



# **Ethnic identity and generalized trust in heterogeneous environments**

**- A comparative study in the Gothenburg region**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis has studied two things, the first thing is to see if contact between different ethnic minorities but were the ethnic majority is absent has the same alleged positive effect on generalized trust as contact between ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority. The second issue is to see if people that have contact with people with other ethnic origin than themselves changed their perception of their ethnic identity and if that effects generalized trust. This was done by using theories of social constructivism and social capital were I had an inductive theoretical approach. The research design was comparative research design, comparing heterogeneous environments were there were different ethnic minorities but were the ethnic majority was absent to ethnic heterogeneous environments were there were different ethnic minorities but were the ethnic majority was present using semis structured interviews. What I found out is that contact did in deed effect how people perceived their ethnic identity but not always in the way that the theories suggested that they should. Age seemed to have an bigger effect on generalized trust then ethnic heterogeneity. Also ethnic identity did not directly effect generalized trust but that contact and ethnic identity did in some indirect way effect generalized trust because contact led people to believe that all people are the same no matter their ethnic identity.

Key words: *Contact, heterogeneity, ethnic identity, generalized trust.*

## **Acknowledgments**

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## **Introduction**

The world today is changing, and it is changing rapidly. Societies which fifty years ago were ethnically homogeneous are today becoming more ethnically heterogeneous. Swedish society has become a multi-ethnic and a multi-cultural society. Those that have immigrated to Sweden or are born in Sweden but have one parent who is born outside of Sweden, constitute 19 per cent of the Swedish population,<sup>1</sup> a number that with all likelihood will increase in the future. How will this transition from an ethnically homogeneous society towards a more ethnic heterogeneous society take place? Will there be a problem of integrating the ethnic minority population in to Swedish society? Will the presence of different ethnicities affect how people view and trust one another, whether there is generalized trust in society? In the academic debate, there are two approaches to how contact between different ethnic groups affects generalized trust. According to one approach, the transitions are difficult due to conflict over scarce resources.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, according to a second approach, the transition is more smooth if people from different ethnicities interact with each other.<sup>3</sup> Interaction across ethnic lines also has positive effects for civil society and democracy because interaction can produce *social capital*.<sup>4</sup> What social capital is and how it is produced will be outlined in the following chapters. One important aspect of social capital is *generalized trust*. Generalized trust is important because it strengthens cooperation across ethnic lines, bringing people together so they can overcome their differences, working together to achieve mutual goals.<sup>5</sup> Depending on what approach scholars have had, the prospects for development of generalized trust in ethnic heterogeneous societies differ. Some scholars have found that ethnic heterogeneity lowers generalized trust, while other scholars have showed that ethnic heterogeneity leads to more generalized trust.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>[SCB \(2010\)](#)

<sup>2</sup> Putnam (2007) p. 141

<sup>3</sup>Ibid

<sup>4</sup>Putnam (1996) p. 139-141

<sup>5</sup>Ibid

<sup>6</sup>Putnam (2007) p. 141

In this thesis I will look at two things, the first thing is to see if contact between different ethnicities but where the ethnic majority is absent has the same alleged positive effect on generalised trust as contact between ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority. The second issue is to see if people that have had contact changed their perception of their ethnic identity and how that affects generalized trust. My research question are as follows:

- How do people describe their ethnic identity and generalized trust?
- How do people describe the relation between ethnic identity and generalized trust?
- What similarities and differences are there between how people describe the relationship between ethnic identity and generalized trust, in heterogeneous environments where the majority population is absent and heterogeneous environments where there are different ethnic minorities and the majority population is present?

The structure of this thesis is as follows: The next chapter is the literature review which will describe the most influential authors on the subject, the biggest controversies and the gap this thesis has tried to fill. The third chapter is the the theoretical approach where the theories are presented as well as the theoretical model, the analytical model and the hypothesis. The fourth chapter is the methods and research design chapter, a chapter that will describe what methods for gathering data, what methods for analyzing the data, what choices are done and how these choices influence the study. The fifth chapter will begin with background information on generalized trust in Sweden on an national level, just to put my study in to a context. After the background information I will present my results and my analysis on ethnic identity and generalized trust, with an conclusion in the end to round up my study. The last chapter is a bibliography and in the end there are two appendixes, the first shows the semi structured interview and the second shows all the tables and figures used in the thesis.

## **Literature review: The scholarship on ethnic heterogeneity and generalized trust**

This literature review will describe the research which explores what happens to generalized trust in a society when it goes from an ethnic homogeneous society to become an ethnic heterogeneous society. The field is a part of the larger field of social capital. The field I looked upon is the field of ethnic heterogeneity and generalized trust. I will in this literature describe the most debated issues on ethnic heterogeneity and generalized trust, presenting the most influential academic and the different methodological framework in this field, besides that I will present a gap in the literature that my thesis has tried to fill. The controversy in the literature is about whether the transition from an ethnic homogeneous society towards a more ethnic heterogeneous society leads to lower levels of generalized trust or not. The gap in the literature review that I will try to fill is to see how people describe the relationship between ethnic identity and generalized trust, in heterogeneous environments where the majority population is absent and heterogeneous environments where there are different ethnic minorities and the majority population is present.

The academic field on ethnic heterogeneity and generalized trust is quite substantial.<sup>7</sup> Over the past decade more scholars have tried to see what will happen in societies that were previously ethnically homogeneous, when they become more ethnically heterogeneous. There are several ways to study this and depending on how you study it, the answer will be different. The most influential scholar in this field is Robert D Putnam, who claims that in societies where the ethnic fabric changes from ethnic homogeneous to ethnic heterogeneous, generalized trust will in the short run be lower but that when people start to interact more with each other, generalised trust will get higher again.<sup>8</sup> Second there are scholars who claim the opposite, that in ethnic heterogeneous environments generalized trust will be lower because people compete over scarce resources, such as jobs and housing.<sup>9</sup> A third group of scholars claim that it is not ethnic heterogeneity which is the reason for lower levels of generalized trust rather it is socio-economic factors that matter, when taken into account at an individual level, socio-economic levels of neighbourhoods have a stronger effect on generalized trust than ethnic

<sup>7</sup> Putnam (2007), Hoogh (2009), Sturgis, Brunton-Smith, Read and Allum (2010), Kokkonen, Esaiasson and Giljam (2010)).

<sup>8</sup> Putnam (2007) p. 141

<sup>9</sup> Sturgis, Brunton-Smith, Read and Allum (2010) p 76.

diversity, gender (women are more trustful than men), age (younger are more trustful than old people), church attendance (those that attend church are more trustful than those that do not attend church).<sup>10</sup> At the same time they find that immigrants are less trustful than those that are born in the country. People living in nations that have higher GDP are more trustful than those living in countries where the GDP is lower and those people that live in countries where there is more income equality are more trustful than those people that live in countries with low income equality.<sup>11</sup> In all this literature they only look at this phenomena on an aggregate national level using quantitative methods. They do not try to see what happens to ethnic minorities or how ethnic minorities with different contacts perceive ethnic identities and its relation to generalized trust. Most often ethnic minorities are lumped under the category immigrants, disregarding that immigrants consist of different ethnic groups, that an environment that consist of only immigrants is already an ethnically heterogeneous environment. My thesis has tried to look if the positive interaction between different ethnic minorities has the same positive effects on generalized trust as interaction between ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority population.

In Sweden there is not so much study in ethnic heterogeneity and generalized trust, the closest to the subject is a study done by Kokkonen, Esaiasson and Giljam (2010), a study that looked on ethnic heterogeneity in schools and how it affects democratic citizenship. Even if the study by Kokkonen, Esaiasson and Giljam does not look at generalized trust directly, it does so indirectly by looking at social trust and institutional trust, something that has been proven to create generalized trust.<sup>12</sup> Instead of looking at ethnic heterogeneity and how it affects trust, most of the literature in Sweden has been on how generalized trust is created in the first place, mostly looking if participation in voluntary associations increases generalized trust, finding that it does not. Looking at political trust instead of generalized trust, and how membership in voluntary associations might affect it, finding that participation in voluntary associations does not affect political trust.<sup>13</sup> The most influential scholar in Sweden on generalized trust is Bo Rothstein.<sup>14</sup>

## **The gap**

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<sup>10</sup> Hoogh (2009) p 202, Kokkonen, Esaiasson and Giljam (2010) p 351.

<sup>11</sup> Hoogh (2009) p 210.

<sup>12</sup> Rothstein (2003) p 170.

<sup>13</sup> Bretzen (2005) p 2.

<sup>14</sup> Eek, Rothstein (2001) p 1-5.

Besides looking at ethnic heterogeneity in groups that have not been under scientific scrutiny before (interaction in ethnic heterogeneous minority groups), this thesis uses a different methodological approach than most of the research that has been done previously. Most of the research in the literature have looked at countries at an aggregate level, or comparing different countries, mostly OECD countries, using social service indexes, looking at percent of ethnic heterogeneity and levels of generalized trust.<sup>15</sup> What the studies mentioned above lack is to look at the mechanism in a person's identity that changes when they interact across ethnic lines. How people perceive how trustworthy others are reflects not only their encounter with other people but also if contact has changed how strong ethnicity was for their identity. By looking at how inclusive/exclusive people are in the description of their ethnic identity, I will extract how interaction across ethnic boundaries changes how people perceive themselves, their place in the society and if that reflects their attitudes towards generalized trust.

In sum, there are two gaps in the literature which this thesis fill. The first gap concerns the theoretical debate on whether the positive effects on ethnic heterogeneity and generalized trust are the same in ethnically heterogeneous environments that consist of ethnic minorities and ethnic majorities as in those ethnic heterogeneous environments where there are different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority is absent. This is important for Swedish integration policy, as some immigrant groups tend to cluster in specific neighbourhood. If interaction between different ethnic minorities leads to higher generalized trust then the problem of integration is not the ethnic fabric of where immigrants live but something else.

The second gap has to do with methodology. Instead of looking at Sweden and generalized trust at an aggregate level, using quantitative methods, this thesis has used qualitative methods. More specifically I use social constructivism to study how interaction in ethnically heterogeneous environments affects how people perceive themselves and others.

## **Theoretical approach**

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<sup>15</sup> Sturgis, Brunton-Smith, Read and Allum (2010) p 76, Fieldhouse, Cutts (2010) p 298.

By holding a constructivist position this thesis has worked under the assumption that individuals help create their own identities and institutions but that identities and institutions can influence individuals as well.<sup>16</sup> In doing so this thesis was using inductive methods where the grand theory of social capital acted as a beginning, providing hypotheses that were tested and developed.

### **Social constructivism**

A big part of the theoretical framework in this study has been that no man is an island, the relationships we build and have towards other people helps shape our perception of ourselves and others, our identity. The focus in this thesis is on ethnic identity and how included/excluded people feel from the Swedish society, an individual can of course have other identities, besides the ethnic one. An individual can have one ethnic identity, but have a gender identity and a sexual identity simultaneously. The idea that interaction with others shape how we perceive ourselves and our identity as well as how included/excluded people feel from society comes from an theoretical tradition of social constructivism.<sup>17</sup> In the case of this thesis, social constructivism is relevant to see how interaction across ethnic lines effects ethnic identities and if that effects generalized trust.

### **Contact, ethnic identity and generalized trust**

This thesis has looked at ethnic identity as something that is constructed by individuals in their interaction with others. There are two dimension of ethnicity this thesis has looked at. The first dimension is the strength of ethnic identity, be it a national identity or an immigrant identity. Have the individuals a strong or weak sense of their ethnic identity? The second dimension is the relation of ethnic identity towards other identities: Do people feel excluded or included in the Swedish society? The reason why these two dimensions are of importance is that interaction with people creates social capital. Social capital are a list of abilities, which when taken together create norms, networks and trust which enable individuals to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives.<sup>18</sup> Why contact in different ethnic heterogeneous environments can create different levels of trust is explained by different types of social-capital. In some environments bonding social-capital is created. *Bonding social capital*

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<sup>16</sup>Bryman (2008) p. 19.

<sup>17</sup>Hopf (2002) p 1.

<sup>18</sup>Shuller, Baron and Field (2000) p 9.

is based upon strong ties within environments and they are built upon a high level of exclusion towards individuals and groups who do not fit in within their environments.<sup>19</sup> This form of social capital is considered to be an exclusive sort because of the fact that it appears that wherever this form exists; there are divisions in those communities.

The kind of trust that bonding social capital creates, is a more limited and a personalized type of trust which includes people that stand close to one self. This does not provide a big radius of trust which results in less trust for people that are culturally, ethnically or linguistically different.<sup>20</sup> Examples of environments that create bonding social capital are ethnic associations, restricted luxury sport clubs and female reading clubs in religious cults.

Bonding social capital has the effect of mobilizing solidarity amongst the members (of a specific environment) and can generate specific mutuality. For example, the members of ethnic associations can offer each other social and psychological support which can be crucial for the less fortunate members. Even in business-related terms, entrepreneurs can get help with initial endowment, attracting customers and reliable labour. But the positive effect might only take one as far as “making it decently” since those of “your own kind” might be in the same position as you and move in the same acquaintance. In this thesis, bonding social capital has been used to see if people in ethnic heterogeneous environments where there are different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority is absent, have bonded in a new immigrants identity and that they feel excluded from the Swedish society. Or if they have kept a strong sense of their ethnic identity and feel that they do not belong to the Swedish society and if these two factors (strength of ethnic identity and how included/excluded people feel about being a part of Swedish society) in turn effects generalized trust. If they do then according to theory, people that have bonded strongly across their identities and feel that they are excluded from the Swedish society should have negative attitudes on generalized trust.<sup>21</sup>

*Bridging social capital* is instead more fragile but is shaped in a way that it allows for heterogeneous interaction and inclusion of different individuals and groups in a society. Even if the degree of bridging social capital is higher than bonding social capital, it does not have the same density in terms of

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<sup>19</sup>Putnam (2001) p 22.

<sup>20</sup>Fukuyama (1999)

<sup>21</sup>[Ibid](#)

connecting strong ties.

Examples of environments that illustrate bridging social capital are; the citizens' rights movement, ecumenical associations and various youth associations involved in societal activities that are beneficial for society etc.<sup>22</sup>

This type of social capital can also shape, according to Putnam, a broader identity with more mutuality, while bonding social capital tends to create narrow identities. This indicates in accordance to constructional theories that interaction with other individuals or the lack of interaction can help shape our identities.<sup>23</sup> This is why it was of interest to see if ethnic heterogeneous associations were there were different ethnic minorities present but were the ethnic majority population (ethnic Swedes) was absent showed a broader bridging ethnic identity. An bridging ethnic identity were ethnic identity was weak and unimportant and people felt included in the Swedish society, if they felt included then they were able to bridge over ethnic differences and feel that they belonged to the Swedish society, in which case they will have positive attitudes towards generalized trust.<sup>24</sup>

### **Theoretical model**

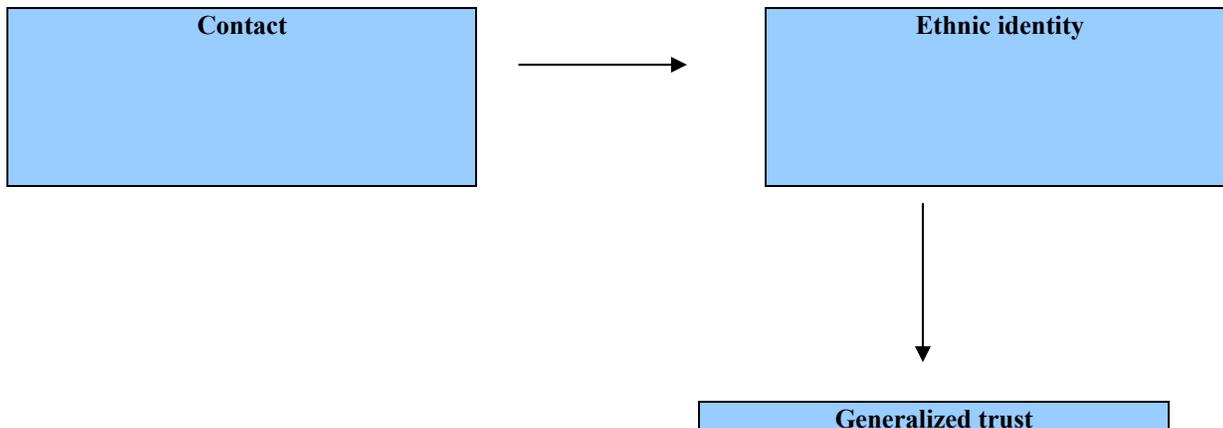
Based on my theoretical assumption, I have constructed a theoretical model. It includes one *independent variable*: **contact** which is divided between contact across ethnic boundaries in heterogeneous environments were "Swedes" are absent and contact across ethnic boundaries in heterogeneous environments were "Swedes" are in a majority, and two *dependent* variables: the strength of ethnic identity and how included/excluded one feels about being a part of the Swedish society and generalized trust. What I wanted study is how contact in ethnic heterogeneous environments affects attitudes on generalized trust and if contact in different ethnic heterogeneous environments effects generalized trust in a different way. Based upon the information received during the interviews I was able to extract what type of contact had taken place by asking questions related to ethnicity, inclusive/exclusivity about being a part of the Swedish society and generalized trust.

### **Figure 1. Causal assumptions of how contact affects generalized trust**

<sup>22</sup>Putnam (2001) p 22–23, Rothstein, Stolle (2002) p 4-5.

<sup>23</sup>Hopf (2002) p 1.

<sup>24</sup>Fukuyama(1999)



### **Contact**

There are two types of contact I have studied. Contact in heterogeneous environments where there are different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority is absent and contact in heterogeneous environments where there are different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority is present.

### **Ethnic identity**

I studied how ethnic identity is affected by contact. Does contact lead to strong and exclusive ethnic identities where people have a strong sense of their ethnic identity and feel excluded from the Swedish society or an inclusive ethnic identity where ethnic identity is weak and people feel included in the Swedish society.

### **Generalized trust**

I also studied if there was a difference in generalized trust between the people in the different heterogeneous environments. Was generalized trust high or low? If people felt that people in general could not be trusted then generalized trust was low, if on the other hand people felt that other people in general could be trusted then generalized trust was high.

To illustrate the tools for analysis, I created an analytical model. The first column, shows the type of contact, has the contact been between the minority populations (immigrants) and the majority or has

contact been between different ethnic minorities. The second column explains the role of ethnic identity, is the ethnic identity inclusive, did people have a weak ethnic identity and felt included in the Swedish society or was the ethnic identity exclusive, those interviewed felt a strong ethnic identity and felt excluded from the Swedish society. included or excluded in the Swedish society. The third column shows if contact effects generalized trust, is generalized trust high or low.

**Figure 2.1 Analytical model**

Type of contact	Ethnic identity		Generalised trust	
	Inclusive	Exclusive		
Minority- Majority	Ethnic identity I weak	Ethnic identity strong	High	Low
	Feel included in the Swedish society	Feel excluded in the Swedish society		
Different Minorities	Ethnic identity I weak	Ethnic identity strong	High	Low
	Feel included in the Swedish society	Feel excluded in the Swedish society		

## Hypothesis

The purposes of this thesis was to see if contact between different ethnic minorities had the same positive effect for generalized trust as does contact between the ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority by looking at ethnic identity. So to use the analytical model, according to the hypothesis contact between minorities and the ethnic majority should look like this:

**Figure 3. Hypothesis**

Type of contact	Ethnic identity		Generalized trust	
	Inclusive			
Minority- Majority	Ethnic identity weak		High	
	Feel included in the Swedish society			

Contact between the minority and the majority should led to an inclusive ethnic identity, people should have weak ethnic identities and feel included in the Swedish society. And the purpose of the thesis was to see if contact between different ethnic minorities led to the same outcome by looking at ethnic identity and compering ethnic heterogeneous environments were there were different ethnic minorities but were the ethnic majority was absent to heterogeneous environments were there were different ethnic minorities but were the ethnic majority was present.

## **Specified aim and research questions**

The aim of this thesis is to study how people describe the relation between their ethnic identity and generalized trust, in ethnic heterogeneous environments where there are different ethnic minorities but where the majority population is absent and heterogeneous environments where there are different ethnic minorities and the majority population is present. To see whether contact between different ethnic origins changes how people perceive their ethnic identity and how that is something that affects generalized trust.

- How do people describe their ethnic identity and generalized trust?
- How do people describe the relation between ethnic identity and generalized trust?
- What similarities and differences are there between how people describe the relationship between ethnic identity and generalized trust, in heterogeneous environments where the majority population is absent and heterogeneous environments where there are different ethnic minorities and the majority population is present?

## **Methods and research design**

The chapter will begin with some of the concepts used and how they have been conceptualized in this thesis. This chapter will also describe which research design was used and why, the sampling and how it might affect the thesis and the methods for analyzing data.

### **Conceptualization of concepts**

#### *Generalized trust*

In research that uses quantitative methods generalized trust is measured by handing out social surveys, where people can answer how trustworthy people in general are, in Sweden the scale of the trustworthiness ranges from zero (people are not trustworthy) to ten (people are trustworthy). In this study generalized trust was instead measured using qualitative methods where people described how trustworthy people are in general and why. Generalized trust tries to measure if people in general can be trusted or not. Generalized trust is used in this thesis as an indicator if an ethnically heterogeneous society is a harmonic one or not. Higher generalized trust means that the likelihood of a functioning society is bigger while a low generalized trust might make a society function less smoothly.

#### *Heterogeneity*

The discussion of heterogeneous environments in terms of ethnicity, age, race, gender, class etc. is complicated due to the fact that an environment can be both homogeneous and heterogeneous at the same time but in different ways. A gymnast association can for instance be ethnically heterogeneous while being homogeneous when it comes to gender or age. Because of this, it is recognized that many groups can bond on some levels while bridge on other levels. For instance; black churches bond people of the same race and religion while bridge across class differences.<sup>25</sup> This thesis has looked at ethnic heterogeneity, leaving out the other types of heterogeneity/homogeneity that an environment might have. This was done because some limitations had to be done, if I have pursued to have a perfect heterogeneous environment in every way, it would have been impossible for me to find such a perfect environment.

#### *Ethnic identity*

Writing about ethnic identity is sometimes difficult, who is a Swede and who is an immigrant, there are

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<sup>25</sup>Putnam (2001) p. 23

different ways to categorize ones ethnic identity. Ethnic identity was considered in this thesis as something that those who were interviewed had construed in their contact with other people. Ethnic identity could either take the form of an inclusive ethnic identity were people had weak ethnic identity and felt included in the Swedish society or an excluded ethnic identity were they had a strong ethnic identity and felt excluded from the Swedish society.

### **Research design**

The research design used in this thesis was comparative design, comparing ethnic heterogeneous environments. Environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was absent to ethnic heterogeneous environments where there were ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was present, to see if there was a difference in generalized trust. Comparative design was used because it lets us understand social phenomena better when they are compared in relation to two or more meaningfully contrasting cases.<sup>26</sup> In the case of this study I was looking at environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was absent contrasting it with environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was present. The ethnic heterogeneous environments I choose to go to were martial arts associations. The reason I choose to go to martial arts association was because they provided the mix of ethnic heterogeneity I was looking for, many people with immigrant background go to martial arts associations. I tried to be varied when it came to gender but there were mostly men that wanted to participate. Not having a greater gender balance would have been a bigger issue if my study had shown a difference in generalized trust and ethnic identity between the genders but as will be presented in the results it was not the case. Therefore my study was not biased even if I did not have a perfect gender balance.

### **Methods for gathering data**

The methods for gathering the data for the thesis was semi structured interviews, using qualitative interviewing. The reason why I used qualitative interviewing was because I needed to know the perspectives of those that were interviewed, I needed to see if through contact, people altered how they viewed their ethnic identity and how that effected their views on generalized trust. When dealing with

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<sup>26</sup>Bryman (2008) p 58.

how people perceive their worldview qualitative interviewing is to prefer.<sup>27</sup> Because I was looking at some specific topics, ethnic identity and generalized trust, I used a semi structured interview, since it enables researcher to look at specific topics which they are interested in, I could have used the total *unstructured interview* but it was not appropriate since I was still interested in some specific topics.<sup>28</sup>

When it came to the issue of the sampling method, I used *purposive sampling*. Not only is purposive sampling recommended when dealing with qualitative interviews in social sciences.<sup>29</sup> Purposive sampling enables researchers to conduct strategic research which is essential if it is some specific variables that are being evaluated. In the case of this thesis the variables were type of contact (independent) ethnic identity(dependent), and generalized trust (dependent).<sup>30</sup> My initial plan was to get at least five people from every type of ethnic heterogeneous environment with a variation in gender and age but it proved rather difficult to find people willing to participate. In the end I interviewed 3 people from environments where there were only different ethnic minorities and 3 people from environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was present, the whole study consisted of 6 participants.

In the environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was present those interviewed were 3 men, the youngest aged 17 years the oldest was 22. In the environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was present the interviewed were 2 girls and one was a boy, the youngest aged 16 the oldest was 25. As mentioned earlier all of the participants were members of martial arts associations and in every environment members consisted of both men and women. Every interview was somewhere between 15 to 20 minutes long and was recorded on a tap recorder.

The aim of the thesis was to look at different ethnic heterogeneous environments where there were a lot of different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority population was absent (Swedes) I started early on thinking on what type of environments would be appropriate to look in to. Watching a lot of sport news I noticed that there were a lot of people with immigrant background doing martial arts and

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<sup>27</sup> Bryman (2008) p 437.

<sup>28</sup> Bryman (2008) p 458.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid

<sup>30</sup> Ibid p 375.

boxing so I decided to look at those associations. What I did was that I looked up on Gothenburg municipality Webb page, a list over active martial arts associations, looking when they had training sessions and showing up there in person. The reason why I choose to show up in person was because it was difficult to get an estimation if the association fulfilled the theoretical criteria. I was looking for environments where different minority ethnicities were present and environments where Swedes were in a majority but where different ethnic minorities were present. I could have asked the manager of his assessment if the association was ethnic heterogeneous or not but that would have meant relaying only on somebody else's assessment which did not feel scientific. And because in Sweden associations do not keep a track on the ethnic backgrounds of their members, something other countries do, the only thing I could have done was to show up in person. I approached various different martial arts associations but I did not always get lucky, either they did not want to cooperate or the ethnic heterogeneity mixture did not fulfill the theoretical criteria. In the end I manage to find three associations where enough members were willing to participate and the ethnic constellations fulfilled the theoretical criteria. For the ethnic heterogeneous environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was absent I found "Angereds Boxing Club" an association with around twenty individuals. For the ethnic heterogeneous environments where the majority were "ethnic" Swedes I chose "Fighter center", a taekwondo club in Central Gothenburg, of around 25 members where seven people were with non Swedish ethnic background. And I also interviewed a guy from "Göteborgs Wing Zu Skola", an martial arts association where the majority were Swedes, 17 people were ethnic swedes and 10 were different minority ethnicities. The interviews were held at the associations of the participants because it was convenient for them and they felt comfortable, making them feel comfortable is something that many scholars who use qualitative methods found important.<sup>31</sup> The interviews were taped on a tap recorder and transcribed as soon as I got home, in order to not mix up any notes and impressions.

### **Ethical considerations**

In this as in other scientific studies, there are some ethical considerations that needs to be addressed. Scholars warn often about "the interview effect" and say that ethnicity is most often something that

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<sup>31</sup> Bryman (2008) p 443.

might affect those being interviewed.<sup>32</sup> Fortunately for this study my ethnic background had, positive effects on those that were being interviewed, I myself am an immigrant something that made people relaxed and give more honest responders because they felt that I could understand their views. Then there is the issue of keeping an open mind during the interviews. It is important to be objective and keep an open mind during the interviews.<sup>33</sup> Keeping a open mind was something that I did even if there was a hypothesis about how those interviewed were supposed to answer the question, still I did not ask leading questions and was persistent that there were no right or wrong answer I just wanted to capture the views of those that were interviewed.

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<sup>32</sup> Esaiasson (2007), p 266

<sup>33</sup> Kvale och Brinkmann (2009) p 46

### **Discussion of reliability and validity**

Because of the methodological differences between qualitative and quantitative studies, reliability and validity cannot be measured in the same way.<sup>34</sup> Instead the criteria for validity and reliability have been modified to suit a qualitative scientific approach. Validity can be strengthened in qualitative research if it represents accurately those “features of the phenomena that it is intended to describe, explain or theorize.”<sup>35</sup> I have been very consistent in explaining that I intend to study how people describe the relation between their ethnic identity and generalized trust, in ethnic heterogeneous environments where there are different ethnic minorities but where the majority population is absent and homogeneous environments where there are different ethnic minorities and the majority population is present. To see whether contact between different ethnic origins changes how people perceive their ethnic identity and how that change in turn is something that affects generalized trust.

There is also a suggestion that *relevance* is an important criterion for qualitative research. Relevance suggests if the topic chosen has any contribution to the field it deals with and what it eventually contributes to the literature on the topic.<sup>36</sup> I did find a significant gap in the literature, a gap my study has filled and I also used the appropriate theories to study the phenomena that I wanted to study. My way to study generalized trust was a combination of how most scholars in the field have done with a new perspective by looking how contact affects ethnic identity and how that in turn affects generalized trust, therefore I have both validity and reliability in my study.

### **Interview Guide**

In order to answer the aim of the thesis in accordance to the theories presented an interview guide was created. The interviews were conducted in Swedish language because I wanted the interviewed people to feel as comfortable as possible and because I thought that using English might make some individuals more hesitant to participate. In order to read the questions see appendix I.

Questions one to five are background questions, used to start the interview in a uncontroversial and peaceful way. Questions six and seven asked about if the person who was interviewed had interaction

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<sup>34</sup> Bryman (2008) p 276.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid p 382.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid p 383.

across ethnic lines and how that interaction was. The reason for asking these type of question is because the radius of one's social trust tells something of whether a person has *bonding* or *bridging* social-capital. A person that does not have acquaintances with people that have a different ethnic background than themselves, will have a small radius of social trust and low general trust (bonding social capital). A person that has acquaintances with people with different ethnic backgrounds will have a bigger social radius indicating higher generalized trust (bridging social capital).<sup>37</sup> Questions eight, nine, ten, twelve, thirteen and fourteen tries to explain how interaction across ethnic lines changes people perception of themselves and their surroundings which in turn might effect generalized trust. Question elven tries to see how trustworthy the participants are of other people in general (generalized trust).

### **Methods for analyzing data**

The method used for the analysis in this study was *grounded theory*. The reason grounded theory was used is because the data collection, analysis and theory are in close relationship with each other to create specific concepts.<sup>38</sup> The concepts were ethnic identity and attitudes towards generalized trust. If when comparing the two different ethnic heterogeneous environments (one with several ethnic minorities but were the ethnic majority was present and the other were there were several ethnic minorities but were the ethnic majority was present) contact had led people to have an inclusive ethnic identity and a high generalized trust then the hypothesis will hold. If on the other hand contact in the two different heterogeneous environments had led people to feel excluded from the Swedish society, to have a strong ethnic identity and low generalized trust then the hypothesis would not hold. Because of the reason that those interviewed in the environments where there were only immigrants were only men, the generalization of the thesis is limited but can still be used as a first step to evaluate if these concepts that I have taken up are worth examining in the future.

### **Test interview**

In order to evaluate if the topics I was interested in could be measured, I did a test interview, with a person of immigrant background who played basketball in an environment were there were different

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<sup>37</sup> Putnam (2002), Zmerli (2002) p 2.

<sup>38</sup> Bryman (2008) p 541.

ethnic minorities but were the ethnic majority was present. I was interested if the inclusive/exclusives of ethnic identity so I asked question that had to do with that and the answer led me to believe that I was on the right track. An example was how interaction with different people of different ethnic background shaped how people perceived that specific ethnicity: *Do you find people of a specific ethnic background to be extra untrustworthy? Some ethnicity and cultures are more untrustworthy than others and it has to do with my experience of prejudice and discrimination I received from individuals with that specific ethnic background..*

## Results and analysis

This chapter will provide you with the results from the interviews that were conducted

### Background information

Before I begin with the results and analysis I would like give some background information on generalized trust in Sweden. The reason why I want to present this background information now is because I want to put my results and analysis in to a broader context. I will present what I have collected using the SOM data, more specifically how the difference in generalized trust looks between immigrants and ethnic Swedes at a national level.

**Table 1 Generalized trust among Swedes and immigrants (mean)**

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	M	Sd	Min	Max	N
Swedish citizen	6,40	?	0	10	2883
Immigrants	5,65	?	0	10	165

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Comment: The difference between Swedish citizens and immigrants is significant,  $p < 0,001$ .

**Source: SOM-rapport 2008.**

The table shows that as a group Swedes had a mean generalized trust of 6.40 while immigrants had a mean generalized trust of 5.65. The difference in generalized trust was statistically significant.

### Comparing different heterogeneous environment

In Sweden there is a difference in generalized trust between immigrants and Swedes. This chapter has, by looking at the interviews seen the effects contact has on ethnic identity and how that effects generalised trust. In order to categorise and analyse the interviews I will be using the analytical model which was developed in the theory chapter, studying peoples view on ethnic identity and generalized trust.

This thesis analyzed two types of contact, contact in ethnic heterogeneous associations where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was absent and contact where there were

different minority groups but where the ethnic majority population was present. What was of interest was to study how contact in these different ethnic heterogeneous environments affected ethnic identity and how that in turn effected peoples views on generalized trust. Had contact where the ethnic majority population was absent led to strong exclusive feelings of ethnic identity, be it a national identity or a new form of identity, an “immigrant identity”. Or has contact across different ethnic minority groups led the participants of the study to feel a inclusive ethnic identity and how that affected their views on generalized trust. More specific had it led to high or low generalized trust.

## **Contact between different ethnicities, ethnic majority absent**

### **Strength of ethnic identity**

Having looked at the interviews from the association where there were different ethnic minorities and where the ethnic majority group was absent and the strength of their ethnic identity”(look at figure 3), people tended to feel strongly about their ethnic identity, I will show you some of the examples:

*“It has a big part, I feel most as an Somalian, I'm born in Sweden so I should consider myself a Swede but on the other hand my family and my heritage come from Somalia so I consider my self a Swedish Somalian, I speak Somalian language at home, every year I travel to Somalia. I feel that I represent my family and my Somalian cultural heritage, I have to show that I come from a good family and a good country, by representing Somalia I represent my family as well therefore Somalia is a big part of my life. One can say that I live in two parallel worlds, a Swedish and a Somalian world,” Zacharias*

The strength of ethnic identity is even more emphasized when I talked to Karen: *“ My Armenian ethnic identity is not important as my identity as an immigrant, it has to do with my physical looks, I do not feel that I look as a Swede and my parents are not born in Sweden. I feel mostly as an immigrant because I hang out mostly with other immigrants, I do not have any Swedish friends, our immigrant identity is important for us, it is something we all have in common. The only way I feel like a Swede is because I speak Swedish with my friends.”*

The trend of the strength for ethnicity being important for identity was somewhat broken by Tijan who at age 24 had only lived in Sweden a couple of years but have been traveling around the world, living

in different countries: *“I have traveled all over the world and I feel like a free man, everywhere I go I feel at home, I'm an cosmopolitan. I'm proud of being a Gambian but it is not being a Gambian that makes me who I'm, everybody are the same, ethnicity does not matter for identity. Being a boxer, something I do is more important for my identity.”*

Zacharias and Karen both felt that ethnic identity was important but while Zacharias felt strongly about his ethnic identity as a Somalian Karen meanwhile felt strongly about his identity as an immigrant. Tijan on the other hand did not feel ethnicity being important for his identity, instead it was more of what he did, being a boxer that was important. The reason why Tijan felt that ethnicity was unimportant for his identity might be because he had been traveling more abroad to different countries, meeting different cultures, he traveled from country to country and was not able to feel strongly about any specific ethnic identity or being immigrant. After reviewing the results my conclusion was that ethnic identity was important, people felt strongly about their ethnic identity despite that there was contact between different minority groups and that the majority population was absent. There were however different views of what kind of ethnic identity, Zacharias who traveled to Somalia (the country his parents came from) frequently, spoke Somali at home felt a strong Somalian identity, Karen did not travel to Armenia, the country his parents came from and did not spoke Armenian at home so he felt more as an immigrant than as an Armenian or a Swede. Both Zacharias and Karen felt a strong sense of ethnic identity, Zacharias as a Swedish Somalian and Karen as an immigrant. Tijan on the other hand did not feel strongly about his Gambian ethnic identity nor his immigrant ethnic identity, they were not so much important in his view, other things were more important for him then his ethnic identity. Still Tijans views did not carry as much weight as Zacharias and Karens. Tijan had been living in Sweden for a couple of years while Zacharias was born in Sweden and Karen had lived in Sweden for 12 years. But not only have Zacharias and Karen been living in Sweden longer then Tijan, they have also been living in Angered, a part of Gothenburg with a big immigrant population, giving them an opportunity to develop a strong identity as immigrants or in Zacharias case, living with his parents, talking Somali, traveling to Somalia, enabling him to cultivate his Somali identity, an opportunity Tijan lacked.

### **Inclusion/Exclusion in the Swedish society**

How included/excluded did those interviewed from ethnic heterogeneous environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was absent feel about their inclusion/exclusion in the Swedish society? Contact between different ethnic minorities had led to some mixed views about what way people felt included/excluded from being a part of the Swedish society but they all felt in some way that they could be included in the Swedish society: *“It is because where you are born that determines where you feel most at home. Even if I visit Somalia and I like it there I feel most at home in Sweden”*, Zacharias.

Karen had a different approach than Zacharias but he also felt included in the Swedish society: *“The most important thing is how I feel. It is important to have Swedish citizenship and know the Swedish language because the Swedish language enables you to participate in the Swedish society.”*

For Tijan to feel included in the Swedish society there had to be a combination of feeling welcomed by Sweden and following Swedish rules and regulations: *“Everybody can aspire to be a Swede if they want to, what they need to do is to start following Swedish rules and regulations. But how much one aspires to be a Swede you must feel to some degree welcomed by the Swedish society, if you are not welcomed it makes it harder for you to feel like a Swede”*

All things considered everyone interviewed felt in their own specific way that they were included in the Swedish Society. For Zacharias it was because he was born in Sweden, for Karen it was because he had Swedish citizenship and for Tijan it was because he was following Swedish rules and regulations and felt welcomed by the Swedish society. When using the analytical model, people interviewed in ethnic heterogeneous environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was absent placed themselves in the categories of the strength of ethnic identity and how included/excluded they felt from the Swedish society like this: Ethnic identity was strong, for some it was the ethnic identity of the home country and others had forged a new strong sense of their immigrant identity but everybody felt included for various different reasons in the Swedish society. So in the end, was the ethnic identity inclusive or exclusive, I would say inclusive even if the ethnic identity was important people still felt that they could belong to the Swedish society. The reason for

that might be the Swedish immigration policy which is a policy of integration not assimilation, a policy that enables people to keep strong ethnic identities but still makes them feel that they can belong to the Swedish society.

### **Generalized trust**

When I looked over the attitudes towards trust, the attitudes were mixed. There were two camps, the first camp consisted of Zacharias and Karen who had low generalized trust: *No, people cannot be trusted, you can only trust people that you know but not people in general. I believe so because I want to know a person before I trust them. I need to have a personal connection towards an individual in order to trust them. If I do not know them then how can I trust them? You can never be sure of a persons intentions they might want to take advantage of you therefore it is best to be sceptical about people you do not know*", Zacharias.

*"I'm not sure, it depends on how people are if they look creepy then I do not trust them but if they look normal I can trust them. Somebody looks creepy if they do not look you in the eyes or look at you weird. I guess I do not trust people in the beginning, I'm shy and I do not make contact so easily so I do not trust people so easily I want to make my distance until I know them and when I know them then I can feel that I can trust them, but not before I know them"*, Karen.

The second camp consisted of Tijan who had positive attitudes towards generalized trust: *"People can be trusted, you cannot distrust people just because you do not know them, if you do that then you are just being judgemental. Human nature is naturally good, we are all humans and want to do good things to each other, we want to help one and other, to take care of one and other. This is something that is deep in our self, we feel better when we make other people feel better, therefore I think that people in general are trustworthy"*, Tijan.

The participants were divided when it came to generalized trust across the same lines as in the part of the strength of ethnicity for identity, Zacharias and Karen both had low generalized trust while Tijan had very high generalized trust. According to the hypothesis contact across ethnic lines might lead for

the individuals to bond across new immigrant identities. In Zacharias' case, contact did not make him bond in to a new identity as an immigrant but it did not make him bridge and feel that he was a Swede, instead he said that he felt that he was living in two parallel worlds, a Swedish and a Somalian. In Karen's case, on the other hand contact had led him to feel a new strong immigrant identity while Tijan had broadened his horizons and felt that ethnicity was not important for his identity. One of the reasons for Tijan to bridge across ethnic divisions was that he had a Swedish girlfriend and was living in an area mostly populated with Swedes and had friends that were Swedes. The reasons why I choose to put little emphasis on Tijan, who had very positive attitudes towards generalized trust are because Tijan as already presented earlier in the section about the strength of ethnicity for identity showed that his background is so radically different from Karen's and Zacharias' and that his background, travelling all over the world being cosmopolitan, not growing up in the same neighbourhood as Karen and Zacharias has affected him in a way that had enabled him to as Fukuyama calls it, bridge over ethnic and cultural divisions, having higher generalized trust.<sup>39</sup> Overall people had an inclusive ethnic identity, despite strong ethnic identity they still had an inclusive ethnic identity because they felt that they were a part of the Swedish society, they felt included in the Swedish society.

People in environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was absent had rather low generalized trust, they were sceptical towards strangers and felt that they could only trust people they already knew. Still, contact had affected generalized trust indirectly because people did not feel that people of a specific ethnic origin were extra trustworthy or untrustworthy: *"I do not look at ethnicity in deciding if people are trustworthy or not, for me it is individuality, all people are different"*, Zacharias. This was a pattern that would also appear in heterogeneous environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was present.

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<sup>39</sup>Fukuyama (1999)

## **Contact between different ethnic minorities-ethnic majority present**

This part of the analysis will study the views by the participants on ethnic identity and generalized trust in heterogeneous environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was present.

### **Strength of ethnic identity**

When I looked at contact in ethnic heterogeneous environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the majority were ethnic Swedes, I saw a somehow complex picture about the strength of ethnic identity. Ethnicity as a building block for identity was important and strong but only to a point. It seemed that it was not so much contact that was important, the age of those interviewed mattered more. Younger people felt ethnicity was more important for their identity when they were young and the youngest participant that was interviewed (Kima aged 16) was the one that felt ethnicity was most important: *“ My ethnicity is rather important for my identity, both my Iranian ethnicity and my Swedish ethnicity are important, Where I was born and where my parents are born influences in the long run who I am as a person because the environment I have grown up influences who I am. ”*

Those interviewed that were older expressed different views: *“ Ethnicity is not that important for my identity, it was much more important when I was a teenager and I tried to find my identity by labeling myself. But the older I get the more self-assured I get about who I am, I am what I am and that I can question my self without doubting who I am ”*, Tatjana aged 25.

*“ My ethnicity is not as important for my identity as it was when I was younger, when I was younger I felt more exposed and uncertain about who I was and then it was easy to use my ethnicity as a way to identify who I was but when I got older it was more the values that I had that was what identified who I was as a person ”*, Bauman 23.

For those interviewed in heterogeneous environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was present people felt that the strength of their ethnicity was weak, ethnicity was not that important, it was more values that were important, the strength of ethnic identity seemed to diminish over time.

### **Inclusion/Exclusion of Swedish society**

When asked how included/excluded people felt about being a part of Swedish society there was a clear line of thought. The line showed skepticism about being included in the Swedish society, they felt excluded, they did not feel it was easy to be a part of the Swedish society: *“You can be a “Swede” in a juridical point of view because you have a Swedish citizenship but you cannot truly be a Swede if you do not fit the stereotyped criteria, if you do not have blue eyes and blond hair then it is difficult to feel like a Swede,”* Bauman.

*“It is written in my passport that I am a Swedish citizen but I do not feel as a swede. The most important thing is how I feel. Sweden is my home and I feel most at home in Sweden but I do not feel that I am a Swede”,* Tatjana. *“An immigrant who has Swedish citizenship is a Swede in the juridical term but the person is not a Swede in the blood,”* Kima.

Those in environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was present and how strongly they felt for their ethnicity and how included/excluded people felt a weak ethnic identity but they felt excluded from the Swedish society. They felt included in juridical point of view but they did not feel that they could belong in the Swedish society entirely, their physical looks and their “blood” prevented them. Which I must confess sound a little bit paradoxical looking at that ethnic identity was weak and not important they still felt that not having the “Swedish” blood or the stereotypical ethnic Swedish looks, the blond hair and the blue eyes, was an important reason for them to feel that they could not be totally accepted in the Swedish society as Swedes. In the end even if people felt that their ethnic identity did not matter they still had an exclusive ethnic identity because they did not feel that they could truly be a part of the Swedish society.

### **Generalized trust**

When it came to generalized trust those interviewed in heterogeneous environments where there was contact between different ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority the participants were consistent at their low generalized trust: *“I always assume that people can not be trusted, it makes much more sense and it makes my life easier. If you do not trust people in general then you are more careful by not getting them to close to you because then you do not run the risk of being disappointed if they let you down instead you can be positively surprised if they turn out to be trustworthy. I would feel stupid if I*

*believed that people in general can be trusted, to be sceptical is the right thing, people are in nature selfish even if they are not aware of it themselves therefore it is best to be on your guard”, Bauman.*

*“I cannot trust people to that extent that I would like to trust them. I think it has to do with my background, in my job it is required that I trust that people can take care of themselves but I get hurt when they do not but it has also to do with the notion that I have been hurt by people that I known and trusted. I think that my trust has also changed over time, I used to trust people much more but then I got hurt a couple of times and now my trust for people is not as high as I would like it to be, you get so much more out of your life when you trust people, you are less cynical and your positive attitude makes you a happier person” , Tatjana*

*“Because of principal reason, I do not trust people I do not know. It feels naive to trust people I do not know, you cannot trust the unknown because you do not know what it is. I want to have people around me that I trust, people which help me grow as an person, the people I do not know can not help me in that, that is why I do not trust people I do not know”, Kima.*

First of all of the interviewed had their different reasons, be it because they felt it was naive to trust unknown individuals or because they have been hurt so many times by people or even if not trusting people opened the possibility of being positively surprised, all those that where interviewed had low generalized trust. An interesting note is that according to the theories presented in the literature review generalized trust should be higher in environments were the ethnic majority and ethnic minorities interact with each other then in environments were they do not.<sup>40</sup> In this study it was not the case but what is also interesting is that according to other theories, in environments were people with different ethnic backgrounds interact, generalized trust will be lower because of conflict over scarce resources, such as housing and jobs<sup>41</sup>. But it is not the case in this study, housing and jobs where never mentioned as the reason of not trusting people and more importantly people did not discriminate against anybody. Even if they had negative attitudes towards generalized trust, they did not feel that there was any particular ethnicity that was extra trustworthy or extra untrustworthy, this is something that was rather

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<sup>40</sup> Putnam (2007) p 141.

<sup>41</sup> Putnam (2007) p 142 , Kokkonen, Esaiasson and Giljam (2010) p 331-332, Fieldhouse, Cutts (2010) p 290.

consistent in both the environments where they were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was absent and the environment where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was present. Another interesting observation was that even if generalized trust was low, indirectly contact did lead people to discard ethnic identity as a means of deciding if a person was trustworthy or not: *“I cannot say if there is a specific ethnicity which is extra trustworthy or untrustworthy, to do so would be rather foolish. I have friends with different ethnic backgrounds and all I can say is that I have met both fantastic people and some idiots too and ethnicity had nothing to do with them being fantastic or idiotic”*, Tatjana.

### Comparison

What similarities and differences are there between how people describe the relationship between ethnic identity and generalized trust, in heterogeneous environments where the majority population is absent and heterogeneous environments where different ethnic minorities and the majority population?

On the question if contact between different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was absent had the same positive effects on generalized trust as contact between different ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority the answer is a negative one. According to the hypothesis, contact in ethnically heterogeneous environments where there are several ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority is present, ethnic identity should be inclusive because people should have a weak ethnic identity and they should feel included in the Swedish society because they had bridged over ethnic and cultural differences and generalized trust should be high<sup>42</sup>:

**Figure 3 Hypothesis**

Type of contact	Ethnic identity		Generalized trust	
	Inclusive			
Minority- Majority	Ethnic identity I weak		High	
	Feel included in the Swedish society			

<sup>42</sup>Fukuyama (1999)

During the results and the analysis contact in heterogeneous environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was present and if their ethnic identity was an inclusive or exclusive as well as their generalized trust people placed themselves like this:

**Figure 4 Type of contact, identity/alienation and generalized trust.**

Type of contact	Ethnic identity		Generalized trust	
		Exclusive		
Minority- Majority	Ethnic identity I weak		Low	
		Felt excluded from the Swedish society		

Contact between the ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority did effect peoples perception of ethnic identity as weak and unimportant but people still felt excluded from the Swedish society which made them have an exclusive ethnic identity because they failed to bridge over ethnic and cultural division and generalized trust was low. The hypothesis thus did not hold.

Contact in heterogeneous environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was present did not make people feel included in the Swedish society even if it made them have a weak ethnic identity and generalized trust was low. How then did contact in heterogeneous environments where there were different ethnic minorities but where the ethnic majority was absent affect if the ethnic identity was an inclusive or exclusive and their attitudes about generalized trust?

**Figure 5. Type of contact, ethnic identity and generalized trust.**

Type of contact	Ethnic identity		Generalized trust	
	Inclusive			
Different minorities		Ethnic identity strong		Low
	Felt included in the Swedish society			

Here again we see that contact had led to people having an inclusive ethnic identity because they felt included in the Swedish society even if they had a strong sense of their ethnic identity and that generalized trust was low.

The third question asked in this thesis was if contact in ethnically heterogeneous environments altered peoples' views of the strength of their ethnic identity and how included/excluded people felt from the Swedish society. At first glance the answer seems to be no. No matter how strongly or weakly people felt about their ethnic identity, how included or excluded people felt from the Swedish society, if they had an inclusive or exclusive ethnic identity generalized trust was always low so if people felt an inclusive or exclusive ethnic identity and was not something that effected generalized trust.

## **Conclusion**

This thesis tried to answer three questions:

- How do people describe their ethnic identity and generalized trust?
- How do people describe the relation between ethnic identity and generalized trust?
- What similarities and differences is it between how people describe the relationship between ethnic identity and generalized trust, in heterogeneous environments where the majority population is absent and heterogeneous environments where there are different ethnic minorities and the majority population is present?

Contact between the ethnic minorities and the ethnic majorities did not make people have an inclusive ethnic identity and did not have positive effect on generalized trust. In contact between different minorities where the ethnic majority was absent some conclusions can nevertheless be made. First of all, contact did affect how people felt about how inclusive/ exclusive they were in their ethnic identity. The second conclusion is that even if generalized trust was low, interaction did affect generalized trust at a more indirect level, contact had lowered people's prejudices against other ethnicities. Before having contact with people of different origin than themselves, the participants felt that these ethnicities cannot be trusted, after having contact with these ethnicities they did not look at people ethnic origin when deciding if they were trustworthy or not. Another interesting factor worth looking at was the age factor, even if it was not a part of the analysis, people that were younger were more inclined to have strong feelings of their ethnic identity, something that diminished the older a person got. Also, there was no difference in generalized trust between men and women, even if this thesis did not set out to measure if there was it is an interesting observation because according to the theories, women have higher generalized trust than men.<sup>43</sup> This study is of interest for the Swedish integration policy, as some immigrant groups tend to cluster in specific neighbourhood. If interaction between different ethnic minorities leads to higher generalized trust then the problem of integration is not the ethnic fabric of where immigrants live but something else. This is important because if found, the mechanism that led to higher generalized trust can be used by public officials in order to actively use their fund towards that interaction which will create the highest level of generalized trust possible.

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<sup>43</sup>Hoogh (2009) p 202, Kokkonen, Esaiasson and Giljam (2010) p 351.

The last point I would like to make is that this thesis looked at contact in different ethnic heterogeneous environments, I did not look at the density of contact, how much contact had the participants outside the ethnic heterogeneous environments I looked at, during how long had they had contact. These are interesting factors that would be of interest to study at a future time.

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# Appendix

## Appendix 1

### Interview guide

- 1. Where you born in Sweden? Where your parents born in Sweden?
- 2. What part of the town do you live in?
- 3. How long have you been a member of this association?
- 4. Can you tell me what made you join this particular association?
- 5. Can you tell what brought an interest for this sport?
- 6. I want to ask some questions concerning how it was when you where growing up. Did you when you where growing up, came in contact with people from different ethnic background then yourself? How did these contact went trough, what is your reflection towards them? Was the contact, the lack of contact on purpose or did it just happened?
- 7. Can you tell me how your acquaintances look like today? Do your friends come from different ethnic backgrounds? Do you think that your acquaintances influence you in how you perceive people with different ethnic backgrounds? How and why?
- 8. How do you view your ethnic identity? What is it that influences ones ethnic identity and why?
- 9. How big part does ethnic identity play in your overall identity? Why does it play such a role?
- 10. Can anybody be a "Swede" or an immigrant? Why/ Why not?
- 11. Do you think people can be trusted? Why? How is that people can or can not be trusted? Can you tell me if there are some people with a specific ethnic background that you find extra distrustful?

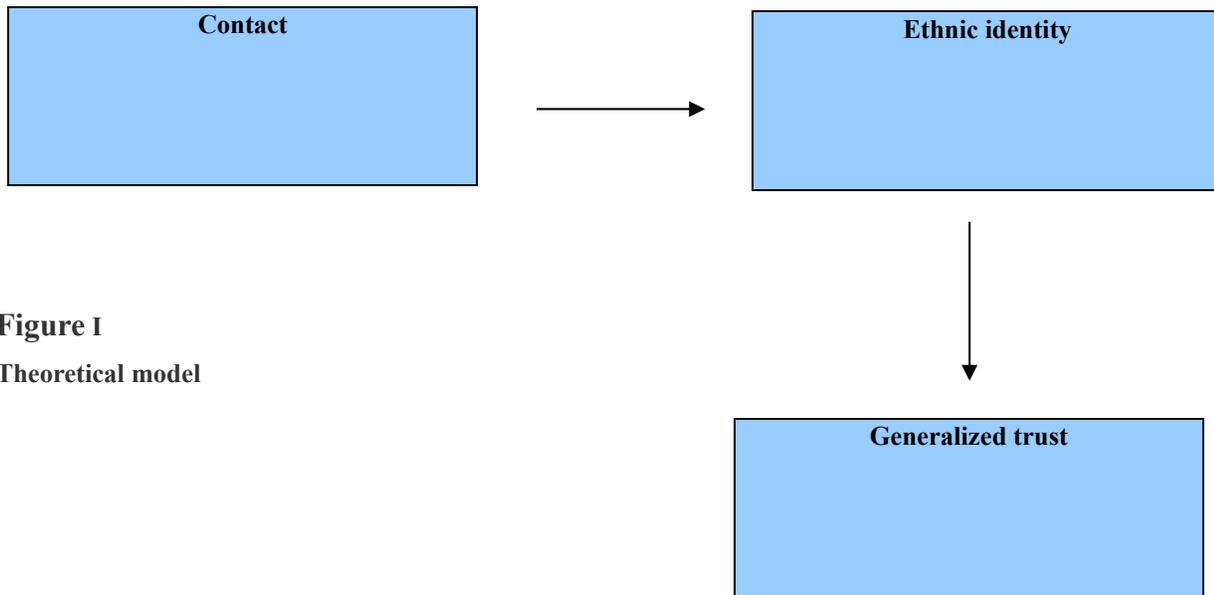
- 12. How does your trust look for the people in your association? Can everybody be trusted?  
Why, why not?

- 13. You are a member of an association where there are people with different ethnic background than yourself. How do you interact across ethnic lines? Do you interact on your free time? Why? Why not? How can you members effect the way the associations is being governed? Can you tell me if there are different groupings in the association? If they exist why do you think the exist?
- 14. How do you think interactions with people of a different ethnic background than yourself effects the trust you have for that specific ethnicity? Do you think the circumstances of the meeting plays a role? Is the meeting in a association different than the meeting in school or at the workplace? In what way does the circumstances when the meeting takes place matter?

## Appendix 2

### Figures and tables

Figure 1



**Figure 1**

Theoretical model

**Figure 2.1 Analytical model**

Type of contact	Ethnic identity		Generalised trust	
Minority- Majority	Ethnic identity I weak	Ethnic identity strong	High	Low
	Feel included in the Swedish society	Feel excluded in the Swedish society		
Different Minorities	Ethnic identity I weak	Ethnic identity strong	High	Low

<b>Type of contact</b>	<b>Ethnic identity</b>		<b>Generalised trust</b>	
	Feel included in the Swedish society	Feel excluded in the Swedish society		

Figure 2. Analytical model

### Figure 3. Hypothesis

Type of contact	Ethnic identity		Generalized trust	
Minority- Majority	Ethnic identity I weak		Positive	
	Feel included in the Swedish society			

Figure 3. Hypothesis

Table 1. Generalized trust among Swedes and immigrants (mean)

	M	Sd	Min	Max	N
Swedish citizen	6,40	?	0	10	2883
Immigrants	5,65	?	0	10	165

Comment: The difference between Swedish citizens and immigrants is significant,  $p < 0,001$ .

Figure 4. Type of contact, ethnic identity and generalized trust.

Type of contact	Ethnic identity		Generalized trust	
Minority- Majority	Ethnic identity I weak			Low
		Felt excluded from the Swedish society		

Figure 4 Type of contact, identity/alienation and generalized trust.

Figure 5. Type of contact, ethnic identity and generalized trust.

Type of contact	Ethnic identity		Generalized trust	
Different minorities		Ethnic identity strong		Low

Type of contact	Ethnic identity		Generalized trust	
	Felt included in the Swedish society			

**Figure 5. Type of contact, ethnic identity and generalized trust.**

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