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Becoming integrated - pathways and navigation within a  
Swedish municipality. A case study about Bosnians integration  
processes in Värnamo

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## **Abstract**

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**Key words** Bosnian immigrants, integration, capital, social support, Värnamo

Sweden has become one of the most targeted countries for refugees and asylum seekers. In order to meet the needs of a society, Sweden has introduced more friendly and inclusive policies that should be able to facilitate the integration process of immigrants. However, the integration appears to be a challenging process for many immigrant groups as they follow different integration strategies and mechanisms.

The Swedish municipality Värnamo has a larger share of immigrants compared to the average on the national level. At the same time it notes the highest employment rate among foreign born workers in Sweden. The largest immigrant group has arrived from Bosnia due to the civil war during the nineties. Generally, this group through the time managed to cope with the challenges that their migration forced them to, which can be viewed as a successful integration into Swedish society. Therefore, the aim of this research study is to present immigrant group from Bosnia and to identify the strategies that have led to their successful integration. Likewise, this study was guided by the questions of which factors and agents appeared to be crucial in their integration process.

This was a qualitative study with an explanatory case study design followed by descriptive elements. The research subjects were first generation of Bosnian refugees who have managed to integrate successfully. Semi structured interviews with standardized open ended questions were used.

The results show that Värnamo is perceived among the participants as an open and friendly city toward everybody, including new comers, which is a good prerequisite for the integration process. The starting point in respondents' process of integration was enhancing their cultural capital in terms of learning the language and also about Swedish culture and values. The participants were aware that education is a key factor for developing economic and social capital. Cultural capital can be seen as a mechanism generating other forms of capital. In the later stage of integration process, economic and social capital was crucial for maintaining or increasing their level of integration. The findings also revealed that different motivators and social support networks had important and guiding roles in particular phases of the integration process. Additionally, the respondents chose to combine two cultures in order to create more comfortable life in Sweden. As they stated, the respondents accepted Swedish culture but they also preserved some Bosnian values. As a final outcome of respondents' integration strategy is a feeling about Värnamo and Sweden as their home where they feel secured and respected.

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# CHAPTER ONE, Introduction

## 1.1 Background

International movements, known as migration, are constantly increasing and it is very likely that this trend will continue due to the current circumstances in a social world. According to United Nation definition (1998), the concept of international migration refers to people who change country of usual residence. Further, international migration is caused by economic, social and political forces, thus international immigrants are usually recognized as workers, their family members, asylum seekers, refugees and others (Koser, 2007).

Specifically in Sweden, there are around one million immigrants and almost one million of people born in Sweden with parents born in other country (Benito, 2005). During 50s and 60s, immigrants were mostly coming from European countries. However, nowadays they are presenting countries from all over the world. Through the time, immigration flow was followed due to different occasions. Before the Second World War, Sweden was characterized by immigration, but during 1930s and after, Sweden became a country of immigration. This period marks a start of a larger number of people migrating to Sweden, coming directly from concentration camps in Germany, Poland and Hungary (Benito, 2005). Shortly after the war, people were migrating to Sweden mostly due to shortage of people at the labor market. During this period, Sweden noted significant economic growth and development of industrialization which have caused the need for receiving new workers from other countries.

However, the reason for migrating to Sweden altered during the 90s and remained the same nowadays. Due to wars and economical discrepancies in different parts of the world, Sweden became one of the most targeted countries for refugees and asylum seekers. This was a call for changing the course of policies and adjusting them in order to meet the needs of a society. Sweden acknowledged that more inclusive policies were necessary. Practices and laws have been changed with a purpose to facilitate the access to formal citizenship and to give an opportunity to migrants to actively participate in decision making process on local level (Penninx, 2004). Nevertheless, inclusive policies were not only related to the political domain. Sweden has introduced so called multicultural policies postulating not only political inclusion, but as well equality in socio-economic, cultural and religious domain. Therefore, the immigrants were considered to be equal only if the state and the society acknowledge that both individual and groups have the right to be culturally different (Penninx, 2004).

## 1.2 Problem area

In 1977, Sweden made a shift from immigrant policy to integration policy with a focus on the whole population in this country. Likewise, municipalities established integration bodies and adjusted their practices to the new integration policy, with an aim to work for the integration in the society (Benito, 2005).

However, although Sweden constantly endeavors and puts efforts to address the needs of migrants through different policies, one cannot claim with certainty that integration process of immigrant groups is fully accomplished. Firstly, there is no generally accepted definition or a

model of immigrant and refugee integration (Ager and Strang, 2008). Within the EU integration strategies, the concept mainly refers to political and economical measures, however social and cultural aspect appeared to be equally important (Watt, 2006). In addition, the perception of successful integration often differs due to criteria and actors. Likewise, migrant integration is often measured through an access to desired resources. In this sense it is based on society's ability to grant equal opportunities and rights for all citizens, no matter their cultural background (Kwok Bun and Pluss, 2013). As migrants are offered to use available resources from the receiving country, they are encouraged to adopt necessary cultural and social capital and to accept society's goals and its institutionalized means to achieve them (Bourdieu, 1986).

However, the process of integration does not flow so smoothly. Many scholars were emphasizing the term "others" for migrants and its negative impact (Lalonde and Cameron, 1993, Phennix, 2004, Phillips, 2010). Such definition clearly states them as aliens, differed from the natives by various attributes. Additionally, it has negative consequences for interpersonal relationships and social cohesion (Park and Burgess, 1921). Sweden has established well structured and friendly policies (Benito, 2005). Those policies refer to multicultural policies that presuppose political and civic inclusion, equality in the socio-economic domain and cultural and religious equity (Phennix, 2004). However, the statistics of the Swedish Integration Board (2006) showed that unemployment rate is much higher among foreign born people comparing to native born Swedes. Salaries for some foreign born Swedes are smaller than for native Swedes, educational level is lower for foreign born Swedes as well as for people with foreign backgrounds. Ethnic housing segregation is also high among foreign born Swedes, especially in the bigger cities where immigrants are living in segregated areas, far from native Swedish people (Bayram et al, 2009).

Therefore, it is important to stress out that friendly policies are not the only requirement. Integration process is a bilateral practice. It requires mutual cooperation and investment in order to reach social cohesion. According to Penninx (2004), for migrants and their integration it is important to find not only physical place, but also cultural and social place within their new country. Related to this, political, socio-economic and cultural dimensions are intertwined. Concerning political dimension, having access to political systems and decision making process will certainly positively affect migrants' normative lives. Moreover, inclusive migrant policies in political domain will bring the variety of beneficial policies in socio-economic and cultural domain.

However, different immigrant groups follow different patterns in the integration process. Moreover, the integration process of the same immigrant groups in different context might also differ. It is well known that housing, job opportunities, education and health contribute to a great extent to migrants' integration (Ager and Strang, 2008). Nevertheless, cultural adaptation as well as collective awareness of those groups also has a significant impact. Additionally, the patterns and strategies of integration process could not be simply replicated, but in the same national context, the same ethnic minorities might share similar strategies encountering similar circumstances. According to Statistics Sweden data (2006), the most dominant immigrant groups inhabited in Sweden are from Finland, Middle East and former Yugoslavia. As it was mentioned earlier, migrant groups have a tendency to segregate them which hinders the integration process. However, this does not imply that all the migrant groups follow this pattern. Particularly, Värnamo city in Sweden is inhabited by the same ethnic groups and their integration process seems like a successful one due to the equal access for migrants to all desirable resources, high

rate of employment and high level of education among migrants. Additionally, Värnamo is inhabited by immigrants above the average on the national level. According to Värnamo kommun data (2014), there are ten ethnic associations where residents with a foreign background can practice their culture and different activities. Most of those associations are for people coming from the Balkan Peninsula, several are for immigrants coming from Middle East and one is for either Finish or Greeks.

In the European Union framework for integration strategies, two main key areas are employment and education. Värnamo notes the highest employment rates of foreign born workers in Sweden and significant economical growth. According to a report from Statistics Sweden, based on data from 2008, Värnamo registered higher employment rate of foreign born workers than Stockholm and Gothenburg (Statistiska centralbyrån, 2008). The overall employment rate is on the same level as Sweden in general, and among foreign born workers is the highest, reaching 71% of employment rate among immigrants (Statistiska centralbyrån, 2008). Värnamo is known as an industrial city, however according to Statistiska centralbyrån data (2012) residents are employed in a variety of professional areas. The most common occupational areas in Värnamo are health care and nursing, trade, business services and information and communication and education sector. The average income in the municipality is above the national average level (Statistiska centralbyrån, 2012). Additionally, according to Statistiska centralbyrån data from 2014, over 50% of inhabitants in Värnamo have completed post secondary education, which is more than 10% above the average on national level.

In this municipality, the largest immigrant group comes from former Yugoslavia, Bosnia in particular. Their migration to Sweden was caused by force due to a civil war during the nineties. Consequently, it is more likely to break up deep and meaningful ties in their country of origin. Likewise, several studies have found that asylum seekers and refugees suffer from symptoms of posttraumatic stress, depression and anxiety (Heeren et al., 2014). Therefore, this group could be considered especially vulnerable bearing in mind their socio-political living conditions. However, as SCB (2012) data confirmed, this group has managed through time to effectively cope with challenges of their migration which resulted in successful integration into Swedish society. In other words, they managed to obtain desirable job positions, acquire high level of education and build social networks, which have led to a high level of satisfaction with their lives. Therefore, not only they found their physical place in Värnamo, but also economical, cultural and social place within their new environment. Likewise, they felt as acknowledged and respected members of a community. Therefore, immigrant groups from Bosnia and their integration strategies present the focus of this research because Värnamo seems to be interesting case regarding its social structure and community setting.

### 1.3 Aims and Objectives

The overall aim of this study is to identify the strategies in the integration process that were used among Bosnians from their arrival to Sweden. Further, the aim is to explore and analyze explaining factors that lay behind this seemingly successful integration of Bosnian immigrants in Värnamo. It is expected to establish which factors served as preconditions for their integration and which contributed to its successful outcome in the later period. In addition, the research aims to present a clearer picture of how Bosnian immigrants experienced and perceived life



circumstances and new setting in their host country. Lastly, the aim is to examine how they perceive the meaning of the integration process and how successful they see themselves in this process. The overall picture should describe and explain how the respondents managed to integrate successfully in the Swedish society.

In order to achieve the aims of the study, the research objectives are the following:

- Document the experiences of Bosnian immigrants regarding their integration.
- Analyze the process of settlement and pathways of Bosnian group in Värnamo.
- Determine the crucial agents in their integration process.
- Identify Bosnians' perception regarding their process of integration.

#### 1.4 Research questions

This research aims to answer following questions:

- Which are the factors and actors that influenced the process of integration among Bosnian immigrant group?
- What are the main motivators that generate the process of integration?
- Which type of capital seems to be crucial in the integration process?
- How do successful participants perceive themselves in their integration process?

#### 1.5 Scope of the study

In the scientific area, this study will serve as a contribution to the existing explanation and description of the pathway in the integration process. The study explores and explains the factors that influence the integration process of Bosnians in Värnamo and strategies that were used in order to be successfully integrated. This explanatory and descriptive single case study has an aim to provide a richness of data that could lead to a deeper understanding of specific phenomenon in a certain social context. The target group in this research is Bosnians who perceive themselves as successfully integrated into Swedish society. This study notes the experiences of Bosnians from their arrival to Sweden and settlement, factors and actors that made an impact on their process of integration, motivation sources, the role of different forms of capital and their personal feeling of satisfaction as a final outcome of all the features combined. Although, the study cannot provide the basis for generalization, it may serve as an example of a good practice that could be followed in similar conditions and circumstances.

## CHAPTER TWO, Literature review

This chapter will provide an overview of existing literature on the research topic. Additionally, it will serve as a foundation for the investigated area in a sense that will map out the concepts regarding the process of integration that will be used for this research study. Likewise, it will present the findings of factors which are, in previous research, identified as crucial for immigrant groups to be successfully integrated in a new society.

### 2.1 Acculturation

Definition of the concept of acculturation is significant for this research study since it offers several strategies of people's adjustment to the new cultural contexts. Moreover, one of the strategies of acculturation is integration and assimilation processes which will be analyzed and explored separately (Berry, 1997).

When speaking about migrant groups, involvement in acculturation process is inevitable due to migrants' direct subjection to another culture. Immigrants can often find themselves in a disadvantaged position in the host country (Lalonde and Cameron, 1993). On their arrival, they usually lack financial resources, and the quality of emotional and cognitive assets is reduced. Likewise, other characteristics such as race, religion and language distinguish them from the receiving country. Those conditions contribute to a cultural shock in the start in the new country (Lalonde and Cameron, 1993).

The basic question that made scholars think about this term was what happens with an individual and what effects has it when he or she was growing up in one cultural context, and continues to live in another (Berry, Poortinga, Segall and Dasen, 1992 in Berry, 1997). Definitions were coming from different scientific areas such as sociology, anthropology or psychology. A classic and commonly accepted one was presented by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936 in Berry, 1990). According to these authors, acculturation refers to those phenomena that result from contacts individuals or groups with different cultural background experience and when change of the original culture patterns occurs that effects one or even both groups (Berry, 1990).

Later, the Social Science Research Council (1954 in Lakey, 2003) formulated the concept of acculturation as cultural changes generated from joining two different cultural systems. Dynamic in this combination can be seen as a selective adaptation of value systems, process of integration and differentiation, affecting generation of developmental sequences and the operation of role determinants and personality factors (Lakey, 2003). As Marden and Mayer stated (1968 in Lakey, 2003), in acculturation individuals are changing their primary learning established in their culture and take over the knowledge and values from another culture.

Young Kim (1982) has approached to concept of acculturation from a communication perspective. According to this author, acculturation is defined as interactive process that evolves through communication of immigrants in new socio cultural environment. Likewise, communication skills and environment will influence the level of immigrants' acculturation. Additionally, immigrants' involvement with native ethnic community will facilitate the acculturation process. Therefore, communication is seen as crucial for the acculturation process.

Through her research, Kim aimed to explore and explain the role of communication in acculturation processes. Research from 1976 has found that acculturation motivation, language fluency, and interpersonal and mass media accessibility are major factors that influence immigrants' intercultural communication behavior. Additionally, interpersonal communication has appeared to be powerful source to cultural learning in the host country. Kim (1977) also concluded that educational background, gender, time spent in the host society and age in the time of immigration are vital determinants of one's language competence and acculturation motivation (Kim, 1977). According to Kim (1987), immigrants' personal networks are significant factors to the acculturation process. Network heterogeneity, the strength and the role of native ties were beneficial to immigrants' host communication competence. The findings have shown that the level of host communication competence is higher when individuals are included in the immigrants' personal network. Likewise, the strength of immigrants' ties with natives influences the communication competences and increases it if those ties are strong (Kim, 1987).

Lakey (2003) also emphasized the importance of communication in the acculturation process. Namely, he defines communication as a facilitator for many processes in the society. In order to acculturate themselves, immigrants acquire new cultural patterns and relationships in the host environment. Thus, communication skills directly influence the level of immigrant's acculturation in a way that assists immigrants to accomplish their personal and social needs in the receiving country, and to build up and maintain new relationships.

Having a base in interactionist sociology, socioanalytic model of acculturation is introduced (Smither, 1982). According to Smither (1982), this approach explains the acculturation as a process consisted of expanding one's role repertoire in order to meet demands from majority culture. Personalities of immigrants and natives affect the acculturation process. They may facilitate it or hinder it. In this sense, acculturation is a function of the size of the difference between those personalities which influence role structure in the majority culture (ibid).

Different perception of the concept of acculturation has been introduced by Berry (1980) who tried to explain this process from a psychological perspective. In this sense, the concept of acculturation refers to cultural alteration that migrant groups undergo. Likewise, the concept of psychological acculturation is employed to refer to the psychological changes and outcomes as a consequences from becoming a part of a new culture. Additionally, the changes that migrant encounter could be seen on psychological, cultural and economical level (Berry, 1997).

Explaining the concept of acculturation more profoundly, Berry (1997) was exploring the issue of how to acculturate and which strategies seem the most desirable for individuals. The main questions concerned the cultural maintenance and to what extent cultural identity is important, social networks and participation in other cultural groups. Depending on this, Berry (1997) explains four different strategies in the acculturation process, *assimilation*, *integration*, *separation* and *marginalization*. The willingness of immigrants to, for example, participate in different groups or to preserve one's own culture one seen as traits established in specific strategies. Following this, Berry defines separation as a process where the culture is maintained but intergroup relations have been rejected, while marginalization refers to rejection of both, culture and intergroup relations. The concept of integration alludes to valuing both cultural maintenance and intergroup relations, while assimilation process refers to disregarding cultural identity. Both concepts shall be explained in the later process. Individuals and groups have

shown to hold different attitudes toward these four acculturation strategies. Preferences for these four alternatives have been researched and measured as well as national policies and programs, implemented in the receiving country. Additionally, attitudes toward acculturation strategies may vary depending on context, time period, one's location or broader national context (Berry, 1997). Finally, Berry (1997) is emphasizing that two societal contexts are needed in order to attain complete study of acculturation: society of origin and settlement. In the society of origin, cultural characteristics of individuals require extensive description in order to compare and understand the differences with the settling country. Additionally, political, demographic and economic conditions also need to be taken into account since they serve as an explaining factor for acculturating motivation (ibid).

Although Berry saw the assimilation concept as a strategy of acculturation, some authors referred to these concepts as separate models that have been used to understand the process of change that occurs when two cultures collide in a society. Defining the concept of acculturation, LaFromboise, T., Coleman, K., and Gerton J. (1993) emphasized similarities with the assimilation process. Firstly, both processes are referring to acquiring the culture and values of the majority group. Further on, both concepts emphasize a one way direction relationship between two cultures and assume hierarchical relationship among them. What makes them different is that in the assimilation process, an individual or cultural group will eventually become full members of the majority group, losing the previous cultural identity. On the other hand, the acculturation process refers to individuals that are seen as competent participants in the majority culture, but still carrying the label of minority culture (LaFromboise et al., 1993).

## 2.2 Assimilation

As mentioned, assimilation is seen as one of the strategies that immigrants practice in order to improve their life conditions and to get ahead in the adopted land. Moghaddam (1988) defines assimilation process as an individual strategy which involves the abandonment of cultural heritage in favor of the host culture. According to this author, individuals assimilate in order to enhance economical and social status.

Ruiz (1981) defined assimilation process as a method to become socially accepted by members of the receiving country. In order to acquire this, individuals from one culture lose their original cultural identity, attaining the identity of the host country. Many authors emphasized the negative effect of this model, claiming that an individual will suffer from a feeling of alienation and isolation until the person finally experience the acceptance from the new culture (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Additionally, while attempting to be fully accepted from the host culture, the gradual loss of support from the original culture, combined with the inability to use resources from the newly acquired culture, leads to stress and anxiety. LaFromboise et al. (1993) continues with that a newly developed cultural identity implies a danger of being rejected both by the members of the majority culture and their culture of origin. Finally, it is likely that the individual will experience stress in attempt to learn the new behaviors associated with the assimilative culture.

Gordon (1964 in Berry, 1997) stated that in defining assimilation, two levels should be considered: the cultural and structural. Cultural assimilation implies a process of acculturation on a part of the immigrant becoming alike in cultural patters such as language, behavior and values,

while structural assimilation entails fully incorporation in major institutions in society, comprising educational, political and occupational sphere (Gordon, 1964 in Ullah, 2012). Complete assimilation is likely to result only in the case when both cultural and structural assimilation are incorporated. Otherwise, if the structural assimilation is present, mirrored in a high degree of participation and contact, and cultural assimilation lacks, the outcome of that process is rather integration (Berry, 1997).

## 2.3 Integration

In the presentation of the concept of acculturation, the integration process as one of the strategies is to some extent explained. Nevertheless, the concept of integration caused many debates due to unclear definition and different interpretations (Kwok-bun and Pluss, 2013). In defining the concept, much focus has been on political and economical aspects, emphasizing the importance of institutional actors. Often associated with EU integration, the term integration in the political sense was mostly known as a concept used during the Cold War when the integration process was defined as a creation of peace zone (Deutsch, 1957 in Samson, 2006). In economical aspect, Karl Polanyi (1957, in El Karouni, 2012) explained the process of integration by comprising three patterns, reciprocity, redistribution and exchange. Later, Wallace (1990) introduced a broader explanation of integration defining it as a creation and maintenance of intense and diversified patterns of interaction among autonomous units, comprising economic, political and social interaction.

On the other hand, Berry (1997) defined this concept as a practice where individuals tend to maintain their cultural integrity, but at the same time try to participate in the host environment and expand their social networks. According to Berry (1997), for the integration process to be successful, certain preconditions need to be required. First of all, the integration is possible only if the host country is open and inclusive towards cultural diversity. This implies the necessity for multicultural society. Kymlicka (2002) wrote about the multiculturalism as a new way of thinking that emerged due to global changes in the society. This thinking, as Kymlicka (2002, pg. 327) called the "politics of recognition", puts in focus the need to supplement the emphasis on common rights with a greater attention to cultural pluralism. It also demands for more inclusive conception of citizenship which recognizes identities of ethnic minorities and accommodates their differences (ibid).

Berry and Kalin (1995) explained that integration is possible only if the society is multicultural with established psychological preconditions in the receiving country. Specifically, in order to fulfill integration process, there should be very low level of prejudice, positive mutual attitudes among cultural groups, widespread acceptance of the value to a society of cultural diversity and a sense of attachment bond to a larger society by all groups.

According to Berry (1997), mutual accommodation is of vital importance, due to involvement of the acceptance and rights of all groups no matter cultural background. Additionally, it necessitates immigrant groups to adopt the values of a major culture, but it also call for the host country to adjust policies and institutions in order to meet the needs of everybody.

LaFromboise et al. (1993) also wrote about the importance of having multicultural society as base for the integration process. According to these authors, this kind of environment offers not

only a possibility to maintain different cultural identities but as well to serve common national or economic needs. Additionally, it will develop tolerance among different groups, sense of sharing and promoting intergroup contacts and learning each other's language. Therefore, instead of leading to anxiety and stress among immigrants which is often a case in the assimilation model, integration model should lead to personal and emotional growth (ibid).

In the recent studies, however, the concept of integration and its usage was often criticized among the authors. Watt (2006) stated that the concept of integration was widely used in discussions concerning cultural and ethnic diversity, but often without adequate definition of what constitutes integration and where does it take place. Specifically, Watt (2006) refers to European Union approach to integration that mainly emphasizes the importance of socio economic policies and anti-poverty strategies. Samson (2006) also offered critical argument regarding the usage of the term of integration stating that its role and nature have been narrowly understood in a sense of disregarding to see the integration in a term of culture.

Reflecting on the content above, it is clear that some preconditions for accomplishing integration process are certainly needed. Friendly and inclusive policies are mandatory. However, in order to attain individual's full integration, other aspects also need to be included. Cultural practices and tolerance play vital role in this process. Related to this, many research in the field of integration process concluded that besides inclusive policies, guaranteed rights and employment strategies, major role have social networks, personal capacities and educational accessibility. This could be identified in the research conducted in Sweden, Netherlands and France where inclusive policies and strategies are implemented, however Turkish immigrants failed to integrate themselves due to the lack of social networks, personal motivation and higher education (Bayram et al., 2009, Crul and Vermeulen, 2003, Gijsberts, 2004).

## 2.4 Research findings

Reflecting on the concept of integration described above, at least three dimensions should be taken into observation when one speaks about becoming an accepted part of a society, political/legal, socio economic and cultural/religious dimension (Penninx, 2004). The first dimension, legal position and entitled rights of migrants have significant consequences on their behavior and their motivation and efforts to integrate. Long periods of uncertainty about their application for a residence permit or not having access to participate in the decision making process on local or national level will certainly have a negative impact on migrants' behavior and motivation (Penninx, 2004). On the other hand, some research have been shown that if there is an inclusion of immigrants in decision making process and if participatory role occurs, not only it will boost immigrants up but also it will lead to beneficiaries in socio-economic and cultural sphere (Alexander, 2003 and Penninx et al., 2004). Political dimension is also intertwined with socio-economic sphere in a sense that it facilitates the access to job opportunities, housing and education. Consequently, equal access to these services will affect social and cultural adaptation of immigrants in the new society (Penninx, 2004). However, the integration process is bilateral. Inclusive policies and rights are necessary, but immigrants' willingness to use offered opportunities and determination to success in new environment have also vital role for the integration outcome (Bayram et al., 2009). Lastly, religious or cultural institutions are also relevant for immigrants' integration process. This type of institutions may provide significant

support, coping strategies and also contribute to expanding the social networks. However, such closed groups may also hinder the process of integration in a sense they have considerable influence on defining immigrants' orientations (Penninx, 2004). Therefore, either they may contribute to strengthening the capacities of individuals and expand their resources, or they can limit their chances and isolate them, remaining unrecognized and excluded from the native groups (Palo et al., 2007 in Ullah, 2012).

## 2.5 Crucial factors

### *Social networks*

Ullah (2012) has conducted a research about integration strategies of immigrants coming from Bangladesh to Hong Kong in a pursuit for job opportunities. One of his findings is that social support appears to be crucial to the adaptation and adjustment of a migrant and acts as a stress reliever and source of strength. Likewise, social networks allowed Bangladeshi immigrants to develop a sense of belonging to a community and a sense of worthiness (Ullah, 2012). This study concluded that migrants were using gained friendships and ties of kinship established before their arrival to a host country in order to seek help in settling in and adapting to the new environment, arranging accommodation and adjusting to the behavior of local people. Kinship ties helped them to initiate migration and obtain jobs (ibid). Findings of this research study have also shown that one of the common strategies of Bangladeshi immigrants for adjusting the new environment was learning the local language. In this way it was easier to fit in to society and to take job opportunities.

Anders Hjern (2005) has studied refugee children and their long-term adaptation in Sweden. Particularly, he was interested in exploring the impact of immigration and experienced trauma on mental health. Research, carried out by Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare in 2004 (Hjern, 2005) has established very poor mental health caused by a trauma among their participants from Chile and Iran. Consequently, their integration capacities and adjustment to Swedish society were on very low level. On the other hand, research conducted on Bosnians and later follow ups have shown significant improvement regarding their conditions (Angel et al., 1994 in Hjern 2005). The key difference among these immigrant groups was in social networks. Namely, children from Bosnia had enriched social networks due to their relatives who have been already settled in the same community and who already built connections. Strong family cohesion within Bosnian community and active membership and participation in local associations played crucial role in facilitating the adaptation process.

Luster et al. (2010) explored the adaptation strategies of unaccompanied Sudanese youth in US that helped them integrate into American society. On their arrival to US, they had to face limited English skills, lack of adequate educational support, peer harassment, cultural misunderstanding and economical constraints (Bates et al., 2005 in Luster et al., 2010). However, this research provided remarkable findings regarding successful adaptation strategies among Sudanese youth. One of the factors that helped them to overcome traumatized experiences and to integrate into host country was strong support from social networks they established in US. Specifically, foster parents from the same culture or ones who are culturally sensitive had a significant impact on their positive adjustment. Namely, foster parents served as guide for understanding the native culture better and teaching them about the values of the receiving country. Additionally,

Sudanese youth built positive relationships with other fellow refugees, but also with peers from the host country (Hek, 2007 in Luster et al., 2010). Through different associations and sport activities, they connected with American peers who helped them to create even wider network of friends.

A study conducted in Sweden in 2006 (Bayram et al., 2009) comprised the first and second generation of Turkish immigrants settled in Stockholm. The main goal of this research was to establish if the Turks managed to integrate into a multicultural society such as Sweden. The findings shows that Turkish immigrants failed to integrate mainly due to limited social networks. Specifically, friendships and marriages with native Swedes were not accepted among Turks. Additionally, those Turks who were born in Sweden claimed they felt more like being in a foreign country. Bayram et al. (2009) concluded that Turkish immigrants failed in terms of interactive integration. Ties with relatives and maintenance of previously established relationships in Turkey created very strong Turkish identity and strong in-group interactions which led to more out-group rejection and to decreasing contacts with out-group members (Bayram et al., 2009). They preferred to live within the boundaries of their small communities and they simply ignored Sweden as their new homeland. Therefore, they haven't developed any additional social network outside their community which made them feel as foreigners in Swedish society. Woolcock (1998) described this phenomenon as a failure to link two different forms of social capital: bonding and bridging social capital. Namely, bonding capital refers to ties and networks among similar people in similar situation such are families, relatives or neighbors. These strong kin-based social network ties could be very useful as a coping strategy in a transition form. However, bonding capital is also seen as more exclusive type of capital due to tendency of individuals to resist going outside of their strong bonding ties to incorporate new members or to join other social networks (O'Brien, D., Phillips, J. and Patsiorkovsky, V., 2005). Bridging capital is more inclusive form of social capital that integrates families and communities into society and it refers to long distance connections and networks outside the family or established groups (Woolcock, 1998). Previous research has shown that the presence of extensive bridging social capital strengthen civil society, brings the economic development and increases trust (O'Brien et al., 2005). Additionally, in order to participate in a society, it is required to build bridging social capital ties and Turkish immigrants in Stockholm were clearly missing this type of social capital.

Similar results emerged in the study of integration processes among second generation of immigrants in Europe, conducted by Crul and Vermeulen (2003). The research compared Turks and Moroccans in Netherlands in a respect to their strategies in the integration process. Among Turkish immigrants, tight family relations and the cohesion within the Turkish community was noted. In this sense, Turks had a good deal more social capital than Moroccans which helped them specifically to take part in ethnic entrepreneurship (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003). However, strong ethnic cohesion had a negative impact on other spheres in life. Namely, Turks didn't make an effort to expand their social networks, learn Dutch or to gain education. On the other hand, Moroccans who didn't have such extensive social ties with their relatives, tended to gain connections and friends through education and other activities. In this way, they were more successful in the integrating process in Dutch society since they were building their social networks outside their group.



### *Socio-economic context*

The socio-economic dimension embraces social and economic rights of residence, no matter their ethnicity. These rights refer to access to the labor market, education, housing and health services ((Penninx, 2004). The areas of employment, education, housing and health have been identified by many stakeholders as key aspects in the integration process, thus it is appropriate to include these areas in the research analysis regarding the flow of integration processes (Ager and Strang, 2008).

Employment has been identified as a factor that impacts many other relevant issues such as economic independence, plans for future, meeting the members of a receiving country, opportunity for learning the language or building the self-esteem (Ager and Strang, 2008). However, many immigrants face difficulties in joining the labor market due to language barrier, lack of working experience or inability to prove their qualifications. Programs in the host society that allow migrants to redirect their qualifications and obtain new skills will have a positive impact on their resettlement (Duke, K., Sales, R. and Gregory, J., 1999). For example, vocational training and further education are seen as vital aspects of the integration process in a sense that, not only they will increase chances for entering the labor market but will also enhance language and personal capacities (Ager and Strang, 2008). Joining the labor force will not only bring benefit for migrant people and their families, but also to communities in which they live and to economic growth in general.

Further aspect in the socio-economic dimension is education. As mentioned, education plays crucial role in providing skills and competences for entering the labor market and enhancing personal capacities and talents. Additionally, schools are experienced as the most important place for meeting the members of local host communities, playing an important role in establishing relationships and expanding social networks (Wal Pastoor, 2012). Unfortunately, drop outs in education among immigrants often occur due to unmet interests and expectations, difficulties to learn the language or strong cultural influence and gender roles (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003).

Housing appears to be an issue that many European countries are struggling with. Phillips (2010) emphasized that the problem not only concerns the size and quality, but also the neighborhood where the migrants tend to live in. Significant number of immigrant groups find themselves in the most socially excluded and segregated area. Life in the segregated area could carry many adverse outcomes for immigrant groups and their integration process. Mainly, it hinders the process of expanding the social networks and blending with locals. Additionally, it could have a negative effect on physical and emotional health. Therefore, different interventions are designed to promote residential integration through improvements in housing conditions and neighborhoods (Phillips, 2010). Specifically, Sweden has established housing policy which is led by the aim of breaking down segregation and attaining social integration. However, in the larger cities it is easy to notice that there are districts and neighborhoods labeled as mainly immigrants' areas which are less desirable for locals to live in (Bayram et al. 2009).

Lastly, good health was widely seen as an important resource for active enrollment in a host society in a way that access to health services makes effective engagement with a key state service. (Phillips, 2010). However, although the measure of offering the access to health care for immigrant groups seems to be highly welcomed in most European countries, certain barriers are

identified, such as language difficulties, lack of information or gender and cultural perception of health care (ibid).

The research conducted by Bayram et al. (2009) has shown in which way socio-economic context and social networks are related. The study concluded that there are inequalities in the Swedish labor market regarding access to employment for Swedes and non born Swedes. Turkish immigrants, as target group of the study, had significant difficulties to find a job. Even those who had a job, that was usually within private enterprise as nurtured family tradition. Turkish youth haven't done well in school, they were not interested in academic studies and drop out rate from school was high. Instead of education, Turkish families were more concerned about the marriage and finding a job. Further factor for abandoning education was insufficient knowledge in Swedish. Namely, Bayram et al. (2009) found that the majority of Turks were speaking mainly their native language and following news in Turkish. Additionally, extreme spatial segregation was noticed. Some of the districts are mainly known as immigrant areas, situated in urban suburbs. In this case particularly, housing segregation clearly had an impact on immigrants' occupational possibilities and social relations. Final remark of this study and potential explanatory factor of these circumstances was lack of social networks. Turkish immigrants had very strong connection inside the group and with their relatives, but their connections with native Swedes were rather weak. In that way, they were maintaining the old relationships and not extending the social network outside their Turkish community. Segregated housing might contributed to not getting in contact with Swedes, but non attendance at school also cut down the chances of getting new friends and contacts that might be facilitators in finding a job or learning the language. Finally, based on the finding, Turks felt more welcome in Sweden than in other European countries but the integration process was clearly not accomplished (ibid).

Luster et al. (2010) explained in which way offered opportunities in the receiving country were used in a beneficial manner. Target group were Sudanese youth who were dealing with the same challenges as other immigrants on their arrival in the receiving country. They didn't speak the local language, their educational level was low, established cultural values were completely different from the host culture and they were economically disadvantaged. However, Luster et al. (2010) in their study concluded that the integration of Sudanese youth into American society had a successful path. Decisive factors in their successful adaptation was gaining the language skills and expanding the social networks and building relationships with native peers. These factors alleviated the process of adjusting to new environment. Likewise, they were persistent in obtaining education, joining sport and other activities and they were using every support offered by different services. Finally, Sudanese youth didn't ignore the American culture. On the contrary, they considered that the best method to integrate successfully is by combining Sudanese culture where the emphasis is on relationships and sharing resources with others, with American culture colored by the strong work ethic, taking advantage of the educational system and abundance of opportunities (ibid). Every single form of support and access to resources were seen as facilitators in obtaining job in later period.

Similar conclusion was made by Ullah (2012) in the research on Bangladeshi migrants where crucial factors for their successful integration in the host country were learning the language, acknowledging the host culture and building friendships outside the immigrant group.

Finally, the research conducted by Nathanson (2013) has shown how socio-economic setting in the United States influenced the integration process of Bosnians settled in St. Louis. Namely,

political and economic sector in the United States saw Bosnians as opportunity to increase their own profit. Consequently, Bosnian refugees experienced positive social interaction with Americans, specially referring to relationships with employers and teachers. The experience of welcoming exchange was a first step in Bosnians' integration process in St. Louis (Nathanson, 2013). Further on, interviewed Bosnians emphasized the importance of language skills, ability to communicate and education. Learning the language and access to education Bosnians perceived as a path and opportunity to enter the labor market and gain better job positions (ibid).

To conclude, several analyses have confirmed that good education is not only important in enabling migrants to attain a good socio-economic position, but also for their socio-cultural integration (Gijsberts, 2004). Better educated migrants have far more contacts with the local population, have better language skills and have more modern views than their less well educated fellow migrants. Consequently, these factors are leading to higher labor market participation. Additionally, previous research has shown that focusing exclusively on one's own ethnic group does not foster integration (Vogels et al., 1999, Veenman, 2001, Dagevos, 2004, in Gijsberts, 2004). Migrant could gain so much more from mixing with local population than staying inside the ethnic group (Dagevos et al., 2003 in Gijsberts, 2004). Finally, through these examples one may see in which way communication plays such important role in the acculturation and integration processes, as Young Kim (1977) emphasized.

#### *Personal motivation*

As it was mentioned, integration is a process that requires two sides involved. Beside policies and opportunities that one receiving country is offering, the immigrants with their own characteristics, level of efforts and engagements are also influencing the outcome of the integration process (Penninx, 2004). Therefore, for the successful integration, one has to be oriented toward the active exercise of its capacities and interests, to seek out optimal challenges and attempt to acknowledge and integrate new experiences (Deci and Ryan, 1990).

One of the crucial factors for unsuccessful integration of Turkish immigrant was their behavior and attitude toward the receiving country (Bayram et al., 2009). Although Turks stated that the quality of life is better in Sweden than in Turkey, they were simply rejecting the culture and values of the receiving country. According to Bayram's et al. (2009) findings, Turks were concerned about protecting their original culture, and were not interested in learning about the other cultures or in accepting the concept of multiculturalism. If one follows Berry's (1997) categorization of strategies in the acculturation process, it might be noticed that Turkish immigrants were rather subjected to separation instead of integration strategy. Additionally, Turks were reluctant to accept any offered opportunity from the host country. They had no motivation to attain education or to establish friendships with the local population. Similar conclusion entails the study conducted in Netherlands (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003) where the researchers noted that even though Turks had better predispositions for successful integration than Moroccans, they failed due to their very low motivation to take an advantage of given opportunities. On the other hand, Moroccans were in worse position on their arrival but their commitment in obtaining education and effort in creating social networks and relationships with local people have brought positive outcome regarding their integration process (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003).

Immigrants' engagement in the integration process matters, which is also confirmed in the study of Luster et al. (2010). Namely, foster parents of Sudanese youth stated that all children were extremely motivated to succeed in the new environment. Likewise, they were persistent in accomplishing their goal. Sudanese youth also perceived their arrival to United States as a life time opportunity, thus they were accepting and making a use of every offered service. They have acknowledged American values and developed strong work ethic and determination.

In the conclusion, the literature review provides the explanation of main concepts which are necessary for comprehensive understanding of the integration process. Likewise, crucial factors that facilitate or hinder migrants' integration are also stated. Previous research has shown that although Swedish society adopted multicultural policies and created strong economic ground, many immigrant groups faces difficulties in the integration process. Therefore, this study will offer a picture in which way is it possible for migrants to juggle with social networks, job opportunities and cultural traits in one Swedish community.

Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that the concepts of acculturation and assimilation are presented above in order to make a clear distinction of those concepts from a concept of integration. As the focus of the research study is integration process among Bosnians, this concept as a strategy of acculturation shall be discussed in the further text. However, the concept of assimilation refers to immigrants who rejected their cultural identity in order to attain the identity of a host country (Berry, 1996). As LaFromboise et al. (1993) emphasized, the process of assimilation rather leads to isolation and alienation of migrant groups. Therefore, this concept will not be included in the analysis since the research subjects do not belong to excluded group of migrants.

## CHAPTER THREE, Theories

The aim of this section is to present theories used in this research study. Chosen theories for this study will serve as a tool to present comprehensive understanding and explanation of investigated phenomenon. Additionally, they will assist the researcher in selection and interpretation of data in different aspects of the data. The theory of four forms of capital by Pierre Bourdieu (1986) is used in the research study in order to explain the process of accumulation of different capitals in a social world of Bosnian immigrants. Likewise, it will contribute to a better understanding of how accumulated capital influences the process of integration among Bosnian immigrants. On the other hand, social support theory (Vaux, 1990) is used with an aim to explain how certain supportive behavior and support networks influenced the immigrants' motivation and development.

### 3.1 The forms of capital

As to what is shown in previous research of integration processes, social, economical and cultural factors are intertwined in influencing individuals' lives. In this sense, one may notice the vivid dynamic and fluctuation of different elements in social life. Pierre Bourdieu assuredly became one of the most well known sociologists within the sphere of culture and education by his endeavor to explain these processes and the complexity of social world and practices, and alterations that occur under certain conditions (Golubovic, 2006). Mainly, his area of interest was dynamics of power and capital within the society and their diversity and transferability into different forms. Bourdieu (1986) tried to present the social world as a mixture and accumulation of different forms of capital. According to his definition (Bourdieu, 1986 in Halsey et al., 1996), capital, whether in objectified or embodied form, presents a potential capacity to produce benefits and to reproduce itself in maybe more expanded form. Likewise, capital takes time to be accumulated when so is a form that tends to persist in its being. Therefore, the structure of social world is inscribed in people's distribution and organization of different types of capital. Different forms of capital not only govern how to perceive and act in the social world but also open up for opportunities and create chances for success.

Further, Bourdieu (1986) explains that it is impossible to understand the structure and functioning of the social world unless one involves all the forms of capital within society. In this manner, he is criticizing economic theory which mainly refers to economical capital as a possible way of exchange in terms of money and estimated values of goods. For Bourdieu (1986), beside economic capital which is directly convertible into money and can be institutionalized in the forms of property rights, he introduces cultural and social capital which may be convertible into economic capital under certain conditions. With introduction of different forms of capital, Bourdieu (1986, in Golubovic, 2006) is presenting social world as a fusion of material resources, educational qualifications and social connections, mirrored in economic, cultural and social capital respectively (Golubovic, 2006). Additionally, he also introduces symbolic capital that indicates the effects of any form of capital. This specific form of capital Bourdieu sees as a crucial source of power depicted in one's prestige, honor or reputation which allows that person to influence a social discourse (Bourdieu, 1986 in Halsey et al., 1996). Although symbolic capital is usually accumulated from the economic capital, Bourdieu (1986) rather defines it as the

legitimate and recognized form of other capitals. Therefore, any capital may undergo a process of conversion so that is recognized as a legitimate asset (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2013). Symbolic capital may be accumulated from one's material status, but also from academic knowledge and competences, and social status and networks that person has.

According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital may exist in the forms of long lasting disposition of the mind (embodied form), cultural goods which are in the objectified state and educational qualifications which are institutionally shaped. Regarding the cultural capital in embodied form, Bourdieu (1986) talks about the accumulation of capital in the form of what is called culture. Since it presents integral part of individuals, it cannot be transferred instantly like in the case of economic capital. On the contrary, it is subjected to inherited transmission and the accumulation process lasts through the whole period of socialization. Cultural capital in its embodied form is something that is within the whole family, its transmission starts from the birth and lasts for longer period, until the cultural values are acquired (Bourdieu, 1977 in Karabel and Halsey, 1977).

On the other hand, cultural capital in its objectified state can be transmitted both materially and symbolically. Additionally, cultural capital in the form of valuable objects could be acquired through the economic capital. However, to use them with specific purpose, one need to have an access to embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). In this way, Bourdieu has shown the link between economic and cultural capital and in which ways individuals may accumulate and increase different forms of capital.

The transmissible power of capitals is even more visible when one speaks about the cultural capital in institutionalized form. Namely, cultural capital in its institutionalized state can be seen in academic qualifications that individuals acquire. In his explanation of this form of capital, Bourdieu (1986) connects all the forms of cultural capital and economic capital. On the example of school education, Bourdieu (1986) explains that economic capital in terms of resources or embodied cultural capital in terms of language skills, cultural behavior or preferences, influence positively or negatively on one's success. Objectified cultural capital impacts in terms of accessibility to cultural goods, while institutionalized form of cultural capital affects through the academic qualifications. Consequently, institutionalized cultural capital may enrich economic capital, but also economic capital needs be converted into cultural.

Finally, social capital according to Bourdieu (1986) refers to the set of social resources and networks that people accumulate through their lives. Through these social networks and group contacts, people increase the chances for accessing valuable resources and obtaining more opportunities. However, those networks and ties are neither natural nor social given. They are a product of investment strategies directed toward establishing or reproducing social relationships that could be usable. The reproduction of social capital demands constant endeavor and work on relationship's affirmation which often requires economic capital. Additionally, social capital is closely related to other forms of capital. Economic capital allows individuals to enter different spheres and activities which will contribute to expansion of social capital in a sense of building new relationships. On the other side, cultural capital contributes through the family ties and shared interests. All those resources, the quality and strength of networks will influence the amount of individuals' social capital (ibid).

Shedding the light on each form of capital, Bourdieu explained different ways capital is intertwined in the social world. However, although an individual can build his or her capacities through different types of networks, this can also contribute to sustainment or even expansion of social inequalities. In other words, although social capital has its roots in families and other social relationships, its character is formed by material, cultural and symbolic status of families and individuals. Therefore, individuals with strong material and cultural resources will have a chance to confirm and strengthen their status. Moreover, they will pass those resources and social networks to their future generations, creating in that way sustainable inequalities. On the other side, families who are materially and culturally deprived, social capital could serve as tools of coping strategies, but it is less likely that this will open a possibility for their personal growth and prosperity (Woolcock, 1998). Some scholars emphasized that social capital used as a coping strategy is recognized as a form of bonding social capital which refers to networks among smaller groups, closed for new relationships and networks (O'Brien et al., 2005). Hence, their chances for getting opportunities, strengthening capacities and enhancing other forms of capital are significantly reduced.

### 3.2 Social support theory

The nature of social support has become now widely recognized in theory and research. It has emerged as a major focus in research, attractive to those interested in social influences on psychological and somatic well being and inventing strategies for prevention of disorders (Husaini, 1982). Alan Vaux (1990) defined social support as a complex process which involves transactions between people and their social networks, including an active development and preservations of support network resources, a management of support incidents to evoke appropriate supportive behavior from the network and a synthesis of information to generate support appraisals. Likewise, through ecological model of support, Vaux (1990) tried to offer a more complete understanding of support processes which comprises their relationships to stress and well being, and strategies for intervention. According to Vaux and Harrison (1985), social support should be seen as a construct that contains three components, support network resources, supportive behavior and subjective appraisals to support. For them, it was important to make distinction between those three elements because none of the components alone captures everything that refers to social support, but together they describe the process.

Vaux (1990) defines the support network resources as a set of certain kinds of relationships through which individuals receive help in solving problems or achieving goals. Those support networks vary in size, structure, quality of relationships and its compositions (Vaux, 1990). Within these relationships, certain kinds of interactions are likely to take place, but the nature and quality of these interactions differ in any given relationship. Additionally, those relationships and interactions within them, lead the individual to feel supported (Vaux and Harrison, 1985). Supportive behavior includes the wide range of specific acts recognized as intentional effort to help somebody. Those acts could include any kind of emotional or material support, feedback, guidance, recommendations or practical information. Lastly, support appraisals are defined as subjective evaluations that people make of their support network resources and supportive behavior that occurs within those relationships (Vaux, 1987). In other words, it is perceived as a personal perception or satisfaction derived from person's support network resources and supportive behavior that person receives. However, one could not guarantee that specific support

resources and supportive behavior will lead to positive appraisal. For example, one might assume that a person feels loved if is surrounded with loyal and caring friends. In this sense, a person will have a positive appraisal on those features. Nevertheless, it doesn't mean necessarily that every person will perceive loyal and caring friends as a valuable asset. Even when supportive interaction occurs, a person might not feel supported (Vaux and Harrison, 1985). Therefore, according to some authors, this component seems to be more important than other aspects of support in predicting well being and in buffering the stress (Vaux, 1987). Stated three components have different properties and are subjected to different influences and different relationships with other important factors. Therefore, when describing social support theory, it is important to define the components separately but to observe them together in practice, in order to obtain more detailed picture of the social support process and its effects (Vaux, 1990).

### *Social support process in ecological context*

As they are influenced by the variety of relationships and interactions, support resources, supportive behavior and support appraisals reflect dynamic transactions between different agents in the social environment (Vaux, 1990). Through their action, individuals develop and nurture their network resources, utilize them effectively to obtain supportive behavior and integrate relevant information through support appraisals. However, in order to deal with difficulties successfully, some conditions need to be satisfied. According to Vaux (1990), certain types of network resources produce adequate assistance. Namely, diversity rather than size of networks might be helpful in providing information or assistance. Additionally, relationship closeness presents another key factor. Close relationships offer greater motivation to provide help and assistance based on intimate knowledge of the person in need (Vaux, 1990). Likewise, the absence of conflicts and relationship reciprocity are also contributing factors. Further, support behavior is determined by the network properties. If the network resources are neglected or weak, support behavior is likely to be inadequate. Lastly, support appraisals have especially important influence on individuals. Although Vaux (1990) avoids to determine what kind of network resources and behavior that lead to positive appraisal. Earlier scholars noted that one is more likely to feel cared for when friends are open and ready for one's problems, to feel a sense of reliable alliance and to feel socially integrated in shared activities (ibid).

Further, when one speaks about the support process, understanding through the ecological perspective is inevitable to explore the links between factors and influence from social environment, context and personal characteristics. Bronfenbrenner (1979 in Schmied and Tully, 2009) explained ecological perspective as a model where personal development is affected not only by the more proximal and relatively stronger influences but also by the distal factors of the broader social context (Bronfenbrenner, 1979 in Schmied and Tully, 2009). His theory aids in explaining and understanding interactions between different environments where persons interact with others and in that way influence each other's systems. Referring to this model, supportive behavior and support networks, shaped by one's social environment and systems, impacts the other's personal and social setting. In this manner, Vaux (1990) explains how besides personality factors and social skills, great variety of social ecological factors (which are within different systems) also shape social support processes. In this sense, cultural values, habits, community, housing and workplace also make impact on social bonds and behavior. Likewise,



structure and material condition of families may also determine how support networks will be developed (Sarason et al, 1986 in Vaux, 1990).

Therefore, environment and its demands and stressors significantly influence the support process. On the one hand, these stressors and demands may strengthen the networks and elicit supportive behavior. On the other hand, they may deteriorate existing networks and behavior (Vaux, 1990). Summing up, of utmost importance for obtaining the understanding of social support is to embrace outside factors, transactions between people and their social networks.

### 3.3 Theoretical framework

The stated theories will be applied in this research since it is believed that they fit into the research topic as well as they could describe the processes which will be investigated. Likewise, these specific theories can offer deeper understanding and explanation of the variety of interactions and patterns related to the research subject. As the previous research presented in the literature review has shown, different factors facilitate and hinder the process of integration among immigrants, thus through the offered theories it will be possible to capture a variety of aspects related to the matter of integration process.

Four forms of capital are applicable to the research study for several reasons. As they are regular components of the social world, economic, symbolic, cultural and social capital determine to a large extent and affect the faith and successfulness of migrant groups in their integration process. Likewise, the fluctuation among different forms of capital and its impact is clearly visible in relationships and life circumstances of migrants. Bourdieu (1986) stated that different types of capital can be derived from economic capital, therefore economic capital presents the root and possible starting point for development of other forms of capital. Bearing in mind that immigrant groups arrive to foreign country economically deprived, it is possible that other forms of capital will be poorer in comparison with the one they had in their home country. As it was mentioned, families with strong material and cultural resources have higher chances to confirm and strengthen their status. However, previous research also has shown how immigrants can develop or enhance their capital. Obtaining a job presents an opportunity for meeting new people and learning about the culture and values of the receiving country. Language skills as part of cultural capital also have a vital role in expanding other forms of capital and facilitating the integration process. Improving the language skills will not only open more possibilities at the labor market and in that way strengthen the economic capital, but will also expand social capital in a sense of building new relationships and social networks. Therefore, in this research study, it will be examined in which way immigrant families managed to integrate successfully, juggling with the existing forms of capital and how they succeeded to enrich and convert their capitals starting from disadvantaged and materially deprived position. Additionally, through the three forms of capital it will be possible to identify certain preconditions or patterns that played crucial role in strengthening one type of capital and influencing the other types in a positive manner.

Social support theory is supposed to help in presenting and analyzing the relationships and behavior that immigrants established during their integration process. As one of the aims of the research study is to examine the nature of networks that immigrants developed and maintained in the receiving country, social support theory should assist in acquiring deeper understanding of integration outcomes and immigrants' behavior. Likewise, as it was mentioned, diversity of

networks and close relationships may significantly influence one's motivation and support resources. If a migrant has limited personal or social assets, it is more likely to have greater difficulties in developing or maintaining support networks. Additionally, not only that a person won't be able to expand its support networks, but it may also erode the existing resources. Therefore, by applying the theory of social support, the researcher will explore in which way diverse networks, behavior and appraisals, as inseparable components, contributed and influenced their personal growth and the process of integrations.

## CHAPTER FOUR, Methodology

### 4.1 Research Design

As the aim of the research study is to identify successful strategies in the integration process among Bosnian group in Värnamo and to discover how this group managed to implement those strategies, the researcher has chosen a research design that could offer an answers on those question.

Explanatory case study with descriptive elements was chosen as a research strategy because the focus in the research is on a contemporary phenomenon with a real life context (Yin, 2003). Additionally, explanatory model is suitable for this research study as the researcher's goal is to explain how the process of integration flowed from participants' arrival until present. The purpose of the explanatory case study is to try to connect experiences and events to understand the cause and effect in the integration process. In this way, the researcher will have a possibility to explain and look at how things came and interacted together (Yin, 2003). The case study strategy is used with a purpose to enrich researcher's knowledge and understanding of complex social phenomenon such as integration, related to one group. Additionally, this method allows the researcher to preserve the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life events such as individual life cycles, group relations or changes (ibid). Descriptive type of a case study aims to draw a picture of a situation, person or event (Gray, 2014). It will describe the nature of phenomena which occur within the data, for example what strategies participants used and how they used them in their process of integration (Yin, 2003). Nevertheless, an explanatory study aims to explain and account for the descriptive information (Gray, 2014). Therefore, questions in the study were regarding to what and how different circumstances and factors are related to the process of integration.

This type of design enabled the researcher to identify, explain and describe the factors that followed the process of integration among the Bosnian group. Likewise, it allowed the researcher to understand the processes and actions of individuals, rather than generalizing the results.

### 4.2 Research Subjects

The research subjects were individuals from Bosnia that sought asylum in Sweden during the nineties due to the civil war. Research subjects once held a refugee status and present the first generation of migrants from Bosnia that moved due to the war circumstances. Forced migration was one of the requirements since it was significant for the research study to investigate the integration process in conditions when a settlement is involuntarily. Selection of first generation refugees was important for the study because of the need to interview people who had lived an experience in their country of origin and later moved to live in Sweden. Likewise, it was important for the study to hear the experiences of people who had settled lives in Bosnia and who lived the Bosnian culture before acknowledging Swedish system and values.

The research subjects had lived in Sweden for around twenty years. Bearing in mind a duration of their stay in Sweden, it is presumed that they are integrated into a Swedish society. Being integrated into the Swedish society was important for the research study due to the assumption

that such individuals could offer a clear description of their integration course and dynamics within this process. Likewise, this condition was necessary for the study in order to identify and explain the strategies of integration that appeared to be successful in the Swedish society.

Both male and female respondents were selected for the interviews. Representation of both genders was important because it was presumed that some social aspects such as leisure activities or job positions might differ among different sexes. Likewise, Bosnian society is based on a male breadwinner model, thus it was significant to hear about the perceptions regarding the Swedish values from both genders.

The interviews were held in Bosnian language since it was more convenient for the respondents to express themselves in their mother tongue. In the process of finding the participants, Bosnian association in Värnamo, Kvinna 99 was contacted. The official from this association had met the requirements, therefore this person was the first identified respondent. Thereafter, a snowball technique was used in order to find more respondents. This type of sampling is defined as a technique for gathering research subjects through the identification of an initial subject who is used to provide the names of other actors (Atkinson and Flint, 2001). These actors could be used to find more actors and potential research subjects. The interviewee identified other respondents that were also contacted for interviews. This type of sampling was utilized as a response to overcome the challenge of finding the participants for the research study. However, due to a fear of finding only female participants or members of a Bosnian association, simultaneously another person was contacted which was not involved in any kind of ethnic associations. The snowball technique was used again and at the end, the researcher was able to conduct ten interviews with both sexes represented. Six women and four men participated in the research study<sup>1</sup>. Although the sample counted only ten research subjects, this was a sufficient number since it was possible to identify common patterns from participants' narratives. The age range among the participants was from 38 till 67 years old.

### 4.3 Data collection method

For the purpose of this research, qualitative research method was used as the aim was to understand the events in a social world through an examination of the participants' interpretation of that world (Bryman, 2012). Likewise, qualitative methods allow the researcher to have an insight into respondents' memories and explanations for occurred events, as well as extensive description of current events (Somekh et al., 2005).

In this research study, semi structured interviews were conducted. According to Bryman (2012), this type of interviews was used so that the researcher keeps more of an open mind about the outline of what the researcher needs to know about. In this way, concepts and theories can emerge from the data. The interview guide was used for this study as a research instrument, with standardized open ended questions. This means that for every research subject, identical set of questions were posed but with freedom for a researcher to ask probing or specifying<sup>2</sup> questions

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<sup>1</sup> The gender did not play significant role in this research study as one may expect. The explanation for this could be in the influence of Swedish culture and values on the participants in terms of gender equality.

<sup>2</sup> Probing questions: Could you say something more about that? Can you give a more detailed description on what happened? Specifying questions: What did you think then...? What did you actually do when...? (Kvale, 1996)

in order to investigate or follow up on the explanation or description provided from the research subjects (Kvale, 1996). The interview questions were formulated in a way to answer the research objectives and questions. Additionally, questions were divided into six sets according to specific study theme.

The respondents had an opportunity to choose the place for interviews that make them feel comfortable. Thereafter, the researcher and the respondents agreed on the interview environment. Almost half of the interviews were conducted in the offered available office in Bosnian association. One interview was carried out at the work place of a respondent and the rest were held at the respondents' house. The interviews with the respondents lasted on average between 30 to 55 minutes, and they were all conducted in private. On certain occasions, some interviews were paused shortly due to the respondents' request. Those requests came mainly because of the short emotional disturbance.

The aim of the interviews was to assist the researcher in identifying factors and crucial points regarding the research topic. Likewise, different sets of themes and open ended question allowed the researcher to obtain rich, specific and relevant answers from the respondents. In that way, the researcher could acquire more complete picture about the integration process of the respondents.

#### 4.4 Data process and analysis

The interviews were recorded with the consent of the respondents. Thereafter, recorded interviews were transcribed to the letter. As mentioned, the interviews were conducted in Bosnian by the researcher, which means that all the quotations in the following text had to be translated in English. For this reason, these translations might influence the intended meaning of the original statements. The researcher tried to present translations faithfully, however some of the expressions used by the respondents were very challenging to translate.

After the transcription of recorder interviews, the researcher started a process of coding the data. Firstly, the researcher focused on reading the data. This was a repetitive process so that the researcher could become familiar with the information better. In this way, the researcher also alleviated the process of coding the data. Coding the interviewees' responses was necessary because in that way it was much easier for the researcher to follow and grip obtained information. Additionally, during the coding process, the researcher took side notes that were helpful for relating the data with theoretical framework.

The next step in data processing was an analysis of codes in order to identify relevant themes that could meet and answer the study purpose and the research questions. Data was analyzed using thematic analysis which is qualitative method used for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) emerged in the conversation with the participants (Braun, Clark 2006). Thematic analysis was selected as an analysis technique because of its focus on "what " is said and its use to extract core themes while analyzing the data, and its means to generalize across cases (Riessman, 2008). After establishing the themes, the researcher selected quotes from transcription that could present and describe the themes in the best possible way. As it was mentioned, the quotations were translated, therefore the researcher tried to present them as original as possible. In the further analysis of the data, theoretical framework of the study was used in order to complete the analysis of gather information.

## 4.5 Validity, Reliability & Generalization

According to Bryman (2012), respondent validation is a process in which a researcher wants to ensure that there is a good correspondence between the findings and the perspectives and experiences of research participants. However, as Maxwell (1992) stated, one cannot step outside its own experiences, thus it is always possible to be slightly different, but equally valid account. Therefore, Maxwell's approach to validity refers mainly to accounts, not to data. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) also emphasized that data cannot be valid or invalid, but the conclusion drawn from it can be problematic.

Therefore, the researcher tried to keep the translations and interpretations as accurately as possible to what is said during the interviews. Likewise, in order to ensure that the respondents' meaning is properly understood, the researcher introduced interpreting questions<sup>3</sup> in order to confirm the understanding. In addition, if any experiences or statement from the participants were ambiguous, the researcher tried to be precautious about the conclusions.

Patton (2001 in Golafshani, 2003) stated that validity and reliability are factors which researcher should be aware of while analyzing results and judging the quality of the study. Further Patton (2001) stated that in any qualitative research reliability is a consequence of the validity in a study. Golafshani (2003) defined reliability as the trustworthiness and dependability of the data generated from the interviews during the qualitative study. Specifically in this research, before conducting an interview, research subject were informed about the research topic, objectives and sets of questions. Additionally, further explanation was provided if there was a need for it. In cases when the respondents weren't sure about the right understanding of a question, the questions were paraphrased. Likewise, the respondents had complete freedom to offer deeper explanations and description of their answers since the questions were in open ended manner.

In qualitative research, many scholars minimize the relevance of generalization or even deny any intention toward generalization (Payne and Williams, 2005). To generalize some findings is seen as a claim that what is the case in one place or time, will be so elsewhere or in another time. As it was discussed earlier, the integration process does not go by certain rules or patterns. There are many strategies that immigrants implement and that appeared to be successful. Therefore, one could not generalize the finding from this research study, but these findings may serve as an example and possibility to follow in similar conditions.

## 4.6 Challenges

One of the fears of the researcher was possible reluctance of respondents to fully cooperate due to the different nationalities which were opposite sides during the civil war. The researcher doubted that some of the respondents might be detained in expressing their personal opinion or

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<sup>3</sup> Kvale (1996) gave the example for this type of questions: You then mean that...?, Is it correct that you feel that...?

being dishonest regarding some topics. However, the participants have shown full commitment and willingness to cooperate in every sense, expressing their points of view without any restrictions. Therefore, the researcher obtained an impression that collected data are trustworthy.

Additional challenge for the study was the presentation of results. As it was mentioned, the interviews and transcriptions were held in Balkan languages. The researcher carried out these translations cautiously, but without any special translating skills. Likewise, the respondents were using phrases and idioms in their native language which is almost impossible to translate literally. On these occasions, the researcher endeavored to translate the meaning as closer as possible to an original statement.

Finally, the challenge for the researcher was to conform to the rules of objectivity during the research study. The researcher endeavored to remain distanced from the participants' experiences so the finding depend on the nature of what was studied rather than on the personality, values and experiences of the researcher (Payne and Payne, 2004).

#### 4.7 Ethical Issues

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) stated that the main goal of any research is to provide knowledge and true accounts for social phenomena, however this does not imply that all other values can be ignored in the research process. Ethical considerations and moral integrity of a researcher are important aspects of ensuring that the research process and finding are valid (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Thus, the following ethical measures have been addressed during this research study.

Firstly, the researcher informed the respondents about the aim and objectives of the research study. Additionally, the participants were briefly introduced with the previous research about the integration process. They were also informed about the reasons why is Värnamo chosen for this particular study. The respondents were aware that they will be recorder and they were also informed about the time when the recording started and when it ended. Bearing in mind the experienced trauma of participants, the researcher offered to participants to choose a place for conducting an interview and encouraged them to freely ask for a break during the interview if needed. The interviews took place in a private setting in order to assure privacy and confidentiality of the interview material. Likewise, this also contributed for participants to feel more comfortable in expressing their opinion.

Before the beginning of each interview, informed consent in given for signing. In that way, the respondents had information in written about their rights to terminate the interview. The consent was written in Swedish and Bosnian language, therefore the participants were able to choose in which language they will read the information.

Further, the researcher emphasized that participation has to be fully voluntary and explained in detail in order to avoid the possibility of invalid consent. The researcher also orally assured the participants about the right to terminate the interview or withdraw from the study if they feel the necessity to do so. It was important for participants not feel the pressure or obligation to enroll the project just for the cause of final benefit. Once again, the respondents were informed that they can take a break if they need to. Their wish for breaks during the interviews was fully

acknowledged. Although one participant shared his experience during the break, that narrative was not taken into account because the researcher felt that it would be unethical to use that story in the research purpose.

Lastly, the researcher guaranteed complete privacy of all received data, audio records and transcriptions. The respondents were informed that no other person except the researcher will have an access to recorded interviews and that the audios will be used only for the purpose of the research and destroyed after the completion of the research report. Likewise, identities of the respondents were not used in results presentation in order to protect their privacy.

The researcher also asked for consent to state the names of some respondents in the acknowledgement section in order to show special gratitude for their effort and participation in the research study. Additionally, those respondents expressed a wish to read the final report of the research study which will be respected.

## CHAPTER FIVE, Data presentation and analysis

This chapter presents the findings and results of this research. All the obtained information is based on the conducted interviews. The results and the analysis will be presented through



different themes in an order that follows the succession of the process of integration. Themes will include description of respondents' arrival to Sweden, their integration strategies, living in Sweden nowadays and the sense of belonging as a final outcome of their integration process. These themes were chosen with an intention to explain the flow of the integration process. Additionally, each theme will be presented through the examples of respondents' narratives in order to support and understand the claim in main findings.

## 5.1 Arrival to Värnamo and the process of settlement

The majority of the respondents arrived to Sweden from Sarajevo and Mostar in Bosnia. The civil war during the nineties in Yugoslavia forced them to leave their old lives behind and seek for asylum in Sweden. Most of them came with their families or in couples, but some participants had their families already in Sweden.

*"I was a single mother and I wanted to stay in Bosnia by any cost. They will come back. Those were my dreams. But then, everybody around me started to be killed and my son insisted to join him and leave everything behind. "*

Firstly, respondents were settled in different reception centers for asylum seekers, from where some of the respondents carry bad memories. Having a bad time in the reception center might be the first trigger for the respondents to bring changes in their life and start working on their personal development.

*"When I arrived, it was very difficult for me to... In two months, I lost 19 kilos. "*

*"We arrived to a place which looked like an abandoned resort, room size 3x3 and common cafeteria. The first thing I learned to say is lite till, which means a bit more (referring to the meal portion). "*

Later they moved, when they obtained a residence permit and a right to make decisions on their own.

*"They were moving us constantly from one place to another. For two years I had no power to make any decision about my life. But when I finally got a residence permit, things started to happen. "*

*"When I arrived, I was settled in Luleå. After one year I obtained a residence permit, soon after I moved. "*

Respondents who were reunited with their families had a little bit less severe experience since they knew where they are going and what to expect. Those participants stated that everything was already arranged. They came straight to Värnamo where they had an accommodation and some material support provided. Additionally, they had their family and relatives who waited for them and who were the biggest support during this period.

Respondents' arrival to Sweden followed the regular procedure when a person applies for the asylum (Swedish Migration Board). In this sense, they had a possibility to claim their previous occupational status, job preferences and to be provided with the support person from the

immigration office. According to some participants in the study, those assistants played a significant role in their lives. Their purpose was not only in offering advices or providing information, but also in encouraging and supporting every decision that respondents made.

*"I was 15 when I arrived to Sweden and my mental health was ruined. I was in distress with symptoms of PTSD as well as anxiety. If I didn't have her (assistant) by my side, I don't know how I would overcome that horrible period in my life. She found the strength in me, she was my greatest support."*

Additionally, personal assistants (support person from the immigration office) helped the participant to adjust and make changes in their lives according to needs of Swedish society. On this occasion, the participants have shown the strength and commitment to adapt to a new environment and alter their previously acquired belief about their capabilities.

One respondent stated:

*"You know, for me it seemed absurd to go again to school. I was 47, too young for ending but too old for new beginning. However, my assistant strongly advised me to join specific course which will bring benefit in the future. So, I did it! I joined the class and I was very good at it, to be honest."*

The role of assistants was of great importance also due to their relations with the potential employers. In one way it could be said that they served as a bridge to respondents' employers. Specifically, assistants were references for participants in finding a job. Their assessments and judgments regarding participants' skills were very important for employers and making a decision to hire the respondents. In one hand, assistants' feedbacks were important for employers because in that way employers were assured in respondents' competences. On the other hand, they were extremely significant for respondents since they had no established social network or previous experience that could prove their abilities and skills. In that way, the assistants linked the respondents with the employers.

Employers also contributed to a great extent to respondents' development and self esteem. Not only they have shown supportive behavior in a sense of encouraging and boosting the participants, but they took over the role of assistants in being the reference and giving the nice words to respondents' future supervisors. In this way, employers were using their own symbolic capital with a purpose to enhance respondents' economic capital.

*"When I started working, my boss (Swede) was coming to me from behind, he gives me a hug and asks how I slept, every single morning. Unrealistic person."*

*There was one old man in the restaurant, Swede, and he... he understood. He helped you to find a job? No, he didn't but he was extremely supportive. He taught me about the Swedish society, culture, he introduced me with other people who might help me in finding a job... He gave me a chance..."*

The majority of respondents emphasized that the presence of assistants and employers and their supportive behavior had a great value and meaning for them. For respondents, what those people offered to them was so much more than just a polite service. Their compassion and

understanding for immigrants was deeply appreciated and meaningful for the future steps in respondents' lives. As one of the respondents described:

*"Cold climate, but warm people. People with very big heart."*

### *Motivation and coping strategies*

All participants stated that they had settled life in Bosnia before the war. In fact, they indicated that no one could ever imagine that such seemingly perfect Yugoslavia could fall apart so easily and cause so much tragedy. For this reason, it was very difficult for participants to accept new conditions and surrounding. However, they found a way to cope with stressful events and use given opportunities in their new home. Once again, the respondents have shown the ability for adaptation in a new society.

Upon their arrival, all respondents named their children as the greatest factor that kept them motivated to strive in Sweden. On this occasion, the respondents were guided by the will to stay good parents and role models to their children. They thought that they are the ones who should be the carriers of their families and the main support to their children.

*"My children and their existence were like a generator for me, a wind in my back that pushed me to keep on going. If there wasn't for them, I'm not sure how would it end. "*

*"My greatest motivation was my children. I knew that if there was only me and my husband, we could have managed somehow if we go back to Bosnia. But it's not about us. For my children, that would be very difficult to handle. Therefore, I had to do my best and stay in Sweden."*

Further, some of the respondents stated that they felt quite powerless due to their ignorance of Swedish language. They lacked social contacts as they once had in their homeland, thus they realized soon they had to learn the language. Lack of communication and feeling of alienation motivated them to join the Swedish course. Related to this, respondents' motivation came from their fear from exclusion and isolation in Swedish society. Therefore, in order to avoid this, respondents knew that the first step of being included is to learn Swedish language.

*"Since the first day, I didn't waste my time. I started memorizing the days of the week that I saw on TV. Because... I felt like a crazy person. No communication at all. That's why I was so eager to learn the language."*

*"I felt the need to communicate with other people. Also, I had to communicate with children's teachers. They (children) were missing a lot, because I wasn't able to understand the staff. The only way to change that was learning the language. "*

Respondents were keen to provide for their children a life like they had once in Bosnia. Hence, they knew they had to make an effort to reach that goal. They wanted to obtain a job as soon as possible, but they were also aware they had to learn the language first. In addition, when they found a job, they became even more motivated by listening stories and experiences from other people. In that way, those people who shared positive experience with the participants served as

role models in participants' future. Therefore, respondents aimed to emulate their example and behavior in order to make further accomplishments in their life.

*"I worked really hard in order to provide what is needed for my family. First shift at the factory and second shift at the restaurant. And then one night, a guest approached to me. He said he was from Belgrade and he was telling me his life story and how he managed to finish school in Sweden. Now he has higher status and salary. That story motivated me to go to school. "*

*"One Swede that I met over summer told me... You know I will continue with my education now. For 20 years I work as a fire officer, but now I want to go to komvux<sup>4</sup> and then to college, and I will obtain my diploma in 4 years. I thought, this guy is mad. He was almost 40, financially secured, high status. This story made a huge impact on me. I realized it's never too late for education."*

Through the process of integration in the Swedish society, main motivators differed depending on the time period and current circumstances in respondents' lives. Therefore, at the beginning their children were the main generators to start an integration process due to their desire to remain good parents and caregivers. Likewise, they were motivated to learn the language in order not to feel isolated and for their own well being. In the later process, they were motivated to enhance their economic and symbolic capital by having role models in the Swedish society.

Respondents who were younger when they arrived to Sweden stated that for them it was probably easier to start a new life in Sweden since they had a whole life ahead of them. Arrival to Sweden was the period in their life when they had to make a decision in which direction will their life go. Bearing in mind they survived hazardous situation in Bosnia, they were subjected to a possibility of reaching higher levels of depression and anxiety. However, their determination to fight and establish normal life prevailed. Their desire for personal development motivated them to overcome stressful events and adjust Swedish society.

*"I never thought I had that in me, that strength. I finally said to myself, your life is not over. You have to build yourself as a person again. You have to strengthen yourself, for your own sake. "*

*"I was so young, and it would have been horrible if I have stopped developing myself as a person because of the war. Instead, I was looking for a way to give a meaning to my daily life. Thus, I was thinking maybe I could learn a language, even if I have to go back to Bosnia after a year, who knows, it might be useful in the future."*

Respondents were also asked to define the coping strategies in their transition form. Some participants named social networks as a tool to overcome or minimize the stress. Namely, many people from former Yugoslavia sought asylum in Sweden during the nineties, thus there was a wide network of people from the same region settled in Värnamo.

*"At the beginning, hanging out with Bosnians kept me alive. Those social contacts were more than needed for me because they were the most similar to those I had in my home country."*

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<sup>4</sup> Komvux is an institution that offers the variety of courses on an elementary and secondary level and addresses those who are between 20 and 65 years.

*"For me, of great importance were people from my country. There were 5000 people from Yugoslavia. Therefore, I had a chance to pick those that suited me and socialize myself. They were my social support."*

On the other hand, some respondents stated that hard work, persistence and maintenance served as a mechanism to cope with stressful period. According to respondents' statements, they were keeping themselves occupied with any kind of activity just to keep their mind away from traumatic memories. Additionally, some of the respondents were doing extremely physically demanding jobs till exhaustion in order to diminish the time for thinking.

*"There was one sewing workshop for immigrants. I joined that group just to keep myself and my mind busy and away from those horrible memories."*

*"I started working in a factory, something completely different from my previous occupation, and that job was so demanding and exhausting for me, but at least it kept me away from me thoughts and tears."*

One of the participants was not sure how to properly define his coping strategy during his transition period. Instead, he used the word *spite* as something that guided him and helped him to overcome stressful events.

*"I would say that my spite won in all of this. I wanted to have, because everything was taken away from me. I wanted to live, because a life was taken away from me. I believe this still guides me through my life."*

### 5.1.1 Analysis

Respondents' way of perceiving new circumstances can be explained by the tenets of Bourdieu's (1986) forms of capital. Namely, through different strategies of respondents in the study, one may see in which way they used existing forms of capital in order to build up other forms and facilitate their process of integration. The final outcome of the integration process is determined by the four forms of capital whose enhancement surely effects personal development. All the participants in the study had comfortable lives in their home country. Additionally, it could be said that they had built up all four forms of capital in Bosnia. Therefore, they knew and understood the importance of joining the labor market and learning the language as a precondition to include themselves in a new society. Bourdieu (1986) stated that economic capital is seen as a starting point for development of other forms of capital. Respondents were employed in Bosnia, thus they knew that obtaining a job would open a door to many other areas in a social world. Even though jobs weren't in the areas of their previous occupation, respondents found them useful for learning the language and as a coping strategy for stressful events. To add to that, Duke et al. (1999) claimed that different programs in the host country that allow migrants to redirect their qualifications and obtain new skills will have a positive impact on their resettlement. Additionally, respondents realized quite soon the benefits of learning the language and joining the school. As a trait of cultural capital, learning the language was seen among the participants as a possibility to enhance their social capital which was relatively poor comparing with the one they had in Bosnia. On the other hand, joining the school was experienced as an opportunity to increase the economic capital, but also as a tool to build their

social status in the future period. Similar pattern was followed by Bosnians settled in the United States. As Nathanson (2013) discover, in order to become more financially stable, the respondents' first aim was to become efficient in English and join the school. Ager and Strang (2008) also emphasized that vocational training and further education are seen as vital aspects of the integration process. According to these authors, not only they will increase chances for entering the labor market but will also enhance language and personal capacities. Gijssberts (2004) highlighted the importance of education in a sense that not only it would allow migrants to achieve a good socio-economic position, but also for their socio-cultural integration. Namely, educated migrants have more contacts with the native group and have better language skills which increase their participation at the labor market (ibid). Similar behavior was noticed among Moroccan immigrants in Netherlands. Moroccans' commitment to obtain education and effort to develop social networks and relationships with Dutch people have brought positive outcome regarding their integration process (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003).

As Bourdieu (1986) explained, the fluctuation among different forms of capital sets the conditions and life circumstances of immigrants. Hence, through his theory, it is possible to understand why respondents sought the purpose in every given option and opportunity. Respondents have chosen an option to be integrated, thus they were using all the resources that could positively impact their process of integration.

Social support theory (Vaux, 1987) explains in what way different social contacts and their behavior influenced immigrants' personal growth and adaptation to Swedish society. As it was mentioned, assistants' behavior from the immigration office made a significant impact on respondents' well being and development. Namely, assistants who became a part of respondents' network have shown positive behavior in a relationship with respondents, expressed through the forms of support, recommendations, feedback or guidance. This kind of behavior led to creation of positive appraisals among the participants which means that all of them had a positive reaction and feeling of satisfaction as an outcome from those relationships. Additionally, one may notice that respondents established diverse networks rather than large ones. Not only had they developed a relationship with their assistants, but as well with their supervisors at work and other immigrants from former Yugoslavia. In that way, they were receiving different types of support and diverse information due to the different environment settings. For example, cultural values and habits clearly shaped social bonds and behavior among different Bosnian social groups which led to certain type of pleasure. On the other hand, specific behavior at the workplace created another kind of positive relationships and satisfaction among the respondents which made an impact on their personal growth. The significance of employers' role and their supportive behavior toward immigrants was also noted among Bosnians in the United States (Nathanson, 2013). Namely, employers in St. Louis have shown a faith in Bosnians by encouraging them and offering opportunities. As an outcome of this type of interaction were established positive appraisals among the Bosnians.

In different periods of the integration process different forms of social support were needed. Upon respondents' arrival, assistants offered social support in terms of providing practical information, guidance and feedback. This type of supportive behavior was significant due to respondents' ignorance about the Swedish system. Beside this, social support in terms of showing faith in respondents and encouraging them through their process of integration was also essential for building the self esteem among the respondents. This kind of social support was

very important at the beginning of the integration process since it leads the process in positive direction. Similar social support was offered from the employers and supervisors. Their supportive behavior in terms of boosting and showing the compassion toward the participants had a vital role in accepting and starting to like the job outside respondents' occupational status. Additionally, this type of support influenced respondents' personal growth in a sense they were encouraged to enhance their capital. Social support offered from other Bosnians was presented in more emotional an informal way. Specifically, they offered support in terms of having leisure activities or casual conversations about their experiences. In this stage, the respondents were using social capital established within a network among the smaller group which served as a tool of a coping strategy (Woolcock, 1998).

## 5.2 Integration strategies among the respondents

As it was discussed earlier, the definition of integration and its interpretation appears to be relatively diverse among the scholars and in the social world. Although according to some authors (Deutsch, 1957 in Samson, 2006, Polanyi, 1957, in El Karouni, 2012) the concept of integration was referring mainly to economical aspects, the respondents in the study had different perception and definition of integration. Mostly, respondents defined the integration process as the acceptance and respect of Swedish values and rules, but also balancing between two cultures, stating that the preservation of identity is equally important.

*"I see it (integration) as an adjustment to Swedish society, living according to their principles, but also keeping something that is yours, a part of you."*

*"For me, that is balancing between two cultures, taking the best from Swedes and keeping the best from Bosnian culture."*

Some of the respondents couldn't define the integration process specifically. Instead, they said that it is more about the feeling of satisfaction in Swedish society and the sense of pleasure within that setting.

*"Being integrated, for me, refers to a feeling that a person carries in himself. We could have an excellent job and many Swedish friends, but if we don't feel comfortable in that environment, clearly something is missing."*

*"When you finally reach the point of full satisfaction with your life, you are integrated."*

Lastly, one group of respondents defined the concept of integration as a mixture of different components in the social world.

*"A job, social life, culture... one has to be in all those spheres in order to feel integrated."*

Further, regarding the question about the starting point in the integration process, it could be said that respondents were unanimous. Namely, all respondents stated that integration begins from learning the language.

*"Language is a key of everything. When you learn the language, many doors become open for you."*

Related to this, language was also defined as a main factor that facilitates the process of integration. In addition, important factors were also personal motivation and education obtained in Sweden. Some of the respondents stated that for successful integration it is also important to have some education from before because it shapes the awareness and way of understanding about the new setting and circumstances.

*"Certainly, crucial factor is language. However, I believe that education that one brings from home is also very important. It's ugly to say primitives, but those without any education from their country of origin, simply cannot understand or accept some things, values, principles. That is why educational background has significant role."*

Social networks and access to information are also one of the facilitating factors, recognized among the participants. However, these spheres are reachable only after one learns the language.

*"You have to socialize yourself through different activities. Crocheting, volunteering, sport... Those are arenas where Swedes meet and hang out the most. But of course, you have to speak at least basic Swedish. Without the language, nothing..."*

Factors that may hinder the process of integration are homesickness upon the arrival and stubbornness. Namely, some of the participants stated that longing for their home was holding back the entire process at beginning. In fact, almost all respondents needed at least two years to come to terms with the fact that Sweden is their new home. However, they also considered it as completely normal process, since the integration cannot happen overnight. Additionally, as soon as they obtained sufficient knowledge of Swedish language, they started to feel more comfortable in the Swedish society.

*"I had no communication at all at the beginning and I wanted to go back to Bosnia as soon as possible because I belonged there. But the circumstances didn't allow me to do so. Thus, I used that time to learn the language and as soon as I was feeling more comfortable to speak Swedish, I started to feel much better about everything."*

The respondents named the stubbornness or narrow-mindedness as traits of personality that hinder the integration process. Although, they do not perceive themselves as possessors of those characteristics, they claimed that some people from their surrounding were like that. Respondents believed that was the main reason why those people didn't manage to integrate themselves into Swedish society.

*"I cannot just come to them (Swedes) and start speaking we Bosnians are doing it like this or like that. I have to learn from them and I have to adjust to their principles if I want to be integrated."*

*"I met one person who just didn't want to accept some core values of Swedish society. He was constantly behaving like he is still in Bosnia. I think he was expecting from Swedes to accept him as he is, but that kind of behavior was simply strange and a bit rude for Swedes."*

*"Living inside your own established framework and beliefs, that certainly impedes the process."*

According to respondents, hinder factors of the integration process and the main actors that contribute to better integration are intertwined. Namely, the person himself is the most



responsible actor for successful integration. In this sense, a person must understand that in order to feel accepted, firstly one must accept Swedes and their rules.

*"For me, I'm the most important actor. The way I treat Swedes and my communication with them. If I'm constantly negative, of course I won't be integrated."*

*"I feel the most responsible for my integration is myself. When I started to cooperate, things took positive direction."*

Further, one group of participants stated that the integration process is bilateral. It goes in both directions and requires cooperation from both sides, Swedes society and Bosnians. In this sense, Sweden was identified as a multicultural society which is necessary precondition for successful integration process. However, immigrants' willingness to collaborate in the host country has also vital role for the integration outcome.

*"Sweden is doing really a lot regarding the integration of migrants, but I have to make an effort as well. I cannot expect everything to be served for me."*

One of the participants agreed that the integration process requires mutual collaboration, but too many possibilities offered from Swedish society could be a double edged sword. Specifically, as a multicultural society, Sweden promotes participation in different types of ethnic associations with a purpose to preserve immigrants' culture and tradition. However, respondent believed that these associations could also contribute to isolation, by maintaining only already established networks among the people of the same ethnicity. According to some authors as well, cultural associations could be seen as providers of support and coping strategies, however it is likely that they will hinder the process of integration in a sense of defining immigrants' orientation, limiting their chances and isolating from the native group (Phennix, 2004, Palo et al., 2007 in Ullah, 2012).

*"Of course, organizations that aim to integrate people probably facilitated someone's process of integration, but for me, grouping present isolation. Groups label people, and that is not the point."*

Some of the respondents remember that there was a specific moment in life that influenced and boosted their process of integration. Specifically, first job offer made a positive impact on their integration process in a way that opened the door and increased chances for accessing other spheres. Additionally, they were willing to invest much more in perfecting their Swedish and socializing with Swedes.

*"Finally I got a job offer, and my boss recognized my skills and capacities. I felt acknowledged as a person. From that moment, everything was flowing much more smoothly."*

*"An opportunity to obtain a job was a trigger for me. I was looking for a chance everywhere, and as soon as I got one, I was more devoted to all other activities."*

One of the respondents stated that a turning point in his integration process was a death in his family.

*"I buried my father in Värnamo. That was his will. I think he wanted that way in order to fasten me to this city. When that happened, I knew this (Värnamo) was my permanent place. When you realize that, then you try harder to adjust the society."*

Lastly, the respondents had a chance to grade themselves on a scale from 1 to 10 regarding their successfulness in integration. As it was mentioned before, the perception of successful integration often differs due to criteria and actors (Watt, 2006). One respondent perceived number 10 as being Swede, therefore identifying rather with the concept of assimilation which involves the rejection of cultural identity in favor of the host culture (Moghaddam, 1988, Ruiz, 1981, Berry, 1996). This was the reason why this respondent did not grade himself as 10. However, most of them related the highest number on the scale with personal accomplishments, fulfillment in all social spheres and satisfaction with their life. In general, respondents claimed they are satisfied or very satisfied how they managed in Swedish society. If they had to rank it with a number, the majority of respondents gave a grade in the range from 7 to 10. However, those who graded themselves around 7, they either didn't want to be higher or they considered that something is still missing in order to be 10. Those who didn't want to reach higher number on a scale stated that they feel satisfied with the place and status they have now and any pursuit for higher number would be done by force and not in a natural way.

*"I would grade myself as 8. Do you want to be 10? No. I feel awesome here where I am. If I'm 10 then I guess would have to give up some of my habits that I don't want."*

*"I guess I'm somewhere on a half way, 5, 6, 7... I don't know. I don't care about it that much. I like it here where I am. I'm satisfied."*

On the other hand, respondents who wanted to be on a higher position on the scale but still didn't reach that far claimed that some things are still lacking. Specifically, some respondents considered that a person always can do more, for example in education, while other thought their social networks with Swedes are still insufficient.

*"Maybe I'm 8 because I feel I could still do more. I still feel that I can improve my Swedish, have more synonyms."*

*"Personally I'm satisfied but let's be humble and grade it as 7. There are still years of living in front of me. A person could always do more and be better, in education, language... I hope I will reach 10 eventually."*

*"Well, maybe I'm 7. I think I'm still missing those close Swedish friends."*

Regarding the scaling of the successfulness in the integration process, there was a distinction in grades among younger and older respondents. Younger participants were ranking them higher, usually between 8 and 10 while older respondents were more likely to grade themselves around 6 and 7. According to older participants, the main reason for this is lack of social contacts which diminish when people retire and lose those daily meetings with other people. Additionally, those respondents claimed that before their retirement, they were definitely ranked higher.

*"Before my retirement, I was everywhere, participating everywhere and socializing with everybody. But I don't have that much contact with the outside world. Now, I'm mainly with my grandchildren. I guess that's how it goes normally. A person alienates when is old."*

### 5.2.1 Analysis

The respondents gave a definition of integration which mostly matches with Berry's (1997) view on integration as a practice where the immigrants endeavor to participate and adjust to new environment, but still maintaining their cultural values. Likewise, for participants the integration refers to the setting and conditions which make an individual to feel comfortable with, which implies that the host society is open toward cultural differences. Among the respondents Sweden is recognized as a multicultural society which Berry (1997) considered to be a crucial precondition for successful integration process. Additionally, the respondents' feeling of comfort in the Swedish society could be also interpreted as an effect of established symbolic capital. Namely, the respondents were satisfied with their current position in a society which could be understood as a sign of acknowledged recognition they built in their community. Likewise, the respondents' desire not to reach higher number on the integration scale could also imply that the respondents have built symbolic capital which fulfills them as it is.

According to respondents' statements, learning the Swedish language is a necessity for entering the Swedish culture and starting the process of integration. As Kim (1982) described, communication skills will influence the level of immigrants' adaptation. Likewise, through her research, learning the language appeared to be a powerful way to get to know the culture and values of a host country. Clearly, this study also proves that language and communication seem to be crucial for starting the process of integration. Additionally, Lahey (2003) defined communication as a facilitator to many processes in the society. In this meaning, communication skills assist immigrants to achieve their personal and social needs in a host country. The respondents also confirmed this claim through their statements that many doors to different areas were open to them as soon as they acquired the basic knowledge of Swedish language.

Further, respondents talked about shared responsibilities with Swedes regarding their process of integration. As it was described, respondents were seen as main actors in facilitating or impeding the process. However, some of the respondents also stated that the integration process requires mutual cooperation between Swedes and immigrants. Related to this, many authors emphasized that the integration process is bilateral and some of the previous research have shown that integration among migrants was incomplete due to lack of reciprocity (Bayram et al., 2009, Penninx, 2004). Multicultural society and inclusive policies are required, but respondents' willingness to use offered opportunities and determination to success in Sweden had also crucial impact on the entire integration process. Bayram et al. (2009) stated that the integration process starts in migrants mind. Referring to their research on Turkish immigrants and their integration in Sweden, Turks' reluctance to learn the language and to build social networks outside their group significantly impeded their integration process. It could be said that this was one of the crucial differences regarding the integration process among Bosnians and Turks. Bosnian immigrants in Värnamo were oriented toward the active exercise of their capacities and interests, they sought out optimal challenges and tried to acknowledge and integrate new experiences. According to Deci and Ryan (1990), this type of engagement and effort is crucial for the successful integration.

Turning points in the integration process among respondents were mainly related to the job offers and entering the labor market. Obtaining a job was followed by a normal procedure

established in the Swedish system. Firstly, respondents registered themselves at the employment office where they reported their occupation from Bosnia. Likewise, they could name the preferences in different areas. After this procedure, they were called from the employers if they were considered eligible and competent for certain job position. Clearly, the setting of the Swedish system and the efficiency of employment policies worked out for the participants. Phennix (2004) talked about the importance of legal position and entitled rights of migrants as they have significant consequences on immigrants' behavior and their motivation and efforts to integrate. Inclusion of migrants and their participatory role within the Swedish system will not only boost immigrants up but it will also lead to beneficiaries in socio-economic and cultural sphere (Alexander, 2003 and Penninx et al., 2004). Further on, different social contacts had their role in specific periods. Practical information such as the name of the employment office, the address and brief explanation of the procedure was provided from the assistants at the immigration office. Nevertheless, much stronger impact of social networks came later. Specifically, employers with built symbolic capital helped the respondents in their applications for other job positions by being a reference for them. This increased the chances for respondents to obtain more desirable job position. This period of life was specifically significant for respondents since they saw the labor market as a possible way in to some other spheres as well. As they said, when the respondents finally got the chance to work, straight after they started to invest more in improving language skills, cultural and social life. Bourdieu (1986) marked the labor market and economic capital in general as generators for development of other forms of capital. Specifically in this study, job position affected the development of cultural and social capital of respondents.

In addition, through the respondents' relationships with assistants and supervisors, once again one may notice in which way certain supportive behavior influenced the process of integration. Namely, sharing practical information and providing feedbacks and recommendations have contributed to further respondents' growth and expansion of different forms of capital.

### 5.3 Living in Sweden- leisure activities, social contacts and cultural practices

Activities during free time vary among the participants in accordance to their age and gender. Male respondents were mostly active in sport and those sport activities are usually the ones they practiced before their arrival to Sweden. Additionally, their companions in activities were usually Swedes, however there were also some Bosnian people who shared the same passion.

*"I play handball very often, but my greatest love is sailing. And I usually hang out with people who share the same enthusiasm towards it. There are two Bosnians and the rest of them are Swedes. I go to different cities to sail and in each city I have some companion."*

*"For the past four years I trained karate, which was something that I did as a teenager in Bosnia. My coworker, Swede, told me about the karate club so I joined. But then I also became a football coach and I'm active politically. Now I don't have free time anymore to attend those trainings."*

Female respondents usually spend their free time in walking and exercising at the gym. They usually do that alone or with a coworker, Bosnian or Swede. Many respondents emphasized that

Värnamo unfortunately is lacking cultural events such as concerts and theatre plays. Therefore, attending those events requires an organization in advance which doesn't happen that often.

Older respondents claimed that there are not so many activities for people in their age. Therefore, they spend their time in walking with their life partner or with their grandchildren. Additionally, one of the older ladies stated:

*"In Värnamo most people are rich and my pension is relatively small, so there is not much I can do. Unfortunately, my only activity is spending time with my grandchild and visiting the Bosnian association where I take part in one cultural activity."*

On the subject of social contacts and interaction with Swedes, all respondents said that a workplace or a sport activity is the best chance for meeting and building a relationship with Swedish people. Those places are significant because in that way respondents have a chance to share the same interests. Additionally, sharing the same place with Swedes increases the chances for finding something in common and a reason to communicate with them. In that way they are increasing the chances for building stronger friendships and bonds.

*"I have Swedish friends that I met through my work and sport activities. Now we changed our jobs but we still hang out together."*

*"Through my work I met some Swedish people which I consider as my friends. We are often on a phone, drink coffee together, take walks..."*

However, retired respondents claimed that as soon as a person was off the labor market, those contacts ended. Additionally, they stated that Swedes are mostly responsible for that outcome.

*"When I retired, I remained close with one Swedish couple, but that is over now. Because, when they come to my house, I prepare several dishes for that occasion, but they were a type of people who would just buy a chicken pie for a microwave. They thought I always put too much effort in preparing dinner and they were feeling uncomfortable with that. So they just distanced themselves from us."*

*"Sometimes we call each other for Christmas but that's it. I wanted to preserve those contacts. I always tell them to come over for a coffee, but they never do. They just don't hang out in that way. "*

Related to above, all respondents emphasized the existing difference between Swedish and Bosnian friends. Those distinctions were seen as a consequence of different cultural background and mentality. However, the respondents also stressed that different behavior with Swedes doesn't imply a bad thing.

*"I'm different when I'm with Swedes. Our visits are different. They do or don't do some things that we (Bosnians) are used to."*

*"They don't meet friends frequently as we like to do. Even though I know that they like me in their company, that distance makes me think that maybe friendship is not sincere. But they are just like that, different...not as open as we are."*

*"I think I'm less spontaneous when I'm with Swedish friends, because surrounding requires that. But that doesn't mean they are less good friends because of that."*

Respondents also made a distinction among close and loyal friends. Specifically, their definition of close friends refers to home visits and drinking coffee at someone's place. Likewise, respondents had special term that were using for close friends calling them home friends. Therefore, according to that definition, their close friends are mainly Bosnians.

*"I have some Swedish friends, but we still don't have those home visits. We still haven't reached that intimacy."*

*"I have Swedish friends, they organized a birthday party for me, we have those... they call it fika, we go out... but we don't have home visits at all. Simply, we don't call each other that often and they don't come to my place. My home friends are people from Balkan."*

However, respondents stated that they have Swedish friends they could rely on and for some of the respondents that was equally valued as home friends.

*"I never tested their loyalty, but I'm quite positive that I could count on them on any occasion."*

*"I have three, no... four Swedes that I can rely on. I realized that actually I never counted them. I consider them as my close friends as well."*

*"Although we don't have home visits, I have Swedish friends that are important to me, I can rely on them. They are not less valuable to me than my Bosnian friends."*

This distinction of friendships could be interpreted in different ways. On one side, it is possible that Bosnian respondents still haven't passed that boundary of closeness with Swedish friends. The reason for this distance could be on both sides, in Swedes or Bosnians. It is possible that Swedes or Bosnians are more introverted when it comes to people with different nationality. On the other side, this distinction among friends could be a cause of different mentality and the way they perceive closeness and spending time with friends. In Bosnian custom, home visits are very common. Moreover, those visits do not have any additional meaning. Specifically, it is more seen as a habit to go to friends' house and have a coffee at someone's place. Those home visits don't require any special effort or planning of the host. This practice clearly continued to exist among Bosnians in Sweden. However, it is possible that Swedes do not have this habit as a part of their daily life. Therefore, this might be a reason for not attending or not being invited to these activities. Instead, Swedes are gladly practicing fika which means having a coffee with their friends in a coffee shop. In addition, Swedes often practice dinners and lunches at the restaurant with their family or friends, which is a very rare activity among Bosnians.

However, one of the respondents mentioned fika as common activity with Swedish friends. Clearly, Bosnians accepted this habit from Swedes and now it is considered to be their daily routine as well. This could be also seen as a part of their integration process. Namely, they acknowledged Swedish habits and daily routines but they also kept some routines from their country of origin.

When it comes to cultural practices, there is a freedom of choice whether immigrants will continue or not to practice their tradition and customs in Sweden. Hence, respondents made a

decision to mix Bosnian and Swedish culture. As it was mentioned before, respondents accepted or kept the values that were considered as good from each culture. However, in this part respondents were referring mainly to mentality that is considered to be common in Bosnia and Sweden.

*"I still have that Balkan hospitality, openness, friendliness... But from the other side, I have Swedish punctuality, order... "*

*"I kept those things that I consider to be good from Bosnia, and other I rejected. The same thing I did with the Swedish culture."*

Nevertheless, some habits in Swedish culture were described by respondents as being quite strange or inappropriate. One respondent specifically has criticized a "trend" of breaking up the relationships easily, single parenting and broken homes. Hence, the respondent was more oriented toward advocating for compromise between partners and keeping the family intact.

*"For example, Swedish system is based on an individual and Bosnian is based on a family. That is why Swedes have three children, all from different partners. Of course I will keep Bosnian family based system. "*

*"Of course we also drink, but not in a way as Swedes do. When they go out, the only thing they want is just to get drunk as fast as possible. I find that behavior quite embarrassing."*

*"When their child moves away, immediately a child becomes a guest in parents' house. For me, our house is children's house. It will always be their home."*

The way respondent perceived children's home in the statement above could be understood through the concept of home defined by Saunders and Williams (1988, in Söderqvist et al., 2014). In this sense, home is comprehended as a place where people feel they have control and where they are feeling able to be who they are (Saunders and Williams, 1988 in Söderqvist et al., 2014). Hence, it is possible that respondent related home with the sense of security and family house as the most comfortable environment for their children.

Further, beside the behavior in certain situation, respondents didn't make much distinction in cultural practices from Swedish people. Although, they were all Muslims, for most of them religion never played special role in their life due to the political structure in former Yugoslavia.

*"I was raised in a communist society, thus religion was completely unknown for us. I never celebrated nor practiced any tradition and holiday."*

*"Before the war, nobody cared about the religion and cultural practices. That's how we were raised. And then during and after the war, suddenly it started to play important role. But why would I change myself now just because somebody decided that way, out of the blue."*

Some of the participants stated that they mark Bajram (Muslim holiday) with a modest lunch, but they don't give any special meaning to it. On the other hand, the majority of respondents celebrate Swedish holidays regularly.

*"Maybe we have common lunch for some Muslim holiday, but without putting any special effort to it. However, we do celebrate Christmas, New Year, Easter... all those holidays. That is something that we accepted."*

*"We have Bajram lunch within the family but I wouldn't say we celebrate it. Christmas is more important to us."*

Further, respondents were married with a person from Balkan whom they met before coming to Sweden. However, their children were raised as Swedes. Likewise, with their life partners and children they speak in Bosnian language, but children among themselves speak mainly in Swedish. Additionally, all respondents stated that they were trying hard to teach their children or grand children Bosnian.

*"We practice Bosnian language a lot. I think it's a fortune to be bilingual. It cannot harm children, it can only bring benefit."*

*"Although I raise my children as Swedes, I taught them Bosnian language so they could be able to communicate with extended family back in Bosnia."*

Nowadays, the variety of Bosnian TV channels is available to the respondents so it does not require any special effort to follow the news from different countries. All respondents said they gladly follow the news and watch TV program in both languages. Moreover, it seems that the respondents do not pay attention on language when it comes to watching TV or reading.

*"I like to be informed about everything. I follow the news in both languages. I don't make any special difference."*

*"I follow everything in both languages, but to be honest I'm often annoyed with the situation down there (Bosnia) so I try to avoid it. What about reading books? Again both. To be honest I didn't even notice in which language was the consent you gave me."*

*"I follow both. It doesn't require any special effort because Swedes made it so available to us. We have 1000 different channels from our region."*

Respondents were asked to grade their personal development from a period when they arrived to Sweden until the present. On this occasion, the respondents recalled their starting position in the reception centers. Respondents were pleased how they overcame all the circumstances and traumatic events from the beginning of their life in Sweden. Likewise, now when they look back on their past life in Bosnia, the respondents could say they accomplished many things and experienced personal growth in different areas.

*"I think I made a progress in my life in general. I would say that I strengthened my capacities on different fields. In Bosnia, I worked one job, but here I learned several."*

*"I learned so many new things. I reached that point when you surprise yourself, because you thought you would never be able to accomplish or overcome some things, but then you realize that you actually did it."*

*"I experienced huge personal growth in Sweden. In what way? I'm more mature, how I perceive things, priorities in life... I feel built as a person."*



By meaning *I'm more mature*, the respondent was referring to a feeling of being completed as a person. This means that perspectives, understanding and views on life are now on a higher level reaching the full growth of a person.

Likewise, they were all satisfied with their life conditions, emphasizing that they had the same opportunities as any Swede. This implies that friendly and integration policies in Sweden are visible in practice.

*"Do you think you had same opportunities as Swedes? Absolutely! I have never felt any form of discrimination."*

*"I had the same chances in every sense. It all depended on my capabilities and skills, nothing more. Maybe there is some discrimination, but I never felt it so I cannot claim it."*

*"From my personal experience, I had the same opportunities. There are some people who claim they are discriminated, but I never felt that. I believe we all had same chances and that we are all treated equally."*

However, one participant stated

*"There was one time when I felt degraded. I arrived to my work and one Swede, he is a lawyer, asked whose car is this? I said mine. Then he said wow, you really managed in your life. For me that sounded like he was surprised that I was able to succeed in a way. "*

From the example above, one may see that is possible to interpret certain supportive behavior in different ways. Supportive behavior in terms of acknowledging someone's success is more likely to create positive appraisal. Likewise, the comment from a Swede could also be seen as his recognition of respondent's symbolic capital. However, the respondent hasn't shown a satisfaction after received praise. Instead, the respondent experienced it as a sign of underestimation or even envy. Therefore, one may not pledge that specific supportive resource or behavior will bring pleasure as it was presumed.

### 5.3.1 Analysis

The way respondents developed their personal lives and reached the stage of satisfaction in Swedish society can be explained by Bourdieu's (1986) forms of capital. Namely, through respondents' statements one may see in which way they transferred one form of capital to another. Specifically, they used their economic capital in order to enrich their social capital. The majority of respondents have established friendships with Swedes through the work place. In this way, social world is proven to be a place where the mixture and accumulation of different forms of capital occur (Bourdieu, 1986). Likewise, as Phennix (2004) explained, spheres in the social world are intertwined. Immigrants' recognition and participatory role in the host country influence the socio-economic sphere in a sense that it alleviates the access to labor market and education. Consequently, equal access to these services would affect social and cultural adaptation of immigrants in the new society (ibid).

Although respondents claimed they have Swedish friends, there is a division on "they" and "we" due to different mentality and behavior. However, this implies that Bosnians unconsciously

followed the process of integration just as Berry (1997) defined. He emphasized that in the integration process, it is important to preserve cultural integrity, but also to expand social networks in the host environment. Therefore, it is understandable that respondents noticed the differences among Swedish and Bosnian friends and saw the value in both types of friendships. Anyhow, social networks and contacts that respondents created increased the chances for accessing valuable resources and obtaining more opportunities (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu (1986) also emphasized that people establish and maintain social relationships that could be of usage. In this sense, respondents created, as they called, loyal relationships with Swedes that could be used if the occasion requires so.

Two types of social networks among Bosnian immigrants stands in relation to Woolcock's (1998) concept of bridging and bonding capital. Namely, bonding capital refers to networks among similar people in similar situation which in this case were Bosnian friends. However, bridging capital is more inclusive form of social capital and it refers to long distance connections and networks outside the family or established groups. As O'Brien et al. (2005) claimed, the existence of bridging capital will increase the trust and strengthen the society. In this case specifically, respondents developed bridging capital by expanding their social networks and creating friendships with Swedes.

Further, respondents' eagerness to pass the Bosnian language on their children and grandchildren could be understood through the Bourdieu's definition of cultural capital in its embodied form. The embodied form of cultural capital refers to acquired and inherited properties through the socialization, tradition and culture. Specifically this form of capital is within the whole family and presents the integral part of one's habitus. For example, specific characteristics within the class or region, or certain accent present a part of cultural capital in its embodied form. Hence, respondents aimed to pass the native language to the future generation as it is cultivated and integral part of a family.

Last section of results could be explained with social support theory (Vaux, 1987). In general, respondents stated that they have never felt any type of discrimination and they feel they succeeded in their life in Sweden. Likewise, they stated that they had same opportunities as Swedes. This implies that during their personal development in Sweden, positive attitudes and friendly environment were established. It also implies that respondents had established relationships that positively affected their personal growth and made them feel comfortable and satisfied in the place they live. On this occasion, social support was presented through the Swedes' acceptance of respondents as equal members of a Swedish society. Likewise, friendly attitude toward respondents made them feel very welcome in Sweden, which certainly increases the level of satisfaction with their lives. This feeling was especially important for respondents and their process of integration. In order to be successfully integrated, it is crucial to feel accepted and equal in a host country. This corresponds to Berry's and Kalin's (1995) view on integration. Namely, in order to fulfill integration process, it is necessary to have positive mutual attitudes among cultural groups, acceptance of the value to a society of cultural diversity and a sense of attachment bond to a larger society.

However, last statement is an example of how people can interpret support resources and supportive behavior in a different way. In this situation, the respondent has established certain symbolic capital which was acknowledged and praised through supportive behavior. However, the respondent developed negative appraisal in the interaction with a Swede which proves that

not necessarily each support network and supportive behavior will guarantee satisfaction and feeling of being supported (Vaux, 1987).

## 5.4 Sense of belonging

Final set of questions was regarding participants' feeling of belonging to one country and plans for the future. Firstly, respondents were asked to state where do they feel at home and what makes them feel that way. Mainly, respondents were relating their home with the place where their closest family live, which is in Sweden.

Respondents admit that reaching the feeling for Sweden as their home was a long term process. Firstly, it was only Bosnia on their mind, but as time was passing their country of origin seemed more and more distant. Respondents stated that the main reason for feeling more distant to their country of origin is the fact that Bosnia is not the country as they remember before the war. Not only the structure of the system has changes, but also people are different. Hatred is present among different nationalities, suddenly religion matter etc. However, changes in Bosnia are not the only reason for not seeing Bosnia as their home. Respondents have also changed through the time. Their priorities in life are different, values and norms they respect and consider to be right are within the Swedish system. Therefore, it seems that not only changes in Bosnia influenced respondents' sense of belonging. Changes in their perception about certain things in life also contributed to a feeling of Sweden as their home. Likewise, according to Söderqvist et al. (2014), home is not only related to social and material environment. It also includes spatial context where daily routines take place, feeling of control and a secure base involving construction of identity (Söderqvist et al., 2014). Related to this, it is more likely that mentioned elements are within respondents' settings in Sweden.

*"First, it was only Bosnia. Then I thought I'm enriched for having two homes. Now I feel that my home is here (Sweden). It's just... all the things down there (Bosnia) started to seem strange to me, and everything here is normal to me."*

*"When I'm here then I think, all mine is there (Bosnia). But as soon as I go there, I can't wait to go back to Sweden. Things are not the same there anymore."*

*"For a long time I had no idea where I belong. When I go to Bosnia... it's not the same country anymore. Then I come back to Sweden, and I think oh finally I came home."*

One of the respondents said

*"One Swede asked me the same question 15 years ago. I immediately said Bosnia, but now... I would say both. What changed that feeling? Well, in Bosnia I had my childhood, my neighbors... but here I have my family, children, grandchildren. I'm emotionally bonded to Bosnia by place, and to Sweden by heart. "*

Additionally, other respondents stated that they feel attachment to Bosnia since they have there their childhood friends or extended family. Nevertheless, when they visit them, soon after they are longing for Sweden.

*"Now when I'm retired, I visit Bosnia more often. I spend three months there. Two months I can handle somehow but third month I'm already in my thoughts in Sweden. Here (Sweden) I find my own peace and in Bosnia I visit my cousins and already after 10 days I had enough of it."*

*"I like going there (to Bosnia), my school friends are still my best friends but then when I go there I cannot wait to come back to Sweden. Because I'm so annoyed with their behavior, way of thinking, attitude... I've changed. I'm not like them anymore."*

Consequently, respondents don't see their future back in Bosnia. Although, they feel homesick from time to time, they realize that they are longing for a country that is not the same as it was before the war. Likewise, they understand that not only the structural and political system in Bosnia are different from the one that was in Yugoslavia, but also respondents are different. They have changed their perception about many things, way of thinking and behavior.

Additionally, the respondents don't see their children in the future in Bosnia.

*"My children are Swedes, they belong here (Sweden). So what should I tell to my children? That they live temporarily 11 months per year in Sweden and one month in their real home, Bosnia. Their childhood is here, their friends are here. Simply they don't belong there. It's not their fault for having parents from Balkan."*

*"My children are old enough to choose where to live, but personally I don't see them in Bosnia. Their whole life is here in Sweden. I don't think they see themselves there either."*

*"Bosnia is not their home. Even I would have to go through the adaptation process and I lived there. So why would anyone go through all of that if it doesn't need to. "*

Some of the respondents also stated that not only they cannot imagine their life in Bosnia, but they cannot imagine their life outside Värnamo. Respondents became closely attached to this city for several reasons. Firstly, their children are emotionally bonded to Värnamo. Their childhood was in Värnamo and every memory is related to that city. Secondly, respondents stated that they reached that level in Värnamo when they feel as one of them (Swedes). In this case, respondents were mainly referring to social contacts they have established and the status and respect they have attained in this city. Lastly, one of the respondents stated that Värnamo is very unique place because it offers the variety of opportunities without questioning someone's nationality and country of origin. As the respondent said, Swedes from Värnamo see every person as a valuable resource for the community.

*"I have so many friends and acquaintances in Värnamo now. People from work, neighbors, former clients, from the sport club... When you walk down the street and people say hi to you all the time, then you know, that is your home."*

*"Värnamo is very special place. When you apply and obtain a job, nobody asks you where you from and who you are. Your competence matters, not your name. I don't know... Småland<sup>5</sup> is very open toward everybody. "*

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<sup>5</sup> Värnamo city is within the Småland province in southern Sweden.

From the statements above, one may notice that integration and friendly policies are very efficient in Värnamo. Openness toward immigrants and equality are certainly present in this city. Likewise, support network resources and behavior made respondents to feel very welcome and respected. Specifically, saying hi on the street made the respondents feel acknowledged as a part of that community.

#### 5.4.1 Analysis

As indicated above, all respondents consider Sweden as their home. The reasons for developed sense of belonging toward Sweden are their closest family who also lives there, accepted Swedish values and principles and harmonized life they attained. Likewise, the respondents claim they found their own peace in Sweden which implies that they relatively managed to acquire and strengthen all forms of Bourdieu's capital. In other words, respondents feel they are finally settled in one place and fulfilled in most of the arenas of the social world. They obtained education and job and expanded their network of friends. Surely, all respondents still see a lot of space for improvements and further accomplishments, but in general they feel satisfied with their current life.

On the other hand, respondents' sense of longing for Bosnia seems to be a cause of old social contacts and networks in their home of origin. Those contacts are still not suppressed, although participants created new ones. Different mentality and openness toward people created a distinction between Swedish and Bosnian friends on loyal and close friendships, thus the respondents aimed to preserve all established social networks. Similar results emerged from Nathanson's (2013) research on Bosnian integration in St. Louis. According to her findings, all respondents identified St. Louis as their home, although the sense of longing for Bosnia was present due to their childhood memories and extended family from Bosnia.

In the future, participants see themselves in Sweden given that they have already settled and built life in every sense. For their children, the idea of living in Bosnia is mostly rejected since they have no built any type of capital in Bosnia or any connection with that country except the language. For children, Bosnia is perceived as a foreign country, thus moving there would require a start of integration process. Additionally, there is a special attachment to Värnamo for both respondents and their children. Established social capital in Värnamo made the respondents strongly bound to this place. Likewise, respondents feel they have established certain symbolic capital in terms of status, respect and recognition among other inhabitants in Värnamo.

## CHAPTER SIX, Conclusion

The immigration to Sweden and the integration process took place among the respondents due to a civil war in Bosnia and low chances for return in a following period. Upon their arrival, their current life was marked with very low level of all forms of capital. Thus, their integration process started with building and enhancing capital in different areas of social world.

First condition to be satisfied in the integration process is establishing friendly policies toward immigrants. Among the respondents, Sweden was recognized as a country that completes this requirement. Specifically, Värnamo is perceived among the participants as a very open city toward everybody and suitable for the integration process. After this general condition is satisfied, immigrants may start to implement their integration strategies.

Respondents defined the concept of integration within a cultural perspective. Specifically, the respondents understood the integration as a process where migrants participate and adjust to a new surrounding, but still preserving their cultural values. As the respondents stated, material conditions are not crucial in this process. Instead, it is more about balancing between two cultures and creating an environment where a person feels comfortable.

Starting point in respondents' process of integration was enhancing cultural capital in terms of learning the language and learning about the Swedish culture and values. All respondents stressed out that obtaining language skills is the most important for starting an integration process. Since the participants held all forms of capital in their country of origin, they were aware that only through education is possible to develop economic and social capital, respectively. In this stage of their life, respondents have shown a great capacity to adjust Swedish society and needs, by transforming and redirecting their profession toward other areas. Even though it might seemed difficult and challenging to enroll a school again, the respondents realized that was the only way for entering the labor market and other areas in the social world.

In respondents' struggle to enhance cultural capital and start an integration process, different motivators guided them through different stages. Firstly, at the beginning of their integration, the respondents named their children as the greatest motivation. Namely, the respondents were persistent in trying to provide what is the best for their children and to facilitate their adaptation in a new society. Likewise, they wanted to remain good parents as they were in Bosnia. Therefore, they were keen to provide for their children a sense of security and care. Secondly, their motivation to learn the language and adjust Swedish society was guided by the feeling of alienation in a new environment. Respondents knew that the absence of language skills and communication with Swedes would lead to isolation. Likewise, in order to be good caregivers to their children, the respondents had to work on their own capacities. Therefore, the respondents decided to start a Swedish language course as it was in the best interest of a whole family.

In the later period, when the participants developed their cultural capital to a certain level, next step was enhancing the economic capital. For this matter, obtaining a job was a next priority. Respondents named Värnamo as very suitable for entering the labor market due to conditions in that city. Namely, Värnamo is an industrial city with a variety of positions within the factories, but also in other occupational areas. In addition, the results imply that employment strategies within the Swedish system have appeared to be very efficient for the respondents.

In this stage, the participants had their role models as a motivation source to strive in Swedish society. Different experiences and stories of acquaintances and coworkers served as an example that was followed by the respondents. In this way, the respondents were aiming toward additional education and accomplishments.

In the respondents' integration, support network resources differed according to the phase of the process. At the beginning, the respondents could count on social support from immigration assistants and other immigrants from Balkan. Their supportive behavior was extremely important for participants due to the fact that offered support was different from each group and useful on different occasions. Specifically, the immigrants from Balkan have shown supportive behavior through the informal conversations, leisure activities and friendships. This type of support and relationship was useful because it served as a coping strategy for participants. Regarding the immigration assistants, their support was shown in terms of providing practical information, feedbacks and recommendations. This was significant for participants for getting to know the Swedish system. Likewise, the assistants expressed their supportive behavior in terms of encouraging and boosting the respondents which was helpful for building a self esteem and preserving the faith among the respondents. In the later period of integration process, supportive behavior from employers and supervisors was meaningful to participants. Namely, they offered the same type of support as the assistants but in a different stage of respondents' integration process. Furthermore, their supportive behavior toward respondents could actually serve as a proof that friendly integration policies are put into practice in Värnamo.

Therefore, the starting point in respondents' process of integration was building a cultural capital first, and then economic capital. The respondents understood why the process goes in this order due to their experiences and knowledge from Bosnia. As they had developed cultural capital in Bosnia, the respondents knew they need language skills and certain education for obtaining a job. In addition, during this process, it was important to have different support resources. The respondents had two main support networks with different function. On one hand, they had a support from other immigrants from Balkan who offered more informal type of support. On the other hand, the respondents had a support from immigration assistants and employers who were providing practical information and recommendations but also encouraging the respondents for the following steps in the integration process. After obtaining a job, respondents started to invest in all other areas in a social world. Thus, the next step in respondents' integration process was building social capital and enhancing other established forms of capital.

The phase of developing social capital was related with the way participants arranged their life in Sweden. The respondents named a working place as a starting point for mixing and accumulating other forms of capital. Thus, first social network that respondents established was through their jobs. Thereafter, the respondents joined clubs and attended activities and places where Swedes hang out the most. Attending the same activities as Swedes was important to respondents because in that way they were able to share interests and find a reason to communicate with Swedes. These activities increased the chances for building friendships. The respondents stated that Värnamo is a city that does not offer that many leisure activities and cultural events. It is possible that this was a good thing for the integration process because in that way the majority of inhabitants would visit the same places in their free time.

The respondents also decided to mix two cultures in order to create more comfortable life in Sweden. They stated that there is an apparent difference in mentalities among Swedes and

Bosnians, but that shouldn't be seen as an obstacle in the process of integration. For respondents, it was very important to balance between those two mentalities. Otherwise, a person would feel isolated in a Swedish society. This finding shows that the respondents' perception regarding integration corresponds with a definition of integration given by Berry (1997) and LaFromboise et al. (1993). Specifically, these authors defined the concept of integration as a practice where individuals tend to maintain their cultural integrity, but at the same time try to participate in the host environment and adopt the values of the major culture.

Different support resources were also involved in this stage of the integration process. Established forms of capital have brought the wide social network that could be used on different occasions. The respondents developed relationships with Bosnians through which they received help or support in certain situation. In their interaction, supportive behavior was presented through emotional support, care and casual and personal conversations. This type of support was significant for respondents because in that way the respondents were able to nurture some old habits from their country of origin. Supportive behavior in relationships with Swedes was presented in terms of loyalty and trust that was built among the respondents and Swedish friends. This type of relationship was very meaningful for respondents because they knew they could count on support from Swedish friends if the circumstances require doing so.

As a final outcome of all accomplishments and built forms of capital, is a respondents' feeling about Värnamo and Sweden as their home. Through the process of integration, the influence and combination of all factors made the respondents feel as they belong more to Sweden. Additionally, established symbolic capital made the respondents feel recognized as a part of Swedish community. Within the process of integration, occurred changes made an impact on respondents as well. In other words, respondents' priorities, perspectives and views on life are closer to Swedish way of thinking. Likewise, support resources from Bosnia had faded away. Thus, their main support network is settled in Värnamo. Additionally, Värnamo is perceived as an open and friendly place, without any sense of discrimination. This made the respondents feel secure, respected and confident in being who they are in this place.

## 6.1 Final remarks

From the respondents' statements it might be concluded that Värnamo is suitable for integration due to several factors. Firstly, integration policies are efficiently implemented and put into practice. Those integration policies also refer to non-discrimination and equal opportunities, employment strategies, freedom of choice for cultural preservation. Secondly, Värnamo is a place with the variety of job opportunities and chances for promotion. Lastly, smaller city with not so many offers for leisure activities could increase chances for meeting Swedes and socializing with them. Regarding the crucial actors in the integration process, the respondents found themselves as the most responsible for the outcome of their integration. Thus, they are seen as main actors. Additionally, the way the participants juggled and accumulated different forms of capital also influenced the integration process.

Cultural capital attained in the country of origin and in Sweden was certainly the most significant type of capital for the beginning of the integration process. This form of capital generated all the other forms. However, in the later period economic and social capital were very important for maintaining or increasing the level of integration.



The main motivators for starting the integration process were children at the beginning. Respondents' desire to remain good parents motivated them to do their best in the Swedish society. In the later period, the experiences and successful stories of colleagues and acquaintances motivated the respondents to develop and invest more in their personal growth.

The respondents feel they reached quite high level of integration, emphasizing that they feel fulfilled in most of the social arenas. They stated they are very satisfied with accomplishments and their life conditions. In some cases, the respondents didn't think they reached the highest level regarding their integration, but the reason for this was mainly their own will and satisfaction with the level of symbolic capital they have now.

Several key points in respondents' integration process emerged from the results. Firstly, the way that Swedish system is organized has appeared to be functional and efficient for the respondents. The respondents took advantage of all the options and opportunities in a successful way. Following, the respondents had all forms of capital established in their country of origin. Hence, they realized the importance of building different forms of capital. They started from cultural capital, but gradually they reached economic, then social and finally symbolic capital. Lastly, the respondents were balancing between two cultures which helped them feel comfortable among Swedes and Bosnians in the Swedish society.

## 6.2 Limitations

Firstly, it is important to highlight that the research is based on a small sample size, counting ten research subjects in the study. Likewise, the aim of the study was to understand and describe successful integration, thus the research subjects were only those who managed to develop the strategies that have led to the positive outcome in their integration process.

Secondly, this research did not capture the general picture because people who did not succeed in their integration in Värnamo were not included in the study. Therefore, although it might seem easy to be integrated in Värnamo, the integration process could still be a challenging task for many of them living in this municipality.

Lastly, the findings in this research study and strategies used among the respondents may create an impression that the integration appeared to be a smooth process for the respondents. However, it is important to emphasize that their integration was a long term process with failures and endeavors involved.

## 6.3 Recommendations

Further research could examine the flow of the integration process among other immigrant groups in Värnamo. In this way it might be possible to determine if the structural setting and environment make this municipality suitable for positive outcome of the integration process of any immigrant group living there or the integration process depends mainly on personal motivation and predispositions of immigrants. Therefore, case studies with a focus on integration processes among other immigrant groups in Värnamo could offer a deeper explanation of the integration process within the community setting.

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## APPENDIX 1 Interview guide in English<sup>6</sup>

1. Age?
2. Can you please start to tell me about your life at present – where do you live, in what kind of house, your occupation, family, activities at leisure time etc?
3. Can you take me back to when you arrived to Sweden, how did your new life start? Where did you arrive? Who was your first contact? What followed your settlement? How did it go? Who helped you to find a job? What motivated you to keep on going? What were your coping strategies? Describe the process upon arrival...
4. How would you describe important changes in your life in Sweden? Have you changed your occupational status? Do you feel you have the same opportunities as native Swedes? Do you have close Swedish friends? Partner? What would you say, who are the people you can rely on? Do you make any distinctions between Swedish/Bosnians groups (friends)? How do you raise your children? Do you practice your native language, tradition, watching news or reading newspapers on your native language? In general, would you say you are making progress as the time passes?
5. Where do you feel at home? What does it mean to be at home? Why?
6. There are quite a lot of discussions about integration, what is required, the process and so on. What is integration to you? Where does it start? Who are the main actors (factors) that facilitate or hinder the process of integration? (To which extent matter education, language, social networks, personal motivation) On a scale from 1 to 10, to which extent you feel integrated? Why? What is missing for reaching 10? What/Who contributed to that? How high do you want to be? Who were the main actors/factors that affected your process of integration? Could you say there was a turning point in your life regarding your integration process?
7. Do you think about returning to your country? Why yes/no? Can you imagine your life again in your home country? What are your plans for the future? Plans for your family?

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<sup>6</sup> English version of an interview guide is considered to be original, therefore it was presented to a supervisor and later translated to Serbian language which was used in data collection.

## APPENDIX 2 Interview guide in Serbian

1. Godine?

2. Možete li ukratko započeti sa vašim životom trenutno- gde živite, u kakvom tipu kuće, vaše zanimanje, imate li porodicu, slobodne aktivnosti itd?

3. Možemo li se vratiti na Vaš početak kada ste došli u Švedsku, kako je Vaš novi život počeo? Gde ste prvo došli? Ko je bio Vaš prvi kontakt? Kako se odvijalo Vaše naseljavanje (ustaljenje), što je pratilo taj proces? Ko Vam je pomogao da nađete posao? Šta Vas je održavalo i motivisalo da nastavite da se borite? Koje su bile vaše strategije preživljavanja? Kako se to sve odvijalo?

4. Kako biste opisali značajne promene u Vašem životu u Švedskoj? Da li ste promenili Vaše zanimanje? Da li mislite da imate iste mogućnosti (opportunities) kao Šveđani? Da li imate bliske prijatelje Šveđane? Ko Vam je partner? Šta biste rekli, ko su ljudi na koje možete da se oslonite? Da li pravite razlike između švedskih prijatelja i bosanskih prijatelja? Kako podižete decu? Da li pričate Vaš jezik, održavate tradiciju, pratite vesti ili čitate na Vašem jeziku? Generalno gledano, da li biste rekli da ste napravili progres u Vašem životu od kako ste došli?

5. Gde se osećate kao kod svoje kuće? Šta za Vas znači osećati se kao kod kuće? Zašto?

6. Postoji dosta rasprava o tome šta znači proces integracije, šta je neophodno, šta podrazumeva itd... Šta je integracija za Vas? Gde počinje? Ko su glavni akteri i katori koji olakšavaju/otežavaju proces integracije? ( u kojoj meri je bitno obrazovanje, jezik, lična motivacija, sojalne mreže/konekcije?) Na skali od 1 do 10, u kojoj meri se Vi osećate integrisano? Koji ste broj? Zašto? Šta nedostaje da budete 10? Šta ili ko utiče na to? Na kom broju biste želeli da budete? Ko su glavni akteri i faktori koji su uticali na posebno Vaš proces integracije? Da li biste mogli da kažete da je postojala prekretnica u Vašem životu po pitanju integracije? Šta je to bilo?

7. Da li razmišljate o povratku u Vašu domovinu? Zašto da/ne? Da li možete da zamislite Vaš život ponovo u Vašoj domovini? Koji su Vaši planovi za budućnost? Planovi za Vašu porodicu, decu?



## APPENDIX 3 Informed consent in Swedish, Informerat samtycke<sup>7</sup>

Detta är en presentation av hur den information som samlas in genom intervjun kommer att användas.

Denna studie är en del av min utbildning på ett internationellt masterprogram i socialt arbete med barn och familjer, vid Göteborgs universitet.

För att säkerställa att denna studie sker enligt de etiska riktlinjer som finns för god forskning lovar jag härmed att följa dessa principer:

- Du har rätt att bestämma om Du vill delta i studien och kan välja att inte vara en del av studien, även efter att intervjun avslutats.
- Du har rätt att vägra svara på frågor eller välja att avbryta intervjun utan att behöva ge någon förklaring.
- När materialet bearbetas och presenteras i uppsatsen kommer uppgifter om Dig som kan leda till att Du känns igen att tas bort eller ändras för att säkerställa Din anonymitet.
- Det insamlade materialet kommer att hanteras konfidentiellt och förvaras på ett sätt så att ingen obehörig kan få tillgång till det.
- Materialet från intervjun kommer endast att användas i denna studie och när uppsatsen är färdig kommer materialet att förstöras.

För att innehållet i intervjun ska kunna återges på ett så korrekt sätt som möjligt kommer intervjun, om Du godkänner det, att spelas in.

Välkommen att kontakta mig eller min handledare Torbjörn Forkby (torbjorn.forkby@socwork.gu.se) om du har några frågor.

.....

Jelena Zegarac, student

E-post: guszegje@student.gu.se

**Jag har tagit del av och förstått informationen ovan.**

Ort: Värnamo Datum:

.....

Underskrift, intervjudeltagare

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<sup>7</sup> Informed consent for participants was offered in Serbian and Swedish language which all the participants speak fluently. Therefore, they could choose in which language they would like to read the information. The English version of the informed consent was not offered to the participants due to their limitation in English skills.

## APPENDIX 4 Informed consent in Serbian, Saglasnost učesnika

U tekstu koji sledi, biće prikazano na koji način će se koristiti podaci prikupljeni u ovom istraživanju.

Ovo istraživanje je sastvni deo našeg obrazovanja na internacionalnom master programu u oblasti socijalnog rada na Univerzitetu u Geteborgu, u Švedskoj. Ovim putem Vas uveravamo da će se u procesu istraživanja strogo poštovati etički kodeks i u skadu sa tim sledeći principi će se poštovati:

- Učesnici u intervjuima će biti informisani o svim detaljima istraživanja kao i o svrsi sprovođenja istraživanja.
- Učesnici imaju pravo da odluče o nastavku učestvovanja u istraživanju, čak iako je intervju već obavljen. To znači da čak i nakon obavljenog intervjuja, ukoliko je učesnik odustao, ti nalazi se neće koristiti u završnoj analizi.
- Prikupljeni podaci će biti strogo poverljivi i čuvani tako da nijedna neovlašćena osoba neće imati pristup sakupljenim informacijama.

Svi intervjui će biti snimani isključivo radi lakšeg dokumentovanja podataka i korišćenja u vreme pisanja izveštaja. U analizi podataka, svi učesnici će biti korišćeni pod pseudonimom kako bi se sačuvala anonimnost učesnika. Nakon završetka projekta, svi prikupljeni podaci će biti uništeni. Podaci će se koristiti isključivo u svrhe ovog projekta.

Vi, kao učesnik, imate pravo da odbijete da odgovorite na bilo koje pitanje iz upitnika, kao i da prekinete intervju bez davanja objašnjenja.

Molim Vas, osetite se slobodnim i dobrodošlim da kontaktirate mene ili mog mentora za sva dalja pitanja i informacije putem navedenih imejl adresa.

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Potpis učesnika