

Lund University  
Department of Social Work

WPMM41 Spring Term 2017  
Supervisor: Norma Montesino

# Social networks of young Serbian migrants living in Malmö

Tamara Djukic

## Abstract

The general aim of the research is to explore the formation, maintenance, and use of social networks or social capital, which young migrants of Serbian origin living in Malmö have at their disposal. The research is circumscribed to second-generation Serbian immigrants (i.e. ‘young migrants of Serbian origin’) in Malmö, who were born or have lived here since childhood, with both parents of Serbian origin (first generation (im)migrants), and who have obtained a university education or are on working their way towards achieving one. Malmö is considered to be a city with a significant number of Serbian migrants and with its very strong co-native community which is what makes this study interesting. The study is qualitative and it represents migrants’ perspectives gained through eight semi-structured, in-depth interviews where the sampling was based on the snowball technique, which seemed most useful.

Research questions are focused on how second-generation migrants of Serbian origin in Malmö create and portray their social networks at local and transnational levels and how they use them, how they maintain them, and what significance and meaning they have to them. Theories mostly related with these subjects are Bourdieu’s Social capital theory, Migration network theory, and Transnational network theory, which also represent the theoretical grounds of this study. Results of the study show that all the participants maintain better or closer connections in Malmö with people of their or Balkan origin since they share common experiences. The contacts that they have are mostly formed through co-native associations, school, work, and neighborhoods. Further, the findings showed that most of the respondents did use their own or even their parents’ social capital for various matters in life. Additionally, findings and the analysis demonstrated that maintaining transnational relationships is meaningful for the young migrants of Serbian origin and that they mostly maintain those relationships through travel or via the Internet.

**Keywords:** *social networks, social capital, transnationalism, young migrants, Serbian origin, qualitative study.*

## Acknowledgements

First of all, my gratitude goes out to the research participants. Thank you because you made this study possible.

Furthermore, my appreciation goes out to my supervisor Norma Montesino for her guidance, help, and most of all, constructive insights.

Most of all, I would like to thank my family, my parents for making my studies at Lund University possible, and finally, I am thankful to my love, Pavle, for his support, encouragement, and help. Without you, I wouldn't be who I am today.

## Contents

Abstract.....	1
Acknowledgements.....	2
1. Introduction.....	5
1.1. The aim of the research.....	8
1.2. Thesis outline.....	9
2. Contextual Background.....	10
2.1. History of Malmö as an ‘immigrant city’.....	10
2.2. Serbians in Malmö.....	11
2.2.1. Serbian Associations in Malmö.....	13
2.2.2. Serbian Alliance.....	15
3. Literature review.....	16
4. Theoretical framework.....	20
4.1. Social capital theory.....	20
4.2. Migration network theory.....	23
4.3. Transnational network.....	24
4.4. Summary.....	26
5. Methodology.....	28
5.1. Ontological Standpoint.....	29
5.2. Epistemological Standpoint.....	29
5.3. Qualitative method.....	29
5.4. Data Collection.....	30
5.5. Ethical Principles.....	32
5.6. Validity and reliability.....	33
5.7. Introduction of the respondents.....	34
5.8. Summary.....	34
6. Making and maintaining Social networks.....	35
6.1. Analysis.....	35
6.1.1. Social and cultural capital.....	35
6.1.2. Preconditions for building networks.....	37
6.2.3. Transnationalism.....	50
7 Conclusion.....	56
Further Research.....	58

References .....	59
Appendix .....	63
Appendix I- Pristanak na Učešće u Istraživanju .....	63
Appendix II- Consent of the participation in the research.....	64
Appendix III- Participant's Profiles:.....	65
Appendix IV- Intervju Vodič .....	66
Appendix V- Interview guide.....	69

## 1. Introduction

This thesis deals with the creation and formation of social networks of second-generation migrants of Serbian origin living in Malmö. The focus is also on everything that happens to them- love, friendships, ideas, job opportunities, etc. The modern, fast, globalized, and smaller yet wide, so to say, world in which we live in today has a big impact on the formation and maintenance of social networks. Understanding the importance of how social networks function can be significant for a better understanding of the principles of individual and group functioning on deeper micro and meso levels, which when looked at more closely, have a very big impact on a society as a whole. “The advantage of the social network perspective lies in its ability to allow us to abstract aspects of interpersonal relations which cut across institutions and the boundaries of aggregated concepts such as neighborhood, workplace, kinship or class” (Rogers and Vertovec 1995, taken from Vertovec, 2009: 32). Further, it is of great importance to study such a subject for a deeper understanding of the process of how migrants live their lives. It is considered as a possibility that forming and maintaining local and transnational networks is somewhat different today than it was even a decade ago, especially when taking the significance of fast growing ethnically diverse societies, such as the Swedish one, into consideration. The influence that globalization had on the world also need be taken into consideration. Globalization has made maintenance of transnational networks easier through ‘virtual arena of activity’, making it completely independent of long distances (ibid, 2009:3). As the Transnational Communities Programme marked, “a growing body of social scientific research demonstrates numerous new ways in which contemporary global migrants remain intensely connected to their places of origin, to co-nationals or co-ethnics across nation-state borders, and indeed across the world” (McDowell, 1997:19; taken from Crisp, 1999:2). It is considered that the author referred to first-generation migrants, and that makes exploring the experiences of transnational networks of second-generation migrants even more interesting.

It is argued that social networks are very important for migrants regarding job search, settlement, information flow, and psychological support (Vertovec, 2009: 39). Once again, this refers mostly to the first-generation migrants, and therefore it becomes interesting to research how social networks function and what their significance is to the second-generation migrants and how they use their social capital in contemporary world. “Social networks are formally defined as a set of

nodes (or network members) that are tied by one or more types of relation” (Wasserman and Faust, 1994 taken from Martin & Wellman, 2016:2). Kadushin (2012) defines network as a “set of relationships” (Kadushin, Ch., 2012), while Wasserman and Faust (1994) agree and define it as “set of actors and set of relationships between them” (taken from Edwards G, 2010: 4). The conceptualization strongly associated with social networks is social capital. The subject of social capital is extremely valuable in the contemporary literature for understanding the way migrants live their lives, make sense of their experiences and strategies “but also because it has become way in which policymakers are proposing to solve inequalities in relation to migrants and beyond” (Cederberg, 2012:60). Putnam (2007) argues that associations are a very important resource to social networks, which is needed for drawback modification that minorities often encounter (Putnam, 2007:137). As Lin (1999) suggests, “social capital is captured from embedded resources in social networks” (1999: 28). However, Portes (1995) defines it as ability of an individual to “command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in networks or broader social structures...” (Vertovec, 2009: 36). According to Portes, it is not something that is inherited, but rather something that is exported from a “person’s web of relations”. Social capital is, as previously mentioned, based on resources arising from social networks (Nan, 1999: 28) and is maintained through visits, communication, marriage, participation in different events, etc.

Immigration of Serbian migrants to Sweden went through different stages and today it is considered that around 120,000-140,000 Serbian people are living in the country (Toholjevic, 2016:11) and many of them are living in Malmö. The reasons why Serbian migrants are coming to Malmö are numerous. However, one of the more popular reasons might be that there is a big, strong and long-lasting Serbian community in Malmö. The city of Malmö is situated in the southern part of Sweden and is considered to be one of the migrant cities of Sweden, which is why it presents such a unique opportunity for a study. Not only is Malmö is considered to be a city with a significant number of Serbian migrants, but also a city with a very strong co-native community, which allows for easier creation and continuation of migration networks. Additionally, the location of Malmö makes it reasonably distant from Serbia. The convenience of its location makes it available to travel by land to Serbia. The existence of Malmö airport offers an appealing opportunity of low-cost air traffic, which further makes maintenance of transnational relationships with contacts in Serbia simpler.

The study is specifically interested in the contemporary second-generation Serbian migrants in Malmö since growing up in an ethnically diverse, modern Swedish society might have had a significant impact on their social networks and lives whilst they were members of the co-native communities and maintaining transnational connections with contacts in Serbia and the world. The term second-generation Serbian migrants<sup>1</sup> was chosen for this thesis as the most suitable term for the participants due to the fact that it represents people with dual ethnicities, since it incorporates persons born and living in Sweden for the majority of their lives. Not only that, but they are also the children of first-generation immigrant parents of Serbian origin. The research is circumscribed to second-generation Serbian immigrants in Malmö, who were born or have lived here since childhood, with both parents of Serbian origin (first generation (im)migrants), and who have obtained a university education or are on working their way towards achieving one. By basing the sample of the study on highly educated participants, the author tries to examine possible connections between social capital gained through education and the maintenance of transnational networks. The assumption is that people with a higher level of education, preferably gained in Sweden, would have bigger chances of having social capital all over the globe, which would further make exploration of maintenance of those transnational networks more interesting. This kind of reasoning again comes from the many possibilities that Malmö can offer. The University of Malmö is one of the prides of the city. This university even offers some programs and courses in English, making it suitable for many international students and therefore allows for simpler creation of transnational contacts and social capital. Additionally, the proximity of the city of Lund and its academically world-famous and established University might also serve as an opportunity for some to further their education. Furthermore, in the globalized world we are living in today, there are greater chances for the highly educated to go abroad for continuation of studies or specialization. Bourdieu (1998) additionally concludes that education can significantly influence gaining a high-status job, especially if person possesses quality social capital, which one can accumulate through their social networks and which can be gained at the university, for example. Education serves as an investment; quality social capital allows this investment to come full circle (Behtoui, 2015:57). However, they were still raised in the city of Malmö, which also has a strong Serbian co-native community, and they participated

---

<sup>1</sup> I am aware that this term has certain tone of discrimination in it, and there is big debate in the Swedish society about its (in)correctness. However, relying on many academic papers and literature written using the same term, and in lack of any other more appropriate term I have opted to use it myself too in this study.



in their parents' (mostly co-native) social circles, but they attended schools and created their own social networks in that same city while growing up and maturing. This all makes for an interesting mixture of contacts, experiences, sentiments and connections, making it even more interesting to research.

Taking contemporary second-generation migrants of Serbian heritage in Malmö as a research group should prove interesting. There have been a significant number of studies focusing on the Serbian ethnic group living in Sweden and their ethnic and cultural heritage. However, not many studies include a deeper understanding of the social capital that is built around an individual who is living connected to different places at the time.

The general aim of the research is to explore the formation, maintenance, and use of social networks or social capital which young migrants of Serbian origin living in Malmö have at their disposal. Have, and in which way their common experiences and bilingualism played a role in the development of their local and transnational social networks, what are, if they even exist, the conditions of maintaining those networks, did their co-native community have any role in the creation of their social networks, how meaningful is maintenance of their local and transnational networks for them, etc. These are just some of the questions this research will cover. It will also go through eight semi-structured, in-depth interviews in order to try to provide answers to the aforementioned questions.

Research is limited to subjective, individual interpretation and representation of personal social networks, and social capital of the respondents of the study. The study represents migrants' perspectives and its purpose is to contribute to existing knowledge on the subject and thus no generalizations will be claimed.

### 1.1. The aim of the research

The general aim of the research is to explore the formation, maintenance, and usage of social networks or social capital which young migrants of Serbian origin living in Malmö have at their disposal. The research questions are as following:

*How do second generation Serbian migrants in Malmö describe and form their social networks?*

*How local and transnational are these networks and how do they create and maintain them?*

## 1.2. Thesis outline

The outline of the thesis is conceptualized in the following manner. The first chapter represents the introduction of the subject and the main concepts of the paper. The second chapter represents the contextual background with the historic presentation of Malmö city and its multiculturalist composition, which also included Serbian migrants and their associations in substantial way throughout decades. Furthermore, the third chapter is focused on providing a closer retrospective of previous studies done in the relevant field and subject. Chapter four is a representation of the theoretical framework used for the core of the study on theories such as Transnationalism, Social networks, and Bourdieu's social capital. Methodological outlook is described in the fifth chapter. Empirical findings of the social networks of the second-generation Serbian migrants from Malmö are represented and reviewed in the sixth chapter. The final chapter provides a conclusion.

## 2. Contextual Background

In the second chapter, a brief history of the immigration and development of Malmö city throughout centuries is represented. Further, the immigrant ways of people of Serbian origin is demonstrated since it is considered an important for gaining insight into when, how, and why immigration took place. The co-native Serbian community in Malmö is considered to be ‘strong’ due to the existence of two associations that gather many adults and children of different age groups, focusing mostly on socializing, sports, and folklore dancing activities. The Serbian Orthodox church in Malmö that presents not only a sacred place but also a meeting place for many is no less important than the aforementioned activities. What is also mentioned in this chapter is ‘Serbian alliance’ which is the biggest umbrella organization of all the Serbian organizations on Sweden’s territory and is therefore worth mentioning.

### 2.1. History of Malmö as an ‘immigrant city’

The location of Malmö, a city at the absolute south of Sweden, has proved very beneficial for its development. Its closeness to Denmark, Germany, and the rest of Sweden has conveniently served as an important traffic route. Therefore, the history of the growth of Malmö city began in the middle of the 1200s. However, immigration of the German population started even earlier, which had a significant role during the beginning (Faria et al., 1984: 17). Malmö was under Danish rule until 1658. The Treaty of Roskilde was signed in the same year and Malmö, together with the whole southern region, was placed under the control of the Swedish crown (<http://malmo.com/>).

Malmö had approximately 5000 inhabitants in 1800. It is not known how many immigrants there were (Hellander, O., taken from Faria et al., 1984: 19). However, the year 1890 is the first year that official statistical records of immigrants in Malmö and their origins were recorded. Out of 174 people, the three largest groups that were recorded were the Danes (96 persons), Germans (41 persons), and the third most populous were the Russians and Poles. During the nineteenth century, the population of Malmö grew very fast. So fast that the city had 60 857 inhabitants (ibid) in 1900. The beginning phrases of immigration to Malmö, as in the rest of the country,

succeeded mostly from the neighboring countries and other European countries. During the twentieth century, most of the immigration was happening on war grounds and places where there was a search for shelter. The Jewish community was the fastest growing ethnic community in Malmö a bit before and during the World War II. However, they were not the only ones immigrating to Malmö during this period. Not only did plenty of Baltic neighbors come, but also a big number of Hungarians came to Sweden after the Hungarian crisis in 1956. It is believed that many of them moved to Malmö from other parts of Sweden and that they stayed here (ibid: 23). The period from the 1960s to the 1980s in Sweden is marked as a period of 'arbetskraftsinvandringen' or immigration of skilled workers (Frank, D. 2005: 9). The biggest groups of work immigrants came from Denmark, Poland, Norway, Finland, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Portugal and Iceland (Faria et al., 1984: 26). Another bigger group of immigrants came from 1968 and during the 1970s to Sweden, including the city of Malmö. These were the Czechs who were running from the crisis<sup>2</sup> in their country (Nilsson, 2004: 20). During the 1970s, another larger group of immigrants was recorded and those were the people coming from Latin America. In the year 1980, approximately 1000 Latin American immigrants were recorded in Malmö, most of which were political refugees (ibid: 28) and in 1984 the city had 229,380 inhabitants (Bäck, 1989:151). During the 1990s, the war in the Balkans and the breakage of Yugoslavia brought many immigrants to Sweden. Approximately 100,000 Yugoslavs came (Migrationsverket). Many of them settled in the Skåne land at the South of Sweden. Many settled in Malmö especially, supposedly due to the strong community already existing there. Furthermore, Sweden became member of the European union in 1995 (ibid) which meant that was unhindered, free movement, and migration of people. This marked a significant immigration of European Union citizens to Malmö and Sweden during the first decade of the XXI century.

## 2.2. Serbians in Malmö

The history of Serbian migration to Malmö begins under the name of Yugoslavians. According to data recorded in the year 1930 there was not one Yugoslavian living in Malmö. That number grew from the simple number of 200 in the beginning of 1960s to 5,600 in the beginning of

---

<sup>2</sup> Referring to Prague Spring reforms that happened in 1968 and ended in surprise invasion of Warsaw pact troops (except of Romania) into Czechoslovakia (Gina M. Peirce, 2009: 1).

1980s (Faria et al., 1984: 37). In 2011, it was estimated that 8,426 Yugoslavians, not including Macedonians and Bosnians, were living in Malmö (Malmö stad). A large number of Yugoslavians living in Malmö immigrated due to work. However, some of them were fleeing from the communistic regime that was ruling the country at the time. Immigration, as mentioned previously, originally started during the ‘arbetskrafts’ program from the 1960s to the 1980s. The program consisted of job opportunities for skilled workers from Yugoslavia among other countries (Serbernas Riksförbund i Sverige, 2010). Employment focused mostly on the service sector, even providing around 70% of jobs (Bäck, 1989: 151). The biggest employer was the Malmö commune. They recruited 38% in health care management, 25% through social service management, and 16% in school management (ibid). Immigrants with a lower education or those who needed more time to integrate into Swedish society could work for large companies, manufacturing industries, such as Kockums<sup>3</sup>, State Railways, and the Skånska Cement foundry, where many Yugoslavs found employment (Bäck, 1989: 152).

However, the ethnical background of Yugoslavian immigrants was harder to document. Therefore, there are a few varying records of the ethnical backgrounds of the Yugoslavian immigrants. In 1982, the majority of them were from Serbia (37%), followed by Croatia (32%), Macedonia (11%), and Slovenia (10%) (Faria et al., 1984: 37). However, according to Bäck (1989: 21) Yugoslav immigrants in Sweden consisted of 44% Serbians, 29% Croatians, 12% Slovenians, 8% Macedonians, 7% Bosnians and 1% Montenegrins in 1971, as we can see below in Table 1. Further statistics record that on January 1, 1984 the Malmö commune had 37,000 residents with a foreign background (16% of overall population) and around half of them were foreign nationals, at that moment the biggest nationality group living in Malmö were Yugoslavs, accounting for about 8,000 people (21%) (Bäck, 1989: 152).

---

<sup>3</sup> Kockums AB is a shipyard in Malmö owned by Swedish defense company Saab Group. (taken from <http://saabgroup.com/media/news-press/>)

	Invandrar- utredningen 1971	Jugoslaviska folkräk- ningen 1981	
		I Sverige	Alla utomlands
Serbien	44 %	47 %	35 %
Kroatien	29 %	15 %	23 %
Slovenien	12 %	5 %	6 %
Makedonien	8 %	18 %	12 %
Bosnien-Herzegovina	7 %	13 %	21 %
Montenegro	1 %	2 %	2 %
Summa	101 %	100 %	99 %

**Källor: Meurle och Andric (1971), Baucic (1985).**

Table 1. Immigrant representation for the year 1971 by the country of upbringing (source: Bäck, 1989: 21)

Today, it is hard to estimate the precise number of Serbians living in Sweden due to various reasons such as changes in the name of the country (and therefore definition of nationality), illegal immigration, tardiness of the country of origin in maintaining track of peoples' movement but possibly most of all, due to the fact that movement of people today is immense. However, some approximate estimations are that around 120,000<sup>4</sup> and 140,000<sup>5</sup> Serbians are living in Sweden today (Toholjevic, 2016: 11).

### 2.2.1. Serbian Associations in Malmö

Malmö has a long history of Balkan immigration. It also has an equally long tradition of strong co-native Serbian community. The biggest and oldest Yugoslav association was created right in the city of Malmö under the name 'Balkan'. At the beginning, the association gathered all people coming from the Balkan area (including Greeks, Turks, etc.). Still, while having many Yugoslav people as members, Serbians and Croats prevailed. From its beginning, men accounted for the majority of the organization, while women only constituted around 30% of its members (Bäck, 1989: 168). The main activities of the association during the 1980s were football, club activities, and organizing Balkan parties. The association also had a Women's Committee, which organized classes in trading, helped organize parties and matches (ibid). The association had big economic

<sup>4</sup> Sverige vill öppna Serbienförhandlingar". SvD. February 2015. Det bor cirka 120 000 serber i Sverige.

<sup>5</sup> Ranko Pivljanin. November 2011. "Orlovi vladaju Švedskom". Blic

difficulties and during the 1980s different smaller organizations started to appear with a greater focus on specific nationalities.

Today, the situation is a bit different. As Malmö grew stronger and bigger so did the Serbian community. Happenings that marked the period of the whole 1990s in the Balkans influenced many Serbian refugees to find refuge in Sweden. These happenings unfortunately led to the separation of the once united associations. Today, the area of Malmö contains at least two bigger Serbian associations. One was founded on the remains of what was previously called 'Balkan' association, which today carries the name of 'KSF Srbija Malmö'<sup>6</sup>. As it is noted on their official website, the association was founded on the 12<sup>th</sup> of December in 1975. Today, the organization collects mostly people of Serbian background and origin, as well as many others who are interested in learning more about Serbian culture and tradition. Activities are still, like many decades before, focused on sports, mostly football and basketball, but now there is also a folklore dance group for both younger and older generations, and an organization dedicated to organizing parties and celebrations (<http://www.srbija-malmo.com>).

The second Serbian association in Malmö is a considerably young organization. Established on the 12<sup>th</sup> of May 2009 as an organization with the sole goal to maintain and pass on the joy of Serbian tradition and culture through folklore dancing. It carries the name 'SKUD Sitan Vez'<sup>7</sup>. So far, they have been able to establish three groups of dancers in different age groups and as they point out on their official webpage, they see to the maintenance and presentation of Serbian culture in Sweden so as to better inform the Swedish population as a way of promoting integration and a way to better understand each other (<http://www.sitanvez.se/>). This organization, which focuses completely on folk dancing, is gathering significantly younger members, among which the number of males and females is almost equal. The main activity is performing for different occasions all over Sweden, Serbia and many other places.

Both associations, as many other cultural associations in Sweden, are funded by a membership fee but also through significant contributions provided by the Swedish state for the maintenance of the national culture and heritage.

---

<sup>6</sup> Kultur & Sportföreningen "Srbija-Malmö" (swe.)

<sup>7</sup> Srpsko Kulturno Umetnicko Društvo (serb.)- Serbian Cultural Artistic Association (engl.)

Additionally, there is a third significant factor that contributes greatly to the creation and maintenance of the Serbian community in Malmö. That factor is the Serbian Orthodox Church, since Serbians can be very prone to their Orthodox Christian religion. In 1972, the first Serbian priest came to Sweden and he established a parish by the name ‘Saint apostils of Kirilo and Metodije’<sup>8</sup>. However, the Church didn’t possess its own premises so in the beginning they rented different locals in the city to hold liturgies. Officially, the church has finally purchased its premises in 1984 on which the temple was built and it remains a sacred place for many Serbians even today. The church represents a place of safety and sanctuary but also a place for gathering, especially for big holidays, and networking for Serbians (<http://www.crkva.se/>).

### 2.2.2. Serbian Alliance

The biggest Serbian alliance in Sweden is ‘Serbernas Riksförbund’. Its history begins way back in the 1970s while it was still under the name ‘Yugoslavs Association’ and gathering associations from all of Sweden. Today the association accounts for approximately 43 Serbian associations from all of Sweden, with a member population of around 7000 people. The alliance also has an active Youth organization and a Women’s organization (<http://svenskserber.se/savez/>).

As the reason for their existence is, as they state, to protect the interest of Serbian people living in Sweden, in all aspects of life and work, conservation of Serbian language, culture, values and tradition, and all that done in desire to preserve cultural heritage for generations to come. Also, they are also working on educating and informing newcomers about the Swedish society and way of living (ibid).

---

<sup>8</sup> `Sv. Ravnoapostolnih Kirilo i Metodije` (srb.)



### 3. Literature review

There has been plenty of research done in social networks and social capital especially in relation to exploring lives of migrants. Exploring social worlds of an individual, at a micro level, helps understand functioning at a bigger macro-level. In the world we are living in today, researching this field has an even bigger meaning and wider understanding. Modern, young contemporary people today orbit around several groups at an everyday level and therefore possess memberships in several groups. “They exacerbate or mitigate opportunities, constraints and influences offered by single-group memberships and influence the identities of group members” (Simmel, 1922 [1955], taken from Martin & Wellman, 2016: 7). The importance of social networks lies in the simple understanding that without interactions among people there wouldn't be a society. This idea is represented by Simmel who argues that society is nothing more than ‘web of relations’ (Simmel, 1971, taken from Martin & Wellman, 2016: 8).

Wellman argued that “communities are not geographic areas providing support and services, but are people providing support and services to those to whom they are connected. By thinking of communities as ‘personal’, meaning that a person's community uniquely consists of the people to whom he is connected, Wellman transformed understandings of how modernity and urban living affect interaction and support (Wellman, 1979; Wellman and Wortley, 1990, taken from Martin & Wellman, 2016: 11).”

In the case of this research, this could prove as an interesting starting point since the focus is directed towards the young second-generation Serbian migrant group that is living in the city of Malmö, known by its diverse ethnical composition. Also, for Serbian migrants, Malmö offers a strong co-native community as well. Furthermore, migrants' social network research is mostly based on exploration of ethnical groups in a host country. Such research is done by Westin et al. (2015) who conducted a study about descendants of migrants from Turkey in Sweden and among other things investigated their social relations as part of an international research project entitled ‘Integration of the European Second Generation’ (TIES) (2015:11). Forrest & Kusek (2016) carried out a case study of Polish immigrants of first, second, and third generation in Australia and their human capital and structure integration (2016: 234-235). Furthermore, Carnine (2016) executed a study on Chinese students in France and their social networks (2016: 68).

Additionally, Maher & Cawely (2015) investigated Brazilian migrants in Ireland access to labor market, mostly “relating to ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ ties in networks and relating to the role of social capital in creating bonding and bridging relationships” in their study (2015: 2336).

Cederberg (2012) conducted the study on the migrant networks “while exploring the value of the notion of social capital for making sense of ethnic inequalities”. The study was conducted through biographical interviews with the migrant refugees (Bosnian, among others) in the city of Malmö. The aim is to explore the notion of Bourdieu’s social and other forms of capital through ties with the co-ethnic networks. Another aim is to gain a better picture of minority-majority relations and furthermore inequalities with the mainstream society (Cederberg, 2012:59). This article bases its theorist approach on the Bourdieu’s conceptualization of social capital for the exploration of the position and experience of migrants. Cederberg is looking both at the ‘intra-ethnic migrant networks’ as well as networks and social capital relations with the “majority population” and the “obstacles for accessing valuable networks” and investigating it on the example of use of social networks for access to the labor market (ibid: 60). The findings of the study indicate that ‘co-ethnic network’ is a very significant form of support for those immigrants who find it hard to engage in mainstream society. Not only that, but if networks within a community are too intertwined, they can be too ‘controlling’ (ibid:65). Furthermore, the study found that some people are having a harder time approaching the professional labor market due to the fact that maintaining ‘useful contacts’ is more difficult for them (ibid: 66).

Another study done by Toholjevic (2016) focused more on the exploration of identity of the second-generation immigrants with a Serbian background who are living in Sweden. Her study had a greater emphasis on the sense of belonging and identity. However, in some areas she researched the social network (mainly through friendship) of second-generation Serbian migrants in Sweden. This study addressed mostly the question of social connections through significance ethnic involvement and how it influences “ethnic formation and identity” (Toholjevic, 2016: 38). The findings of the study, gained through semi-structured interviews, show the importance of parental influence at a young age on creation and affiliation with the ethnic community of their origin. Therefore, involvement with community organizations is widely present mostly through folklore dance since the young age when some gain their first friendships (ibid:39). However, the connection with community associations stops having strong significance at some point and can

even grow towards some gaining “slightly negative view towards Serbian community” (ibid:41). Additionally, research shows that most of the respondents, despite the fact that they were born and raised in Sweden, have Serbian or Balkan people as close friends or even people of other nationalities but rarely Swedish, with whom they mostly attain professional relations (ibid: 41-43). Reasons for this are plentiful, ranging from the sense of discrimination and belonging to the significance of sharing the same culture and traditions.

In their study of second-generation immigrants in the small-business sector in Sweden, Klinthäll and Urban (2014) research just how important co-ethnic employment is for second-generation migrants in Sweden. One of the reasons for this study was the current state in the country with unemployment in Sweden being lower than everywhere else in Europe but at the same time, according to the data of European Union from 2011, Sweden exhibits “higher immigrant and youth unemployment rates” compared to EU27 (European Union, 2011, taken from Klinthäll & Urban, 2014: 210). “Because immigrants display relatively high rates of self-employment in Sweden (Klinthäll & Urban, 2010), networks in the small-business sector should constitute important assets in the labor market for youth with immigrant backgrounds” (Klinthäll & Urban, 2014: 211). In the current study authors address the importance of ethnic and family networks for young adults in the labor market, more specifically the small-business sector. The study considers the importance of ethnic resources and networks for the labor sector. However, the findings prove quite interesting. As a matter of fact, according to their findings, the amount of second-generation migrants that are employed in family businesses is similar to the number of native Swedish youths employed in respective family businesses (admittedly, there are some differences among the groups compared to the parents’ country of birth) (ibid). Using the statistical analysis of the data accrued from Statistics Sweden, they could compare and come up with factual conclusions for their study (ibid: 216). One more interesting finding of this study is that youth with foreign origin more often than native Swedish youth have an employer with a different immigrant background than theirs while Swedes are more often hired by Swedish born employers (ibid:219). Furthermore, the argument that authors are using is that mobilization of family resources and social networks is not only characteristic for immigrants but both of them and natives when approaching the labor market (ibid: 210).

These studies present the basis for this paper. The studies share similar subjects of interest as this thesis. All the studies have a common topic of interest and those being social capital and social networks of second-generation migrants, their creation and formation, maintenance and usage. Furthermore, Bourdieu's social capital theory represents the theoretical ground for at least two studies. The third study represents a connection making it possible to make a connection to social capital, which according to Bourdieu is based on social networks, and its use when approaching labor market which is, among others, an interest of this paper too. Additionally, two studies were conducted by using semi-structured interviews, which again make it common to this study. Finally, all of the studies were done on the case of Sweden and include among others also Balkan, in some cases even precisely second-generation Serbian migrants.

## 4. Theoretical framework

This chapter represents the theoretical basis for the study. First of all, concepts such as social networks and theories such as social capital theory are, according to some authors, mutually connected and dependent. Exploring concepts like social networks and social capital is mostly used when studying ethnical communities. “Methodological approaches and theories surrounding social networks, social capital and embeddedness have had considerable analytical power in migration studies” (Vertovec, 2009: 39). Furthermore, chapter will continue to migrant network theories where it is possible connecting importance an influence of strong co-native community and social networks and capital to continuation of migrant networks. Finally, transnational theories can help establish which advantages development and globalization had on the world of migrants by making distances irrelevant for maintenance of relationships and connections, both on local and global level, mostly through travel and virtual arena of activity.

### 4.1. Social capital theory

Social capital is a topic of broad interest for many scholars and different fields of research. From a sociological perspective, we approach social capital with the interest of investigating its functions, organization, development, etc. Pierre Bourdieu starts by defining capital as

*“Objectified of embodies form (that) takes time to accumulate and which as potential capacity to produce profits and reproduce itself in identical or expanded form, contains a tendency to persist in its being, is a force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible”* (Bourdieu; taken from Richardson, 1986: 241).

Bourdieu differentiate three forms of capital (ibid:243):

1. *Economic capital*- directly convertible to money
2. *Cultural capital*- which possibly can be converted into economic capital (example: educational qualifications)
3. *Social capital*- built on ‘social connections’ which can be transformed into to economic capital (example: title, nobility, job).

The main point of interest for this research will be social capital. Bourdieu's notion of capital is based on the idea that membership in a group is what provides a person with access to collectivity-owned capital (ibid:248). These "groups" can be numerous and dependent on the exchanges that help maintain them. Therefore, they can be "socially instituted and guaranteed by the application of a common name (the name of the family, a class, a tribe, or a school, etc.) or based on material and symbolic exchanges" (ibid:249). Furthermore, what is also important and mentioned by this scholar is that it is very important for an individual to maintain a wide network of contacts and that the quantity of capital that he can assemble is good, but also what makes all that possible is creating solidarity which is shared on a group level (ibid).

As Putnam argues, "core idea of social capital theory is that social networks have value" (2000:19). Firstly, and most importantly, they are of indispensable value to the members of the networks themselves. The fact is that there are many forms of social capital and not all of them must be reciprocal (Putnam, 2007: 138). However, what is important when talking about social capital is definitively its ability to have importance for both individuals but also wider community. Putnam here gives an excellent example by saying "a well-connected individual in a poorly connected society is not as productive as a well-connected individual in a well-connected society" (Putnam, 2000: 20). This scholar differs two dimensions of social capital, one is bridging (inclusive) and the other is bonding (exclusive) (ibid:22). Bonding social capital is what we see in dense co-ethnic organizations, civil rights movements, religious organizations, etc. They serve as a great source for mobilization of reciprocity and solidarity. However, the downside of this dimension of social capital is precisely its exclusivity. By maintaining strong "in group loyalty", they are creating sort of animosity mostly from the outsiders (ibid: 23). Bridging networks prove much better for connecting with external sources along with circulation of information. As Xavier de Souza interprets it, "bridging social capital is crucial for 'getting ahead'" (ibid). What is important to emphasize when discussing these dimensions, is that they are not exclusive in the sense of "either or" but that they are often complementing and serve as a panel to be compared with

different forms of social capital. Some forms of social capital according to Putnam (2000) are based on networks such as political affiliation, membership in an official organization (voluntary/charity associations), religious organizations, workplace networks, informal social connections (friendships), etc. Furthermore, three basic principles of social capital are reciprocity, honesty, and trust (Putnam, 2000:134). Reciprocity in the sense that now I might help (do) something for you and later you or someone else will do something for me. Honesty that information we are getting is true, and finally, trust that we can rely on our social network.

Lin Nan (1999), another scholar of social capital, is in accordance with the claims of the ones previously mentioned due to the fact that he claims that social capital is based on resources arising from social networks (Nan, 1999: 28). This scholar, among many others (Bourdieu, 1983/1986; Burt, 1992 ;; Coleman, 1990; Erickson, 1996 ; Flap, 1994; Lin, 1995; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 1995) defines the premise of social capital as an “investment in social relations with expected returns” (ibid: 31). Putnam illustrated four elements that can possibly explain that (ibid):

1. Information- social networks often ease the flow of important information.
2. Influence- social relations can help influence certain agents.
3. Social credentials- a person’s social capital; resources available in his network that he can use.
4. Reinforcement- recognition of one’s worthiness as individual and/or member of the group can help maintenance of person’s mental health.

*“Whether social capital is seen from the societal-group level or the relational level, all scholars remain committed to the view that it is the interacting members who make the maintenance and reproduction of this social asset possible”*(ibid: 32).

One of several uses of social capital could possibly be for further continuation of migration networks, as we might see under the next heading.

## 4.2. Migration network theory

This, according to some scholars meso-level (Faist & Faist, 2000; taken from Wickramasighe & Wimalaratana, 2016:18) or micro-level (Bean and Brown, taken from Brettell & Holifield, 2015:72) theory approach is focused, among other things, on including the ties that migrants maintain with other migrants in the host country and with family and friends in the country of origin. Massey et al. (1993), define migrant networks as “sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin” (1993:448). Furthermore, network connections can serve as a mechanism or a form of ‘location specific social capital’ that migrants can use to enter the new labor market and acquire employment (ibid). Relationships that migrants inevitably build at the country of their arrival, either with nonmigrants or co-ethnic, or other groups of migrants, is what they later rely on to help them enter the employment market or some other type of assistance (ibid: 449). These network contacts are an important way for migrants to achieve and acquire social capital (Bean & Brown; taken from Brettell & Holliefield, 2015: 72). When a certain ethnic community establishes themselves very well in a host country, the inflow of other ethnic members constantly increases due to the easier transitional process. Many countries with strong welfare systems and liberal immigration and integration policies are trying to control the inflow of immigrants with certain reunification policies for family members (Massey et al., 1993:450). In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, migration and integration policies have become more or less restrictive, especially in comparison to different migrant categories. How de Haas, Natter and Vezzoli (2016) claim “integration policies have become less restrictive, while border control and exit policies have become more restrictive. Also, while policies towards irregular migrants and family migrants have been tightened in recent years, less restrictive changes have dominated policies targeting high- and low-skilled workers, students, and refugees” (2016:1). By stating this they are qualifying restrictions more as a sort of “migrant selection”.

Additionally, what Massey et al., are strongly highlighting in this theory is that as soon as the first migrant comes to a new host country and start creating social networks, the costs of migration for other co-ethnic immigrants (especially kin and friends) are decreasing (1993:449). That is why it is considered also that formation of a strong co-ethnic immigrant community at one destination raises migration to the same area (Castles et al., 2014:41). However, the



existence of the “network structure” produce the twain “opportunities and constrains for social action” (Wasserman and Faust, 1994; taken from Vertovec, 2009: 33) which shows interesting to study. “Social networks don’t just concern how people are connected: they also affect the circulation of resources” (Knoke and Wisely, in Bosco 2001; taken from Vertovec 20019:35).

Next heading will represent theories that explain maintenance of transnational connections in contemporary world.

#### 4.3. Transnational network

Interest for researching a subject of transnationalism has been doubtlessly growing during the last few decades. As a Cano (2005) reports from a study he conducted by “examining publications that were keyworded ‘transnational’ or ‘transnationalism’ and saw an increase from a mere handful of articles across the social sciences in the late 1980s to nearly 1,300 such keyworded articles by 2003; almost two-thirds were published between 1998–2003” (Vertovec, 2009:1). The subject is being exported, studied, and interpreted in many disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, political science, law, geography, economics, history but also in many other interdisciplinary studies. The subsistence of connectedness and transactions among individuals, non-state organs across national borders based on variety of criteria and situations is the core of what is called “transnational groups and practices”. Furthermore, their shared characteristics, development and sustainment and broader meaning is referred to as “transnationalism” (Vertovec, 2009:3). Transnationalism represents a situation in which certain relationships among people have been intensified not depending on great distances among them, the contacts are being maintained through “virtual arena of activity” (ibid).

Migration has also become a very important field of research during the last few decades. Therefore, it wasn’t a surprise when a new theory on transnational communities and transnationalism appeared in the 1990s. As Portes recons, transnational is referred to activities that are implemented by “non-institutional actors” which are conducted across borders through organized association or individual networks (Vertovec, 2009: 29). Furthermore, Castells (1998) has argued that new technologies are the vital point of transnational networks and that they are very important for support of already existing relationships (Vertovec, 2009:5) Transnational dimension of migration theories is mostly focused on the capacity of migrants to maintain

network ties over long distances which was enabled by globalization (Castles, 2015:41). Fast development of technologies and ameliorating means of communication and transport has made maintenance of relations with people on different parts of the world more accessible. This development also enabled simpler and smoother remittance of money, among other things. This raised the capability of migrants to ‘foster multiple identities, to travel back and forth, to relate to people, to work and do business and politics simultaneously in distant places’ (ibid). Furthermore, transnationalism can help maintain good relations among “face-to-face” communities that are established on kinship, neighborhood or workplace communities, and make them function well even over long distances (ibid:42). Glick-Schiller (1999) advocate towards the practice of the term ‘transmigrant’ for the people who engage in the transnational communities based on migration (ibid). It is still important to mention that transnationalism has many “fields” and it can be referred to “corporations, NGOs, migrants, other social groups”. However, what all of them have in common is the objective to investigate and explore the practical side of it in the sense of activities, forms, and factors that are influencing and directing that relations and their maintenance and recreation and try to understand it (Vertovec, 2009:29). That is why Vertovec distinguishes a six “takes” on transnationalism according to the approach for researching the subject (Vertovec, 2009: 4):

1. As a social morphology

Where ethnic diasporas grew into the focal point of the research of transnationalism, its shapes and dynamics. “Central to the analysis of transnational social formations are structures or systems of relationships best described as networks” (Vertovec, 2009:4).

2. As a type of consciousness

This take focuses mostly on the discourse of “diaspora consciousness” and the sense of belonging and multiple identification of individuals.

3. Model of cultural reproduction

Is referred mostly to the “newer” generations and their “new cultural spaces” assembled from the influence of the “new global media map”. Some kind of hybrid area is created where the influence of global mainstream media is strong, while there is a constant need to maintain contact with the culturally inherited customs.

#### 4. Avenue of capital

Mostly elaborated from the economics point of research of the influence and significance that transnational corporations have on the preservation of globalization, and furthermore on the importance of wealth being concentrated in the hands of handful people who are benefiting from the highly globalized world, but also the attention is addressed to the “little players” or migrants and the importance of the remittances that are sent daily to the numerous families all over the world and on the bigger scale national economies of both sending and receiving countries.

#### 5. Site of political engagement

Mostly focusing on the possibilities to transfer political interest and involvement to the transnational/global arena. So far this was mostly done by having international nongovernment organizations and agencies who are working to develop and ameliorate living conditions for people all over the world. Political engagement in this sense can also be research from the point of view of transnational communities and their stronger sense of “politics by nostalgia of homeland”, “cosmopolitanism” or perhaps even “new patriotism” maybe even “radicalism”.

#### 6. (Re)Construction of ‘place’ or locality

Many analysts have suggested that transnationalism has a big influence on the sense of space which is highly understandable considering that they are living “between places” most of the time and are constantly connected with more than one place/country which has, thanks to the immense development of technology, become very easy to do.

#### 4.4. Summary

Theories and subjects of social networks and social capital are mutually dependent, at least according to Putnam who claims that “core idea of social capital theory is that social networks have value” (2000:19). There are several kinds of capital, and they usually can influence one another. A person’s social networks create his or her social capital which later can be used in many ways, among others for further creation of economic capital, continuation of migrant network, etc. Special interest and example for exploration of social capital represent migrant

community in a host-country. Members of migrant communities are often oriented towards each other and represent a sort of ‘safety nets’ when coming to a new country. Community represents the arena where social networks and capital are being built. For the countries and cities with strong ethnic communities, further continuation of migrant networks is inevitable and simpler. Some authors, such as Massey et al. strongly support the claims of migrant network theory that as soon as first migrant comes to new, host country and starts creating social networks, the costs of migration for other co-ethnic immigrants (especially, kin and friends) are decreasing (1993:449). That is why it is also considered that the formation of a strong co-ethnic immigrant community at one destination raises migration to the same area (Castles et al., 2014:41). This, once again, circularly influences creation of social networks and capital. Finally, transnationalism is the term that connects everything. The globalized world we live in today has made maintaining networks and contacts easier no matter what the distance, through either a virtual arena of activity or the ability to easily reach one another by travel.

The next chapter is focused on presenting the methodological ground of the study.

## 5. Methodology

The general aim of the research is to explore the formation, maintenance and use of social networks or social capital which young migrants of Serbian origin living in Malmö have at their disposal. This research represents the perspective of migrants. The focus of the research is pointed towards their local and transnational social networks. By following the narratives of eight partakers, this research will try to interpret the ways of creating social networks and social capital, ways to maintain them, ways to use them, as well as trying to understand the linkages to co-native communities in Malmö and transnational networks which connect them to Serbia or other countries and their meaning to the respondents.

The study is established on the interpretivist paradigm since “the social world does not exist independently of our interpretation of it” (Halperin & Heat, 2012:40). As interpretivists claim, the social world is “subjectively created” and it is yielded from our apprehension. Therefore, the main aim of the social science should be obtaining comprehension through “an interpretation of the meanings, beliefs, and ideas that give people reasons for acting” (ibid). The importance of using qualitative methods lies in the opportunities to explore of how people comprehend their world (Marsh & Stoker, 2010:200). Additionally, interpretivist approaches contemplate people as unique individuals with their specific experiences, lives, social structures which all serve as exclusive statements of individuals objectives and interpretations. Furthermore, interpretivists are not troubled with ‘abstract descriptions of human agents, but with detailed interpretative work on specific cultures’ (Halperin & Heat, 2012:42).

Within qualitative researches methods such as interviews are common. This study is based on the semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted for academic analysis. The focus of the interviews is shifting to circumscribe “the how’s of peoples’ lives as well as traditional what’s” (Fontana & Frey, taken from Denzin & Lincoln, 2003:62). Furthermore, as Gubrium and Holstein (1998) have illustrated, the interviews evolved into “contemporary story telling” where respondents disclose their personal experiences for the sake of interview (ibid:63).

### 5.1. Ontological Standpoint

Since ontology is concerned with the “what is” (Halperin & Heat, 2012:26) or rather it is interested in asking “what is the form and nature of reality and what is there that can be known about it” (Marsh & Stoker, 2010:185). As previously mentioned, the focus of this paper will be on the interpretivist paradigm through which it can be deduced that reality can be multiple and relative. According to that, all the results that came from this study can be subject to re-interpretation. The concluding remarks are generated from the responses gathered through individual interviews with the participants and are based on authors interpretation of them. “This evokes what is sometimes called double hermeneutic; the world is interpreted by the actors (one hermeneutic level) and their interpretation is interpreted by the observer (a second hermeneutic level)” (ibid).

### 5.2. Epistemological Standpoint

The epistemological standpoint is mostly concerned with ‘what is knowable’ or rather ‘what can we know about social phenomena’ and ultimately what we can reliably use as legitimate knowledge (Halperin & Heat, 2012: 26). “An epistemology is theory of knowledge” (Marsh & Stoker, 2010:185). Many researchers who are conducting qualitative research can find themselves struggling with “how to locate themselves and their subjects in reflexive texts” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003: 4), which inevitably leads us back to ontology and interpretivism.

### 5.3. Qualitative method

The qualitative empirical approach constitutes the basis of this research. Therefore, the focus of the study is concentrated mostly on gathering narratives/stories and gaining deeper and genuine understanding of the material. According to Edwards (2010), qualitative approaches, in comparison to quantitative, provide better access for understanding “issues relating to the construction, reproduction, variability and dynamics of complex social ties” (Edwards, 2010:2). The qualitative research can be defined according to Denzin and Lincoln as:

*“Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible... They*

*turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to self. At this level, qualitative research involves interpretative, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003: 4-5).*

Better understanding of the matter that’s being studied is the main aim of the any qualitative researcher and therefore many interpretivists and interrelated modes are being used which further lead to the conclusion that many interpretations could be extracted. The study is outlined on the eight semi-structured individual interviews and is based on the statements obtained from the perspective of the respondents.

#### 5.4. Data Collection

Interviews, used as a methodological technique, help us to better interact with participants, their stories, behavior and dynamics and brings us closer to the matter of the research (Kapiszewski et al., 2015:190). That is why for the purposes of this research, eight semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted. Questions were divided into thematic continents which put together got a whole new sense valuable to the study<sup>9</sup>. Considering the subject of the study, semi-structured interviews were perceived as the most suitable choice. The semi-structured interviews are much alike “ordinary conversations” which thus allows for more “in-depth insight” (ibid: 176). One more characteristic of the interview, which seemed important is that interviews, in contrast to many other methods, are better applicable to a small number of people and the aim is “not to generalize but to gain valid knowledge and understanding about what the person in question thinks” (ibid: 254). Furthermore, face-to-face interviews were considered most suitable since these types of interviews provide the most freedom to navigate the interview, ask follow-up questions, which are helpful in clarifying all the misunderstandings and difficulties, and lastly to acknowledge body language and information gained from it.

---

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix V for Interview Guide

Most of the connections with the respondents were made through a few of my personal contacts in Malmö and from there it developed via the snowball technique<sup>10</sup>. This technique can ultimately reveal networks and by that widen the sampling frame (Bleich & Pekkanen, 2015:8). Two of the people were from my personal contacts whom I met through my fiancée at activities such as folk dancing and Swedish language class. Since they are second-generation migrants of Serbian origin who were born and grew up in city of Malmö, related to the co-native community and having a wider social network they recommended a few of their friends as possibly interested to participate in the study, which proved to be right. It is worthwhile mentioning that these acquaintances were very valuable for the study which would otherwise be much more challenging to implement.

As stated by Kapiszewski et al. (2015:232), researchers will be more successful at conducting interviews if they are familiar with their “analytic goals, interviewing methodology, understanding the language, culture, history of the interviewing matter”. Furthermore, all the interviews were conducted in Serbian since it is the language least burdensome for both interviewer and respondents who can speak it with greater or lesser ease, but still very well.

When formulating and constructing the research design, the purpose of the study was precisely defined and therefore the constant focus was on obtaining the material of value for the study. Special attention was directed to creation of a good research design since that is of great importance to the validity of the research (Halperin & Heat, 2012:166). For a good data collection, it is important to set certain boundaries before data gathering begins. Therefore, this research was based, as mentioned previously, on semi-structured face-to-face interviews with second-generation migrants of Serbian origin in the city of Malmö<sup>11</sup> who are in the age group between 18-30 years old, and who have finished or are currently on the way towards achieving a higher education. The respondents of this study were mostly interviewed in a café with soothing environment or in the case of two interviews, in a home environment. The duration of interviews was mostly between 45-60 minutes.

The author’s Serbian background is believed to be of great significance for the execution of the research. As previously mentioned, the interviews were conducted in the Serbian language,

---

<sup>10</sup> Allowing primary respondents to propose more contacts, and so on (Kapiszewski et al, 2015: 212).

<sup>11</sup> Who were either borne here or came here in the childhood, grew up here, and spent most of their life living in Sweden.



which lead to a believably better connection with the participants and therefore greater trust to speak freely. One more contributing factor might be the similarity in the age group between the respondents and interviewee. The author tried highly to maintain a friendly but professional atmosphere by actively listening and showing interest but also by keeping control over the interview and ensuring a relaxed environment for the interview. Additionally, the connections that author has with some of the participants can be regarded as helpful, as they helped contribute to the sentiment of closeness and openness. However, in contrast to everything previously mentioned regarding the Serbian background of the author, this could be seen as something that leads to having a somewhat biased opinion. Even Max Weber established a stance on this question, which is based on the statements that “value-neutrality is not possible in the social sciences however, despite it researchers must strive for a value-neutral social stance” (Weber; taken from Halperin & Heat, 2012: 55) and that is exactly what author tried to do.

The Interview Guide is presented in Appendix IV and V, both in the Serbian and English language. The questions were designed to fit into the categories where the beginning mostly focuses on general information about respondents, then general information about their family members and the importance of the Serbian language for them and creation of their local and transnational social networks. Knowledge of the Serbian language was considered vital to examine since it seems valuable and relevant for maintaining a closer connection with members of co-native networks. It further goes a bit deeper into examination and gaining a glimpse of their social networks in Malmö and their relation and outlook of the Serbian community living in Malmö and use of their social capital. In the part of interview centered towards transnationalism questions were oriented mostly on their relations, connectedness, forms, and ways of maintaining contacts with people in Serbia but also around the world.

## 5.5. Ethical Principles

Since ethical issues are imperative to all research in the modern world this study was no different. Ethical scrutiny is of high significance for the protection of research participants, but also to protect the universities and institutions publishing papers (Halperin & Heat, 2012:178).

According to Halperin & Heat (2012), ethical issues could be outlined in 6 elements: *voluntary participation, informed consent, privacy, harm, exploitations and consequences for the future research* (ibid).

Therefore, all the interviews were conducted on a voluntary basis. The purpose and the core of the research were communicated to all respondents before the interview and through the *Consent of the participation in the research*<sup>12</sup>. In it, the participants are informed about their right to privacy and anonymity, they are confirming volunteerism of their participation, that it is possible for them to always ask questions about the research or stop it if it becomes uncomfortable for them, that the interview will be audio taped with the mobile phone, and that they can withdraw any information expressed during the interview. Privacy of the participants is a high-priority issue and thus all the participants are guaranteed anonymity in the study. All the private information mentioned during interview are left out or changed and aliases are used.

#### 5.6. Validity and reliability

This research is based on the narratives, where experiences and happenings are expressed by individuals and mostly from their perspectives. With these kind of studies, it is hard to acquire a high level of reliability since all the outlooks and impressions may be altered with time. That is why if the study were to be duplicated, conclusions and interpretations might vary as well. In order to achieve the highest precision all the conversations (interviews) were audio recorded. The *Interview Guide* was the main source of navigation throughout the interview, and it was used as a reminder of the concept of the research and subject matter. When in doubt, the author's interpretation was ascertained through follow-up questions. Furthermore, theoretical framework was used as tool as a guarantee that the interpretation of the material was in accordance with the research question and subject.

The fact that author is aware of “inclination to interpretative bias” is very helpful when creating and conducting research (Marsh & Stoker, 2010:200).

---

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix II

## 5.7. Introduction of the respondents

Out of the eight participants who contributed to the study, four were female and four were male. They belong to the age group of 20 to 27 years old. When speaking about their marital status, we can say that two of them are married and only one has a child, four are in a relationship, and two are single. Considering that having a higher level of education was one of the requirements for the study, the level of their education is higher or equivalent to being a university student or already having obtained a diploma from a higher education institute. However, only two respondents have already finished their university education, one at the Bachelor and the other at the Master level, both are working in their field of expertise. The rest of the sample is students of different fields and some of them are employed on the side.

## 5.8. Summary

Study of the Social networks of young Serbian migrants living in Malmö is a qualitative study, which represents the perspective of migrants. It was conducted on eight semi-structured in-depth interviews. The focal point is directed to the ways of creating social networks and social capital, ways to maintain them, ways to use them, as well as trying to understand the linkages to co-native communities in Malmö and transnational networks which connect to Serbia or other countries and their meaning to the respondents. Furthermore, certain subjects, such as language, are also mentioned and examined as knowledge of Serbian was considered important for the creation and maintenance of migrants' local and global social networks and capital.

The following chapter, the sixth chapter, will present the findings of the study along with the analysis.

## 6. Making and maintaining Social networks

This chapter represents the findings of the study with the analysis. The general aim of the research is to explore the formation, maintenance, and use of social networks or social capital which young migrants of Serbian origin living in Malmö have. This was done through questions about their social networks, ways they create and maintain them, what was the meaning and importance of possessing language knowledge of Serbian for them, how do they use their social capital, and finally do they and how maintain their transnational relationships in Serbia as well as in world, and how significant that is for them.

### 6.1. Analysis

#### 6.1.1. Social and cultural capital

After gaining some background information about the parents and the families of the respondents', attention drifted to the language and the significance of the Serbian language in their homes and its maintenance. As argued by Marsh & Stocker (2010: 202), language is important, seeing that behavior obtains significance through it, and language might be considered important for the creation of social networks in this study.

All the respondents expressed that the Serbian language and its preservation are of great importance to them. They all are bilingual, some are even multilingual. Serbian is important since they see it as some sort of cultural preservation, as are the maintenance of traditions and amenities. Furthermore, and more importantly, it is important in order to keep the transnational contacts with the numerous cousins and family who still live in Serbia, but also to maintain stronger and closer connections with some members of their social networks even at the local level. However, many of them communicated that it is an often occurrence that they mix Swedish and Serbian or even make up new words by taking for example Swedish word and making it sound more Serbian.

“The language mostly spoken at my home was Serbian. Mostly because parents wanted us to learn it but also so we could maintain that sense of tradition and amenities.” (Ana)

“It is important for me to know Serbian since it is the language of my parents and where I come from. Our language incorporates our whole culture and exactly because of that it is important for me to know it.” (Ivana)

As well as maintaining the closeness with the members of the wider family respondents recognized knowledge of Serbian as important for making better connections with people of similar origin even in Sweden.

“... it is more of the thing that when you meet someone who knows our<sup>13</sup> language it's easier to connect on similar things... for example we can talk about how (*t.dj...*similar...) our parents are, what is happening, etc. It is good because of the friends, because we can “click” on a different level.” (Stefan)

“For me it is very important (*t.dj...*to know Serbian...). It is also important for the community, maybe not as much here (*t.dj...*in Sweden) as there (*t.dj...*in Serbia...). Still, we can take ‘folklore’ as an example, there is a lot of Serbians there and then (*t.dj...*if you want to make better contact...) it is important.” (Milica)

Still, many said that knowing Serbian is helpful but not very important for their friendships since most of their closer friends speak good Swedish, and often it is easier for them to conduct conversations in Swedish.

“In communicating to my friends Serbian is, for me, more or less important because of all the friends I hang out with we can all speak both languages and we also then mix a lot. Something is easier said and formulated on one and something on the other.” (Aleksandar)

“My friends even here are mostly our people so sometimes we switch to speaking Serbian but still we speak a lot in Swedish too.” (Zoran)

Some express opinion of shame if not being able to speak Serbian or if other people of Serbian origin don't know it or doesn't want to speak it in Sweden. This is reflected in the statements such as:

---

<sup>13</sup> Very often ‘our language’ is referred to by meaning Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian.

“For me it is very important (*t.dj...*knowing Serbian). I think it is a shame that someone doesn’t know their language, and it is always a plus to know more languages, but I think it is shame that plenty of them today doesn’t know Serbian who really are Serbs (*t.dj...*living in Sweden...).” (Milica)

“It is very important for me (*t.dj...*to know Serbian...) because every summer and winter we go down<sup>14</sup> and it is absurdly that I don’t know the language and I am visiting (*t.dj...*so often...).” (Zoran)

Maintenance of the Serbian language presents an important factor for the preservation of their origin and it is something they all value greatly. Furthermore, language represents a link when making new contacts since it creates a sense of something that they share but what makes them different from others, which further makes them “click” better, but also makes the connection with co-native networks stronger.

Furthermore, knowledge of the common language could represent “cultural capital”, that Bourdie refers to, which might represent a bond when creating social networks, which could further be converted into economic capital (taken from Richardson, 1986:243).

#### 6.1.2. Preconditions for building networks

Social networks were referred to close friends, family, and most generally speaking, all the people they keep in close or frequent contact with in Malmö and the world. Migrant networks represent “sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrant and nonemigrant in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin” (Massey et al., 1993:448). Further, some questions were inquiring the ways and processes of forming those contacts, importance of the ethnicity when making contacts, no matter if emotional or just friendships. Finally, some questions were inquiring about looks of their parents’ social networks in Malmö and the world since it was considered that it might possibly have had a certain effect on the choices of the respondents about their social networks.

---

<sup>14</sup> Down is mostly meant Serbia since it is located southern from Sweden. It comes from Serbian expression that everything that is more south is referred as “down”.

### 6.2.2.1. Friends

Most of the respondents stated that their current closer social networks are mostly composed of friends with similar experiences and those who share a common language, and a small mixture of other migrants, and Swedes.

Many made their first contacts through school or extracurricular activities, neighborhoods where they lived or are still living, work, co-native associations, etc. Most of them emphasized that they have the best contact with the people “similar to them” there, referring to the second-generation migrants with similar origin. They explain that this is mostly because they develop better contact because they can better understand each other.

“(…) Mostly those are people similar to me, and many Serbians. Even if not Serbians, mostly Balkan people. I don’t know why is it like that, I guess we are the most alike so that makes it easier for socializing. I do have Swedish friends too, but somehow the closest ones are in general Serbian”. (Milica)

“I socialize mostly with people from ‘down there’<sup>15</sup> by origin but who were born or came here at a young age and spent most of their life here. We somehow found each other and I function the best with them.” (Aleksandar)

However, most of them claim that nationality and ethnicity are not, and never were, important to them when making friends.

“That was never important to me, and I never looked at that based on nationality.” (Ana)

“No. I don’t think about it when I make friends. It is more important (*t.dj...*for me...) how is someone as a person and not where they are coming from.” (Ivana)

Although one respondent expressed the opinion that maybe Serbian origin matters to her for making closer friendships at a subconscious level.

“I think that subconsciously it is important. I think it was easier to connect or I was more drawn to people more like me, so I never thought about that it is important, but

---

<sup>15</sup> Referring to Serbian/Balkan

(*t.dj...now...*) I think it might be. I mean not only Serbian origin but ‘our’<sup>16</sup>. I mean, I do and I did have friends with Swedish, Polish, Albanian origin but I was always closer and stayed closer with our people<sup>17</sup>”. (Jelena)

On the contrary, for some it was difficult to even maintain contacts with people of similar origin because they are not like stereotypical Balkan people.

“For me sometimes is a bit inconvenient to socialize with our people because I am not like a stereotypical our man how it should be, and that being to love sports, to talk about women, to like alcohol, to be ‘macho’, etc. I am not like that and then it was a bit difficult for me. But in general, it wasn’t important for me that I am Serbian, or nationality (*t.dj...when I was making friends...*)” (Stefan)

“I have some feeling when I am socializing with ‘genuine’ Swedes that we just don’t get along on some counts. Somehow humor is not at the right place, and the same goes with ‘genuine’ Serbians when I meet them. They have that sort of humor and I feel like I can’t follow up...” (Aleksandar)

Additionally, others have also expressed “easiness” when it comes to making and maintaining friendships with people of similar origin, and having that “humor” barrier when connecting with other people.

“It was never profusely important to me (*t.dj...nationality and origin when making friends...*), but it was easier. For example, when I introduce myself and say my last name people already kind of know where I am coming from. And it was easier for me to make friendships with people from our area.<sup>18</sup>” (Zoran)

“No, it’s not (*t.dj...nationality and origin important when making friends...*). When I lived in Stockholm it was all mixed up. Than when we came here (*t.dj...to Malmö...*) we didn’t live right away in the center of the city but a bit further, where mostly Swedes lived. When I started school than I was the only foreigner in the class. That was a bit different but I got used to it and I was socializing a lot with Swedes. But... It’s not like I

---

<sup>16</sup> Meaning Balkan origin

<sup>17</sup> Meaning Serbian/Balkan origin

<sup>18</sup> Meaning Balkan



don't want to or anything like that, but it is harder to keep contact with them. We don't have similar sense of humor and the way we joke, and what (*t.dj...we think...*) is funny and then it is harder when you have to explain everything when you are joking, while with our people it goes much easier... But it was never especially important for me (*t.dj...nationality when making friends...*).” (Jovan)

When asked about their parents' influence on their choice of friends and if the nationality of their friends was important for their parents, respondents' answers varied. While for some it was openly important, other claim that they felt that it was but on a more discreet level, and for some it was never an issue or a topic of special interest. However, all the respondents said that the social network of their parents in Malmö is composed mostly of people with Serbian or Balkan origin.

“(*t.dj... My parents had...*) A great influence (*t.dj...on my choice of friends...*). They always wanted to know with whom I am socializing, where am I going, where my friends live, who are their parents, what do they do, etc. They always wanted to know everything. And then, if they didn't like someone they would somehow try to discreetly pull me away and later I forget about it. And they definitely had a great influence.... And every time when they hear I am going (*t.dj...to get together...*) with a group of 'our' people they get somewhat happier ...” (Aleksandar)

“They didn't have some influence. It wasn't important to them (*t.dj...origin of friends...*), what was important was that they are good (*t.dj...people...*). But of course, they were glad that I had friends of Serbian origin.” (Ivana)

“Yes and no (*t.dj...was it important...*). I think they wanted me to maintain some contact with our people here, but also on the other hand they regarded that friend can be anyone.” (Zoran)

One of the respondents pointed out that his parents even attempted to keep him away from the “bad Balkan influence” by sending him to schools where Swedish students made up most of the student body.

“But for example, if I tried to find only our people as friends at school they would not like that. They were always saying that I am there to study and not to become member of

cliques, and that I should figure out by myself who suits me and not only to look after our people. And they were very strict with that, they were saying I should be with everybody, Swedes, Arabs, to see all and not only one side.” (Stefan)

Friendship circles represent a very important form of social networks and therefore social capital, too. By being a member of a quality group, a person can be provided with access to collectively owned capital, which makes membership at the right networks even more valuable. As Putnam puts it, “a well-connected individual in a well-connected society is more productive” (2000:2). However, Putnam also argued that there can be many forms of social capital and not all have to be “reciprocal” (Putnam, 2007:138).

#### 6.2.2.2. *Emotional ties*

Subject of emotional partners and their origin proved to be harder than anything else. Even though many respondents communicated that this is a hard question and it is not easy to provide a straightforward answer when it comes to “matters of the heart”. However, all of the respondents who are emotionally involved have partners of Serbian/Balkan origin. Some, who are currently not emotionally involved, claim that origin of their partner wouldn't be so important but that someone of their origin would be a “golden standard” and that it would be desirable that it is someone of “our”<sup>19</sup> origin.

“Now, it is easy to say now yes (*t.dj...*that it is important...), but when you find yourself in that situation that you connect with someone than all is less important. It might be because of my family so they can communicate differently (*t.dj...*in Serbian...), plus the culture and all our traditions...but I doubt, somehow when it comes to that I have a feeling it won't be something so important. But now I would say yes (*t.dj...*that it is important...) because that is the goal, it is somehow ‘golden standard’.” (Stefan)

However, one respondent expressed mixed feelings about the subject due to the feeling of “pressure” imposed by parents to find someone of “our” origin who would understand the tradition, culture, etc. and the personal feeling that origin isn't as important.

---

<sup>19</sup> Meaning again Balkan, and more precisely ex-Yugoslav origin.

“I would like for it to be “our” person somehow... Someone from here who is like me, and who understands our religion, traditions, etc. I think my family had a big influence on me that I have to find someone who could ‘fit in’ in that way of living that we’ve built together... So, on one side I have big pressure to please them whilst for me it doesn’t matter it is ‘whatever’...generally I don’t care about origin only that it is a good person. But because of the pressure from the parents it would be good that it is a person who understands traditions and language so one day we could do the same as my parents did and transfer it all to our children.” (Aleksandar)

While only one respondent expressed difficulty to answer the question due to the fact of living in Malmö’s which is such a multicultural city.

“I don’t know, that is hard question. That is hard to plan. Malmö is still a big city with many cultures and people, a person can not only look for Serbian and no one else. I don’t know, that is hard... It might be important for some future life (*t.dj...*Serbian origin of the partner...). But now that it exclusively has to be Serbian person it is not. I think if someone lives here than you have to be ready that not always it will be someone with Serbian origin but it can be anyone.” (Milica)

However, as the facts show, all of the respondents that are emotionally involved or married have partners of Serbian or Balkan origin. For some, those are also members of the second-generation migrants while for others those are people still living in or newcomers from Serbia. By having partners of Serbian origin, members of second-generation migrants are continuing to uphold migrant networks in Malmö. This is very interesting when we take what Massey et al. (1993) highlighted into consideration. They said that in the theory of migrant networks, being that the cost of migration is decreasing, it is simpler for the new incoming migrants, since there is already strong co-native community existing. Also, as Castles et al. consider it, places with strong co-native communities inspire a bigger inflow of people to that area (2014:41).

### 6.2.2.3. Networks in daily life

Malmö is a city with a strong co-native Serbian community. As previously mentioned, there are two big associations and a Serbian Orthodox church, which gathers many followers and therefore it could be considered as a sort or co-native association too. That is why it was not a big surprise to learn that almost all of the respondents were at some point, or still are, connected to some of the associations. When asked if they are members or ever were a member of some Serbian association all except one respondent answered positively. The activities that prevailed were mostly socializing, gathering activities such as folklore dancing or sport activities where they were also able to socialize with people more “like” and that served as a bond growing tool and widener of their social webs.

Furthermore, participants stated that participating in those activities was important for them since it helped them develop as persons and maintain close contact with their Serbian culture, traditions, and origin.

“I am dancing folklore from 2008, so almost ten years and that is something I love because that is somehow my way of maintaining tradition. I don’t know that is something indescribable.” (Aleksandar)

“I am currently connected to SKUD ‘Sitan Vez’ and it was important for me (*t.dj...*to be connected to Serbian associations...) since I was a long-time member and that is how I made (*t.dj...*closest...) friends, we travelled together, etc.” (Jelena)

Many of them started out at the oldest Balkan, ex-Yugoslav, and now Serbian association in Malmö, which organized a folklore dancing section and sports for both juniors and seniors first called “KSF Srbija”. After 2009, “KSF Srbija” kept only sports, mostly the basketball section, and SKUD “Sitan Vez” was created with the sole focus on the folklore dancing. Many of the members at that time, especially young ones, left and supported the new association.

No matter if they were doing sports or dancing, almost all of the respondents emphasized the significance of those activities and contacts for the development of their social networks and lifelong friendships.

“In Malmö, I played basketball at KSF ‘Srbija’ since I was 11, I started (*t.dj...*playing it...) around one year after we moved. There I played for a long time and it was very important to me. There I met plenty of people my age and we got a long great... I still have one great friend from basketball, him and me had much similarities in life... we proposed to our girlfriends in day apart, got married in two weeks apart, and got children at few months apart, and all by accident.” (Jovan)

“Yes, I was an active member of SKUD ‘Sitan Vez’, now I am just a passive member., and before I used to dance folklore there. And I played basketball at KSF Srbija when I was younger. When I started dancing at SKUD ‘Sitan Vez’ I already knew all the people dancing there even before I started. It all started (*t.dj...*him dancing folklore...) when one friend of mine, with whom I practically grew up with, convinced me (*t.dj...*to start...) since he was going to, and then later I liked it.” (Zoran)

When asked about the importance of their parents’ contacts for developing connections to the associations in Malmö, most respondents claimed that that was important from the beginning. Most of the parents, when respondents were still young were members of the KSF Srbija where they were able to be up-to-date about everything through contacts and therefore encourage their children to take part in the activities.

“...Before, when we were younger, dad was playing basketball and he related to KSF Srbija and then we had to go often and watch... and we (*t.dj...*brothers and he...) played basketball for KSF Srbija and then when we stopped he withdrawn too.” (Stefan)

“They (*t.dj...*parents...) heard about it from our priest here at Malmö (*t.dj...*about folklore...). I was, and still am friends with his daughter and our parents knew each other from before so that is how they found out and that is how it all started.” (Ivana)

“Mama enrolled me (*t.dj...* to folklore...) when I was very young and so I stayed... So, mama’s friend said to her that she will enroll her daughter and she asked her if she wanted to enroll me... And that’s how I started (*t.dj...*dancing...).” (Jelena)

When asked about participation at the activities and events organized by Serbian associations and organizations in Malmö, many respondents highlighted the tours that they had gone on with dance groups when they performed at festivals in Sweden and abroad. In this way members were

able to create and maintain networks at a local, as well as a wider, level, which was seen by Putnam as one of the ways to form wide networks and social capital (Putnam, 2000:134). The same goes for those who participated in sports activities since they got to go to tournaments nationally and internationally. They unanimously affirmed that they do, gladly, take part in the events that are organized by co-native associations such as parties, concerts, plays, sports matches, etc. and that they are trying to be “up-to-date” about those happenings.

“So, as I said I danced folklore and we had tours/tournaments/competitions for the best KUD in Sweden. When it was held in Göteborg we won and the winner was supposed to go to the European championship in Banja Luka however, that was the year of the big floods (*t.dj...* in the whole Balkan...) so we didn’t go.” (Zoran)

“I did sports, basketball in KSF Srbija and we participated in many matches, tournaments and championships in Sweden and in Europe...We went to many other countries, had tournaments, and so on.” (Jovan)

Furthermore, what some of them highlighted as a nice and important happening for them when growing up was an annual event organized by “Serbian Alliance” in cities all over Sweden, where they had the opportunity to meet and get together with people of same origin but from other parts in Sweden. They would have some tournaments organized, where all the participants would get a medal for participation, a meal, and it would end with a party. They all still carry a lovely and powerful memory from those days.

“Serbian Alliance, they organized every year annual festivals in the cities all over Sweden. Sometimes that is Malmö, sometimes Göteborg or Stockholm because there are plenty of different associations in Sweden and then we all meet and different kinds of competitions are organized, but it all ends with a party and all the participants get a medal for participating.” (Aleksandar)

“We even had some games, they are called something ‘Youth festivals’<sup>20</sup> and then we would play basketball there and it was all, well it was great... There were our people getting together. You get a trip to the different city, everybody is together doing something they love...” (Stefan)

---

<sup>20</sup> Referring to the same festivals organized by ‘Serbian Alliance’

All the respondents, except one, claimed to be members of the Serbian Orthodox church in Malmö. That one respondent expressed no interest in religion. All other members said that they visit and participate in the church activities with lower or higher frequency. They also believe that religion is something worth maintaining but it is not of tremendous importance to them. What appears significant for many, and their families, is to visit church for bigger holidays such as Christmas and Easter, while only one respondent claimed to go with higher frequency. Membership and connection with the church can also be considered as a way of building and spreading one's social networks.

When asked specifically about opinions of the Serbian community in Malmö, participants had plenty of similar, but also diverse, viewpoints. The impression that was common for a few respondents was that Serbs in Sweden are not the same as in Serbia, meaning they are becoming more like Swedes and that people here, in Sweden, look more after themselves and that the level of solidarity and togetherness is far less stronger than among Serbs in Serbia, and even lower than among other cultures in Sweden. Some also mentioned that they see it as an advantage that their community is "strong", which means that a lot of people get to know each other and create friendships, which is possible since it is a big community there is always something happening, etc. However, opinions are divided on the matter of if it is easy or not to join and belong to the community. Many believe it is relatively easy for people of Serbian origin and describe persistency and desire to be members of the community as key in being able to do so. Nonetheless, it is ruling opinion that community might not be as open to accept people of other origin. What are considered to be disadvantages are that "everybody knows each other", there is a lot of "bad talking", and there is a feeling that there is lack of solidarity among people.

"I think that community is open but also closed. Because it is very open for our people but for example if there was a person of foreign origin (*t.dj...*wanting to join...) I think they wouldn't be so open to accept that person, and that would make it harder for that person to integrate into the group. And for our new people who come and want to join it can be harder, but it all depends on the person and how much initiative a person makes, but I still do think we've accepted plenty of people who migrated from Serbia and included them in the community." (Jelena)

“I think it is great that community is strong, and that everybody knows each other, or at least recognize from around, or they are friends...” (Zoran)

“Now, I think that Serbs here are completely different and that it is easy to leave the community but very hard to join and fit in. People here are not like down there, and they have more prejudice they look how someone is dressed, how they talk... All that is connected, people are a bit different or they just became more ‘like Swedes’, they are not the same as people down... Advantage is that we are all alike, it is much easier to be friends with people who mostly think similar to you than with someone you have to constantly be careful of what you say so you don’t offend them, their religion, or behavior... and it is positive that you always have someone. Negative side is also that everyone knows each other, and people talk. People are also very self-focused, and everyone is looking after themselves, they don’t want to help out each other as much... everyone lives for themselves and there is no solidarity, like other nations for example.” (Milica)

Testimonies of the respondents were the most diverse in the part of the study referring specifically to the use of social capital. This was the part that was the most susceptible to differences in their personalities. Therefore, most of the participants mentioned that what they use the most their social capital on is socializing. Some of them do, and did, use their and their parents’ social capital and contacts for certain things in life, while some claim to have used those sorts of links only in specific occasions and mostly rely on themselves. As previously mentioned, Putnam (2007) claims that there can be many forms of social capital and they don’t all have to be reciprocated (Putnam, 2007:138).

“Usually if I do contact someone for something that is mostly people my age because I don’t want, out of respect, to use my parents contacts. I try for it to be my own contacts if I need something. And I try not to rely so much on others but I want for it to be my success.” (Aleksandar)

“I would feel free to ask my close people for a favor of some sort or something if I need it.” (Jelena)



When asked about if they had used and the ways they use/d their and their parents' social capital answers varied significantly. Still, most of the participants used their own and parents' contacts and connections for getting a recommendation for an internship, summer job, job, etc. while there are some who used it for completely different reasons.

“Yes, my mom's. Just today one of my mom's contact helped me with 'studiebesok'<sup>21</sup> to 'Arbetsförmedlingen'<sup>22</sup> where she (*t.dj...*the contact...) is chef, since I am doing my internship now and that is part of the experience to see what they do. And for internship I did use her contacts. Then again, I used her contacts in Canada to connect two folklore associations and so... I did use my own (*t.dj...*contacts...) too, for work. I had various experiences and that my friends tell me to apply for a job at some company that is hiring, but also where I work right now was through my boyfriend's friend, if that can be counted as my contact.” (Jelena)

“I did, for work, travelling to other countries so I can stay at someone's place while there, recommendation for summer job. Also, if my friends need something I would ask my parents to find if they have some contact for that to help them too.” (Stefan)

“Here (*t.dj...*in Malmö...) was more (*t.dj...*use of contacts...) from my husband's parents. Although I did use my parents contacts for informing about many different things, for example about house and things for house, etc.” (Milica)

There are certain elements that Putnam considers valuable for use of social capital. One of them is “information” since he considers that social networks often simplify the flow of information which in the cases of some respondents served as way of attaining a job (Nan, 1999:31) i.e. transferring his social capital to economic capital. Additionally, most of the respondents do not hesitate to use not only theirs by also their parents' social capital, which often helped them to gain social credentials, which is another of Putnam's elements (ibid), through e.g. getting a recommendation for a job, internship, etc. which further lead to them attaining those positions.

There was one interesting answer about division of use of contacts between Serbia and Sweden that will be mentioned later.

---

<sup>21</sup> Studiebesok (sve.)- study visit;

<sup>22</sup> Employment office

“Here in Sweden no (*t.dj...*didn’t use his or his parent’s contacts...). But down (*t.dj...*in Serbia...) I did, since there everything functions on connections and bribe, and we used it to get passport and ID issued faster, among other things.” (Jovan)

Furthermore, some respondents mentioned the difference in using and asking co-native and other contacts for favors and job or other matters, while majority don’t recognize such constrains at all.

“For me it doesn’t matter (*t.dj...*co-native or not...), it is more based on how much helpful people are.” (Jelena)

“I would always rather ask our people for favor because I never know how other would react, and I think there might be difference how they would see it, react or understand it.” (Zoran)

“When I need someone to do something for me I prefer to ask our people. And I don’t know why that is so.” (Stefan)

“That is not important for me (*t.dj...*if co-native contact or not...). I felt equally free to ask both our and other people for favor when I need it.” (Ana)

When talking about using their and/or their parents’ contacts for finding a partner, most of the respondents say that they never used it and didn’t need it. All claim that they would never use their parents contacts for such things, even though in some cases they were offered by their parents but on a more humorous and teasing level. Although they do say that they occasionally do and might use their own contacts for such things.

“I don’t normally get such information from my parents, but from my friends yes. For example, I do ask how and what about someone but I never asked my parents about that.” (Aleksandar)

“It was known to happen (*t.dj...*to use his contacts to ask around about someone...). It happened a few times that they insinuate that is would be nice to set me up with a daughter of their friends or something like that, but I never used that.” (Zoran)

“My current partner I met through my friend, so yeah I used that connection there.” (Ivana)

“It was through relatives, or better said through mutual contacts, that I met my wife.”  
(Jovan)

While liberty of asking for favors might be a bit colorful between co-native and other contacts, informing oneself about people of interest is not so divided, or better said participants claim for it to not be so important.

### 6.2.3. Transnationalism

Visiting Serbia at least once a year was a tradition for all the respondents and their families. Usually they would travel in the summer time for a couple of weeks. The trip would be normally taken by car due to the convenience and possibility to visit as much as possible of family and relatives along the way, but also to travel to some of the neighboring countries on the seaside. As they grew older, patterns change for the respondents, some grew fond of and started travelling to Serbia even more often while others started alienating themselves from Serbia and started travelling with lower frequency there. The reasons for both are plentiful, such as a small number of connections to maintain, or the opposite, creating some significant relations in Serbia that require more frequent visits, etc. Also, the opening of the low-cost airline flight location from Malmö to Belgrade, and recently Niš<sup>23</sup>, has made visiting easier and more affordable. By traveling so often, migrants could maintain ties with their families, relatives, and friends despite long distances (Castels, 2015:41).

“I have only grandmother in Serbia, that I consider as a member of a closer family...We would usually go once a year, every summer to visit grandma. However, I didn't grew up with her so it is bit harder for me... it's the same thing I am 'not up to date' so when we meet she usually talks about things that are happening 'down there', she talks about her neighbors or people I don't know and then it is a bit awkward and weird for me, I just sit and nod... Lately I look not to go sometimes because it is a bit uncomfortable for me, it's a small city... than I look not to go but to stay here and work during whole summer.”  
(Aleksandar)

---

<sup>23</sup> Population wise second largest city in Serbia located in the southern part of the country.

“We would go every summer until year 2000, since than we would go every summer and winter and sometimes we would go for mom’s ‘slava’<sup>24</sup> in October for a week. Then when I met my wife (*t.dj...*in Serbia...) in 2012 I would go almost every month in between summer and winter...Then when she moved here we continued to go every summer and winter.” (Jovan)

“I try going as often, I go five times a year for sure. Now because of the boyfriend I go even more often of course but even before that I went all the time and that is very important for me... Now they opened here destination Malmö-Niš and that is much closer to us (*t.dj...*the place her family is from...) and it is quite cheap and then now because of boyfriend am going all the time. Every third month I go without fail.” (Milica)

Most of the respondents represent their connection to Serbia through their family and relatives there. However, for some it symbolizes their ‘hemland’ or ‘homeland’, even though they were neither born nor raised there. This feeling of connection is mostly due to the sentiments past onto them from their parents through stories, as well as through tradition and culture.

“... I am there on a vacation, but still for me Serbia represents my ‘homeland’ and that is important for me, to know where I am from and what that means.” (Zoran)

“Serbia for me represents country where I come from, my ‘homeland’, my country of origin, I am very connected to Serbia because I have a lot of relatives, and friends there and mostly because of that.” (Jelena)

“Serbia for me represents my home. I when I am going there, I say I am going home. I am still bounded to Serbia and I always will be. I am not a foreigner here<sup>25</sup>, but the same as my home is here it is also there even though I live here for so many years. So that it means a lot to me to go there.” (Milica)

“It represents that I have somewhere to go. It represents some sort of base where I know I can always go... and it is somehow comforting knowing you have that.” (Stefan)

When asked about their vision of Serbia, if their perception of the country had changed, many participants claimed that it hadn’t changed because they still enjoy travelling there as much as

---

<sup>24</sup> Slava is a folk, ritual celebration of a family protector; it is a family and kinship holiday. (Hristov, 2002:70)

<sup>25</sup> Referring to Sweden

they did when they were children. These participants also claim to have no special interest in the country's politics and economy, so it might be one of the reasons that change didn't occur. While others report significant changes in the approach and view of the country and the conditions in which people live there. However, they still like going there even though their vision of Serbian is not as idyllic as when they were kids.

“I always thought somehow, which is true, that social life is better down there and I thought that that can be more important to someone. Sometimes I was even thinking how it would be if I would be if I would live down there when I grow up but now when I am grown up I realize that that social life couldn't feed me... When I was little all of it (*t.dj...*visiting Serbia...) was somehow idealized, I would go down there to play, to rest and have a good time and enjoy.” (Jelena)

“I think that there is no such a big difference between how it was when I was little and now. But when I was kid I didn't even pay so much attention. Because the thing that could upset me the most like maybe politics and economy, that never interested me so there...” (Zoran)

Several respondents mentioned that what upsets them are the changes they have noticed in the behavior of the people living there towards them when they hear that they are coming from Sweden.

“People always just want something... Now, I don't want to generalize, but everybody wants to cross you. For example, now if I come from Sweden people have some picture that here money grows on trees and that we just pluck them, and they always wine and that bothers me.” (Stefan)

“It is quite changed. People are also different, they think that we since we live abroad that money 'rain from the sky' to us and stuff like that...” (Ana)

All the respondents mentioned that their parents still visit Serbia at least once a year, most often during their summer vacation of four weeks, and more often than that, if needed. When they go, they mostly visit family and relatives, and friends with whom they keep in contact still. Furthermore, all of the respondents express a strong influence from their parents to visit Serbia in the period when they were still children, and that is considered as something that triggered dear

sentiments towards the country. All of them recognize the possibility of making their own decisions in their adult life if they do or do not want to visit Serbia. However, some of them gladly choose to still go every year with their parents.

“Plenty of influence, since I always went with her (*t.dj...*mother...) and I think that maybe when I have my own family I won’t be going so often. Now I even go sometimes alone without mom but with friends from here.” (Jelena)

“Well at the beginning they were taking me, but then later whenever we were supposed to go I always wanted to go. Most often we still go together, but it is known to happen that I go alone too.” (Zoran)

“Well at the beginning a lot, yes (*t.dj...*influence...). Since, as I mentioned previously, we all went together once a year and then you simply had to go with them, but today no. Even later that became opposite, they even think that we exaggerate, that we go all the time down and stay for too long and that we are neglecting some obligations here because of Serbia.” (Milica)

Modern technology has made it much easier for everybody to keep in touch. By being constantly available and connected with more people in different places through the virtual arena of activity (Vertovec, 2009:3). All the respondents claim to still maintain contacts with relatives and friends in Serbia. While older generations maintain contacts mainly through landline phone connection, whereas younger generations do so more through the Internet and network apps such as Viber, WhatsApp, Facebook, Skype and Instagram. Transnationalism has helped with the maintenance of good relationships between “face-to-face” communities that are based on kinships, neighborhoods, etc. and make them work great even over long distances (Castles, 2015:42).

“Facebook, messages... mostly through internet, and I call my grandparents through landline phone because they don’t have internet. I have a couple of cousins with whom I am in constant contact and we have our group where we send some pictures, write what, where and when is happening, and that is how we keep contact. We write if not every than every other week.” (Jovan)

All the respondents said that it is important to them to stay in contact with relatives living in Serbia, however some of them who maintain contact leave more of it to their parents and they maintain contact with few people.

“Now it is not so important (*t.dj...* to maintain contact...) because I have parents, and they maintain and connect everything. When I need to see them (*t.dj...relatives...*), I do and when something happens I normally come and congratulate them also, through skype... I, myself, maintain contact only with one person and through Facebook.” (Stefan)

“Through internet Skype, Facebook, etc. It is important to me to keep those contacts, but it is more with relative who are my age since parents maintain contacts with aunts and uncles.” (Zoran)

All the participants maintain transnational connections with their relatives in Serbia in the Serbian language.

Not all participants have contacts somewhere else in the world with whom they keep in touch. However, those that do they have them in many different places in the world. They also claim that it is very important for them to keep contacts with them. The difference between this transnational network and the one with Serbia is that conversations are mostly conducted in Swedish or English, while for the generation of their parents that is unlikely since they maintain most of their connections in Serbian.

“Through Facebook, Instagram and those social networks... It all depends, with friends from here (*t.dj...Sweden...*), like that friend in England, with him for example mostly Swedish. He is also second-generation Serbian migrant but we talk mostly in Swedish since we grew up with that language so it is easier for us.” (Jelena)

“All through internet... Well, Swedish if they are from here, but if they live there (*t.dj...in another foreign country...*) and they don't speak Serbian than it is in English... Since we (*t.dj...family...*) do have some relatives like that. I have an aunt in Germany who grew up there and can't speak Serbian so it's mostly in English.” (Milica)

“Through Facebook. It all depends where people are. I have some in Canada and that is in English, and maybe a bit of Serbian if we are joking about something. Then, we (*t.dj*...family...) have some (*t.dj*...contacts...) in France and that is through English too. And it is important for me to maintain those contacts.” (Stefan)

“Through internet. And whenever they come here we always meet. (*t.dj*...The contacts are maintained mostly... In Swedish.” (Jovan)

One of the differences is that all of the respondents mostly use the Internet and social network applications that are available for maintaining contacts while their parents more frequently use landline telephony or sometimes Skype.

“I have some aunts in Germany and uncle in Austria but I don’t maintain contacts with them but my parents... Also through internet, Skype and in our language.” (Zoran)

“They do (*t.dj*...parents have contacts abroad...) and they do maintain them, but mostly through landline phone and they speak our language than mostly.” (Ana)

Global development has made maintenance of local and global transnational networks much easier and more accessible to everyone, especially through the Internet and travelling.



## 7 Conclusion

The general aim of the research is to explore the formation, maintenance, and use of social networks and social capital, which young migrants of Serbian origin living in Malmö have at their disposal. The study represents migrants' perspectives gained through eight semi-structured in-depth interviews. Questions are focused on how second-generation migrants of Serbian origin in Malmö create and portray their social networks at local and transnational levels and how they use them, how they maintain them and what significance and meaning they have for them. Theories mostly related with these subjects are Bourdieu's Social capital theory, Migration Network theory, and Transnational Network theory, which also represent theoretical grounds of this study.

What was common for all the respondents was the ability of speaking the language, which was proved by the interviews that were held in Serbian, and the importance it holds in their lives for the sake of their identity and more importantly, the creation and maintenance of co-native social networks. They pointed out often during the study that they do not see nationality as something that is very important for them when making friends. However, all of them maintain better or closer connections in Malmö with people of their origin, or Balkan origin, since they find them the most alike making it easier to connect to due to common experiences. As many of the respondents' said, reasons for this are the following: the difference in humor between them and others, and, simply put, the different ways of living and traditions are too tiresome to explain all the time. Simply put, it is just more comfortable and easier to maintain contacts with people who are more similar to them, and for many those are also people that could be categorized as "second-generation" migrants. Swedish is the language that they mostly use within the circle of their social networks in Malmö. However, it has been known to happen that they simply switch to Serbian sometimes or mix together both languages. In some cases, this ability is important for maintenance of closer social contacts. The co-native community in Malmö had a significant influence on them and the way they maintain their traditions and culture. It is responsible for creating their social networks and capital. Most of the respondents were or still are members of co-native associations in Malmö, which they mention as an important place for them, especially for creating close friendships. Those associations provided them with a lot of people like them

with whom it was easy to connect since they shared common experiences, interests, age and background. Other important places for making contacts and therefore creating social networks and capital are, as the respondents mentioned, school, work and neighborhoods. When it comes to emotional partners, whom the migrants also include in their social networks, many migrants who already have partners are of same origin, some are first some second-generation migrants. The Migration network theory can be used here to explain the connection between co-native migrants in Malmö and the existence of strong ethnic community. When looking at the research from a theoretical viewpoint, the Migration network theory claims that the cost of migration to some areas is lower starting from the moment first migrant comes and starts creating their social networks (Massey et al., 1993:449). This may further explain the creation of strong co-native communities in those areas (Castles et al. 2014:41) and further continuation of migration to the area because of emotional reasons.

The transnational relationships that they maintained in Serbia were usually already created when they were little. Parental influence for them to maintain contact with their origins was stronger when they were children. Travelling and visiting Serbia at least once a year for a month during summer vacations allowed for many of the respondents to create strong connections with the members of their wider family and their cousins, usually of similar age, with whom they later kept in touch with. However, with time the influence of their parents decreased and now it is completely up to them to choose how and if they will maintain their transnational connections. Furthermore, all the respondents claim to still maintain in contact with relatives and friends in Serbia. For some, that is just occasional contact with grandparents over the phone. While for others, contact through internet via social networks applications such as Viber, Skype, Facebook and Instagram is more frequent, which, as they claim, makes it much cheaper, easier, more convenient, and more accessible. This is what Vertovec meant when he said that transnationalism made it possible for people to maintained close relationships despite the great distances between them, and that was all possible thanks to, among other things, the “virtual arena of activity” (2009:3). Additionally, the existence of low-cost air companies and their convenient locations close to Malmö with direct connections to Serbia is what also proved useful for being able to uphold maintenance of close relationships and that can be one of the things that Castles meant when talking about globalization enabling “the capacity of migrants to maintain network ties over long distances” (2015:41). Most of them still do visit Serbia at least one a year

during summer time, although not for a whole month, while some travel with even more frequently due to the romantic relationships with their partners living in Serbia.

As previously mentioned, one of the aims of the study was to explore the formation and usage of social capital that the second-generation migrants of Serbian origin in Malmö have. The answers showed that most of them did use their own or even their parents' contacts for different things in life. By gaining recommendations, information, or jobs through their contacts, Bourdieu's claim in his theory of social capital proved true. His claim that social capital in some cases could be turned into economic capital (Bourdieu; taken from Richardson, 1986: 243) proved right in cases when it was used to help respondents get a recommendation, internship, and/or a contact that later often led to a job. Not all the respondents use their social connections in the same ways nor did they all use them for and economic purposes. However, most of them used them for something in their lives. Their social connections were useful in Malmö, as well as in Serbia.

The results of the study cannot be generalized since the sample of the study was very narrow and focused on people with a higher education. In addition to the aforementioned statement, the study cannot be generalized due to the fact that the results were very mixed.

#### Further Research

Suggestions that could influence future research might include to further explore the transnational connections of second-generation migrants on a much greater scale, while possibly utilizing a mixed method approach. Additionally, exploring the lives of migrants of Serbian origin and the roads that they have taken which have consequently led them to Sweden as refugees or asylum seekers, as well as how all of that occurred, might be another interesting study.

## References

- Behtoui, A. (2015) 'Social capital', 'The Integration of Descendants of Migrations from Turkey in Stockholm- The TIES study in Sweden' ed. by Westin, Ch., IMISCOE Research, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam.
- Bäck, H. (1989) 'Jugoslaviska invadrarföreningar i Sverige', Centrum för invandringsforskning (CEIFO), Stockholm.
- Bleich, E., Pekkanen R., (2015), 'Transparency about qualitative evidence- Data Access, Research Transparency, and Interviews: The Interview Methods Appendix', *Qualitative & Multi-Method Research*, Vol. 13, No. 1.
- Brettell, C., Hollifield, J.F., (2015) 'Migration theory: talking across disciplines', Routledge, New York.
- Carnine, J. (2016) 'The Social Networks of Chinese Students Studying in France', *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, Vol. 12, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden.
- Castles, S., de Haas, H., Miller, M.J. (2014), 'The age of migration: International population movement in the modern world', The Guilford Press, New York.
- Cederberg, M. (2012) 'Migrant networks and beyond: Exploring the value of the notion of social capital for making sense of ethnic inequalities', *Acta Sociologica*, Vol. 55, No. 1, Sage Publications, Ltd, pp. 59-72.
- Crisp, J. (1999) 'Policy challenges of the new diasporas: migrant networks and their impact on asylum flows and regimes', Policy Research Unit, UNHCR, Geneva.
- Denzin, N., Lincoln, Y. (2003) 'Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials'- Second edition, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.
- Edwards, G. (2010) 'Mixed-Method Approaches to Social Network Analysis', National Centre for Research Methods Review paper (ESRC), University of Manchester

- Faria, F., Lillesaar W., Meurle-Hallberg K., Swedner H. (1984) 'Invandarbarn i Malmö', Delegation för social forskning, Graphic Systems AB, Göteborg.
- Ford, D. (2005) 'Staten, företagen och arbetskraftsinvandringen – en studie av invandringspolitiken i Sverige och rekryteringen av utländska arbetare 1960–1972', Växjö University Press, Växjö.
- Forrest, J., Kusek, W. (2016) 'Human Capital and the Structural Integration of Polish Immigrants in Australia in the First, Second and Third Generations', Australian Geographer, Vol. 47, No. 2, Routledge Taylor and Francis group.
- Halperin, S., Heat, O. (2012) 'Political Research: Methods and Practical Skills', Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Hristov, P. (2002) 'The Use of Holidays for Propaganda Purposes: The "Serbian" Slava and/or the "Bulgarian" Sabor', Ethnologia Balcanica, vol. 6, Prof. Marin Drinov Publishing House, Sofia.
- Kadushin, Ch. (2012) 'Understanding social networks'- Theories, Concepts and Findings, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Kapiszewski, D., MacLean, Lauren M., Read, B. (2015), 'Field Research in Political Science: Practices and Principles', Cambridge University Press.
- Klinthäll, M., Urban, S., (2014) 'Second-Generation Immigrants in the Small-Business Sector in Sweden', Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies (12): 210-232, Taylor & Francis Group, LLC.
- Lin, N. (1999) 'Building a Network Theory of Social Capital', Connections 22 (1): 28-51, INSNA.
- Maher, G, Cawley, M. (2015) 'Social Networks and Labour Market Access among Brazilian Migrants in Ireland', Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Vol. 41, no. 14, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.
- Martin, A., Wellman, B. (2016) 'The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis', SAGE Publications Ltd, London.

- Massey, S.D., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouauci, A., Pellegrino, A., Taylor, J.E., (1993) 'Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal', *Population and Development Review* 19 (3):431-466, Population Council.
- Marsh, D., Stoker, G. (2010) 'Theory and methods in Political Science', Palgrave Macmillian, Third edition.
- Nilsson, Å. (2004) 'Efterkrigstidens invandring och utvandring'- Demographic Reports 2004:5, Statistiska centralbyrån.
- Peirce, G. (2009), '1968 and Beyond: From the Prague Spring to "Normalization"', Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh.
- Putnam, R. (2000) 'Bowling alone- The collapse and revival of American community', Simon & Suchster, New York.
- Putnam, R. (2007) 'E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century'. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30(2): 137-174.
- Richardson, J.G. (1986) 'Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education', Greenwood Press, Connecticut, pp. 241-261.
- Serbernas Riksförbund i Sverige (2010) 'Srbi u Švedskoj- 40 godina Saveza Srba u Švedskoj i 35 godina Organizacije žena Saveza Srba u Švedskoj', Stockholm.
- Toholjevic, A. (2016) 'Living Between Two Cultures- Ethnic Identity: Insights from Second-Generation Immigrants with Serbian Background in Sweden', Malmö University, Malmö.
- Vertovec, S. (2009) 'Transnationalism', Routledge, London.
- Westin, Ch., Behtoui, A., Larrucea, C.V., Ossman, A., Schröder, L. (2015) 'The Integration of Descendants of Migrations from Turkey in Stockholm- The TIES study in Sweden', IMISCOE Research, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam.
- Wickramasinghe, A.A.I.N., Wimalaratana, W. (2016) 'International migration and migration theories', *Social Affairs*. Vol.1 No.5, 13-32.

Internet reference:

<http://www.crkva.se/> , visited: 11/03/2017

De Haas, H., Natter, K., Vezzoli, S. (2016) ' Growing Restrictiveness or Changing Selection? The Nature and Evolution of Migration Policies', International Migration Review, Early view. Available at:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/imre.12288/full#publication-history> ,

visited: 9/8/2017

Malmö stad, available at

<https://web.archive.org/web/20140318134211/http://malmo.se/download/18.6e1be7ef13514d6fcc800030661/Malm%C3%B6bor%2Bf%C3%B6dda%2Bi%2Butlandet%2C%2Bf%C3%B6delsel%C3%A4nder.pdf> ,

visited: 10/8/2017

Migrationsverket, (2017),

<https://www.migrationsverket.se/Om-Migrationsverket/Fakta-om-migration/Historik.html>,

visited: 10/3/2017

<http://saabgroup.com/media/news-press/> , visited: 10/3/2017

<http://www.sitanvez.se/> , visited: 11/3/2017

<http://www.srbija-malmo.com> , visited: 11/3/2017

<http://svenskserber.se/savez/> , visited: 11/3/2017

## Appendix

### Appendix I- Pristanak na Učešće u Istraživanju

Ako želite da imate više informacija o istraživanju slobodno možete da me pitate. Intervju može biti obustavljen u bilo kom trenutku, ako se Vi osećate neprijatno zbog nekog pitanja, takodje podaci dati uvek mogu biti uklonjeni. Pre intervjuja bićete obavešteni o obrascu Pristanaka na Učešće u Istraživanju koji potvrđuje Vaše dobrovoljno učešće u istraživanju. Svi podaci koje date tokom istraživanja biće poverljivi i Vaša anonimnost će biti zagarantovana. Svi podaci koje date tokom istraživanja, ako budu korišćeni u radu biće pod pseudonimom ili će biti elimisani. Zbog spontanosti intervjuja intervju će biti audio sniman telefonom i vi naravno možete odbiti da budete snimani, u tom slučaju ja sam u obavezi da hvatam beleške. Svi podaci će biti uklonjeni nakon istraživanja. Procena je da intervju može trajati između 40 minuta i sat vremena. Vi uvek imate pravo da opovrgnete bilo koji podatak dat tokom intervjuja. Ako postoji interesovanje možete dobiti rezultate istraživanja kada je ono gotovo.

Hvala na učestvovanju!

Pročitao/la sam obrazac o Pristanaku na Učešću u Istraživanju i razumem cilj istraživanja, kao i svoje pravo na poverljivost i pravo da povučem/opovrgnem bilo koju informaciju datu. Takodje, potvrđujem da dobrovoljno učestvujem u istraživanju.

Ime i prezime učesnika

X

---

Potpis

X

---

Datum



## Appendix II- Consent of the participation in the research

If you wish to be more informed about the research feel free to ask me. Interview can be stopped at any moment if you feel uncomfortable about some questions. Additionally, information that you give can always be removed. Before the beginning of the interview you will be informed about the Consent of the participation in the research which confirms your voluntary participation in the study. All the data gathered through interviews is confidential and your anonymity will be guaranteed. All the information you provide during interviews if they are used in the paper will be under aliases or they will be eliminated. To acquire high level of spontaneity the interviews will be audio recorded with the mobile phone, but you can of course refuse to be taped and in that case, I will have to make notes of the conversation. All the information will be removed after the research. Estimation is that the interviews could last from 45-60 minutes. You have always right to unsay any information given during the interview. Furthermore, if you are interested it is possible for you to get the results of the research when it is done.

Thank you for participating!

I have read the Consent of the participation in the research and I understand the aim of the research, as well as my right to confidentiality and my right to retract and information given during the interview. Additionally, I confirm my voluntary participation in the study.

First and last name of the Participant

  
\_\_\_\_\_

Signature

  
\_\_\_\_\_

Date:

### Appendix III- Participant's Profiles:

Aleksandar- Male, 21 years old, student of stomatology, unemployed, single, family: parents and sister.

Jelena- Female, 22 years old, student of social work, working as a trader extra, in a relationship, family: grandparents, mother, boyfriend.

Zoran- Male. 23 years old, student of construction engineering. unemployed, in a relationship, family: parents, two brothers.

Ivana- Female, 21 years old, student while extra working as a trader, in a relationship, family: parents and brother.

Stefan- Male, 20 years old, student of stomatology, unemployed, single, family: parents and two brothers, grandmother.

Milica- Female, 21 years old, student of veterinary medicine currently taking a break from studies and working in administration, in a relationship, family: parents, brother and sister.

Jovan- Male, 27 years old, bachelor degree in geodetic engineering, employed, married, family: wife, daughter, parents, two brothers.

Ana- Female, 26 years old, master degree in environmental engineering, employed, married, family: husband, parents, sister

## Appendix IV- Intervju Vodič

### OSNOVNE INFORMACIJE

-----Lične informacije:

(Godine) Koliko imaš godina?

Gde si rođen/a?

Da li poseduješ dvojno ili samo jedno državljanstvo? I koje (u slučaju samo jednog)?

Tvoje obrazovanje?/ Profesija?

Da li si uvek živeo/la u Malmo? (u kom naselju) ako nije uvek bio Malmo gde si živeo/la?

-----Informacije o porodici/znacaj održanja kulture:

Gde su tvoji roditelji rođeni?

Njihovo državljanstvo?

Profesija?/ Obrazovanje?

Koji se jezik najčešće govoren u tvom domu? Zašto?

Koliko je bitno znanje srpskog jezika za tebe, tvoju porodicu? Zajednicu? Tvoju (buduću) decu?

Tvoj posao? Obrazovanje? Tvoje planove za budućnost?

Kako bi ocenio/la tvoje znanje Srpskog/Švedskog? (Uporedi/objasni)

Kako si učio/la drugi jezik(e)? Da li si se susretao sa nekim poteškoćama, problemima ili si imao pomoć od strane roditelja/familije?

### DRUŠTVENA MREŽA

Da li možeš da opišeš ko čini tvoju (blisku) socijalnu mrežu u Malmo? (porodica, familija, prijatelji, partner, itd.)

-----Prijatelji

Kako si formirao/la svoje kontakte sa prijateljima u Malmo?

Kako bi opisala svoj krug najbližih prijatelja? U smislu njihovog etniciteta, porekla, odrastanja, trenutnog života..

Da li je tvoje srpsko poreklo bitno za tebe kad stvaraš poznanastva i prijateljstva? ( i tokom detinstva kao i sad)

Koliko su ( i da li su imali) uticaja tvoji roditelji imali na tvoj izbor prijatelja?

Da li je njima (bilo) bitno to Srpsko poreklo kod tvojih prijatelja?

Kako izgleda društvena mreža tvojih roditelja u Malmo?

-----Emotivni partneri

Da li imaš partnera/ku, muža/ženu? Da li je on/ona srpskog porekla ili?

Koliko je tebi (bilo) bitno srpsko poreklo kada biraš partnera/ku?

Koliko je tebi bitno mišljenje (tvoje) srpske zajednice i tvoje porodice o tvom partneru/ki?

-----Zajednica

Da li si povezana sa nekim Srpskim asocijacijama/zajednicama/organizacijama u Malmo? Ako da, u kom smislu? Da li je to bitno za tebe? (molim objasni)

Kako si formirala te konekcije?

Koliko su bili bitni kontakti tvojih roditelja kada si kreirao/la kontakte u(sa) zajednicom?

Da li si ikada učestvovao/la ili doprineo/la u nekim kulturnim aktivnostima organizovanim od strane Srpskih zajednica u Malmo? (npr. Časovi jezika, folklor, proslave/žurke, sport) Da li smatraš da je to važno (bilo važno) za tebe?

Da li si član i da li posećuješ Srpsku crkvu u Malmo? Da li je to bitno za tebe, za tvoju porodicu?

Kako bi ti opisao/la Srpsku zajednicu u Malmo? Da li je bilo nekih promena tokom godina i ako da, koje promene? (molim objasni, opiši)

Šta voliš a šta ne u vezi Srpske zajednice u Malmo?

## TRANSNATIONALIZAM

-----Srbija

Da li si ikad bio/la u Srbiji?

Možeš li da objasniš/opišeš tvoje konekcije sa Srbijom? Šta Srbija predstavlja za tebe?

Koliko često ideš/si išao(la) u Srbiju i zašto?

Kako ti vidiš Srbiju sada i kako dok si odrstao/la? Šta voliš/ne voliš o Srbiji?

Da li se tvoja slika/vidjenje Srbije promenilo? Zašto?

Koliko su tvoji roditelji povezani sa Srbijom? Da li je posećuju, koliko često, zašto?

Koliko su oni imali uticaja na tebe da posećuješ Srbiju?

Kako održavaš, ako održavaš, kontakte sa porodicom i prijateljima u Srbiji?

Koliko ti je bitno da imaš kontakt sa ljudima u Srbiji?

-----Svet

Kako održavaš kontakte sa članovima tvoje društvene mreže koji žive u inostranstvu?

Koji jezik koristiš tom prilikom?

Da li tvoji roditelji imaju prijatelje/familiju u inostranstvu? Da li i kako održavaju te kontakte?

## DRUŠTVENI KAPITAL

Da li koristiš i kako tvoju društvenu mrežu u svakodnevnom životu? (opiši/objasni)

Da li si ikad koristio/la konekcije tvojih roditelja? Za šta?

Da li si koristio svoje društvene konekcije za zaposlenje ili lakši pristup tržištu rada?

Da li koristiš svoje društvene konekcije u potrazi za emocionalnim partnerom/kom? (npr. Poznanstvo preko prijatelja, itd.)

Ili društvene konekcije tvojih roditelja u potrazi emotivnog partnera?

Da li su te konekcije koje koristiš više bazirane na ko-nativnoj mreži ili?

## Appendix V- Interview guide

### Background information

-----Personal info:

(Age) How old are you?

Where were you born?

Do you have dual citizenship or a single? And of which country (in the case of one) ..

Educational background? / Your profession?

Have you always lived in Malmö? if not Malmö where did you live?

-----Family info:

Where were your parents born?

Their citizenship(s)?

Profession? /Their education?

What was the language mostly spoken at home? Why?

How important is knowing Serbian language for you? your family? community? your (future) children? Your work? Your education? Your future?

How would you evaluate your knowledge of Serbian/Swedish?

How did you learn other language(s)? (some difficulties, problems, help from parents) do you use these languages in your work...?

### SOCIAL NETWORKS

Can you describe who makes your (close) social network in Malmö? (family, kin, friends, partners etc.)

----Friends:

How do(did) you form connections with your friends?

How would you describe your circle of closest friends? Their ethnicity, upbringing, life now...

Is your Serbian background important for you when creating friendships? (both during childhood/growing up/now?)

How much influence did your parents have on your choice of friends?

Was Serbian background (similar ethnical background) important for them?

How does social network of you parents look in Malmö?

-----Emotional partners

Do you have a partner? Is he/she with Serbian background or?

How important is for you the Serbian background when choosing the partner?

How important is for you the opinion of the Serbian community and your kin about your partner?

-----Community

Are you connected or have you ever been connected to any Serbian associations/communities in Malmö? In what way? Is that important for you?

How did you form does connections?

How important were your parents' connections while creating your own?

Have you ever participated or contribute to some cultural Serbian activities organized by Serbian community in Malmö? (t.ex. Serbian language lessons, folklor, parties, sport) describe/explain. Why? Was that important for you and why?

How would you describe Serbian community in Malmo? Have there been any changes over the time, which ones? (describe, explain)

What do you like/dislike about Serbian community in Malmo?

TRANSNATIONALISM

-----Serbia

Have you ever been in Serbia?

Can you explain/describe your connection to Serbia? (what Serbia represents to you)

How often do (did) you usually go and why?

How do you see Serbia? Now and through your growing up? what you like(d)/dislike(d)?

Did your picture change? Why? (explain)

How connected are your parents with Serbia? (do they visit, how often, why)

How big was their influence on you to visit Serbia?

How do you keep/maintain contacts with your friends and family there? (explain/describe)

How important for you is to have contact with people from there?

-----World

How do you maintain contact with the members of your social network living abroad? (explain)

What language do you use for that?

How important for you is to maintain those contacts?

Do your parents have similar behavior patterns?

## SOCIAL CAPITAL

Do you use and how your social network in the daily life? How? (explain/describe)

Do (did) you ever use social connections of your parents? For what?

Do (did) you use your social connection for employment or easier approach to labor market?

Do you use your social connection in the search of emotional partner(s)? (if yes explain)

(Or your parents' social connections for finding an emotional partner?)

Are the connections you use more based on co-native network or? (explain)