Belonging:

Perception of Identity of Bolivian Migrant’s Descendants in Sweden

Master’s Programme in Peace and Development Work

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Abstract

Sweden has a long history of receiving immigrants and has also a generous integration policy where the immigrants can enjoy their rights as well as themselves being responsible for their relation towards the society culturally. This is true for all immigrants but this study concentrate on immigrants from Bolivia who mostly arrived in the 1980s. As time passed by, families were formed and in many cases the cultural identity of the parents were transmitted to their children. Today these children are young adults; they have their own perception of their self-identity and are in a way the result of the Swedish integration policy.

This study has through semi-structured interviews tried to explain and show the complexity of their perception of identity. Due to the author’s own background, focus has been on Bolivian migrant’s descendant’s perception of identity, which factors have been important for them and whether or not they feel they want to transfer their identity to their children. The study is based on 16 interviews with young adults with one or two parents with origin in Bolivia. Interviews have been made all around Sweden and the findings were analyzed by using the theory of Biculturalism, Acculturation and Intergenerational Transmission of Identity.

The findings show that the aspect of identity is complex and also that the descendants feel they are always questioned about their origin, which in a way prevent them to define themselves as a Swedes or Bolivians. This they have solved in many cases by accepting their parent’s origin and acknowledge it at the same time as they claim to be Swedes. Even though it is complex, they feel very positive about their belonging in two worlds and feel they thereby have a broader perspective than others. Considering transmitting their identity to the third generation, they all feel it is important and will try to achieve it.

By this study it is hoped to feed into the discussion on identity and belonging, and also for how long have one’s immigrant background validity before assimilating, if ever.

Keywords: Belonging, Bolivia, Sweden, Immigrant’s Descendants, Identity, Ethnicity.
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1. Introduction

In the end of 1970 and beginning of 1980 Sweden received several refugees from Bolivia. Due to political conflicts, many politically active persons were forced into exile together with their families. They left everything they owned and knew, and many came just with the clothes they were wearing, not prepared for the Swedish winter nor society and language. Many of them had the idea of going back some day, but the years passed and the refugees became citizens enjoying Swedish life including the Swedish welfare system. These families integrated into their new home and their youth and children grew up and formed families of their own. This would be the second generation, and the study’s interest lies within studying these children’s ties to their parent’s country of origin, the perception of their identity and sense of belonging.

As belonging to this generation myself, the study has a great personal interest. The question of whether we, second generation immigrants from Bolivia belong to Sweden or Bolivia, or how we perceive ourselves and why, is always raised when someone asks “Where are you from?” In many cases it is taken for granted that we are not Swedish, but can we really say we are Bolivian if we do not really know the country but just some well-chosen bits that our parents have forwarded to us?

This study aims to give some answers to second generation’s perception of self-identity and belonging. Indirectly this is the result of the Swedish integration work and policies performed in Sweden during late -70’s and early 80’s.

By studying immigrant’s perception on identity and belonging, it might shed new light over the Swedish policies on integration and point out the result thereof. It also could be possible to add different aspects in identity and belonging to the discourse. Hopefully it would add something to the perception and acceptance of being different, putting less weight on individual’s origin and by that prevent the growth of xenophobia, which is a current topic due to globalization and flow of refugees. The topic is of interest for Peace and Development Work since it raises questions and possible reflection on development of identity. Discussing identity and belonging could influence the development of policies which would have an impact on society and integration work. Additionally, it could enhance the mainstream services targeting to specific needs.
1.1. Relevant concepts and Literature Review

In this section different current topics will be introduced to better grasp the study’s content. The question in focus is presently very topical and the literature studying the phenomena is vast. From this immense source of knowledge relevant studies on the topic of migrant’s descendants have been chosen and are presented in this section. Firstly, the subject of diaspora will be explained, this gives a reference on people’s dispersal around the world sharing the same origin. By this it is aimed to describe what keeps people reconciled and also how it can be expressed in a more general way. To enhance and further reflect upon belonging, a section on identity and ethnicity is presented. These concepts are often discussed together, although there is a connection between them they refer to different aspects.

It is also needed to describe what second generation is, and that even here there are aspects that differentiate them.

Since the study is done in Sweden it is of interest to get a quick review on the context considering integration policy. Finally, a short section on inclusion is presented. This is to describe some of the difficulties that second generation can encounter in society, as well as its impact on the sense of identity and belonging.

1.1.1. Diaspora

Extensive immigration and migration has led to a wide movement of people around the world. The reasons vary but what is true is that groups of people have moved and built new communities, leading to the concept of diaspora.

Diaspora refers to the dispersal throughout the world of a people with the same origin (Ben-Rafael, 2013:842). The Diasporics share a bond which can consist of religion, origin or language, they wish to integrate to the new environment and tend to, with time, form institutions and networks with cultural, politic and social activities. The retention of allegiances and connectedness form an entity that differs from other kinds of ethnic collectives, these diasporic communities can also change over time and vary even within the same society or in different countries. Transnationality has also an effect on diaspora, meaning construction of a group depending by the specific diaspora called transnational diaspora. This implies designated groups connected and retaining bonds with their country of origin. Within the transnational diaspora groups do not only feel connected through their country but also to a more general category, for example Hispanics, used by Latin American
immigrants in the US. Interestingly these diasporic environments can also affect the individuals to that level, that if the individual decides to move back to the country they considered home, they might have problems re-integrating to their society as they are different from their fellow-homelanders. Transnational diaspora also contributes to multiculturalization, although while maintaining some markers from country of origin it will also lead to sociocultural diversity, hence the community will be different from home-landers as well as other diasporic (Ben-Rafael, 2013).

1.1.2. Identity and Ethnicity

Identity implies the notion of ourselves and constitutes the ground for our life-choices, but it is not only the individual’s choice, identity is formed through interaction with society. Through the interaction the individual’s identity can be acknowledged, rejected or expanded. With identity the individual can be ascribed to a certain community and it is not only about who or what the individual is, it is mostly about being (Wrangsjö, 2006). Åslund’s, et al.’s (2015) study done in Sweden, points out children’s ability to develop an ethnic and cultural identity of their own. Apparently this can be done as early as at the age of three, relevant factors are the environment and experiences. Wrangsjö (2006) on the other hand argues that the development of identity has its peak in the adolescence, although it is argued whether an identity ever stabilizes completely. This is something Westin (2015) argues as well, implying that identity changes over time and that new generations develop their identities themselves. The example used are Turkish immigrant’s descendants, they can not only be “Turkish”, even if the parents would try to raise them that way. These children will always have something Swedish with them, and probably a bit from other countries depending on where their friends come from. New identities are emerging, identities that cannot be seen as simply Swedish or Turkish, and this is defying the image of what “Swedish” means and implies. What is more, the word “Swedish” can have different meanings, it can refer to citizenship as well as ethnicity.

Identity is an important topic in our time, and it helps to reflect upon difference and sameness. Identity in itself is a way of categorizing and naming, where it is discussed, not only in which category one belongs but also to what extent. Examples given are: gender, race, ethnicity and so on (Hammack, 2015). Identity is not only about who one is, but also that one is. This is why adolescents may seem searching their identity, thus they seek to be acknowledged (Wrangsjö, 2006). In the present society identity is no longer automatically considered as a
ground for oppression, thus it can confer rights through recognition. It is also a factor that affects sameness and differences, not only on the individual consciousness or subjectivity, but also considering social categorization intergroup relations and group affiliation (Hammack, 2015).

Identity is an important part in theory while discussing philosophy, gender and sexuality, anthropology and so on. What is more, in this discussion it can also be pointed out that there is a difference between identity and self, although these topics are interrelated they do not necessarily mean the same thing. It can be argued that self is an individual psychological process, whereas identity rather can be seen as a tool for social relations used to understand the social and psychological world. Identity is related to categorization and sameness and will therefore be responsible for presenting the self to the exterior world (Hammack, 2015).

Considering integration in adulthood, the age at the moment of migrating has an important impact (Åslund, et al., 2015). Other important factors for development of identity in a new country are with whom one migrates and how one is received (Wrangsjö, 2006). However, one cannot deny the parents’ influence on the development of children’s ethnic identity, both in the family home and through ethnic socialisation practices (Casey & Dustmann, 2010). What is more, there seem to be a gendered factor considering preservation of cultural characteristics and intergenerational correlation in identity, hence women tend to be perceived as “carriers of culture” (Åslund, et al., 2015). Women are also in a larger extent influenced by their mothers, and men by their fathers, when coming to transmission of the home identity (Casey & Dustmann, 2010).

Although identity defines a person, there are other factors as important and relevant while discussing the development of identity, ethnicity being one of them.

Ethnicity means “people” and refers to what characterizes a people’s collective perception about themselves as people. Hence, this can be used for example for identities, categories and groups (Westin, 2015). Ethnic identity means being part of an ethnic group, and that one think, experience, feel and behave as one think is expected when being part of this group. It is both about one’s own perception of belonging as well as other’s. Unlike identity in a general sense, ethnic identity is somewhat based on biological factors. This means one’s origin, concerning family, and which ethnic group one is born into. It can be argued that ethnic identity is about what we cannot affect, that is our origin (Almqvist, 2006). The literature affirms that there are two models of ethnic identity; a bipolar and a two-dimensional one. The
first implies a strong ethnic identity which weakens the sense of the majority identity, and the second with an independent relationship between ethnic identity and the majority identity (Casey & Dustmann, 2010). Benet-Martínez (2012) approaches this topic using the terms multi- and bicultural, she also points out the importance of acknowledging distinct cultural groups. Not doing so could negatively affect self-worth and wellbeing. Multicultural policies will therefore give the possibility to obtain dual citizenship, access to media in minority languages and acceptance of different expressions of traditional and religious behaviour.

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) find in their study four types of classification for ethnic self-identities; 1. A foreign national-origin identity; 2. A hyphenated American identity, explicitly recognizing a single foreign national origin (ex. Cuban-American); 3. A plain American identity; and 4. A pan-ethnic minority-group identity, as Hispanic, Latino and so on (pp.203). Decisive turning point regarding ethnic and national self-identities seem to occur first in the second generation, and not in first as expected. What is more, immigrant’s descendant has applied a new tendency in pan-ethnic categories, such as Hispanics, which they might include or reject. Developing an identity can be very complicated for second generation thus they have to relate to two cultural worlds with different reference groups and probably also in different countries and languages. Besides this, they also have to relate to the classification they are exposed to by society, ethnic community and so on. There is also pressure from peers and family regarding ethnic and national loyalties, and to not “betray” the country of origin (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Culture can be defined in many ways, but anthropologically, identity is manifested through race and ethnicity. This implies that when thinking of certain ethnic or racial group, it will be related to characteristic patterns of living, hence culture in these cases is associated to cuisine, music and so on (Worrell, 2015). This means that one ethnic group have their identity, however this is not always the case, thus different ethnic groups can have lived together and developed their own culture, examples of this can be found in the suburbs for example “Rinkeby-svenskan”. This is one step due to globalization where there is a greater movement of people and in the future a global identity can be expected (Almqvist, 2006). Racial and ethnic identity can be interpreted regarding culture, especially when focusing on these terms as psychological constructs. The perspective used for processing information is to a large extent based on the individual’s culture, race and ethnicity, which at times are used

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1 Rinkeby is a segregated suburb in Stockholm where a dialect has been developed, a socialect.
interchangeably. What is more, culture can be broad and change over time and region which implies changes in behaviors, beliefs, attitudes etc (Worrell, 2015).

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) refers to studies of Irvin Child\(^2\) and Mary Waters\(^3\); one of them being a social psychological study from 1930’s on second generation Italian Immigrants in New York written by Irvin Child that defines three modes to relate to the immigrant background; the rebel that assimilates; the in-group type that retain the parent’s ethnicity; and finally the apathetic; another study by Mary Waters on ethnic and racial identities adopted by second-generation showed that the greatest impact on type of identity came from parent’s social class background and social networks, family structure, and the type of school the children attended to; the third study, also by Mary Waters, a fieldwork on Mexican-descent students in a California High School, reinforced that children may differ in their ethnic identity even though they are part of the same family. So is the case in a study on Mexican origin youths, where they varied from being assimilated to cholo (gang member), they differed greatly despite coming from the same family and having the same background (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

The longitudinal study Portes and Rumbaut (2001) implemented in the US, showed that the ethnic identity changed over time, although the percentage (44%) that answered the same way the first time, is not high enough to say that ethnic identity is fluid, which in this case refers to all identification being temporary. What is more, this study also shows that rather than identifying to the mainstream identity, the youth reaffirms their immigrant identity, this was especially visible for Mexicans in California and Nicaraguans in Florida. There was also an increase in identifying as belonging to a pan-ethnic minority-group. The most stable type of self-identification belonged to those who identified with their parent’s origin. Within this group, most of them had parents from the same country and spoke the parental language at home. Stier (2015) will support this thus he states that language is of certain importance for the ethnic identity. Considering gender, women had retained their identity in a higher degree

over time than men. What is more, youth with parents with origins in the same country tended
to identify with the country of origin, while youth with foreign born parents but from different
countries, rather seemed to adopt a pan-ethnic (minority) identity such as Hispanic or
American (majority) to simplify identifying with one or the other parent (Portes & Rumbaut,
2001).

It has been shown that original language has a certain importance for members of different
countries, even though the language is retained especially as markers for cuisine, greetings
and so on, this will not ensure that language is passed on to second or third generation. Some
words might be integrated into the official language as markers for the country of origin, but it
will not be enough to communicate with home-landers (Ben-Rafael, 2013). Language has also
shown having a positive impact on children, thus having knowledge in both language and
culture of both the country of origin and hosting country, leads to better self-confidence and
understanding for their place in the world. This implies a better relation to their parents as
well as ability to value their elder’s traditions. They are also considered as significant
contributors thus they can communicate and understand more than language, due to selective
acculturation. A requisite for selective acculturation is a society that allows this, this can be
done through policies and other socially and politically supportive environment (Portes &
Rumbaut, 2001).

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) point out that immigrant’s descendants will compare themselves
to people around them, and will identify themselves ethnically with a group where they feel
they belong. Thus, this will also lead to a sense of difference from other groups or categories.
It is not only about finding “us” but also defining “them”. By doing so the ethnical groups
defines a social psychological frontier which brings them closer to “us” but at the same time
alienates them to “them” (Stier, 2015). Stier (ibid) argues further that these ethnic group
identities are being transferred through generations, and the frontier becomes a reality that
cannot be questioned. These ethnic groups are thus not only self-defined they are constructed
both from the in- and outside.

1.1.3. Second generation

Due to increasing ethnic diversity it is difficult to operationalize ethnicity through country of
birth or citizenship, which also affects the definition of second generation. Westin (2003) tries
to categorize and define the second generation based on the time that the parents have been in
Sweden. What he implies is that minors (0-17 years), living with their parents with a different
background belong to second generation. Culturally and language-wise these children will differ from the majority group (natives), although they still are part of the mainstream society. Young adults in the ages of 18-24 are also considered second generation in most cases. The question is how long one could be classified as second generation. Considering adults (over 25 years), with at least one foreign born parent, are considered generation 2.5 due to that their parents arrived earlier and have had a longer time in the host country.

Westin’s (2003) article on young people of migrant origin shows that an important difference between the first and second generation can be seen considering gender, thus the girls have more freedom growing up in Sweden comparing with their mothers, however, they are also to a greater extent exposed to family-related physical abuse, especially due to patriarchal family values and family honor. This does not mean that first generation males cannot or do not want to change traditional values, it differs from person to person. The reactions towards changing lifestyles and values have various reasons, for example rural/urban background and more/less participation in host society.

Portes’ and Rumbaut’s (2001) study shows that descendants of immigrants embraces their parent’s national origin even more if they are exposed to extreme discrimination or derogation due to their origin. Collective experiences of discrimination and common enemy enhance the sense of community as well (Stier, 2015).

1.1.4. Swedish context

Sweden had in 2009 1.7 million immigrants or descendants of immigrants (Behtoui, 2013). Westin (2003) explains that modern immigration to Sweden can be divided into four stages; refugees from third world countries during 1972-1989 is one. Until late 1960 it was mainly labor migration due to work at the industries but in the 1970’s this changed and refugees from Asia and Latin America increased (Statistics Sweden, u.d.) In 1975 Sweden adopted an integration policy which at the time could seem radical. In the policy, migrants were seen as permanent residents and equality was in main focus. For those concerned this meant they had the right to social, economic and educational rights without restriction. What is more, through the right of choice the parliament left for the individual migrant to decide herself how to relate to society culturally. Besides intensive language courses in Swedish, there were also the possibility to train in the mother tongue at schools. Besides their rights, the migrants with permanent residency were expected to be active participants in Swedish society (Westin, 2003). One difference between Sweden and other European countries concerning
immigration, have been the welfare regime that is considered the most generous thus immigrants were expected to become citizens one day and could therefore enjoy full access to the Swedish welfare system (Behtoui, 2013). What is more, Sweden has recognized and protected the individual’s right to attend to their own culture, rather than promoting immigrant assimilation. This has been of great importance for integration, by this, immigrants have been able to participate and be involved in society on the labor market, school, associations and political system. Unfortunately, integration has not been obtained in all areas, an example could be the unequal participation on the labor-market where a higher number of immigrants are without labor than native Swedes. (Jupp, 2015; Westin, 2015). Although according to the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), Sweden is number 1 concerning integration-policies. It also shows that even if small, the number of migrant workers is increasing. The report also shows that Sweden has the most positive attitudes towards immigrants of the Nordic countries, and states how the Swedish policies are ambitious and more effective. It is clearly stated that Sweden protects the equal rights for all, and the immigrant’s rights to be part of society (CIDOB & MPG, 2015).

1.1.5. Inclusion

It is not until the individual feels and thinks she belongs to the ethnic group that she obtains a sense of loyalty to that ethnicity and behaves according to the linked expectations. This is not questioned by those belonging to the majority group, but it is of concern for the minority group thus they have to compromise and respond to the environment’s opposition towards them being different (Stier, 2015).

There are not many studies on immigrant’s descendants in Sweden, especially not from Bolivia, although there are some studies that includes immigrants from Chile and Turkey. One of them are Behtoui’s (2013) article about Turkish immigrant’s descendants in Sweden, although there are differences between Turkey and Bolivia, there are interesting aspects worth taking into consideration.

The article compares education and labor market outcomes of descendants of Turkish immigrants with offspring of native born parents. It shows that there are no significant differences in educational achievement between these groups, it also shows that parent’s educational level have a positive and important impact. Behtoui (2013) refers to studies that show that segregated schools have a negative effect on education, additionally this can have an impact on social capital because of the power position of “natives”. However, parent’s
involvement in children’s school attendance and expectations have a positive impact on the outcome. In conclusion the article shows that the socio-economic background has a higher impact on educational achievement than immigrant background. It also shows that children of Turkish immigrants are not in process of social exclusion nor formation of an underclass in Sweden. This is a lot thanks to the welfare system that has kept a level of social solidarity supporting prevention of marginalization. An important factor that affects the inclusion of immigrant’s descendants is this, the receiving society’s context. The migration policy and national welfare regimes are crucial, as well as the individual’s social capital such as family, environment and community resources.

Westin (2003) writes about how youth defies traditional ethnic identities and identifies with non-Swedishness rather than ethnic belonging. This has been possible in segregated living-areas where there have not been many Swedish children, but of many origins. Rather than belonging to a specific ethnicity, local identity has been important. It even seems like a new dialect or idiom is arising, containing words from several languages and also figures of speech and prosody. Even though social diversity can be of great value, there is a risk that second generation is hindered to rise to its potential if an “ethnically” class structure develops.

1.2. Objective

The objective of the study is to show and discuss how the second generation of Bolivian migrants perceives themselves, their identity and attitude towards it. By pointing out their perceptions and feelings it is hoped to encourage reflection on duality and also problematize the sense of belonging, which in turn leads to a discussion on integration and its impact on following generations.

1.3. Research questions

How do Swedish born children with Bolivian parents perceive themselves regarding identity?

- What are factors of significance for their perception?
- How do they experience their identity?
- How do they feel about transferring their identity to their children?
1.4. Disposition

The study consists of six sections, the first one being the introduction. In section two the theoretical framework is presented. The theoretical framework consists of theory on bi-culturalism, acculturation and intergenerational transmission of identity.

In the third section, the methodology of the study will be presented. In this section, it will be explained why a qualitative study was chosen, how the sampling was made, the process of the interviews and also, a reflection considering ethics, reliability and validity as well as limitations and delimitations, will be presented.

The fourth section presents the actual findings of the study, short quotes from the interviews are presented and discussed. In the fifth section the theoretical framework will be used to analyse the answers and finally, in the sixth section a conclusion is presented containing recommendations for further research.
2. Theoretical Framework

To enhance the understanding of the collected data, a theoretical framework containing *biculturalism*, *acculturation* and *intergenerational transmission of identity* will be used. The aim of using these concepts is to explain in a theoretic way what the respondents feel, and also see whether or not it is applicable in their respective cases.

2.1 Biculturalism

Biculturalism refers to a composition of two cultures where the individual can claim belonging to both, either by coming from a mixed cultural heritage or being born in one culture and raised in another (LaFromboise, et al., 1993). Berry (2011) argues that cultural plural societies are contemporary, since there are no homogeneous society with only one language, culture and identity. Culture is a creative and reactive process which generates new customs and values. One possible distinction is making difference between majority and minority groups’ culture, or dominant and non-dominant.

Within the theory of biculturalism, it is of importance to take into account cultural competence, although this is complicated since there is no single definition on culture that all scholars agree upon. However, LaFromboise, Hardin and Gerton (1993) refers to culture with a behaviorally focused definition, meaning that behavior is a result of the continuous interaction between cultural structure, individual cognitive and affective processes, biology and social environment. This behavioral model of culture implies that for bicultural competence, the individual need to be strong in his or her identity, be knowledgeable on beliefs and values of the culture, be able to communicate in the language of the cultural group, have understanding for the affective processes, perform as the culture mandates and negotiate the institutional structures of that culture. This can be difficult to achieve for a person who is not raised within the culture, however these are significant to function effectively within two cultures (ibid.).

LaFromboise et. al. (1993) argue for five models to understand the process of change regarding transitions within, between and among cultures. It is about one individual developing competence in one culture, in general the dominant majority culture.

*Assimilation Model* implies that the individual leaves his or her original cultural identity and acquires a new identity in a second culture.
Acculturation Model which is somewhat similar to the assimilation model by focusing on acquisition of the majority group’s culture, emphasizes on a unidirectional and hierarchical relationship between two cultures. This model is however involuntary though the individual of the minority group is forced to learn the new culture for economic survival.

Alternation Model assumes the capacity of an individual’s understanding and knowledge of two different cultures, and by this be able to alternate between cultures depending on the social context, without compromising one’s own cultural identity.

Multicultural Model means the capacity to maintain one’s own cultural identity and simultaneously develop a positive identity in other cultural groups.

Fusion Model represents a fusion where both cultures are indistinguishable and form a new culture. This does not imply any cultural superiority, unlike the assimilation or acculturation model.

What is more, within the multiple categorization concerning identity, there are different ways that “multiracial” individuals may identify themselves: identification with only one of two possible groups (assimilation); creating a new category with a mixed way to refer to oneself (integration); claiming belonging in both groups and alternate between them (alternation); and refer to oneself as individual without considering group terms (individualisation) (Berry, 2011). Berry (2011) argues also that having the possibility to belong to different cultures, gives more alternatives to identify oneself. The individual can choose to whether identify with one, or both groups, as well as neither or alternate or even create a new cultural identity that is not necessarily linked to either.

2.2 Acculturation

Although acculturation is part of the term biculturalism, it is in the interest for this research to look further into it, since it points out the ability to maintain the original culture while adapting to the majority group’s and dominant culture.

Berry (2005) defines acculturation as a dual process of cultural and psychological change, both between groups and individuals. This change is a long-term process which in the end implies mutual accommodation and adaptations between groups and individuals involved. Even though there are different aspects of acculturation between groups, change in “either or both groups” or trying to keep to the minority group with a more traditional way of living, this process can be very different between individuals, even when sharing the same acculturative
arena. Sam and Berry (2010) also points out cultural group’s reciprocity of influences during acculturation.

As stated, acculturation can occur both between groups (cultural) as well as at an individual (psychological) level. Concerning the group and cultural level, it refers to dynamic cultural changes in both groups and in the emergent ethnocultural groups. Referring to the individual and psychological level, it implies behavioral shifts such as way of speaking and in one’s cultural identity. At this level there is also the risk of acculturative stress which can bring anxiety and depression. This is a negative response on dealing with acculturative problems in the process (Berry, 2005).

The process of acculturation can, at the individual level, consist of attitudes and behaviors. This means the individual’s preference about how to acculturate and the actual activities the individual perform. The choice of which process to turn to depend on the variety of antecedent factors and variable adaptive consequences, these factors and consequences can be both cultural and psychological. Two issues concerning the acculturation process are the predisposition to maintain the culture and identity of origin; and willingness to be in contact and participate with other ethnocultural groups in the society. Based on aforementioned issues, four strategies for acculturation have deduced. These strategies have different names depending on the perspective, the dominant or non-dominant group’s. Referring to the strategies of the ethnocultural groups, the strategies are:

**Assimilation**, where there is no interest in maintaining cultural identity, on the contrary, the aim is to be absorbed by the dominant culture.

**Separation**, is the opposite to assimilation where the individual do not wish to interact with other cultures and adhere to their original culture.

**Integration**, implies both maintaining one’s original culture at the same time as interacting with others.

**Marginalization**, means that there is little interest in maintaining original culture as well as relating to others. The reasons for this could be either because of enforced cultural loss or exclusion or discrimination.

These acculturation strategies could be perceived as a voluntary process, however, minority group’s freedom to acculturate depends on the dominant society’s policies and orientation (Berry, 2005).
Within the concept of acculturation, Sam and Berry (2010) refers to adaptation (a consequence of acculturation) to discuss the individual’s psychological wellbeing and ability to manage socio-culturally. Since the process can be individual, it is possible that the outcome varies. The changes are not necessarily the same at the individual and group level. Within the individual level Sam and Berry (2010) has identified three important changes within the process of acculturation: “ABCs of Acculturation” (p. 474). The ABC refers to affective, behavioral and cognitive aspects of acculturation.

The affective perspective includes stress and coping, referring to psychological well-being and life satisfaction. Sam and Berry (2010) has found that amount of acculturative stress can vary depending on gender, age and lack of social support.

The behavioral perspective implies that individuals in cultural transitions need to learn or acquire the culture-specific behavioral skills, e.g. learn the language, norms and other intercultural communication styles. Language is of great importance since it enhances the possibilities of socio-cultural adaptation as well as cultural learning. With good language skills it makes it easier with everyday tasks and interpersonal relationships in the society (Sam & Berry, 2010).

Cognitive perspectives point out the individual’s perception on themselves and other within intercultural encounters. It refers to people’s way of categorizing oneself and others, as well as how they identify with these categories. When trying to identify oneself in relation to any groups, it becomes a theoretical concern within social identity theory, this handles the necessity of belonging to a certain group and by this obtain a sense of wellbeing. In addition, the social identity theory includes comparing oneself with other members within the group, as well as comparing the group with others, this can influence on the self-image (Sam & Berry, 2010).

Concerning acculturation there is one aspect of special interest, which is the development of children and youth from immigrant families. They simultaneously undergo developmental changes and acculturation, which can confound each other. This movement is in turn affected by, and affects, cultural identity, development of self and family relationships. This leads to the concern whether these groups should be seen as “normal” or if they belong to a special group with other approach to developmental tasks (Sam & Berry, 2010:476).
2.3. Intergenerational Transmission of Identity

Soehl and Waldinger (2012) refer to previous studies that have shown different evidence on children of immigrants as transnational actors. The second generation varies in their attachment to home-country and level of transnationalism, they also are assimilated in greater extent than the first generation (Soehl & Waldinger, 2012).

It is clear that parental household has the main responsibility for their offspring’s connectedness to home country. Homeland-oriented activities and practices provide attachment to the home country. The intergenerational transmission can vary in different forms and decreases through generations, for example first generation has in greater part connection with friends and family back in the country of origin while second or third generation has very little or no contact. This is only a demonstration of the difficulties involved in the maintenance of connections with the country of origin (Soehl & Waldinger, 2012). Concerning differences by gender there are a tendency that fathers encourage the host country origin, while mothers seems to be more concerned about transmitting the identity of the country of origin. This supports the findings about how adult females are considered to a greater extent as the carriers of the culture. It is also argued that identity transmission is more likely between sons and their fathers, and between daughters and mothers. In the behavioral literature, it is explained that daughters have higher expectations to behave in more traditional manners than sons (Casey & Dustmann, 2010).

Evidence also shows that differences emerge between people who are born and raised in the new country, and the country of origin. This means that second generation that goes back to the country of origin can be perceived as aliens and what is more, they themselves feel alienated from the country structures (ibid).

Soehl and Waldinger (2012) found that there is not much explanation for why second generation connects to their parental country of origin. Although it has been stated that “exposure to the economic dynamism” (pp. 782) of the country of origin, reinforces pride for parental countries of origin. Another explanation could be negative experiences in the “new” country, concerning ethnic politics or discriminatory policies, this could lead to increased connectedness to the country of origin. What is more, of importance is the time spent in the country of origin, where the offspring can generate deep feelings for the parental country of origin (ibid).
Other ways that transmission can develop is through remittances or participating in ethnic associations, and especially by language skills and knowledge about customs and traditions of the country of origin. There is a clear connection between parental language during childhood and increased frequency of visiting the parental country of origin in adulthood. The most important factor for transmission of cross-border ties seems to be speaking the language from the country of origin at home. Parent’s influence is also an important component (Soehl & Waldinger, 2012). Also Casey and Dustmann (2010) argues for the parent’s importance, they believe it is not only about what they do between the walls of the home, parent’s ethnic socialisation practices are relevant as well. It has been shown that an ethnic identity can be developed in an early age as three or four years. Another factor could be the parent’s level of acculturation, this will influence the children’s development of identity. For example, parent’s that are deeply rooted in their culture of their country of origin, may have difficulties to educate their children’s in ways that are not familiar to them, or not part of their culture. However, it seems like some parents can think that a strong identity with the culture of country of origin could lead to alienate their children from the host country, and try not to be too influential regarding the culture of country of origin. Influencing children too much with a strong ethnic minority identity, may lead to a weak sense of identity with the host country. Parents will also be cautious regarding if the transmission of ethnic identity may be harmful for children’s labour market outcomes. In brief, it can be said that the strength of parent’s ethnic identity, will define the level of transmission to the children and also what parents think is in the best interest of the child (Casey & Dustmann, 2010).

2.4. Applying the theoretical framework

The aim of using a theoretical framework is to theorize the findings and be able to obtain a greater insight of the findings. The purpose is to explain how the children of Bolivian immigrants perceive themselves. By using Berry’s explanation on biculturalism it is hoped to better understand how they categorize themselves. This could also help to get an overview on what is important when developing their self-identity. Biculturalism gives the option to the descendants of immigrants to form themselves their identity, without having to choose both, neither, alternate nor create a new self-standing identity without links to the parent’s country of origin. Acculturation on the other hand is used to enhance the understanding of the respondent’s families and childhood. It is also possible to keep the culture from the country of
origin, while still participating in the “new” culture and society. It is also interesting to see to what extent acculturation has had an impact on perceptions of identity. Regarding intergenerational transmission of identity, the aim is to explore how the children have perceived the transmission from their parents, and also see how they perceive the future and their own children, the third generation.
3. Methods

In this chapter the methodology of the study will be argued for and presented. The reason for performing a qualitative research and why this was relevant to this particular case will be explained. Additionally the sample and sampling process will be presented. To make it possible for the reader to grasp the process, there is also a section about how the interviews were performed. Most importantly, a section about ethical considerations is presented where the author explains how these where met and reflected upon. Thereafter a section about reliability and validity is presented. The chapter finishes with a brief section on limitations and delimitations, presenting some difficulties the author has been aware of and tried to respond to.

3.1. Research method

The method chosen for this study is qualitative and semi-structured interviews, with an abductive approach. This method is useful because of the possibility to engage with the respondents and give them the possibility to explain their experiences and views on their identity. Using a qualitative method is necessary focusing on participant’s perception of the the social world. A quantitative study would not be possible in this case (Bryman, 2016). The study tries to understand respondents views on their identity based on the theoretical framework, therefore an abductive method is of interest. Bryman (2016) explains that abductive reasoning is appropriate when study focus is on the perspectives of the one’s being studied. This implies using the perspective to obtain understanding for their social world, and through this be able to reach a social scientific account. Kvale (2014) states that abduction is relevant when there is uncertainty and we need to understand and be able to explain it.

Considering that the aim was to find out immigrant’s descendant’s views on identity and the reason for these views, the best option was to use interviews. To give the respondent space to deepen and elaborate their answers, the interviews were semi-structured with open-ended questions. Thereby the interviews became flexible which Bryman (2016) implies gives the interviewer the possibility to understand events and forms of behavior in a better way, thus the interviewee gets the opportunity to frame and interpret issues freely. This gives also the opportunity for the interviewer to put supplementary questions when needed.
An interview-guide (Annex 1) was formulated based on the study’s objective and research questions. The same questions were made to all respondents, although some alteration can have been made, the wording was kept similar.

After the interviews, they were transcribed and analyzed by coding. By coding it is meant that the transcripts are being thoroughly read and found key concepts or topics are used to categorize the interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014).

3.2. Sample process

For the purpose of meeting study’s objective it was needed to reach second generation Bolivian migrants, the key individuals. According to Mikkelsen (2005) the interviewees do not need to be “experts” or in a position of power, what is of interest is their own knowledge and insight of the topic.

A public post on social media was written where interested participants were encouraged to make contact. Also, a letter was written to the National Federation of Bolivian Associations in Sweden (FedBol), asking their members to participate in the study. While people interested in participating in the study contacted the author, they also recommended other persons to be contacted, using the method of snowball sampling. However, none of the organization of FedBol participated.

Contact was made through social media and telephone. To make sure the sample was in line with the study’s objective, questions were made on their background before making an appointment for interview. Interested people were asked where they were born, were they parents came from and where they themselves grew up.

3.3. Sample

16 interviews were made with different persons born in Sweden with Bolivian background. They were in the ages of 26-39 years, 11 women and 5 men. The average length of the interviews was 30 minutes. They were either engaged in studies at University or working in different areas. In the respondent group their parent’s country of origin varied. Nine of the respondents had both parents from Bolivia; the rest had one parent either from Sweden or another country. Six of them have one or two children, and one was pregnant at the moment.
All of the respondents had visited Bolivia several times, although last time they visited Bolivia varied, also the length of their visits, thus seven of the respondents had spent more than six months in Bolivia at one go.

3.4. Interview Process

The author implemented the interviews in three different cities, Uppsala, Malmö and Gothenburg, due to time and economic factors some interviews were done through Skype with respondents from Stockholm, Västerås, Eskilstuna and Norrköping.

By interviewing it was possible to obtain firsthand information directly from the second generation.

All interviews but one was performed in Swedish, the respondents could choose whether they wanted to do the interview in Swedish or Spanish. A majority said it did not matter, although in the end they preferred Swedish.

The interviews were performed in libraries, cafés or at respondent’s home. The respondents themselves could choose the place for the interview as a way to facilitate it for them and also to make them feel comfortable.

To facilitate analyzing, the interviews were recorded and later transcribed.

3.5. Ethical considerations

Considering the ethical considerations it is important to point out the author’s own involvement in this topic. The author herself is part of the second generation Bolivian migrants. This makes it difficult to keep neutral and try to avoid being bias, at the same time this has been helpful thus there has been a serious focus at all times. It might be that the topic has been too close to the heart but as mentioned before this has also provided a specific care for the research. Also, it has been possible to extend the understanding for the topic since the author has a unique point of departure and perspective. Mikkelsen (2005) also points out the importance of choosing key individuals from different sources to avoid a biased view. This was a bit hard to do, although an effort was made. But then the question is: Where can one find second generation Bolivian migrants?

Neutrality can also be discussed since the author knew the respondents more or less from before. However before the interview the respondents were told that even though some questions the author already knew the answer to, they still had to respond and explain for the
matter of the study. Also in this matter, it can be a positive aspect since the respondents already had a good relation to the author which could have contributed to a more relaxed environment and facility to talk about certain perhaps sometimes sensitive topics.

What is more, following Kvale’s and Brinkmann’s (2014) ethical guidelines, four main topics were considered:

**Informed consent**, meaning that the respondents were informed about the thesis objective and its disposition. They were also asked for their permission to record the interviews and anonymity was ensured. Additionally, they were given the option to stop the interview whenever they wanted, and also choose not to respond if they did not want to;

**Confidentiality**, all respondents were ensured anonymity and that the interviews would only be used for the study’s purpose. To respect their right to anonymity their names were changed and these are used in the study. Only the author has the original transcripts with the actual names. Data on country of origin (if not Bolivia), names of friends or relatives are being changed or left out. In Annex 2 the reader can see a simple register of the interviewees.

**Consequences**, certain consideration was taken for doing no harm. This means making sure that the respondent will not take harm of the interview. To make sure of this, the respondents were informed that they did not need to answer if they did not want to, also the author tried to keep the interview-guide objective;

**Researcher’s role**, as explained further above the author was aware of her own involvement and close connection, and also about the risk of going native (pp. 112), however, by being aware of this moral responsibility the author has tried to keep neutral and secure high scientific quality.

The author also made the conscious choice not to interview anyone in her own and extended family, even though many of them wanted to participate.

### 3.6. Reliability and validity

It is important to point out that as the study only covers 16 respondents and the sample technique did not guarantee the choice to be unbiased, it is not possible to generalize the result. What is more, the respondents have all a background in FedBol for a long time or short, ongoing or in the past. This will automatically give the respondents a certain connection
to Bolivia, however the aim was never to choose respondent only from this specific group, but it was the ones who responded to the inquiry.

For this specific study interest was on the perception of the respondents on their own identity. Therefore it was chosen to do a qualitative study which would give a broader opportunity to the respondents to express themselves and give nuanced answers.

Considering the Interviewer Effect, which Mikkelsen (2005) explain are the factors that might affect the collected information depending on class, age, sex or ethnic origin, this has already been addressed under Ethical Considerations (3.5). However it is worth mentioning that special attention has been made on this matter. It is true that the author knew all respondents in some way, but this led to special focus on trying to remain neutral.

Since all interviews were recorded it was possible to go back and double-check and listen thoroughly to what had been said which was helpful when analyzing.

Thus the respondents could choose on which language to do the interview, it can have contributed to a relaxed environment. The author’s own knowledge in both Spanish and Swedish, and also to the topic, was helpful thus the respondents mixed frequently both languages and the author could relate to the responses, although the author made sure the respondents would elaborate their answers rather than using “You know how it is”.

3.7. Limitations and delimitations

Some limitations restrict the generalizability of the study. First is the number of respondents, the study was only made on 16 respondents, which makes it difficult to generalize the answers. Due to limitation of time, it was hard to make appointments with all that showed interest in participating in the study. Some of the volunteers did not have time until it would be too close to the deadline, others cancelled in last minute and some forgot about the appointment. Secondly, the respondents have all parents that arrived due to political issues in the end of 1970’s and 1980’s. The perception of self-identity as well as sense of belonging could vary had it been with children of labor migrants. Thirdly, the author could not find any specific research on Bolivian migrant’s descendants, and used therefore other relevant literature. Some of it was on Latin American immigrant’s descendants in the US and some was of Turkish immigrant’s descendants in Sweden. With the literature, it is hoped to have been able to give a relevant background, hence somewhat generalized.
The interest for participating in the study was at an individual level. It was expected that FedBol’s organizations would show certain interest thus they often talk about the importance of the second generation in Sweden, and also how they have been able to keep alive their customs and traditions for so long time. However, this was unfortunately not the case. Interviewing more people could have been interesting, although it would have been a very narrow focus group.

One delimitation can be that not all the interviews have been face-to-face, some were made through Internet which can have affected the interviews, but it is not considered a big issue thus the respondents were perceived as engaged at the same level regardless of where the interview was performed. Another delimitation can be the economic factor thus making all interviews face-to-face would have implied a greater expense.
4. Findings

16 interviews were performed with persons born in Sweden with one or two parents born in Bolivia. They are all studying at University or/and working in different areas such as social work, international development and economics. All respondents have visited Bolivia, although different amount of times and length. Out of the 16, six have spent more than six months in Bolivia at one time. How often they have visited Bolivia varies, one has not been in Bolivia since she was nine years old, which is 18 years ago. And three have visited Bolivia less than one year ago, whereas one planned to go later this year.

Most of the respondents are in stable relationships, with persons with different backgrounds. There seem not to be any preferences regarding the partner’s origin. Out of the 16, seven have children or are expecting. Considering their family relations, they all have families both in Sweden and Bolivia, they keep in touch with their relatives in Bolivia through social media such as Facebook and other applications like WhatsApp and Messenger. They all agree that technology has been important for them to keep in touch with friends and family, and that this also has motivated them and helped to maintain their language skills.

All of the respondents’ parents have come to Sweden for political reasons, some of them were already married but most of them met someone and got married in Sweden. Nine of the respondents have both parent’s from Bolivia, the other seven come from mixed relationships. At least one of the respondents’ Bolivian parents are political refugees and came to Sweden in the end of 1970’s and beginning of the 1980’s. All respondents but two has talked Spanish in their homes since birth, however, all of them consider they speak Spanish fluently. There was only one that would say she did not speak Spanish fluently, although she stated she could get by in Bolivia. Even though almost all of them are fluent in Spanish, only one chose to do the interview in Spanish. They all said it did not matter to them, but chose Swedish in the end because it would be “easier”.

All respondents have been active in the Federation of Bolivian Organizations in Sweden (FedBol) and the activities they perform. Dancing or Bolivian culture seems to be of special interest, as well as music. Many of the respondents integrated to one of FedBol’s organization

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4 Funded 1989 by Bolivian Organizations in Sweden. Consist of about 25 organizations around Sweden that organizes cultural events for all ages. Their main objective has been to preserve and transmit the language and cultural identity.
as children and are still active, and have a desire to integrate their children as well (third generation). Eight of the respondents have danced in different carnivals in Bolivia.

When asking the respondents about how they perceived themselves regarding ethnic identity, only three did not consider themselves as Bolivian. These three acknowledged their parent’s background but would not refer to themselves as Bolivian. One of them would say she is Swedish, whereas the other said he did not wish to put a label on his identity or ethnic belonging, the third would argue her identity is always moving and that she does not want to label it. The 13 that responded Bolivian, would add that their answer depended on who was asking. They would feel that people expected them to say something else than just “Sweden” because of the way they look. At the same time the woman that perceived herself as Swedish would point out that she feels expectations from both sides, thus both does not accept her self-identity.

4.1 Reflections on identity

The respondent had some problems responding to the question “Where are you from?” this pointed to the complexity when further asking about their perception on their cultural identity.

When the respondents were asked how they saw themselves considering their cultural identity, all of them acknowledged their Bolivian background and agreed that people will not accept a simple answer as just saying “Swedish” which is why they all feel they have to explain that they are born in Sweden but that their parents are Bolivian. This is the same in Bolivia, where people notice they are different.

When people ask me, a Swede that is, I say I am from Bolivia but when I am in Bolivia and they ask me, because they can see I am different, I say I am from Sweden. So I am not sure how I see myself. But since I live here and spend most time here I will say I am from Bolivia. I mean, I don’t feel Swedish, because I don’t fully share the Swedish culture and I don’t look like them. So no, I can’t say I’m Swedish. And at the same I’m proud of it in some way, even though I’m born and brought up here (Alicia).

The respondents will also bring up the significance of the environment:

I feel very Swedish when I am with Swedes, and very Bolivian when I am with Bolivians, but it is difficult. You do not feel at home anywhere actually. When you are in Sweden, you miss Bolivia and the other way around. It is hard, one would like to have both of them. I cannot say I am Swedish, I am both. I have grown up with the Bolivian, with Bolivian friends. My mum
listened to Bolivian folk music. Mum always participated in the carnival of Hammarkullen\(^5\), and always with Bolivians (Carlos).

Interestingly this respondent’s mother is not from Bolivia but has had a very close relation to it during her son’s childhood, even though she separated from the Bolivian father at a young age.

Some of the respondents feel the topic is very complicated and will therefore just say they are Bolivian when asked where they come from. One of the respondents tries to give an explanation on this complicated topic:

*When I am in Sweden, I do not look Swedish so then I am Bolivian. But in Bolivia I am Swedish, I feel Bolivian but also realize that I am very Swedish. And when I am here [Sweden] I feel a lot more Bolivian. It is another kind of feeling, and if we are in a totally different country, for example somewhere in Asia, I will say I am Bolivian because my parents are from there but if they thereafter ask where in Bolivia I live then I say I live in Sweden, that I am born in Sweden. It is complicated, even though I am Swedish I do not look like it, and I always have to explain it. If someone in Sweden asks me where I am from, I will say Bolivia. It is really weird, because my parents are from Bolivia, but I am born in Sweden. It depends, but if I say I am from Bolivia they wonder where [in Bolivia] I come from, and I do not know whether I should tell the long or short story. If I say I am Swedish, they will point out that I do not look Swedish. I always have to explain. If I meet Swedes abroad I will say I am Swedish just to have something in common. But here in Sweden I will say I am Bolivian, but in Bolivia they can see that I am not from there* (Carmen).

However, three of the respondents would not identify as Bolivians what is more, one of them addresses the issue about expectations from immigrants:

*I went in a class with light-skinned children and I stood out a bit, I was always darker than everyone else and I felt ashamed for looking different, I thought it was very hard. I almost did not want my father to come to school. So, I had a strong identity crisis until 5\(^{th}\) grade maybe. By that time there was an increase of immigrants in Angereda\(^6\), and then it was almost the opposite. I only hung with immigrants, I preferred to be immigrant rather than Swede. But with time that changed. It did not only depend on how I saw myself, it has rather been about

\(^5\) Hammarkullen is an area in Gothenburg, it is mostly citizens with other background than Sweden living there. The carnival of Hammarkullen is held the last weekend of May every year since 40 years back.

\(^6\) Residential area in Gothenburg.
how others have seen me. Swedes has never accepted me as a Swede because they have always seen my father’s background, and immigrants did not see me as an immigrant either because I had a Swedish surname. So it was a hard time, I wanted to belong somewhere but it was not possible. In 7th grade I met my first Bolivian friend, he introduced me to Hammarkullen and all the Bolivians. There I felt I had more of an identity, because everyone knew my father. But then I went to study in another city and I slipped away from them all. Instead I have found my own identity, but it has taken time. Today I do not see myself as a Swede or Bolivian. I appreciate both cultures, but I do not want to identify myself based on where I am born or where my parents were born. It is not something that identifies me at all. My identity is the person I am today, rather than where my background is from (Fernando).

I see myself as a Swede, and not because I have my roots in Bolivia, or what can I say. When I am in Bolivia I feel a lot like a Swede, I don’t feel so Bolivian. It’s a bit hard. But then when I am here [Sweden] I don’t feel completely Swedish. Thus, one don’t belong anywhere. It actually feels a bit like that. And it is because many asks “Where are you from?” (Carolina).

This quote is an example on society’s ability to decide where one belong. If the identity is not strong, a simple question as “Where are you from?” can make one hesitate or even change a person’s perception on belonging. Carolina adds:

Yes, but I am Swedish. It is like ”Well, but who are you? Where are you from?” Do I need to be born somewhere else just because I have dark hair? Thus it feels so. One feel that one do not belong anywhere. It is because of my parents, they say: ”But you are Swedish”. Yes but many might think that I am not Swedish because I am dark.

At work, sometimes immigrants will say: “Yes but you can understand, can’t you?” Implying that I should understand cause I am an immigrant myself. That is also one thing that make me feel that I don’t belong here. It seems like just because I have dark hair I should agree with them, but I don’t. I feel more Swedish, but maybe they are… I don’t know. It is not only Swedes that ask me, it can be immigrants as well, they make me feel this way. Expectations.. (Carolina).

Which is interesting, considering the sister of Carolina has no problem on referring to herself as a Bolivian and has lived and worked in Bolivia for some years.

...in Bolivia, I cannot say I feel Swedish but I feel Bolivian considering I have been there so much. But I think that for others, because I have always been called “La Suequita” (the
Swede) in Bolivia, in that case it is them that make me feel more Swedish than I feel by myself. I do not know, I feel both actually. It is not like I feel “Oh, I need to go back to Bolivia. I feel Bolivian when I am here” or well, I love being in Bolivia and it is not like I feel super-Swedish when I am in Bolivia either and feel “I need to go back to Sweden”. I do not know, I feel quite well adjusted in both countries, actually (Tania).

In this particular case, it is interesting how two members of the same family can have different approach to their cultural identity, and also language skills. Both of them have visited Bolivia the most out of the respondents, at least once per year for 12 years. They come from a mixed relationship, their mother has not spoken Spanish with them during childhood and they did not interact with Bolivians until they were around 15-20 years old. Although both of them, as well as the rest of the respondents point out that it is the society that defines how they will see themselves. As they are not accepted as Swedes because of their appearance or Bolivian because of their behavior.

Maria on the other hand refers to her identity as “floating”:

...I think it is a strength because I can use it how and when I want. Sometimes I feel like saying Chinese, or Bolivian. What I say makes no difference on me, it is more about what people think and where they want to place one and whether I want to fulfill their expectations and stereotypes, or not. My Chinese identity is usually my trump card because no one is expecting it. You cannot see it on me.

As stated before, environment and society is of importance regarding identity. Sandra for example, implies that she will be Swedish if questioned or met with xenophobia.

It is a difficult question. I can say I am Bolivian in Sweden, but Swedish in Bolivia. I feel that I am Swedish in Sweden if some would question my Swedish identity, I mean if anyone would say something racist or about my language or skills here in Sweden, then I can say: “But what, I am also Swedish. I am born here and I work with children”. And when I am in Bolivia they say I am not Bolivian, they call me “gringa”, then I am Swedish and I buy that. Because I am more Swedish than Bolivian, but I feel Bolivian (Sandra).

Her testimony as well as some of the others do not only point out their knowledge in Bolivian customs, but also the lack of knowledge or understanding of Swedish traditions. Another example is in the interview with Eva where she explains there is something called “Buskis-humor” (slapstick humour) which is something so strange to her and something she cannot
relate to at all, or celebrating Christmas which is different in many ways, as well as Halloween (All Saints). It is possible to think that knowledge and experience of celebrating holidays in a Swedish or Bolivian way will enhance the sense of identity and belonging. Spending time in Bolivia will also be important for the definition of identity. For Maria, something changed after she lived there for some years:

When I was in Bolivia, with time, I felt much identified with the country. The more the time passed by, the more my Swedish identity was established. I could feel I still had it with me. And that is when I felt I really became Swedish – Bolivian. I don’t think I’ve ever been so Swedish – Bolivian as when I was in Bolivia. Everyone said it about me “She is Swedish – Bolivian”. There was not much focus on it, but still, that’s what they said about me. I accepted how they looked at me. But I think that in general I’ve never had problems with where people placed me. It feels like that question is more problematized in Sweden, in Bolivia I felt that the question.. they didn’t really... They said “Ok, but now you are here and you speak Spanish and you behave like us so then you are Bolivian”. But maybe it was more that I had Sweden as a reference. I talked a lot about Sweden, and then everyone knew I had it with me.

Even though she was accepted as Swede, her surroundings would perceive her as Bolivian because of her behavior and language, two significant factors to the sense of belonging.

4.2 Cultural activities as significant factor

During the interviews it was mentioned that all respondents have at some point been dedicated to Bolivian cultural activities such as dance or music, even though there was no specific question in the guide. They have also been part of a Bolivian organization and mention in different degree how significant this have been for their Bolivian identity and sense of belonging. In some cases they themselves have been initiators, or their parents and/or relatives has taken them to the organizations.

Since childhood my culture was much more ingrained to the Bolivian culture. I think it is because my father played music and always had guests at home and that circle, I saw it quite attractive (...) when I came back to Sweden I played Bolivian music, to show who I was. But little by little I changed, getting to know new persons. In the beginning, I felt it was important [the music], and dancing as well. The whole cultural aspect. But with time that changed, now for example, I do not play Bolivian music but I do not need it to feel Bolivian. To go to Bolivia, and dance there is a luxury and that enriches my Bolivian soul. But here there is
always activities and in that way the Bolivian Community maintains its union, and that is something nice (José).

Dancing has always been very central, I have never stopped talking Spanish or stopped eating Bolivian food, or seeing relatives, but I relate the dancing with the Bolivian identity a lot (Eva).

For some the cultural activities have been especially significant thus it fortified and even started the construction of Bolivian identity and interest.

Sometimes I’ve felt more Swedish and not belong to Bolivia because I haven’t been there. Especially when I was younger. But when I found the Bolivian dance, culture and everything, because that was nothing that my parents had shown to me before - they never said “This is you. This is your country”. And when I finally found it, I was very proud to be Bolivian. And now that I’m older I can really feel I am both [Swedish and Bolivian], from the heart (Rosa).

…the dance, it is lot about the dance. It was not until later age.. I mean during my childhood I have not been involved in anything that had to do with Bolivia at all. I knew that my mum was from there, but I never had an interest in the country itself until I was about 18 years. That was when I started to find out more about Bolivia and the culture. It was my aunt actually, she has always been more involved in the Bolivian community and she took her daughters to the organization, and then she took me there. Otherwise I probably would not have been involved at all. It was fun, I liked it. The joy and one could see how they socialized, that was what was fun. It was interesting to meet people with roots from there (Carolina).

Til the day she has visited Bolivia 15 times in total, a few times as a child but after she started dancing it has been 12 years in a row. However, she still does not consider herself as a Bolivian, but as a Swede with a parent with Bolivian background.

Thus the factor of voluntariness seems to be of importance, one respondent notes that being forced to this kind of activities can also have a negative effect:

My youth was very embossed, because dad has always been very driven in the Bolivian organizations and we did not have choice. We had to attend to all the activities and I actually never got to choose whether I would dance or not, it was a must, and unfortunately that has led to.. If I had gotten to choose for myself.. Dad is really bad at pedagogy, and as a child.. yeah, if you force children they rather try to get away from it. So, unfortunately his style might have contributed to me not wanting to have too much to do with Bolivian culture (Patricia).
It is worth mentioning that even though partaking in Bolivian cultural organization is of importance for the construction of identity, it does not necessarily mean it is essential, thus all of the respondents also bring up important factors such as language, visits, cuisine and music.

It is not only the Bolivian organizations that have been of importance Carlos would argue that he misses some of the strength in Swedish culture:

*What has a strong influence on us Bolivians is that we have such a strong culture, comparing with many other countries. I don’t think I know about any other country that has such a broad spread in dance and music. It is a unique country, very musical, everyone knows how to play an instrument! And then you arrive to Sweden, here is nothing. [Swedish] Folkdance, when will I dance that? There’s a big difference. There’s one Swedish folkdance group in the carnival of Hammarkullen, but they are like 90 years. It’s a bit sad that Sweden don’t have such strong culture, and then one wont dare either. When I lived in Norway for example, they celebrate their National Day totally different. Here it is not like that at all.*

It is possible to assume that a stronger cultural expression is attractive when identifying to a certain culture. This also problematizes citizenship and sense of nationalism, pointing at that citizenship is not necessary to feel identified with the country. Based on respondent’s answer it can be said that they feel identified and attracted to the Bolivian culture, which also can have affected their sense of self-identity as Bolivian.

4.3 Parents’ and family’s influence

Although parents have the main responsibility for the children’s evolvement of identity, the respondents seem to have an understanding for the way their parents raised them. The children point out that it was not necessarily their parents’ wish to pass down the Bolivian identity, it can rather have been the fact that it was what they knew about. In the case of Tania and Carolina, the mother did not even speak Spanish nor talked about Bolivia during their childhood, the interest was something that came up through a relative that introduced them to Bolivian folkdance, which had a significant impact.
When interviewees were asked in what extent they believe their parents have influenced them in their cultural identity, they pointed out some things that influenced them a lot. Being active in a Bolivian organization for example.

*My parents have always talked a lot about Bolivia and it has always been present with food, music and culture. It has been very important. The Swedish has not been un-important, but it has been outside our doors in a way. Therefore I believe it has been very important for my mum that we speak Spanish, the music and customs. I have danced Bolivian folk-dance as long as I can remember, both my parents have been active in Bolivian organizations and they have worked with solidarity for Bolivia but also promoting Bolivian culture, with different activities for children so it would be a natural feature for us (Eva).*

*Even at a young age I noticed that my parents were not Swedish, then we talked about it, that they were from South America and that they would like me to be interested of it. And I guess that is why I have such a strong interest in South America. Just because I have it with me since a very young age. I asked a lot about the reason for them being here and they have always been very open about it. In the beginning they did not want to talk about the dictatorship, but they would not mind talking about the culture, the food and all the nice things. My whole family has also gathered and told me about different customs, one has been pulled into the culture-chain. I do not know any Swedish folkmusic and I do not know how to dance Swedish folkdance, but I have listened a lot to Bolivian folkmusic and I do know how to dance Bolivian folkdance. And then also the food, it has contributed to my identity (Sara).*

*I have always been pushed to dance Bolivian folkdance ever since I could walk. So of course my parents have influenced me. We have always travelled to Bolivia when I was younger, almost every two years and it is quite a lot time one have spent in Bolivia and learned Bolivian culture and I believe it has been very important for my parents because it has been a part of their own culture. I do not think they could have raised me as a Swede since they came here [Sweden] as adults, but then I also think they are still hoping we will move back one day (Victor).*

*...it feels like they did not think about it, because that was all they knew. They still cannot, they can speak Swedish, but they have a very broken Swedish and make a lot of mistakes. So, what they know is from their homeland you know. So I do not think they thought “Oh my daughter should be Bolivian”. My dad has almost been the opposite, not that I should be Swedish but he really enjoys the Swedish culture as well. He has been open to both and they*
have never forced the Bolivian culture on me, it has rather been me being curious and wanting to stick with the Bolivian culture, because unlike my siblings I feel that I am the most Bolivian of all of them (Alicia).

What Alicia says about her parents, not thinking necessarily that their children should belong to a certain culture is an interesting aspect. As she says that it might be “all they knew” it points to the possibility that the level of assimilation has a say in this. With a grade of integration the parents have the possibility to keep their customs, although at the same time it has in some cases affected the children in a way as holders of Swedish identity:

I just feel that my parents have never given me these Swedish traditions. I have never danced around a maypole, I have never eaten a traditional Swedish Christmas dinner (Sandra).

As seen above it is clear that family has played an important role when developing the identity. What is more, the cohesion of the family has also contributed to a strong sense of Bolivian identity.

For my mum it has always been important that I know where I come from and that I speak Spanish. I spoke often with my grandmother as well, that was important for mum. I asked how it was over there and they told me about the situation there. (…) [My education] has formed me to who I am today. There are other factors as well, but we have always been united as a family. We have a special bond with family and relatives (Felicia).

It has been important with family, the relatives that live here and we have almost become relatives with other just because we are linked through Bolivia. There are not many Bolivians in the city, so we have been able to keep united (Eva).

Within the family it has also been possible to keep alive traditions, especially through language and culinary culture. This has been especially seen during different holidays such as Christmas.

Even though parent’s involvements have been of importance for many, it has not been the case for all.

Interviewer: How did your parents influence you?

Rosa: Not much at all, they did not push me into it. Maybe once as a kid, but I never felt they pushed me. Dad would listen to music at home and I wanted him to turn it off. So, besides the language, they never pushed me. But as I grew older and started dancing, even then they
weren’t that supportive. I had to tell them I was going to perform, they did not take the time either, and it was mostly me who took the initiative.

Interviewer: Besides dancing, is there anything else you relate to Bolivia?

Rosa: Food, that is very Bolivian but I’m not so good at it, but I try. That’s also one of those things, my mum never really cooked Bolivian food. Maybe my dad did more than mum, but very little. It is nothing I have learned, I’ve taught myself.

Interviewer: Do you feel there has been any difference on your parent’s approach?

Rosa: No, quite the opposite. I don’t feel they introduced Bolivia at all, not as I would have liked them to do earlier.

Interviewer: What do you think they could have done differently?

Rosa: I can feel that, like, it’s a pity I didn’t find it earlier when I was younger. One of my best friends tells me about when she was 5-6 years and how she used to dance. All those little things, and I didn’t even know what Bolivia was at that age. Or what a costume was. I wish I would have known it earlier, but maybe it would have been different. But I’m happy I found it in the end anyway. So now it doesn’t really matter anymore. Considering how I think of it, I want to introduce Bolivia for my children as soon as possible. But my parents never thought like that for me and my sister.

What is interesting is that even though there was a lack of encouragement towards the Bolivian culture from the parents, Rosa was still involved in the Bolivian organization and identifies today as Bolivian. Even though parents are of importance, there are other factors that influence as well.

4.4. Transferring it forward

Seven out of 16 have children or are expecting, this made it interesting to ask whether or not they have reflected on transferring their Bolivian identity to their children, which would be the third generation. The question was responded by all independently on their family-situation.

I think that if I would not have gotten that much of the culture as I have from my parents, then I would probably be very insecure on my identity. And that is what I think about for my
daughter, I want her to speak Spanish and I have felt that I need to get organized and continue going to the [Bolivian] organization because I want her to grow up the same way I did. I want her to dance and know the culture because I want her to feel the same security as I did, especially since she looks so un-Swedish. She will never be able to feel 100% Swedish, I do not think so. And that just makes it more important for her to get the culture from me (Sandra).

The respondent above has a daughter with a non-Swedish man and she feels it is important that she makes sure their daughter know where she comes from. The respondent points out that she is equally willing to visit Bolivia and the father’s country of origin to make sure the child knows her background.

What is shown in the quote above is also the importance of the perception of others. The respondent mentions that since her daughter does not look Swedish it will be of special importance for her to know where she comes from. Based on the responses from the respondents it has been pointed out that one main issue is that society and surroundings expect another kind of answers on background if the person does not look like a typical Swede. One could wonder what a typical Swede is since Sweden nowadays consists of people from different parts of the world. No question was however made on what is considered “Swedish”.

None of the respondent denied the importance of transferring the identity, they believe the language is a main factor and being active in one of the Bolivian organization as well. Almost all think their parents did a good job, and they feel grateful and proud of their heritage as well as being part of the Swedish society.

4.5 Positive or Negative Aspects

One of the questions in the interview guide was if they perceived their background as a positive or negative factor in their lives. It is quite clear that they can only see positive outcomes of having an additional identity and background. Some of the advantages they mention are additional language, better and wider understanding, two cultures to choose from and belonging to two places as having two “homes”. This last factor varies though, as many of them also points out that this also make them feel they do not belong anywhere referring to people asking where they come from and not accepting a simple answer as “Sweden”.

I can only see it positive. First of all, you have more languages, I can move around freely in South America and no one can see that I am from Sweden for example. And no one would even think that I am Swedish because of how I look. I just see it as a strength, one can move freely and know the language. And then also that one has different cultures and knowledge about the home country, both of my home countries actually since I have lived in mum's and dad’s home countries (Sara).

Another positive aspect is the sense of fellowship, Alex gives some examples:

I see it as a strength because you can find a totally different fellowship than many others. But in the long run maybe it doesn’t matter, human as human you know. I feel like this, when you have gone dancing with others you have others that also dances and then you have developed another kind of community rather than just being born here.

It has really influenced me in a positive way, I can say that the Bolivian and Iranian families I know I have been able to just visit them and feel comfortable. Not a long time ago I was visiting some Bolivian friends in Gothenburg and they invited me for dinner without hesitating. I feel I can be more open (Alex).

One important positive aspect of their identity that the respondents will point out is a broader knowledge and understanding. They mention having a greater perspective on the society and their surroundings.

I see it as a strength, one has a greater understanding for other cultures, a bigger perspective. One accepts others, for example my Swedish friends they cannot understand other cultures, while when you can when you are from two totally different worlds. I believe it’s a great advantage (Sandra).

Even though they all see it as something positive it is hard to disregard from the complexity of the issue, especially considering it is not possible to physically be in both places, and still it is always present.

It is positive that I have two worlds to take part of. There is so much of the beautiful culture. Everything it is, I can say it is mine, at the same time I can say Sweden is mine. It is positive in that way, that I belong to two worlds. But at the same time it is hard because I can’t be at both places at the same time, so one feel split. It is hard.
Besides identifying as Bolivian, Alicia points out an important aspect while claiming panethnicity. With this she does not only feel as Bolivian, she can also be part of a bigger community which she is proud of.

*I can only see advantages, not only because I feel Bolivian but also because there are so many people from South America or Latin America. So I don’t just feel Bolivia, but Latin American. When I meet a Latina I can identify with her, not only Bolivians.*

*I feel proud and I can only see advantages, and want to keep it like that. I feel more special with two identities* (Alicia).
5. Analysis

The analysis is based on the theoretical framework presented above and relates to biculturalism, acculturation and intergenerational transmission of identity. This framework has been applied to be able to discuss and analyze Bolivian migrants second generation’s perception of identity.

5.1 Biculturalism among second generation of Bolivian migrants

All respondents are bicultural in the sense that they are born in the Swedish society and have been raised surrounded by Swedish culture, however their home environment has in most of the cases given them a second culture. In general all respondents were able to communicate in both Spanish and Swedish, which according to LaFromboise, Hardin and Gerton (1993) is a part of the behavioral model that defines culture. They all seem to have great knowledge in Bolivian as well as Swedish culture and have no problem in defining their identity, whether it is as a Swede, Bolivian, both or none. For some the knowledge and understanding for Bolivian culture comes from having lived in Bolivia for some time, but also from their parent’s efforts to educate them.

Today I see myself as Swedish-Bolivian, that I’m like 50-50 because I have tried living there [Bolivia]. I’ve lived a lot in the Bolivian culture so I have felt very Bolivian, although it has faltered sometimes. Sometimes I’ve felt more Swedish and not belong to Bolivia because I haven’t been there. Especially when I was younger. But when I found the Bolivian dance, culture and everything, because that was nothing that my parents had shown to me before. They never said “This is you. This is your country”. That I found by myself, except for the language. And when I finally found it, I was very proud to be bolivian. And now that I’m older I can really feel I am both, from the heart (Rosa).

In the example above we find a women who grew up with two bolivian parents that did not introduce Bolivia to her in any particular way, besides the language. Even though she visited Bolivia as a child she did not attach to the country until she found the dance who made the base for her cultural identity and enhanced her interest for Bolivia, so much that she decided to move to Bolivia. The experience and knowledge from Bolivia and Sweden has today led to an alternation which implies that she can alternate between cultures depending on the social context.
Berry (2011) will in this case refer to integration and alternation as the woman refers to herself in a mixed way and claims belonging to the two groups.

Interestingly some of the respondents also pointed out that whatever they might feel about their identity or belonging, society or the environment will see them in a different way.

The findings has shown that some of the parents have tried to assimilate to the Swedish context, but other family members have then introduced Bolivia to them in an interesting way which led to curiosity for their parent’s country of origin, by this the second generation accepted and merged the two cultural identities. What is more, they feel it to be necessary as they want, and feel the need, to belong to both cultures.

One of the respondents fit into the category of individualization that Berry (2011) presents as an alternative for identity. Fernando argues he can not claim belonging to one country just because he or his parents are born there, for him there is no problem making a new and individual identity.

5.2 Acculturation among second generation of Bolivian migrants

Berry (2005) argues for four different strategies for acculturation, which means a dual process of change where accommodation and adaptations occurs in the formation of identity; assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization.

In the case of second generation of Bolivian migrants it is quite clear that they represent a result of Swedish integration strategy. They are all part of Bolivian culture as well as Swedish, even though they will not necessarily celebrate the Swedish holidays in a traditional way, but they do have knowledge about them as well as the Bolivian holidays.

Concerning assimilation, none of the respondents showed this tendency. On the contrary, they are very proud of being part of the minority group and not dominant culture. Dancing is of main interest, and most of the respondents link this to their cultural identity. Cuisine, language and family relations are also of importance and of great value for their sense of Bolivian identity. They also want, and have, visited Bolivia several times to enjoy and learn more about the country.

Separation is not an issue for the respondents, thus they have all gone to Swedish schools and interacted with Swedes. For many of them Bolivia was something between their walls, at home or at the Bolivian organizations which also are a part of Swedish society. Even though some of the respondents would express a preference to spend time with people with the same background, no one did say that they minded or had any problems interacting with “Swedes”.
When coming to marginalization, it can be discussed. It seems that forcing them to engage with Bolivia while being children has an impact on the interest for their parent’s original culture later on. It also seems that at a young age some of the respondents showed little interest and even felt a bit ashamed of their background. This was something that changed later on, the reasons vary and there is no simple answer, although meeting persons with the same background, in for example the Bolivian organizations changed their attitudes.

The acculturation strategy: integration, would not have been able to obtain if it was not because of Swedish policies and orientations. This made it possible for the first generation to maintain their cultural identity and transfer pieces of it to the second generation.

Concerning respondent’s perception, even though they see their identity as something positive it cannot be avoided that it also is complex and in a way makes them feel they do not really belong anywhere. One aspect is that wherever they will go, the question about their background will always be present and not necessarily as a bad event or with questionable intentions, but as a constant reminder of being different. Another aspect is their own view on themselves and where they belong. The respondents feel in many cases nostalgia for Bolivia and it seems the longing in a way complicates their sense of belonging in Sweden. Also, even though they grew up in Sweden they have had a big part of Bolivian traditions and learned some cultural codes, that not necessary are typical in Sweden. This will affect the perception of them, at the same time, since they grew up in Sweden the society has formed them in a way that makes them different from peers in Bolivia. They will seem to be different in Bolivia on different matters, in behaviour as well as way of thinking, not to mention their language skills. It can be argued that their Swedish identity could be argued because of their appearance and parent’s background, but their Bolivian identity will be questioned as well as they do not know social codes (among other things) which makes them stand out in Bolivia. Wherever they will go, they will stand out.

5.3 Intergenerational Transmission of Identity

In the research it has been clear that the parents and family have been able to transfer their identity to the second generation. Those are not assimilated, and even though their attachment to the parent’s home-country varies they still have a special feeling and connection for Bolivia and for being Bolivian:
When one talks about all this one feels proud of being Bolivian. That side woke up. I don’t know, but those feelings wake up when one talks about it. It is not that often that one talks about it. If someone ask where I come from I will say I was born in Sweden but that my parents are from Bolivia. That is my answer because I cannot say I am from Bolivia, or that I am Swedish. It might have been a sensitive question while growing up, but now it feels as that is just the way it is, but right NOW I feel Bolivian (Sandra).

One of the respondents said that she believed nostalgia was one of the main reasons for the transmission:

Both are very nostalgic over their home-countries, and I think I am too even though I did not grew up in them. (...) There has been many stories and almost a sense of them living there still, that they are not really here. There is no day passing by without mentioning Bolivia in a way. (...) I guess it is a natural reaction when you are being forced to leave your country (Maria).

Having this sense of nostalgia can very much be the reason for the connectedness to the old home-country, which has been transmitted to the second generation. What is interesting in the sample for this study is that some of the respondents had spent more than six months in Bolivia voluntarily. None of the respondents expressed a lack of will or interest to visit Bolivia, and most of them kept in touch with family and friends, even if not to a large extent.

Concerning differences in gender while transferring the identity, no evidence was found for this. Both female and male respondents claimed that their parent’s shared or taught them about Bolivia, there were no differences in gender. In some cases it was the mother, and in other it was the father who was the most persuasive. It seems to depend on the age of arrival to Sweden, rather than gender. Most of the respondents’ parents arrived at the ages 24-35, but the respondents that had parents that arrived at a younger age (late teens) would argue that their parents did not talk that much about Bolivia. So was in the case of the mother that did not speak Spanish to her daughters, for example.

The study also confirms that second generation feel alienated when going back to Bolivia, they struggle with understanding the country’s structure. It is interesting though, that the respondents who have been in Bolivia longer than six months have in many cases felt that it is insecure and prefer to live in Sweden, which has resulted in a deeper connectedness to Sweden.
Ethnic socialization has been especially significant for the respondent’s connectedness. That and language has shown to be very important. All respondents mentioned they were part of Bolivian organizations at some point in their lives and also argued for its importance for their own children being so (third generation).

Although the strength of the parent’s ethnic identity is relevant, it is not necessarily what defines the second generation’s sense of identity. In some cases the respondents has grown up with their Swedish parent who has been very supportive towards their child’s background and shown this through taking them to Bolivian organizations and encouraged them to be active.

Considering second generation’s thoughts on transferring their identity to their children, they all agree on its importance, as this young man explains:

*Our roots are a part of us, independently on where we are born, it will always be a part of us. At least I feel I can move forward if I know where I come from. I find strength in knowing where I am from, I want to know where I am from to know where I am going. So I will definitely teach my children both about Bolivia and China* (Alex).
6. Conclusions

The objective of the study was to show and discuss how Bolivian migrant’s descendants perceive themselves, their identity and attitudes towards it. Findings points to important factors as well as experiences of identity. As mentioned before under Methods, it must be underlined that the sample has been too narrow to be able to generalize too far. Nor has it been possible to find literature on this specific group, which could have helped to generalizing other research and try to make it relevant for the study’s purpose. The study does however point out rather important aspects of immigrant’s descendant’s perceptions on identity, as well as raise new questions worth seeking answers to.

This study has shown the complexity of identity for Bolivian immigrant’s descendants. Thanks to a generous integration policy in Sweden it has been possible to transfer the Bolivian identity on to the second generation. By using the theories of Biculturalism, Acculturation and Intergenerational Transmission of Identity, it has been possible to explain what aspects are important and affects the second generation’s perception of identity.

Concerning biculturalism, the study has shown that the children in most of the cases claim they belong to both cultures. They feel great affection to their parent’s country of origin as well as the host country, Sweden. It has been possible to keep both cultures alive, although it seems that Bolivia has been inside the house walls while Sweden has been present everywhere else. The dance- and cultural organizations have been helpful to maintain their Bolivian identity, and also responsible for some of the possible integration. This has also affected the possibility of acculturation, whereas the respondents have been able to maintain the minority culture while being part of the majority culture as well. The respondents are all well-functioning citizens in Sweden, working or studying and what makes them different is their parent’s background. Examples that are given are holidays, where respondents tell how they celebrate Swedish holidays as well as Bolivian, or that they combine those two picking out different bits from each.

It is clear that intergenerational transmission has been possible as all the respondents know about Bolivia and its culture; most of them also consider themselves Bolivian. The transmission has in most part being able thanks to their parents but in some cases it has been the influence of relatives that has brought the respondents closer to Bolivia. The language, cuisine, music and dance have been most influential when getting to know Bolivia. The colorful culture has been attractive to the respondents and has led to great pride for their
parent’s country of origin. This goes also for Sweden, although rather than the culture, the respondents will point out the security as an important factor as well as it is where they grew up and what they know the most.

Interestingly, it seems that even though the parents are of great importance, some of the children have found Bolivia on their own despite lack of encouragement from home. In these cases, it has been relatives that have introduced them to Bolivia, and thereafter they themselves have taken it further to that point they even moved to Bolivia for some time. Most of them moved back to Sweden though, due to too many clashes regarding ideology, politics and social as well as physical security. This point to the fact that they are born and brought up in Sweden, and that they are used to the comfort and living standards in Sweden. No further questions were done on this topic; therefore, it is not possible to give a specific answer on this phenomenon.

Regarding gender and its impact on the descendant’s identity, there were no indicators pointing to any differences between gender considering perception of identity, nor the transmission from the parents. The respondents felt the same about their identity regardless gender as well.

The study shows different aspects of immigrant’s descendant’s perception of identity and what makes them feel as a part of a community. It shows that culture is of certain importance, especially the connection through cuisine, music and dance. Language is mentioned as something very important for their sense of belonging, as well as visiting Bolivia. However, the introduction to Bolivia and its culture needs to be voluntary since the opposite has a negative effect and can be discouraging for an approach.

Respondents repeatedly mentioned how complicated this topic was, and that they would define their identity depending on who was asking. This was due to the expectations they felt they had on them from the society, from both sides. In Sweden they would look different, and in Bolivia their behavior differed, leading to a sense of not belonging anywhere and that it did not really matter how they identified themselves thus they would always be questioned about their origin.

About the third generation, it seems that all respondents want to transfer their identity to their children. They perceive it as a positive strength to belong to more than one world and have broader knowledge and understanding. Sadly, one of the respondents stated that since her child would never look Swedish, that she would need to know her origins. Overall, they all
wanted to show their children the cultural richness of Bolivia and thought it would be of importance for them as well.

Although this study is not fully generalizable, it raises interesting question about identity and belonging. One can ask who decides the identity in the end, because it seems that even though the respondents identified as Bolivian or Swedes, the community would question this and the respondents would change or give explanations when needed, rather than being accepted as they perceive themselves. In some way it also brings up the sense of nationality, challenging the sense of belonging by putting having a passport versus a feeling.

By listening to the immigrant’s descendants it is possible to find what has been effective while growing up. They all feel positive towards their duality, which had not been possible if it was not for the generous integration policies of Sweden. Considering today’s flow of refugees, today’s policies will affect their children and, as have been shown, the third generation as well.

It would be interesting to study the views of the parents when raising their children and how they felt about transferring their identity. It would also be interesting in the future to see how third generation feel about the same question. One suggestion would be to perform a longitudinal study where three generations would share their experiences and thoughts on identity. This could give some additional answers to the question on what is Swedish, and when does one even become Swedish? It is apparent not enough with having the citizenship.
7. References


Annex 1: Interviewguide

In which language do you wish to do the interview?

1. Could you please tell me a bit about yourself?
   - Age
   - Sex
   - Origin, where are you born, where does your parents come from?
2. Can you tell me how come your parents came to Sweden and when?
3. Do you speak Spanish?
   - How did you learn it? And why?
4. Based on your background, how do you perceive your self-identity?
   - (Elaborate)
5. How do you feel about your perception of self-identity?
   - Are there any positive and/or negative aspects?
6. Have you visited Bolivia?
   - How often and how long?
   - How do you feel about Bolivia?
7. How do you think your parents influenced you?
   - How important have they been for the development of your identity?
8. In the future, if and when you have children, how do you think you will handle your identity?
   - Will you pass it on, how?
9. Would you like to add something more?
## Annex 2: Interview register

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Parents from Bolivia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tania</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolina</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosa</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandra</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felicia</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sara</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patricia</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>Alicia</td>
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<td>Carlos</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fernando</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
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Señores
Organizaciones miembros de la Federación Nacional de Organizaciones Bolivianas en Suecia

Ref: Solicitud de apoyo para proyecto de grado

De mi mayor consideración:

Por medio de la presente, me dirijo a ustedes muy respetuosamente para solicitar apoyo para el desarrollo de mi proyecto de grado, misma que es un requisito para egresar de la Maestría en Trabajo de Paz y Desarrollo, dependiente de la universidad de Linneo en Växjö.

El objetivo es investigar sobre LA PERCEPCIÓN SOBRE IDENTIDAD DE LA SEGUNDA GENERACIÓN DE MIGRANTES BOLIVIANOS EN SUECIA.

Para este trabajo pido entrevistar a personas mayores de 15 años, nacidas y educadas en Suecia con uno o dos padres de familia nacidos/-as en Bolivia. La entrevista no tardará más de 45 minutos, con el compromiso de cumplir con los aspectos éticos considerando el anonimato y confidencialidad.

Esperando su aceptación y colaboración a mi solicitud, le ruego contactarme por correo electrónico o teléfono para fijar fecha y hora para la entrevista.

Sin otro particular, les saludo cordialmente, atentamente

Macarena Mendoza Alvarez

Macarena Mendoza Alvarez
Email: mmepi01@student.lnu.se
Celular: 0739-70 19 21