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SOCIAL TRUST AMONG NON- NORDIC IMMIGRANT YOUTH

Does context matter?

Helena Olofsdotter Stensöta

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Department of Political Science

University of Gothenburg

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ABSTRACT

The question of whether ethnic heterogeneity impedes or enhances general trust has been studied extensively among the general population and among school-youth, but seldom among people in their 20s. This age group is however interesting, as they are less shielded than school-youth and also not yet established in society as adults. I examine how individual level trust, especially among non-Nordic 25-29 year olds, is affected by exposure to ethnic heterogeneity in local community. The analysis shows, first, generally that immigrant youth in this age group have significantly lower levels of trust than Swedes. Second, the share of immigrants in context seems to have different effect in the city and in the countryside.

Helena Olofsdotter Stensöta
The Quality of Government Institute
Department of Political Science
University of Gothenburg
Helena.stensota@pol.gu.se

Introduction

The question of whether ethnic heterogeneity impedes or enhances general trust has been studied extensively and in different contexts. As pointed out by Dietlind Stolle et al (2009) diversity means different things in different countries, depending, for example, on how well integrated immigrants are, their country of origin, how the issue of immigration generally is debated in the country, as also the general level of welfare inclusion. Sweden is a country with high welfare inclusion and where the immigrant problem has until recently not been politically salient. It is therefore a country where we would expect to find relatively low difference in social trust between immigrants and Swedes, as previous research also has shown (Kumlin and Rothstein, 2005).

However, the patterns within one country may differ a lot depending on which segment of the population is studied. As Stolle and Alison (2013) have claimed, patterns among youth may differ from patterns of the general population. The group of young people has become a well-studied group in terms of social trust. One reason is the approach by Eric Uslaner (2002) to comprehend trust as something we become socialized into, which makes the period of youth particularly interesting to study. Another reason is that class-rooms provide a good setting for controlling effects of exposure to ethnic heterogeneity on generalized trust.

Youth is however not a coherent group and following the idea that the period of youth is a period where socialization into society take place, including socialization into social trust, older youth, that is people in their 20s, is remarkably absent from research on generalized trust. This is odd, given that the 20s must be considered as a sensitive age period, when you establish yourself in society. In comparison, the well-studied group of school youth must be regarded as more shielded. Youth in their 20s are more vulnerable to unemployment, difficulties to find housing etcetera, which might impede trust. This makes the trust-building processes among youth in their 20s interesting to study.

I use survey data from West Sweden between 2000 and 2010 to examine how trust levels of youth in their 20s vary depending on exposure to ethnic heterogeneity in local community. The dataset consists of 1805 in the age of 20 to 24 and 2147 in the age of 25 to 29.

The findings show first that non-Nordic youth (20-29 years old) generally have lower trust than Nordic citizens. Interestingly, the group of 25-29 year olds, reveal quite contrary patterns in the

rural area and the city: in the city, the negative effect of being of non-Nordic origin is clear, however there is an interaction effect indicating that when the share of immigrants in the context is higher, this has a positive effect on trust among non-Nordic 25-29 years olds, although the effect is almost negligible in size. In the rural areas, there is quite unexpectedly a positive effect of being of non-Nordic origin in this age segment. This positive effect is however diminished when the share of immigrants in the area increase. Above all, the findings indicate that mechanisms may differ between age groups in the same context.

I interpret the findings as disclosing a threshold mechanism: Exposure to ethnic heterogeneity in an area where the non-Nordic immigrant share is low has a negative effect on trust among non-Nordic immigrant youth, whereas in an area where exposure to non-Nordic immigrants is more common, a positive relationship is revealed. That I find this positive relationship only in the age group of 25-29 may indicate that this age group is especially open to positive effects of having others like themselves in the local area.

A policy recommendation emerging from these results would be to pay attention to the possible negative effects on segregation in the rural areas specially, for youth in their late 20s. We could also derive a special warning for the conditions among boys in the city area in their early 20s.

Previous research

Generalized social trust is the trust we feel for ‘unknown others’ (Coleman, 1990). It has become comprehended as a crucial asset for prosperous development of societies and states. A growing number of studies show how generalized trust is positively connected to a wide range of societal features such as the quality of democracy, low levels of corruption, economic growth, and human well-being (Frykman et al., 2009; Helliwell & Wang 2007; Knack & Keefer, 1997).

There are different suggestions on what enhances social trust; earlier approaches focused on mechanisms of civil society (Putnam, 1992), while a competing explanation argued that impartial state institutions was the primary source for social capital (Rothstein and Stolle, 2003; Kumlin and Rothstein, 2005) and others saw social trust as something we become socialized into (Uslaner, 2002).

Lately, it is above all the relationship between social trust and ethnic heterogeneity that has received attention. Putnam sparked off this latter inquiry already in 2007 arguing that ethnic heterogeneity works detrimental to trust because it makes citizens perceive of themselves as dissimilar from each other, which erodes the basis of trust, the perception of homogeneity in face-to-face contacts. The original hypothesis by Putnam has been called the “dissimilarity” hypothesis arguing that it is the experienced dissimilarities between people that impede trust. This hypothesis has received support in the American context (Putnam 2007). Research showed that higher levels of immigrants on country level impeded trust (Delhey and Newton, 2005; Knack and Keefer, 1997).

There is also considerable research supporting the opposite relationship, that ethnic heterogeneity enhances trust. The contact hypothesis, originally presented by Allport (1954), contend that racial prejudices thrive in isolation and ignorance, whereas contacts between ethnic heterogenic groups decrease prejudices and thereby deconstruct obstacles to trust building (Pettigrew, 2008). Research on lower level of analysis has confirmed reversed patterns of impact on municipal level (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002) and neighborhood (Olivers, 2010; Soroka, Johnston and Banting, 2005).

These different findings have led to an intense interest on the mechanisms involved. Pettigrew (2008) has argued that contact theory should pay attention to instances when interethnic contact increased ethnocentrism and especially the dynamics of negative contact leading to increased prejudice has not been studied systematically.

Stolle et al (2009) used data from Germany and disentangled contextual diversity with intergroup contact, distinguishing between weak and strong in-group ties. They showed that neighborhood diversity did not have the same negative effects as expected from earlier studies. Their findings suggested that trust is relatively unaffected by the context of the share of foreigners in the neighborhood diversity overall. In another study, Stolle and Hooghe (2004) examined the network- and the attitudinal hypothesis on trust building over time and found support for both the contact hypothesis and its opposite.

Social trust research was long dominated by research on adults but in research on the contact hypothesis the central importance of youth for societies trusts building processes, is increasingly acknowledged. Research by Stolle and Allison (2013) disclosed that the general negative relationship between diversity and trust found in several countries among the population on the whole

could show differences between different age groups. They disclosed that young people are more positive to contacts than old people. Their results show that “neighborhood immigration-related diversity in itself does not exert the same negative effects on generalized and out-group trust as found in the North American context. Instead, intergroup contact moderates the effects of neighborhood diversity” (Stolle and Allison, 2013).

Studies have tried to plunge deeper into the mechanisms by identifying variation of heterogeneity at school level and its impact in youth trust. Dejaeghere, Hooghe and Claes (2012) disdained measures of heterogeneity at national level, as this not pays attention to features of segregation. They suggested focusing on classroom segregation. They examined ethnocentrism that is prejudices and not trust, on Belgian sample covering two years (2006-2008) and disclose no effects of diversity on ethnocentrism, concluding that there is no mechanical effect of diversity in classrooms but that it depends on the perceived quality of intergroup relations. Hooghe et al (2013) found that intergroup friendship had an effect on initial levels of ethnocentrism, but no effect on subsequent changes in the level of ethnocentrism.

Research also pointed at the quality of interaction being important for how the contact hypothesis plays out. For example, anxiety reduction and empathy with out-group are important features to explain outcomes of repeated contact (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2008). The critique of the contact hypothesis mainly lies in its specific account of the causality. Are prejudices really decreasing with contact or do people with fewer prejudices have more contacts? Research show support for both ideas: Pettigrew and Tropp 2008 arguing that prejudices are reduced, as does also Feddes et al 2009 in a German study. An American study finds the opposite (Levin et al 2003).

Empirical section

The case of Sweden

Sweden can be considered a high trust country (Kumlin and Rothstein, 2005). We can expect generally favorable circumstances for building social trust. Previous research focusing on the Swedish case has shown that there are differences in the trust building mechanisms between non-Nordic immigrants and others, so that the relationship between good welfare state institutions and higher levels of trust is stronger for citizens with non-Nordic origin (Kumlin and Rothstein, 2005). We

could further assume that factors that previous research has pointed out as to generalized trust, such as education and or ethnic homogeneity means less.

The study is set on the West Coast of Sweden, which covers both rural and urban areas. It includes the city of Göteborg is the second largest urban area in Sweden with over 500.000 inhabitants and a mean population density with a mean of over 1000 inhabitants per square 10 kilometers. The rural area around it covers 49 out of Sweden's 290 municipalities and it is more sparsely populated with a mean population density between 7 and 613 inhabitants per square 10 kilometers. To examine the difference between rural area and urban area, the data-set has been divided into two subsets, one consisting of the 21 city districts (stadsdelsnämnder)¹ within Göteborg, and the other consisting of 49 municipalities (excluding Göteborg).

The data-set

The individual level data was collected by the SOM institute (Samhälle, Opinion, Media) at the University of Gothenburg². Apart from the yearly studies directed to the general population, data from a survey distributed particularly to the group of youth "Ung-SOM" (15-29 years of age) from the year 2000 has been added in order to use all available data. The dataset consists of 1805 in the age of 20 to 24 and 2147 in the age of 25 to 29.

The data-set is divided into two parts. One part has municipalities as level of analysis. It consists of 31 municipalities in the West of Sweden. The other part contains data from one big municipality, the second largest city in Sweden. The set is subdivided into 21 city parts. The tables one and two below shows descriptive statistics divided between city-sample and countryside-sample.

¹ The definition of Gothenburg SDN in 21 zones has been used. It was replaced by a new definition of 10zones in 2011. For some city zones the new definition was applied already in 2010, and in these cases, data for 2010 has been extrapolated or in other ways estimated. When this has happened it is described for each respective variable and it concerns the controls, not the main variables.

² Out of in total 6671 observations 5307 were taken from West-SOM between 2000 and 2010. The remaining respondents were collected from a separate youth survey from the year of 2000. The fact that Ung-SOM was only carried out in 2000 makes the data in the whole set somewhat skewed. The year 2000 has a total of 1928 observations while the rest of the years disclose between 406 and 545 observations annually. There are no signs in the data that the overrepresentation of 2000 constitutes a problem. Furthermore the regressions include dummy variables for all years, which yield few significant results, indicating that there is little, otherwise unobserved variance over time.

TABLE 1, DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS – CITY-SAMPLE (ALL AGE GROUPS)

| | n | Percent | Mean | Std. dev | Min | Max |
|--|--------|---------|-------|-------------|------|-------|
| Dependent variable | | | | | | |
| Generalized trust city-sample | 2437 | | 6.12 | 2.31 | 0 | 10 |
| Contextual variables | | | | | | |
| Educational level | 30.498 | | 13.23 | 9.10 | 3.32 | 41.83 |
| Income level | 2437 | | 2.56 | 0.51 | 1.31 | 4.49 |
| Unemployment level | 2437 | | 4.62 | 1.53 | 1.17 | 10.48 |
| Immigrant share | 2437 | | 24.30 | 15.05 | 4.17 | 76.66 |
| Individual level variables | | | | | | |
| Gender | 2437 | | 0.45 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 |
| Age | | | | | | |
| Non-Nordic background | 2437 | | 0.17 | 0.38 | 0 | 1 |
| Blue collar home | 2437 | 49.29 | 0.48 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 |
| Farmers home | 2437 | 5.27 | 0.02 | 0.15 | 0 | 1 |
| White collar home | 2437 | 36.30 | 0.40 | 0.49 | 0 | 1 |
| Entrepreneurial home | 2437 | 9.14 | 0.09 | 0.29 | 0 | 1 |
| Income level | 2437 | | 3.44 | 2.11 | 1 | 9 |
| Unemployed | 2437 | | 0.07 | 0.25 | 0 | 1 |
| Educational level | 2437 | | 2.50 | 0.57 | 1 | 3 |
| Satisfaction with welfare state services | 2437 | | 0.36 | 0.49 | -2 | 2 |
| Activity in organizations of civil society | 2437 | | 1.01 | 0.94 | 0 | 5 |

Comment: The sample consists of 21 city parts within the city of Göteborg. Sources: For all individual level data, including the dependent variable: Source: Ung-SOM 2000 and Väst-SOM 2000-2012. For contextual variables: Income level context: Source: SCB: "Inkomst från tjänst", HE0110I3 and Göteborgs Stad. Unemployment level context: Source: SCB and Göteborgs Stad. SCB: "Öppet arbetslösa och sökande i program med aktivitetsstöd i % av befolkningen". Educational level context: Source: SCB: "Befolkning efter region, utbildningsnivå och år" UF0506A1 and Göteborgs Stad: "Högsta utbildningsnivå xxx-12-31 i Göteborgs stadsdelar". Cash benefits contextual level: Source: Socialstyrelsen: "Ekonomiskt bistånd, Biståndsmottagare inklusive barn i procent av befolkningen, en decimal, ålder: 0-65+" Socialstyrelsens statistikdatabas 2014-05-05 and Göteborgs Stad. Immigrant share context: Source: SCB: "Antal personer efter region, utländsk/svensk bakgrund och år", BE0101B0.

TABLE 2, DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS – COUNTRYSIDE (ALL AGE GROUPS)

| | n | Percent | Mean | Std. dev | Min | Max |
|---|--------|---------|-------|-------------|------|-------|
| Dependent variable | | | | | | |
| Generalized trust city-sample | 4234 | | 5.99 | 2.3 | 0 | 10 |
| Contextual variables | | | | | | |
| Educational level | 21.667 | | 8.84 | 2.72 | 3.32 | 16.34 |
| Income level | 4234 | | 2.17 | 0.29 | 1.58 | 3.08 |
| Unemployment level | 4234 | | 3.42 | 1.03 | 0.82 | 7.19 |
| Immigrant share | 4234 | | 12.12 | 4.78 | 3.4 | 24.67 |
| Individual level variables | | | | | | |
| Age | | | | | | |
| Gender | 4234 | | 0.49 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 |
| Non-Nordic background | 4234 | | 0.8 | 0.27 | 0 | 1 |
| Blue collar home | 4234 | 55.52 | 0.59 | 0.49 | 0 | 1 |
| Farmers home | 4234 | 14.62 | 0.06 | 0.24 | 0 | 1 |
| White collar home | 4234 | 20.88 | 0.25 | 0.43 | 0 | 1 |
| Entrepreneurial home | 4234 | 8.98 | 0.10 | 0.30 | 0 | 1 |
| Income level | 4234 | | 3.70 | 2.12 | 1 | 9 |
| Unemployed | 4234 | | 0.08 | 0.27 | 0 | 1 |
| Educational level | 4234 | | 2.19 | 0.54 | 1 | 3 |
| Satisfaction with welfare state services | 4234 | | 0.36 | 0.50 | -2 | 2 |
| Activity in organizations of civil society | 4234 | | 0.99 | 0.86 | 0 | 5 |

Comment: The sample consists of 50 municipalities in the West of Sweden, excluding the municipality of Göteborg. For sources see table 1.

The dependent variable is *generalized trust* and based on the widely used survey question "Do you think people in general can be trusted". Respondents may answer on a scale from "people in general cannot be trusted" (0) to "people in general can be trusted" (10). The variation in levels of generalized trust follows a similar distributional pattern both in city districts and municipalities.

Explicatory variables: *Immigrant status* on individual level is based on the question: "Where have you and your parents mainly grown up?" coded as a dummy variable, distinguishing between if re-

spondent answers that themselves or one of their parents have non-Nordic background (1) versus all others (0). In the sample as a whole 8.9 percent are immigrants. For the age group 20-25, 11.97 percent are non-Nordic immigrants and for the age group of 25-29 the share is 11.41 percent. Distinguishing between city and rural area the non-Nordic immigrant share in the city is 17.21 percent (among youth age 20 to 24) and 16.27 percent (among youth age 25 to 29). In the rural area, the share is 8.80 percent (20-24) and 7.21 (25-29). Hence, the share of non-Nordic immigrants among youth in the city is larger than in the sample as a whole.

Immigrant share is differently calculated than on individual level and measures the share of the population in municipalities or SDN who are immigrants themselves or have two immigrant parents. Hence, at individual level one parent born outside the Nordic countries is sufficient for being counted as having foreign background; at contextual level both parents must be born abroad to count as foreign background and also Nordic countries other than Sweden is counted as immigrants. The reason for the discrepancy is that self-reported individual level data has been used to the individual level control, whereas, publicly available data has been used for contextual variable to avoid that the contextual measure was not a simple aggregate of the individual level measure. Concerning the dispersion of non-Nordic citizens between municipalities and city-counties, the segregation is slightly higher in the city. If I use the contextual measure of non-Immigrant share and divide the standard deviation with the mean the city sample shows 0.638 and the rural sample 0.394, which can be regarded as a measure of segregation.

The remaining independent variables on individual level are: *Age*. The data set is divided into three age groups; all ages, and youth between 20 and 24 and between 25 and 29 years of age. *Gender* is a dichotomous variable. *Socio economic origin* measures parents socioeconomic belonging based on the question: "If you were to describe your current and/or the home you grew up in, which alternative is the most accurate: blue collar home (1), farmers home (2), white collar home (3) and entrepreneurial home (4³). The main difference between the city and the countryside is that the white-collar workers are about 15 percent more in the city, 36 percent instead of 21. This difference is even more pronounced when youth 25-29 are focused. In the city, 42 percent of this age group is of white collar decent in comparison to 22 percent in the rural areas. Similarly, blue collars workers amount to 48 percent of youth 25-29 in the city, and 61 percent in the rural area.

³ In the Young-SOM survey from the year 2000, an additional category "upper white collar" was included, which has here been included in the white-collar category.

Individual level controls are: *Income-level*, which refers to the respondent's household, including all members of the household, based on the survey question "[...] approximate total income for all members in your household before taxes".⁴ *Unemployment* is a dummy variable distinguishing between "unemployed" (1) and "otherwise" (0). 93 percent of the respondents categorize themselves as "otherwise". *Educational level* refers to the respondent's educational level measured in three steps: up to nine years of schooling (1), 10-12 years of schooling (2) and university studies or degree (3).

Contextual level independent variables are: *Income-level* represents the average income in the municipality or SDN, measured in SEK 100.000 annually for ages 20-64, continuous scale.⁵ *Unemployment-level* is measured as open unemployment rate, which is usually lower than the more common definition of unemployment, however only open unemployment is measured at SDN level, which is why it is used. Data at SDN-level for 2000-2002 is estimated with linear trends from 2003-2010 data.⁶ *Educational level* measures the share of the population at municipal or SDN level with three or more years of university education. For SDN-data the values for 2010 has been estimated with a linear trend using the past nine years. The percentages in SDN data are calculated based on the number of people on social security and the population statistics for each year. The tables one and two below shows descriptive statistics divided between city-sample and countryside-sample. Comparing the means and standard deviation I note that the educational level on contextual level is considerably higher in the city, but also discloses larger variations between city counties in this sample. In sum, there are considerable structural differences emerge between the two samples, in terms of higher education, more white collar worker and immigrants in the city.

⁴ The respondent may answer on a scale in nine steps from "less than SEK 100 000" (1) to "more than SEK 800 000" (9). It should be noted that the possibilities to borrow money for studying are extensive in Sweden, meaning loan are given regardless of parental income level and young people from all classes do lend money for studying on higher levels.

⁵ For 2009 and 2010 average income in SDN is calculated by the average income in the 91 primary areas (primärområden), which constitutes the 21 SDN. This is due to a new definition of SDN in 2009, which makes new statistics incompatible with the old definition.

⁶ Extrapolation through calculating on patterns for later trends may be a controversial way to extend data, but as these are only control variables, we regard the tolerance for this procedure as higher. What support this choice of procedure is also that the variation between city districts is fairly stable. It regards the figures of open employment for 2000-2002 in the city sample and the educational level for the year of 2010.

Analysis

The data is analyzed through an ordered logit regression analysis with year and context (city district/municipality) as dummy variables and with standard errors clustered on context-level. Table three shows the findings when all ages are examined.

TABLE 3, REGRESSION (OLS) CLUSTERED STANDARD ERRORS ON LOWEST ADMINISTRATIVE LEVEL. DEPENDENT VARIABLE GENERALIZED TRUST. AGES 20-29.

| | Context model | City and rural | | Rural | | City | |
|---|---------------|----------------|----------|------------------|------------------|----------|----------|
| | | M1 | M2 | M1 | M2 | M1 | M2 |
| Educational level | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.08 | 0.08 | | 0.06* |
| Income level context | 0.10 | -0.05 | -0.04 | -0.36 | -0.03 | -0.09 | -0.29 |
| Unemployment level context | -0.02 | -0.03 | -0.03 | -0.05 | -0.06 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Immigrant share context | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.01 | -0.02 | -0.03 | 0.01 | 0.02 |
| Gender (dummy) | | -0.06* | -0.06* | -0.05 (0.114) | -0.05 (0.115) | -0.08* | -0.08* |
| Age | | 0.01*** | 0.01*** | 0.01*** | 0.01*** | -0.01*** | -0.01*** |
| Non-Nordic background (dummy) | | -0.67*** | -0.50*** | -0.57*** | -0.18 | -0.79*** | -0.64*** |
| Socio economic origin (blue collar reference category) | | | | | | | |
| Farmers home | | 0.07* | 0.08* | 0.08 | 0.08 | 0.02 | 0.02 |
| White collar home | | 0.16*** | 0.16*** | 0.12** | 0.12*** | 0.21** | 0.21** |
| Entrepreneurial home | | 0.02 | 0.02 | -0.00 | -0.00 | 0.06 | 0.06 |
| Income level | | 0.13*** | 0.13*** | 0.14*** | 0.14*** | 0.10*** | 0.10*** |
| Unemployed | | -0.40*** | -0.40*** | -0.43*** | -0.43*** | -0.33*** | -0.33*** |
| Educational level | | 0.35*** | 0.35*** | 0.33*** | 0.33*** | 0.40*** | 0.40*** |
| Satisfaction welfare service (individual) | | 2.97*** | 2.97*** | 3.00*** | 3.00*** | 2.87*** | 2.87*** |
| NGO activity (individual) | | 0.19*** | 0.19*** | 0.19*** | 0.19*** | 0.18*** | 0.18*** |
| Interaction Immigrant share context X Non-Nordic background individual | | - | -0.01* | - | -0.03* | | -0.00 |
| Year dummy | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Context dummy | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| N | 30,498 | 30,472 | 30,472 | 21,648 | 21,648 | 8,824 | 8,824 |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.0155 | 0.1082 | 0.1085 | 0.0995 | 0.10 | 0.1329 | 0.1340 |

The table 3 shows that there is a negative effect of being of non-Nordic origin for the sample as a whole as well as when the countryside and the urban area are considered separately. On contextual level there is no significant effect of a higher share of non-Nordic immigrants, however there is an interaction effect in the rural areas, where the negative effect of being an immigrant is enforced when the share of immigrants in the context increases. The size of the effect is however very small, almost negligible.

In regard of the control variables, we can note that people from white collar homes have significantly higher trust than people from blue collar homes (reference category), Further, having higher education and higher income correlates significantly with higher trust just as unemployment correlates significantly with lower trust. On individual level I also examine whether satisfaction with welfare state services and NGO activity correlates with higher trust. They both correlate positively with higher trust.

TABLE 4, REGRESSION (OLS) CLUSTERED STANDARD ERRORS ON LOWEST ADMINISTRATIVE LEVEL. DEPENDENT VARIABLE GENERALIZED TRUST. AGES 25-29.

| | Total area | | rural | | city | |
|---|------------|---------|---------|----------|----------|----------|
| | M1 | M2 | M1 | M2 | M1 | M2 |
| Educational level | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.36 | 0.35 | 0.02 | 0.02 |
| Income level context | 0.06 | 0.05 | -4.58* | -4.56* | 0.17 | 0.11 |
| Unemployment level context | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.14 | 0.14 | -0.13 | -0.13 |
| Immigrant share context | 0.05 | 0.05 | -0.17 | -0.14 | 0.10 | 0.09 |
| Gender (dummy) | -0.05 | -0.05 | -0.16 | -0.16 | 0.03 | 0.04 |
| Non-Nordic background (dummy) | -0.70*** | -0.72** | -0.43* | 1.25* | -0.86*** | -1.29*** |
| Socio economic origin (blue collar reference category) | | | | | | |
| Farmers home | 0.43* | 0.43* | 0.46* | 0.48* | 0.31 | 0.27 |
| White collar home | 0.11 | 0.11 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.12 | 0.10 |
| Entrepreneurial home | -0.12 | -0.12 | -0.25 | -0.28 | 0.03 | 0.01 |
| Income level | 0.10** | 0.10** | 0.14** | 0.15** | 0.08 | 0.08 |
| Unemployed | -0.11 | -0.11 | -0.12 | -0.12 | -0.04 | -0.02 |
| Educational level | 0.63*** | 0.63*** | 0.62*** | 0.62*** | 0.62*** | 0.62*** |
| Satisfaction welfare service (individual) | 2.89*** | 2.89*** | 2.37*** | 2.38*** | 3.62*** | 3.67*** |
| NGO activity (individual) | 0.16* | 0.16* | 0.27** | 0.26** | 0.05 | 0.05 |
| Interaction Immigrant share context X Non-Nordic background individual | | 0.00 | | -0.12*** | - | 0.02* |
| Year dummy | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Context dummy | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| N | 2147 | 2147 | 1151 | 1,151 | 996 | 996 |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.1363 | 0.1363 | 0.1445 | 0.1503 | 0.1453 | 0.1470 |

The table 4 shows the results for the age group of 25-29 only. Most of the patterns from the table 3 are repeated in terms of direction and significance of the relationships. There is however one difference in the rural sample, where the interaction model (M2) shows an initial positive effect of being of non-Nordic origin when the number is low, for example when a person is the only non-Nordic immigrant in the area. The interaction effect is negative which indicates that this positive effect diminishes with an increase of non-Nordic immigrants on contextual level. As both variables are dummy variables, there is still a positive effect of an increased share of non-Immigrants on contextual level is maximum. (+1.25-0.12). It may seem that the model is unreliable as the income variable suddenly become so high, but even without this variable, the interaction effect is equally strong. In the city we see a significant effect in the opposite direction. Its magnitude is however so small so it's negligible. The figure 1 and figure 2 below visualizes the interaction effect in the rural area.

FIGURE 1. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NON-NORDIC IMMIGRANT STATUS AND GENERAL TRUST ON DIFFERENT LEVELS OF IMMIGRANT SHARE IN THE CITY-PART, CITY-SAMPLE 25-29 YEAR OLDS.

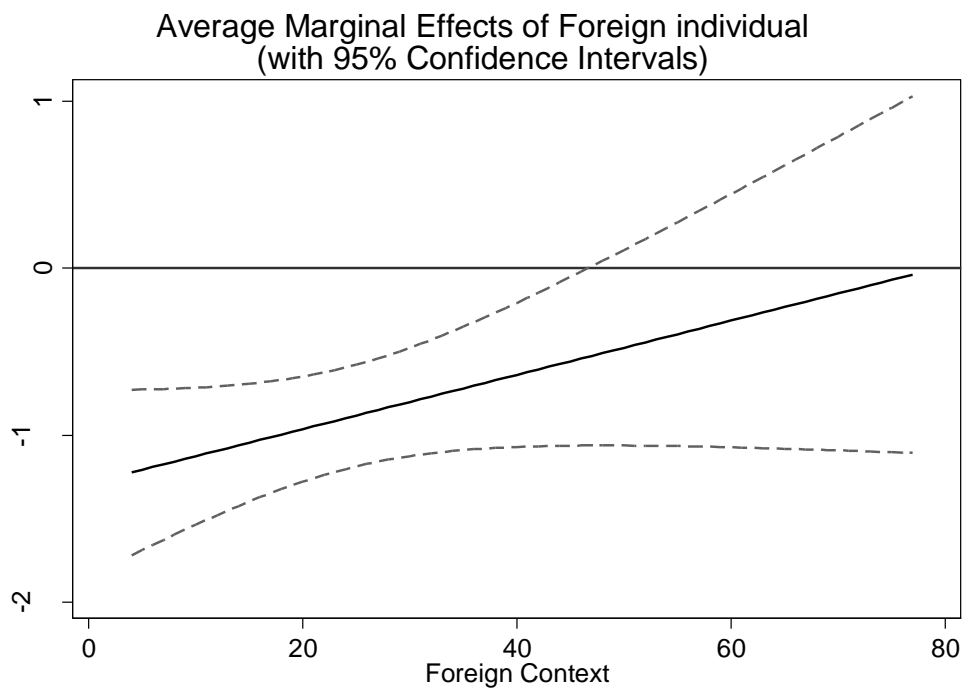
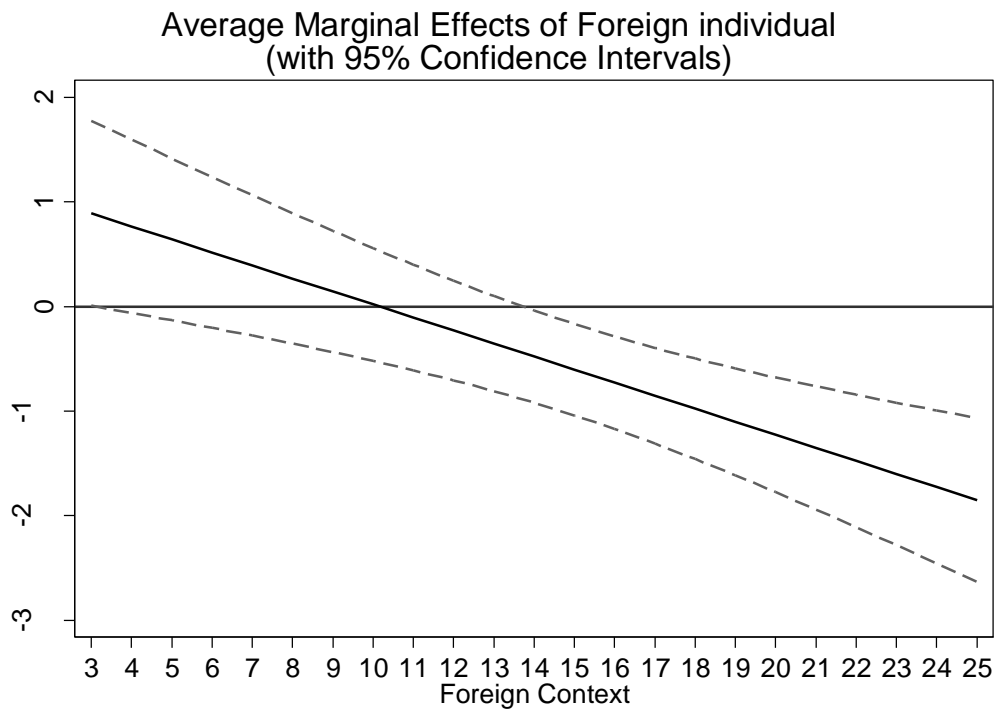


FIGURE 2, THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NON-NORDIC IMMIGRANT STATUS AND GENERAL TRUST WITH DIFFERENT LEVELS OF IMMIGRANT SHARE IN THE MUNICIPALITIES, RURAL-SAMPLE 25-29 YEAR OLDS



Concluding discussion

The findings show that on the individual level being non-Nordic origin is negative for trust in both samples and all age groups. On contextual level, the relationship between immigrant share in the context and levels of trust differ between the rural and city sample so that there is a positive relationship in the city sample and a negative on the countryside. There is further an interaction effect in the city in the oldest group where the negative impact of being of non-Nordic origin is weakened when the immigrant share in context is higher. There is no such interaction effect in the rural areas. There is also a significant negative relationship in the city between trust levels and being a boy in the age group of 20 to 24.

As the city area is more densely populated than the rural area and also consists of a higher level of immigrant youth, I interpret the findings as a sign of youth in the city having a more diverse set of experiences, enhancing higher levels of trust, whereas the rural youth is more shielded. This relies support for the contact hypothesis. I conclude that future studies on youth trust should include urbanization and gender as important features to explore.

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