study aims at highlighting and criticizing the structural issues that second-generation immigrants might have to face in reality. To understand that these individual’s lives are greatly affected by the existing structures in society and its politics as shown by Algan et al. (2010) and Goicolea et al. (2022) in their different previous research. This shows a greater need for this focus within this issue, to get a contextual understanding regarding structural issues. As stated by Goicolea et al. (2022), the problematic structure and discrimination puts a lot of responsibility on the individual to integrate. We as researchers in this study want to point out that we agree and consider there is a lack of responsibility and investigation around the state, politics, and the existing structures in society. Those aspects need to be further investigated to help draw conclusions and contribute to creating a better overall understanding of the lives of second-generation immigrants in Sweden.

To fight the creation of excluding areas and segregation, and to improve second-generation immigrants’ relationship to majority society will lead to people networking in a more multicultural society. This will lead to an increased chance to access the labor market for these second-generation immigrants. Importantly, this will have future effects in the long term that are beneficial, where these changes create an improved economic status for the individual in focus and their family. The children of these families can have the opportunity to grow up in a family without a low socio-economic status, in a place that contributes to increased societal opportunities, and simplifies their place in the structural integration, as stated by Crul and Vermeulen (2003). This allows one to climb up the social structure, and in the long run make it better for future generations.

8.2 Identity

1. How do the respondents perceive their identity in society?

Identity was a central theme in this study as revealed from the interviews which showed that only two out of the five respondents did not identify as Swedish or as the ethnicity of their parents. They felt rootless or somewhere in between these identities, what can also be described in terms of a third identity. The other three respondents perceived themselves to a Swedish identity and those also felt more included in the majority society to varying extents. As claimed in the previous research by Heelsum and Koomen (2015), where the participants in their study who felt accepted and included in society viewed their national identity stronger. This was apparent in our case with the respondents as the ones who were closer to a Swedish identity also perceived themselves included in the majority society. The provided answers in this study regarding the feeling of being rootless can be found and related to the multidimensional measure of identity discussed by Nekby and Rödin (2009). In their previous research they focus on the importance of using a multidimensional measure of identity. They claim that it is important to understand that a strong connection to the ethnic group of their parents did not necessarily mean a low connection to majority society. This was evident in our study, as the aspects of networking, sharing common values and language were helpful and more significant when feeling as a part of majority society compared to the respondents’ ethnic background. Once again, this points out how the focus and priority should not be choosing whether to abandon or
decide what culture or not you belong to. The focus should rather be to try to create close connections with the majority society for these second-generation immigrants.

Rootlessness, third identity theory and multidimensional measure of identity was seen through our study and interviews with these respondents. Our study shows how an identity for some second-generation immigrants can be flexible and coherent in different times and places. This makes it clear how multidimensional identity might be positive depending on context in relation to the fact that it becomes flexible. One can adapt one's identity depending on the environment in the given time and place to fit in. The results and finding about the fluid and flexible identity of these second-generation immigrants from our interviews shows clear connections to the findings of Behtoui (2019). The study by Behtoui similarly agreed upon and concluded that identities were perceived as fluid, flexible and situational for the second-generation immigrants of that study.

Our interviews revealed that by being a second-generation immigrant to a parent from inside of Europe correlated positively to them feeling like a part of majority society. Second-generation immigrants that had parents from outside of Europe felt more excluded from majority society. This was related to non-European second-generation immigrants dealing with obstacles such as their names, appearance and different values that were problematic for their integration and identification with the majority society. This shows how second-generation immigrants self-identification can be affected by these obstacles differently depending on their ethnic background. Furthermore, how an existing common European identity might facilitate some second-generation immigrant’s integration of identifying as Swedish. This is something problematic not only in our study but has been apparent in a previous study within this area of research by Behtoui (2019). The results indicated that when a second-generation immigrant is from outside of Europe, they more often have to deal with conflicts such as having to choose between these identities to a greater extent. Meanwhile it was not found that second-generation immigrants with an ethnic background from inside of Europe do not experience that to a higher degree. These findings from our interviews combined with the results from Behtoui (2019) identifies the most vulnerable group of the second-generation immigrants in terms of their self-identification and inclusion in majority society. This shows the need of improving their situation and integration into society.

Group identities are important for creating a sense of belonging and can link individuals together. Having a group identity can lead individuals to feel a sense of belonging even if they are excluded from the majority society. It was shown in this study that a group identity can be created by people that share the same values, interests or other factors that might connect individuals together. These factors can consist of the residential area you live in, the student associations you take part in, or the football club you participate in as mentioned by some of our respondents. The importance of a diverse group was seen and discussed through our interviews, as it helps one to realize about the complex issue of ‘us’, and ‘them’ and how it gets affected by one’s group and belonging. The ‘us’ and ‘them’ creates a division between people, where individuals exaggerate differences between their group and other groups. With knowledge about the issue ‘us’ and ‘them’, there is a way to resist this and reduce xenophobia by socializing with other people. Similarly, this was an evident issue found by Hällgren (2005)
in terms of racism and prejudices in Swedish society. This has been described and analyzed in this study through the relevance of the social identity theory. Fighting the ‘us’ and ‘them’ will lead to increased knowledge about others. This leads to decreased xenophobia and increasing possibilities for people (both ways) to learn about different values that can be assisting when people bond in society and create understanding between groups.

Our study discussed the importance of being a part of a group, having a diverse social circle and creating mixed neighborhoods. These are important factors to reduce segregation, prejudices, and norms about others due to lack of communication. Our study put a lot of focus on the meaning of having diverse social circles and mixed residential areas, to get second-generation immigrants to feel included and part of majority society. This is related to Behtoui’s previous study (2019) that mentions how those with a friendship network outside of your own ethnic group goes positively together with perceiving yourself as Swedish. This compared to having a segregated friendship network, which shows the need for diversity and the need of bringing everyone together in society. Besides these mentioned factors found in our study, there is a need to be around diverse people to gain experiences and values from them. These gained values and norms can be seen as improving second-generation immigrants’ chances of being accepted in society and easier integrate and feel like a part of majority society (Goicolea et al., 2022).

### 8.3 Future research

For future research we recommend conducting a quantitative approach combined with a qualitative approach. The qualitative approach should consist of a higher quantity of respondents, an unstructured interview related to difficulties in society and important factors such as their feeling of inclusiveness in society where there is a greater focus on a comparison between second-generation immigrants and natives. Another aspect that could be improved for a future study is to deepen the focus on mental wellbeing, i.e., how all these various issues and factors mentioned affect the second-generation immigrant’s mental health and come with perspectives that this study missed out on regarding mental wellbeing. These areas could be included in further research since these aspects were not sufficiently included in this research. Out of these qualitative interviews it is suggested to use the responses to develop questions for a survey on a bigger scale to get an idea about how big these issues are, what the key issues are and where the focus should be on societal effort and political issues. It is also suggested to use previous research with a different focus than the ones chosen in this study, to get a bigger grasp of the area as well and access to other information to analyze.
References


Appendix

Intervjuguide
Bakgrundsfrågor

- Hur gammal är du?
- Vilket kön har du? Med kön menar vi könsidentitet, alltså det kön du själv känner dig som
- Vilken stadsdel bor du i för tillfället?
- Vad är din nuvarande sysselsättning och utbildningsnivå?
- Kan du berätta om dina föräldrars yrke och utbildningsnivå?
- Kan du berätta lite om din sociala krets? Umgås du oftast med personer som har samma etniska bakgrund som dina föräldrar eller har du en mer varierande umgångeskrets när det gäller ursprung?

Intervju frågor:

- Vilka är dina erfarenheter av att vara en del av det svenska majoritetsamhället?
- Vad är din uppfattning om hur personer med ett utländskt klingande namn påverkas när det gäller möjligheter att komma in på arbetsmarknaden jämfört med personer med ett svenskt namn?
- Har du mött på några utmaningar när det gäller integrering till majoritetsamhället? Om så är fallet, hur har du hanterat dessa?
- Vilka faktorer gör det lättare eller svårare för dig som andragenerations invandrare att identifiera dig som svensk?

- Skulle du säga att din omgivning inklusive din vänkrets och din bostadsort, påverkar hur du ser på din egen identitet?
SAMTYCKESBLANKETT

Information och samtyckesblankett för deltagare i studie i kursen ”Internationellt Arbete – Globala Studier, examensarbete” Vt23

En inblick i andra-generationens invandrarens syn på deras integration och identitet i samhället.

Du tillfrågas härmed att delta i en intervju för ett examensarbete. Deltagandet i studien är helt frivilligt och som deltagare får du när som helst välja att avbryta ditt deltagande utan specifika skäl.

Bakgrund

Det här är en samtyckesblankett för en intervju vars resultat kommer att användas i ett examensarbete i Globala Studier, examensarbetet kommer att undersöka hur andra-generationens invandrare ser på integration, identitet och delaktighet i samhället.

Den här undersökningen kommer att bestå av en semi-strukturerad intervju med respondenter från ovannämnda grupp.
Intervjun (1 tillfälle) kommer att utföras på Jönköping University’s bibliotek i ett förbokat rum, ett lugnt café eller på stadsbiblioteket. Intervjun beräknas ta 30–60 minuter

**Syfte**

Syftet med arbetet är att ta reda på hur andra-generationens invandrare ser på sin delaktighet och integration i Sverige. Under den här intervjun finns det inga specifika svar som vi söker, vi vill att svaren ska reflektera dina åsikter angående respektive frågor. Att svara på frågor så som ni tror att vi vill ha det kommer leda till att resultatet i studien kommer att vara felaktiga, det finns inga rätt eller fel svar på dessa frågor utan det är dina upplevelser och tankar som vi söker.

**Hantering av data och sekretess**

Hanteringen av personuppgifter bygger på att dina personuppgifter behandlas med ditt samtycke. Du kan när som helst ta tillbaka samtycket och uppgifterna får då inte bevaras eller behandlas vidare utan annan laglig grund. Intervjun kommer att spelas in på en telefon om det tillåts. Denna inspelning kommer inte delas med utomstående parter utan kommer endast användas av Ihab och Erik.


Du kan ta del av det som registrerats om dig eller ha synpunkter på behandlingen eller de uppgifter som samlats in genom att kontakta ansvariga för examensarbetet enligt nedan angivna kontaktuppgifter.

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Jag (deltagare) har skriftligen informerats om studien och samtycker till att delta. Jag är medveten att mitt deltagande i studien är frivillig och att jag när som helst kan avbryta mitt deltagande.

Jag erhåller en kopia på mitt samtycke:

................................................ Underskrift

................................................ Namnfötydligande

................................................ Ort och datum

Undertecknad (studenten) har lämnat information om studien

................................................ .................................................. Underskrift Ort och datum

................................................ Namnfötydligande