Different Diversities or Diverse Differences? Impacts of Social Capital

Exploring the role of social networks among Swedish students in Malmö

by

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Abstract:

Following changes in patterns of international migration, Swedish migration policy has witnessed a discursive shift from an attitude of multiculturalism to a focus on individual and civic integration. However problems of ethnic segregation and socio-economic exclusion of immigrants remain a serious challenge, especially in metropolitan areas. This research aims to shed light on how different configurations of social capital impact civic interactions and trust between young immigrants and Swedish residents, thus contributing towards, or hindering, a successful achievement of the goal of integration. Semi-structured interviews with students from an ethnically mixed school in Malmö were employed to gain primary data on social interactions between the two groups. In order to take into account other factors that can influence the youths' attitudes and action (such as the parents' social structure), the research also provides insights into three municipal projects aimed at increasing integration. The findings point towards the existence of distinct and separate social networks among the students, based on characteristics that can be attributed to social exclusion on the first place. Thus resulting in a perception of ‘difference’ regarding certain immigrant groups. On the other hand while all the three projects seem to result in positive outcomes of social structures by diffusion of information, at the same time it still seems that the most segregated do not benefit from them. These results provide the basis for a better understanding of potential ways of increasing trust and mutual understanding amongst the city residents.

Key words: Social capital, Trust, Integration, Immigrant, Malmö, Sweden
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1-Introduction

1-1. Problem definition

International migration is an increasing phenomenon in the modern world (UN, 2006). The process of persons leaving their home country and residing in another is not, however, equally distributed around the world. Statistics show that throughout the past half century immigration has increased in the more advanced nations of the world (Putnam, 2007). A major challenge of this process however is the fact that success of migration hinges on the mutual adaptation of migrants and the host society, or in other words the process of Integration (UN, 2006).

Sweden is among those countries facing higher rates of immigration in recent years. Like many other EU countries, Sweden has received immigrants into its country since the Second World War, but their arrival has come in phases through time. Andersson (2007) has categorized immigration to Sweden in three broad groups: immigration due to the Second World War, labor immigration between 1950s and 60s, and refugee and family reunion immigration from the 1970s up to present time. Accordingly, in Sweden, as well as other European countries, changes in migration patterns and drivers of migration has been accompanied by a shift on the immigrant sending countries—a process that leads to host countries becoming more ethnically diverse and heterogeneous.

Change in migration pattern have been accompanied by shifts in Sweden's migration policies. Namely, there has been a discursive shift in policy from an attitude of multiculturalism to one of individual and civic integration policies; a change in approach starting in 1998 (Scuzzarello, 2010). The Swedish "integration policy" considers integration as an issue that concerns all people living in Sweden and outlines three major goals: guaranteeing equal rights and opportunities regardless of ethnic or cultural background, building a cohesive community and finally fostering a society with mutual respect and tolerance where all residents participate and take charge of their civic responsibilities (Ibid).

In 2007, immigration to Sweden broke records with about 100,000 person's in-migration to the country. The majority of the immigrants came from other countries in the European Union or Asia (SCB, 2008a). In the latter case, immigrants were mainly represented as refugees or people who have immigrated for family reunion reasons from the greater Middle Eastern countries such as Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Iran and Afghanistan (Ibid). Diagram 1 shows the trend of immigration to Sweden between 1997 and 2007 (For a distribution of types of residence permit granted through 2008 see appendix 1).
In contrast to Sweden's integration goals since the 1990's the Swedish metropolitan cities (Stokholm, Gothenburg and Malmö) have been facing various problems of ethnic segregation and socio-economic exclusion of certain types of immigrants, a situation referred to as "the Immigrant issue" (Andersson, 2007). The Immigrant issue has a multi-dimensional perspective, going beyond ethnicity as the only source of the problem. Indeed, different other factors such as differences in background, type of profession and skills, education and also have impacts in the mentioned exclusion.

A growing amount of research also shows that (at least in short term) increased levels of diversity pose a challenge to civic and redistributive values (Putnam, 2007; Stolle et al., 2008; Gustavsson and Jordahl, 2008; Alesina and Ferrara, 2007 and Leigh 2006). In other words, high levels of racial and ethnic heterogeneity are accompanied by lower levels of trust and other civic attitudes (Stolle et al., 2008). The concept of trust can be viewed as an important component of social integration in the modern societies and is similarly related to other important aspects of integrations such as respect, recognition, confidence, associability, social cohesion and civic society (Offe, 1999). Trust, therefore, can also be viewed as an important component of Swedish migration policy's goals. As trust is referred to as the "prime example" for cultural and moral resources that provides information needed for social coordination (Offe, 1999).

One of the simplest reasons for the negative relation between levels of trust and ethnic diversity according to Alesina and Ferrara (2007) could be the impacts of lack of knowledge concerning others; or, in their words, "people do not trust other people whom they do not know". Also, evidence shows that the impacts of diversity on trust can be reduced when people have social interactions with each other (Stolle et al., 2008; Alesina and Ferrara, 2007). Social ties have been shown as a mechanism that can effectively overcome the feeling
of being threatened by diversity (Stolle et al., 2008). An explanation for this success is that trust—such as other modes of informal social coordination—functions through commitments that result from life-world based images and beliefs that the members of society hold about each other (Offe, 1999). It is based on these beliefs that actions take place later and through the beliefs regarding the prospective actions of others, that trust has the potential to induce cooperation and enhance social coordination (Ibid).

On the other hand, social scholars in the field of social capital (e.g. Putnam (2000), Coleman (1988), Fukuyama (2001) and others) argue that social capital and civic engagements can have positive impacts on functioning’s of the society. Their basis for this argument is the fact that people who share relationships and networks with each other, share common values and have mutual goals and obligations and eventually trust each other more. In this way social capital can also be seen as a positive means of achieving social integration.

Building on these two claims about trust and social capital, it can be said that a dynamic relationship between trust and integration exists. People trust each other more through social interactions (Putnam, 2000; Coleman, 1988), and yet initiation of these interactions is also dependant on the existence of some levels of trust (Coleman, 1988; Offe 1999). The pre-requisite levels of trust then can be achieved through sharing the same networks and relations (i.e. through the concept of social capital and its functions). These structures then result in the creation of common goals and values which then serve as a basis for more trust to accumulate between people (Coleman, 1988). In short, trust can be both seen as both a means as well as a consequence of integration.

1-2. Research focus

Since the late 1900's growing amount of research has been done on the functions of social networks and relations, gathered under the term of social capital (See Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; 1990 and Putnam, 1993, 2000). Taking an optimistic viewpoint the concept seems to offer answers to many issues in the field of social science by claiming that functions of social structures and networks have the potential to keep societies together and lead individuals to act for collective goals (Weltzel et al., 2005).

Based on the concept of social capital, the components of social relations and social structures can act as a resource that facilitates the proper functioning of the society (Coleman, 1988, Putnam, 2000, Field, 2003). By sharing the same social networks, people access more information and achieve common values that in turn lead to mutual obligations and higher levels of trust towards one another. Furthermore social networks and relations of the family members with other people outside the family, have the potential to influence on the children’s’ views and attitudes and hence behavior (Coleman, 1988). Eventually, the existence of social capital in a society impacts and facilitates cooperation between the society's members, all of which are contributing factors to achieving integration (Coleman, 1988).

An important point to consider here is while social capital is often talked about as a tool that leads to social relations that allow for the acceptance of people by creating more trust and common goals between them, social capital can also lead to exclusion of other people who are not part of those networks (Fukuyama, 2001). Thus, both social capital and trust can be viewed as assets with unequal distribution. In regards to the former, Bourdieu makes reference to processes within a society where some members have stronger social capital than the
others (as cited in Richardson, 1986: 248-251). In case of the latter, Offe (1999) views trust as a that can reduce the costs of transactions and thus mostly needed by the group of people with less resources (e.g. power, wealth or information). However, those who are most in need of trust-based relations (because they have little else to rely upon) cannot afford the risk of mistrusting (again because they have too little to rely upon) while those who need it least enjoy it most (Ibid).

Despite the different definitions and criteria settings for what constitutes social capital, there is a consensus among scholars to view participation in social networks and membership in voluntary associations as a reliable indicator. Special emphasis and scientific attention has been given to voluntary memberships since de Tocqueville, who observed that various civic benefits are attributed to voluntary associations, such as increasing the potentials for people to cooperate, acquire civic skills and adopt such civic orientations as trust and tolerance (Weltzel et al., 2005).

1-3. Aim of research

Based on the mentioned arguments, this research mainly seeks to explore the conditions of social structures and relations (i.e Social capital) in Malmö with a focus on their impact on interactions between young "immigrant" (Invandrare) and "Swedish" residents of the city. Eventually, the research aims to shed light on how the operations and consequences of these social structures impact on situation of trust and integration in the city of Malmö.

It should be kept in mind, however, that social networks are not a natural given (Portes, 1998). They are usually constructed around a commonality and therefore require a ground for formation. It could also be assumed that intergenerational differences exist in relation to shared social networks of the "Swedish" and "immigrant" residents of Malmö. While factors such as not knowing the language, unfamiliarity with the host society's rules and norms and also being out of the labor market can be seen as barriers to social mix between the "Swedish" and "first generation immigrant" residents of Malmö (i.e. born outside of Sweden and of non Swedish parents), the younger generations are more likely to have the potential to share networks through process of socialization inherent in educational institutions. In this case problems such as language barriers or unfamiliarity with functioning’s of the Swedish society do not hinder or decrease the chances of both immigrants and Swedes sharing the same networks and relations.

Therefore, the research focuses on social interactions in a school (as a natural arena for social relations) in Malmö. As attitudes and actions of the youth can be affected through their parents social structures as well (Coleman, 1988), the research also focuses on three municipal run projects which have the explicit aim of increasing social mix between (adult) immigrants and (adult) Swedish residents of Malmö. Accordingly, the targets of the research is the quality of social structures of a group of "Swedish" (born in Sweden from Swedish parents) high school students studying in an ethnically mixed environment, as well as the quality of social structures created by the municipal run projects.

By exploring existing types of social capital this research tries to generate a deeper understanding of the impacts of these social structures on phenomena such as trust and civic interactions. These findings then can be used for a better understanding of potential ways of increasing norms of reciprocity and mutual understanding amongst the city residents.
1-4. Research questions

As the research focuses on two sites of social interaction the research questions can be accordingly put in two categories:

A. Regarding the "Swedish" students:

1. What is the quality of social capital among the "Swedish" students studying in an ethnically mixed school in Malmö, Sweden?

2. How does the current situation of social capital influence chances of interaction between "Swedish" and "immigrant" students?

B. Regarding the projects that aim to increase social contact:

3. What is the quality of social capital created by the three municipal projects (Kontaktpersonversamkhat, Sprak Café and Integration i Förening) currently going on in Malmö?

4. How does the social structure resulted by those projects influence chances of interaction between "Swedish" and "immigrant" residents of Malmö?

And eventually focusing on both categories of questions (A and B):

5. What are the impacts of the mentioned situations on society of Malmö as a whole?

The following sub questions are used and focused on in conducting the interview to help achieve a better knowledge regarding the main research questions.

A:

1. What is the family background (i.e. financial, social and human capital) of the student respondents?

2. Do young students have social networks besides the ones provided through school?

3. What is the content of the networks they're involved in? In other words what is the nature of the activities going on in these networks?

4. Of whom do these social networks consist? (What type of Social capital do they provide?)

5. What is the level of information conveyed through student's social networks about "immigrant" residents of Malmö?

6. What are the dominant attitudes in the youth's social networks towards "immigrant" youth in Sweden?
B:

1. What is the background (i.e. financial, social and human capital) of the participants in these projects?

2. What are the impacts of these projects on participant's social networks?

3. What types of information and values are conveyed through these projects?

2- Problem background

Empirical research in the context of North American countries (Hoogh et al, 2008) favors the idea that increased ethnic diversity can be seen as a factor with negative impacts on the levels of trust (Putnam, 2007; Stolle et al, 2008; Gustavsson and Jordahl, 2008; Alesina and Ferrara, 2007; and Leigh 2006). Similar cross-national research in European countries does not seem to be finding the same relationship between increased ethnic diversity and generalized trust. (Hoogh et al, 2008). However, on the scale of interpersonal trust the European situation corresponds to North American situation in that on an individual level, ethnic minorities, lowly educated respondents, unemployed men and older people are considered to be less trusting (Ibid).

Also, Coleman (1990) emphasizes that familiarity generates trust. Alessina and Le Ferrera (2007) argue that individuals tend to trust people who are more similar to them—where similarity can be in terms of family members or members of the same social, racial or ethnic group—and individuals are less inclined to trust those other individuals that are different from them (Ibid)

2-1. Situation in Sweden

Corresponding to the relationships between ethnic diversity and levels of trust following the findings of Hoogh et al. (2008), empirical data in Sweden shows lower levels of interpersonal trust towards immigrants or ethnically diverse people (Gustavsson and Jordahl, 2008). The same research also shows that there are significant relationships between having a job and levels of trust, with lower trust towards people without a job (Gustavsson and Jordahl, 2008). Regardless of general decrease in employment rates in Sweden since the 1980's, foreign born residents still show lower rates than those of the Swedish born residents with women also having lower participation in job market (SCB, 2008, a). In 2008, unemployment rates among foreign-born residents of Sweden was 12.0%; more than double the rate of 5.2% for Swedish-born residents (SCB, 2008 b). Also, many of the people born abroad are also over-represented among the long-term unemployed (Ibid). Consequently, conditions of labor market integration of "immigrant" residents of Sweden impose a negative impact on levels of trust towards them. Diagram 2 shows the situation of employment among Swedish and foreign born men and women between 1987-2007.
Statistics show a general positive relationship between educational levels and integration into the job market (SCB, 2008, a). In terms of education, however, a comparison between the highest educational levels attained at the age of 30 shows significant differences between Swedish and foreign born residents. While Secondary school is the highest educational level for 19 %- 25% of the foreign born residents (especially those coming from Africa, Asia and non EU 27 countries), it is only for 7% of the Swedish born residents; representing that it is much more common for the Swedish born residents to have upper secondary school as their highest educational level (SCB, 2008a). Educational background then through its impacts on employment, also has an impact on levels of trust.

Diagram 3 shows the differences in higher educational attainment based on countries of origin between years 2002-2006.

**Diagram 2** Share of employed Swedish and Foreign born women and men. Ages 20-64

**Diagram 3** Percentage not eligible to attend higher education. by sex and group of country. 2002-2006

(SCB, 2008, a)
The mentioned data on labor market integration and education levels shows that socio-economic situations of "Immigrants" can have a negative impact on their perceived levels of trustworthiness by other city residents.

Another important issue in context of Sweden, as Scuzzarello (2010) points out, is the way immigrants are conceptualized in the Swedish Immigration Policy Model. Individualization of immigrant policies in 1990's with an emphasis on equal opportunities and anti-discrimination policies, has resulted in categorization of immigrants under the general group of "Invandrare" (as opposed to more national categories such as Iraqi, Afghani etc).

Trust, as Offe (1999) mentions, is a belief based on perception of others. Conceptualization of migrants as "Invandrare" has created a perception based on a dichotomy between Swedes as the normal and Invandrare as the “other” whose ways of being are defined as a problem (Scuzzarello, 2010). This perception of difference along with actual socio-economic factors of the "immigrants" makes for lower chances of the formation of a trust relationship between the "Swedish" and "Immigrant" members of Sweden.

2-2. Situation in Malmö

Being a host country to many immigrants, Sweden's major cities are becoming more and more diverse due to increasing waves of refugees and family reunion immigration (SCB, 2008,a). Malmö, Sweden's third largest city with a population of 293,909 people in 2010, is the exemplar city for Swedish policies on immigration (Malmö Stad, 2010). Immigrants living in Malmö come from 171 countries who make up 39% of the total population in the city (Malmö Stad, 2010). The immigrant population of Malmö represents 60% of all immigrant residents of Sweden (Ibid). Although a noticeable amount of the immigrants come from other Scandinavian countries such as Denmark that are more similar to Sweden in terms of developmental levels or values and priorities, a substantial group of immigrants are from non Western/European countries (i.e. countries with very different backgrounds); for example, in 2008 the Iraqi population of Malmö constituted 9% of the city’s total population (Ibid).

Based on a strategy plan for integration that was issued in 1999 by Malmö city (and is still in use) integration is defined as: "one having the opportunity to actively participate in society and to be able to influence the development of the society without giving up ones identity. (Malmö Stad, 1999:7 as cited in Scuzzarello, 2010). Integration then, as is defined, presupposes communication, mutual understanding between people and knowledge about each other's culture, perspective and society (Ibid). All of which are factors that indeed contribute to creation of trust as well (Alessina and Ferrara, 2007).

The integration measures based on the same document are not fully realized, however, as Malmö deals with issues of non-integration (Scuzzarello, 2010; Andersson, 2007). Issues of ethnic and socio-economic segregation as well as lack of communication and understanding between people living in Malmö are considered to be reasons behind this current situation of non-integration (Scuzzarello, 2010). These problems can eventually foster "negative attitudes towards and discrimination of people with foreign backgrounds" (Malmö Stad, 1999:19).
Thus, ethnic and socio-economic segregation and lack of communication and understanding are identified as the two major drivers affecting the levels of trust and contributing to non-integration in Malmö.

The ethnic and socio-economic segregation can be seen as a reinforcing cycle, with the potential of leading to more segregation through creation of very closed groups of people based on their socio economic status (Salem, 2009). In case of disadvantaged segregated areas, this status is frequently accompanied by being an “immigrant” area (e.g. Rosengord, Kroksbak and others in Malmö). Based on the general trends in Sweden, the lower socio-economic conditions of the immigrants living in disadvantaged areas of Malmö can also increase levels of distrust towards them by residents in other areas of the city (Gustavsson and Jordahl, 2008).

From the communicative perspective, lack of social interactions has a positive relation with higher levels of distrust (Stolle et al., 2008; Alesina and Ferrara, 2007); since, among other reasons, lack of interaction prevents the generation of knowledge necessary for understanding and implicit for trust between individuals (Alesina and Ferrara, 2007, Offe, 1999).

2-2-1. Measures to overcome the situation

The policy solutions adopted by Malmö’s city council between 1997-2007 to address the causes of lack of integration can be described through four approaches under two categories. The first category focuses on elimination of segregation through decreasing levels of unemployment as well as increasing and promoting engagement in voluntary associations. By impacting and enhancing the socio economic conditions of the "immigrant" residents, these policies can have a positive impact on trust levels. The second address the issue of lack of communication and lack of understanding by means of applying changes within the council itself as well as promoting urban development to create more chances of contact between citizens with different backgrounds. These policies also have the potential to influence trust levels through their promotion and desired increase of social interaction.

2-3. Why is (lack of) trust important?

Being in a trust relationship has positive consequences for both sides of the relationship. Trust can be seen as an asset that can substitute for resources of social control (Offe, 1999). By trusting, people can reduce their costs of transactions as well (Ibid). These functions are mainly achieved through cooperation that is fostered between people who trust each other. For example, trusting others will take away the need of monitoring them as well as using force or reliance on third parties for making others do certain things (Ibid). In this way, people being in a trust relationship enjoy a margin of options and activities that goes beyond what can be directly enforced, purchased, or known for sure (Ibid). These impacts become of special importance when they are considered in relation to integration policies of Sweden and Malmö. As freedom granted by trust encourages innovation and experimentation, a type of behavior that also can lead to the discovery of collectively beneficial opportunities (Offe, 1999). Thus cooperation resulted by trust can be a means of social cohesion as well as a mediator for increasing participation in the society.

On the contrary, if many people have the feeling that most others cannot be trusted, it will be more difficult for a community to pursue collective-action efforts and to provide for
collective goods (Hooghe et al, 2007). In this way lack of trust takes away the mentioned margin of options and replaces it with noncooperation between society members, eventually leading to loss where benefits could have actually been achieved through a belief of the other's trustworthiness (Offe, 1999).

Besides the person who trusts, the other side of the trust relation (i.e. the person who gets trusted) receives benefits as well. These benefits are mainly in form of the credits that one receives by being worthy of trust (Offe, 1999). This credit then can be used to cover up minor mistakes, to relieve anxiety, and to open up “a wide margin for nonconformity, innovation and originality” covered by the credit of trust (Ibid). This function of trust in relation to the integration policies is important in fostering a society with mutual respect and tolerance where all residents participate and take responsibilities.

Trust is also referred to as a useful tool to cover the gap between micro and macro in social theory (Offe, 1999). The beliefs and actions generated by trust result in "behavioral preferences and inclinations of others in terms of their preparedness to contribute, cooperate, and refrain from selfish, opportunistic and hostile courses of action" (Ibid). These micro phenomena are an important determinant of the macro policy options, as the images and cognitive beliefs that people use to predict likely reactions of other people at the micro level will constrain policies, as well as investment strategies, at the macro level (Ibid).

The sense of cooperation and the wider range of options achieved through a trust relationships become of even more important when considering Sweden's immigration trend and the future perspective of Malmö's demographics. As statistics show, many of the newly arrived immigrants have a higher rate of birth which is leading to increased number of second generation immigrants in Sweden (SCB, 2008, a)(for a comparison of fertility rates based on country of origin see appendix 2). Accordingly, based on 2009 statistics provided by city of Malmö, from the total age group of 5-16 living in Malmö 47% are “immigrants”(Malmö Stad, 2010). Based on the mentioned benefits of trust and regarding the future generations, increasing levels of trust become of special importance if they are seen as the key to integration policies in Malmö. Moreover, in addition to all the mentioned benefits trust relations contain an intrinsic enjoyment for individuals who are trusting as they give rise to feelings of intimacy and passion (Ibid).

Based on the above arguments lack of trust between the "Swedish" and "immigrant" residents of Malmö can be seen as an important problem. Not only the conditions of distrust between city residents has negative impacts on the goals and integration policies of Malmö and Sweden, but also from a justice view point; distrust imposes negative impacts on the individual's right to enjoy equal opportunities .This problem requires even more attention considering that it is usually the people with less resources (the less affluent that in regards to the socio economic conditions are also among the group regarded as less trustable) who have a higher need to rely on positive externalities of trust in order to use that as a substitute for their lack of other sources. (Offe, 1999)

Therefore decreased trust levels are an important threat for achieving individual as well as collective well being.
3-Theoretical design

3-1. Theoretical perspective; social capital theory

The concept of social capital is based on the idea that "relationships" matter (Fields, 2003). People establish connections with each other that enable them to do things or achieve goals that they could not have achieved on their own, or at least not without difficulty. These connections give rise to shared values among the members of the relationship and increase levels of trust and mutual obligation among them (Fields, 2003). Different definitions of social capital more or less have some common factors. What make social structures valuable are certain aspects including norms and mutual obligations among the members of the network. Whatever the definition of social capital, trust is viewed as an aspect that is both required for effectiveness of the structures as well as a product of it. Ultimately, social capital facilitates action as well as coordination and cooperation for the mutual benefit of the people involved in a "relationship" or a social structure (Coleman, 1998; Putnam, 2000).

These impacts can also be viewed through the "communicative" measures taken by Malmö’s city council to address the problem of non integration; where focus on increased chances of social mix and interaction between different residents of the city is expected to increase communication and mutual acceptance and eventually hinder formation of negative attitudes towards the "immigrant" residents of Malmö (Malmö Stad, 1999:19 as cited in Scuzzarello, 2010).

3-1-1. How does social capital create trust?

There is a dynamic relationship between Trust and social capital (Coleman, 1988, Putnam 2000). This dynamic relationship can also be seen in cases of disagreements based on definitions of social capital. The challenge here is through the questions of: Does social capital lead to trust (as defined by Coleman (1988) and accepted by his followers)? Or is trust a manifestation of social capital by itself (as argued by Putnam (2000) and his followers)?

However, despite the differences in definitions, there is indeed a consensus among social scholars on the strong relationship between trust and social relations. In short, trust is seen as a result, a pre-condition and a facilitator of social networks. Thus it could be argued that trust is a function of social capital (Coleman, 1988), at the same time it is a means of social capital through facilitating creation of social networks and relations (Putnam, 2000) and eventually has positive impacts on other functions resulted by shared social structures (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). Figure 4 tries to give a better understanding of the dynamic relationship between trust and social capital.
As can be seen in the conceptual model, being in a social structure has a positive relationship with functions of social capital such as sharing mutual obligations and shared norms. These shared norms and obligations are positively related to trust, which in turn has a positive relationship with being in a social structure. At the same time, trust also imposes a positive effect on mutual obligations and shared norms that leads to more trust on their side.

In their 2007 article "Who trusts others?" Alesina and Ferrara introduce four important factors in creation of trust: interaction with others, past experiences, similarity and personal characteristics, all of which influence the generation of trust. Taking these criteria into account and by focusing on functions of social capital, the following part tries to give a more in-depth understanding on the relationship between social structures and trust (the red link in figure 4). An important factor here is in defining that both viewpoints regarding trust—as an outcome as well as a means of social capital—are taken into account equally.

3-1-1-1.Interactions and levels of trust

It is generally agreed upon that continued interaction with other people is the easiest way of building trust between individuals (Offe, 1999). Empirical data shows that even in diverse communities, people trust the other people with whom they more frequently interact (Stolle et al., 2008; Alesina and Ferrara, 2007;Coleman, 1990). The importance of interactions in terms of integration and immigration becomes more clear through research that shows while diversity itself (without contact) may push interpersonal trust downwards, interaction and actual experiences with members of other social or racial groups can have counteracting positive effects (Stolle et al., 2008).

This link is indeed a very obvious one as social interactions are inherent in the concept of social capital. To possess social capital a person must be related to others and it is those others not himself that are actually the sources of his/her advantage (Portes, 1998).

Still, an important factor here is not all kinds of interaction increase levels of trust (or even result in other functions of social capital). This is due to the fact that for interactions to be useful, Closure of social networks is needed (Coleman, 1988). Closure means the existence of sufficient ties between a certain number of people to guarantee the observance of norms.
(Portes, 1998). It is through the closure of social networks that the action of members imposes externalities on others leading the members to follow the norms of reciprocity (Coleman, 1988). Figures (a) and (b) show networks without and with closure. As can be seen in figure (a) closure does not exist, hence actions of A can influence B or C, but they cannot collectively act in order to impact A. As they are in relation to C and D respectively. In picture b, however B and C can collaborate to carry out actions that would impact A. (e.g. useful sanctions) or they can reward each other for behaving in a certain way.

**Figure 5** Networks without (a) and with (b) closure

Moreover, closure of social structures increases trustworthiness of those in the networks and of the networks themselves and thus allows for the plurification of obligations and expectations (Coleman, 1988; Porets, 1998). This is because norms arise as an attempt to limit negative impacts or increase positive outcomes. The mentioned functions also apply to the conditions needed for trusting others, as trust is indeed a mutual obligation. It is the belief concerning the action that is to be expected from others, which would eventually lead to reactions based on that belief (Offe, 1999). The expected actions (or lack of actions) would affect the well-being of the holder of the belief, as well as possibly the well-being of others or a relevant collectivity (Ibid). In this way, the strength of the moral obligation emerging from being trusted can make trust a self-fulfilling expectation (Offe, 1999). Figure 6 tries to illustrate these impacts.

**Figure 6**. Social capital influencing trust through increased interaction

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However, the dynamic relationship between functions of social capital and trust can go beyond mere moral obligations and be seen through incentives of the trusting and being trusted. This can be better understood by viewing social capital as social networks and norms of reciprocity resulted by them (Putnam, 2000). Both positive and negative incentives result from keeping a trust relationship going. While from a positive perspective being trusted can be an important kind of “social capital” that can be “spent” in a variety of ways, breaking trust reduces that capital since it involves a lasting loss of credibility (Offe, 1999). This dynamic relationship will eventually lead to a situation in which “the concession of trust generates the very behavior which might logically seem to be its precondition” (Gambetta, 1988 as cited by Offe, 1999).

3-1-1-2. Information and levels of trust

According to Alessina and Ferrera (2007), people tend to trust others whom they know. This can be explained considering that trust is indeed a cognitive phenomenon depending on knowledge and beliefs (Offe, 1999). It is based on the beliefs and pre-assumptions that people decide to trust others or not. That's why past experiences influence levels of trust highly as they act as a basis for anticipating future behavior of others. (Offe, 1999; (Alessina and Ferrera, 2007). This "anticipation of future behavior" is built through the information that people receive directly from those others or through indirect ways. Figure 7 explains the relationship between social structures, trust levels and information:

![Figure 7 Information and trust](image)

The role of social capital here is important since providing information is indeed an essential function of social capital. This is achieved due to the fact that social structures act as information channels through the potential for information inherent in social relations. (Coleman, 1988) Informal networks and social structures that are maintained for other purposes also facilitate the action of gaining information. Even though people might not join networks or start relationships for the purpose of acquiring information, they acquire more knowledge as a byproduct of having these relations. This information can later be a basis for action (Coleman, 1988) as well as trust (Offe, 1999).
3-1-1-3. Personal characteristics and trust

Alessina and Ferrara (2007) also show that although some personal traits such as religious beliefs or ethnic origins do not have a significant impact on trust levels, other characteristics such as education can be important in creation of trust.

In his article "Social capital in creation of human capital", Colmen (1988) shows that family's social capital can influence the attitudes and values of youth. Following his major focus – education-Coleman shows that an important aspect of social capital is the role it plays in the creation of human capital in the next generation (1988). Based on his findings the family's social capital is of special importance since it can act as a substitute for low levels of the family's financial and human capital—resources that directly influence educational outcomes (Coleman, 1988; Field 2003:45-50). In general, research shows that social capital is associated with higher levels of educational performance, especially for young people from disadvantaged backgrounds (Field, 2003)

3-1-1-4. Similarity and trust

People may trust individuals whom are more ‘similar’ to them that is, family members or members of the same social, racial or ethnic group. (Alesina and Ferrara, 2007)

Social structures as Putnam (1995) mentions have the potential to influence "identity". That is so because increased interaction with a group makes it more likely to share collective interests and goals. In order for these common goals to be achieved, the group members will have mutual obligations towards each other; hence levels of trust increase among them as well (Putnam, 2000: 134-136; Coleman, 1988)
In short as can be seen through Figure 8 there is a close relationship between functions of social capital and trust. Also as can be seen through the figure, lack of these functions can have negative impacts on levels of trust.

3-1-2. Social capital generating distrust

In research related to the concept of social capital, much emphasis has been put on the positive impacts generated through social structures, turning the concept into what Portes (1998) correctly calls as a "cure-all for the maladies affecting society at home and abroad." This optimistic view can also be seen through the orientations of the World Bank that tend to view social capital as "the glue that keeps the society together" (Serageldin, 1996 and Narayan, 1999). Indeed it is true that social structures lead to many social "goods" (Field, 2003), but it should also be kept in mind that different types of social capital exist and they achieve different ends.

Putnam (2000) makes a distinction between different types of social capital based on the types of people they tie together. In this way, he distinguishes between bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital is an inward looking network that reinforces exclusive identities and homogenous groups. Bridging social capital on the other hand acts as an outward looking network, encompassing different people across different social cleavages (Putnam, 2000: 22-24). Also, Fukuyama (2001) talks about the "radius of Trust" created through social structures. According to him, all groups embodying social capital have a certain radius of trust, that is; "the circle of people among whom co-operative norms are operative" (Fukuyama, 2001)

![Figure- 9. Networks of trust](Fukuyama, 2001)

If a group’s social capital produces positive externalities, the radius of trust can be larger than the group itself but it is also possible for the radius of trust to be smaller than the membership of the group (Ibid). The following part of this chapter goes through the relationship between types of social capital and creation of distrust.

The creation of "distrust" is not a direct function of social structures themselves. Instead, it is a product of how these social networks are related to those beyond it, to outsiders. That is due to the fact that the in-group solidarity resulted by functions of social capital has the potential of creating out-group antagonism as well (Putnam, 2000:22-24, Fukuyama, 2001). That is
why the distinction between Bonding and Bridging types of social capital is important to distinguish between when talking about integration.

Immigrants who newly arrive in a society tend to create their own clusters or enclaves where they can rely on their connections with "same" people who are their co-patriots or other immigrants facing more or less the same situation and conditions in the new society. These types of structure act as sources of social and psychological support (Putnam, 2000:22-24). These social structures in terms of social capital can be seen as "bonding" social capital. According to Putnam they are good in terms of "getting by" especially for the newly arrived immigrants (Ibid). These bonding networks, however, are not only limited to immigrants. They are defined as relations with the "same" or "like" people. In a city with high residential segregation and low chances of social interaction between different ethnic and socio-economic groups, it could also be hypothesized that the members of host society are also having their own bonding social capital.

Conversely, bridging networks, link "unlike" or un-similar people to each other and therefore lead to formation of a broader identity and reciprocity (Putnam, 2000:22-24). These are the networks that are good for "getting ahead" and thus important in facilitating the process of integration. This function is achieved through these networks when the members are linked to external assets and sources of information (Ibid). Accordingly, much of the research on the relation between capital and creation of trust argues that direct bridging contacts with diverse others can be important for the building of an overarching identity or a trust, more generally, that transcends group boundaries (Bobo, 1988; Brewer, 1981; Dovidio and Gaertner, 1999; Gaertner et al., 1996; McClelland and Linnander, 2006; Oliver and Wong, 2003; Olsen, 1972; Shingles, 1981; Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Wagner et al., 2006, as cited in Stolle et al., 2008).

3-1-2-1.Bonding social capital and radius of distrust

On the other hand, bonding social capital in some cases may actually serve to decrease the degree to which members of that group are able to trust outsiders and work effectively with them (Fukuyama, 2001). The negative externalities of bonding structures can vary between preventing the group members from receiving benefits from the outside environment to actively breeding distrust, intolerance, or even hatred for and violence towards outsiders; these negative impacts can be better understood through the "radius of distrust" created through bonding networks(Ibid). The strength of the shared norms and values within a group usually has increasing effects on the radius of distrust (Ibid). In other words, there is a direct relationship between the radiuses of distrust and the in-groups cohesiveness.

3-1-2-2.Downward leveling norms

It is not only through the strong in-group cohesion that bonding social structures can negatively impact levels of trust. Social networks and relations can also induce negative consequences for the in-group members that would eventually decrease their potential to be trusted by out-group members as well. This happens since the same common norms and values that facilitate actions of the group members can also limit personal freedoms of the same members and thus have preventative impacts on performing certain (other) actions (Portes, 1998). This downward leveling impact on acceptance of new norms and values becomes of special importance when noticeable differences exist between the groups. This (at
times unwanted) restriction can respectively generate pre-assumptions about the future actions of the group members, especially when those (prevented) norms are perceived to be of special importance for the collective well being of the society. Accordingly, If trust is defined as the perception about future actions that also have an impact on the collective well being, then those member of the society how do not follow those norms can be perceived as less trustable by the outside group (Offe, 1999). In this way there will be no reasons (based on shared norms and values) to trust the uses to which they are going to put their civic and political rights even though their actions would not necessarily have negative impacts on the collective wellbeing of the society (Ibid).

3-1-2-3. Incomplete diffusion of information

If people's networks are too limited they will not be informed on other group's issues and matters and the information needed for creating assumption and beliefs necessary for trust will not be acquired. The social groups limited only to "same" people (bonding structures) also lack what Granovetter calls "weak ties"; that is, heterodox individuals at the periphery of the society’s various social networks who are able to move between groups and thereby become bearers of new ideas and information (Fukuyama, 2001). Lack of information does influence the conditions of trusting through the negative impact that it imposes on the future anticipated behavior. People who do not interact with each other (or share same networks) do not have any reasons to trust nor to be trusted. As Offe (1999) noted, "they are mutually ignorant and hence encounter each other in the attitude of caution and distrust as their shared behavioral null-hypothesis".

Information achieved through informal channels resulted by direct interaction could be substituted by other means. Media such as news papers and TV programs could become the sources for a big part of the society to build their beliefs and perception about other society members and their respective potential for trustworthiness. However as it is in the nature of beliefs, they can be wrong (Offe, 1999). For a press release of "immigrant" related news, see appendix 3)

This becomes of special importance in regards to social constructivist view points of creation of self as a result of accumulated images, ideas and associations that compose the wider social and cultural contexts of our lives. This view point implies that the understanding of the self is attached to a social context and therefore relational (Taylor, 2006).

4- Methodology

4-1. Methods for data collection and analysis

The data used for this research consists of primary and secondary data. The primary data was collected through interviews and observations while the secondary data was gathered through information on the City of Malmö's website (Malmö.se) as well as through statistical reports and data from Sweden's statistical database (SCB).

Primary data of this research was conducted through semi-structured interviews. The semi-structured approach to interviewing is, according to Bryman (2004), an approach in which the researcher has a list of questions of fairly specific topics to be covered, but the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply (:321). This method was chosen to allow for
flexibility in the interview process in order to deal with the unexpected results gathered through the interview process. Based on the interviewee the results of the interviews were then handled differently for analysis. In case of the interviews with the informants (i.e. project organizers and the school mentor) the results were treated as giving direct access to the respective "experience" of the informants and thus seen as a source of reference; while the data gathered from student respondents was viewed as "actively constructed narratives" and were then analyzed based on a social capital theoretical framework (Silverman 2005:48).

The interviews were complemented with personal observations. According to Silverman (2005) "what happens in the field while gathering data is itself a source of data" (:48). The observation process varied in two cases of the integration projects and youth's social networks. In the case of the integration projects, it was more of participatory observation with me actively taking part in the programs being held in Malva center. In the latter case the method consisted of sole observation of group dynamics and functions among the students.

Eventually, secondary data based on my previous empirical research (Salem, 2009) on social networks among a community of Afghan youth was used as a point of comparison. The mentioned research was carried out during the previous spring (2009) as a part of a Msc. Thesis project. The research focused on impacts of social networks on the integration of the Afghan community living in Hyllie district in Malmö with the main target group being the Afghan youth studying and living in Kroksback (Salem, 2009). Ten interviews were conducted with young Afghan students in the previous research.

4-2. Description of the cases and study area

With a main focus on conditions of social capital in city of Malmö and the consequential impacts of those social structures on the process of integration, this research concentrates on two generations, and thus, two targets of research.

4-2-1. Youth's social networks

The previous research carried out in Korksback had a special focus on social networks and relations of Afghan youth. It seemed that nearly none of the respondents shared social structures with the "Swedish" youth. No different relationships were constructed with the few Swedish students studying in the same school with them. The current research focuses on social networks and structures of the "Swedish" students in order to evaluate the impact of these structures on possibilities of social mix between the youth of Malmö.

4-2-1-1. Area description-Rönnens gymnasium

Located in Katrinelund in district Centrum, Rönnens gymnasium has 378 students. These students come from various countries and based on the school's quality report about 60% of the school students speak another language other than Swedish at home (Personal interview, D).
The district itself has a 30% immigrant population from former Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Iran, Poland and Denmark. Students come from Asian countries (mainly the greater Middle East) European counties (mainly the Balkan countries as well as Poland) and also African countries (mainly represented by Somalia) (*Ibid*). The gender mix among the school's students is, to a high extent, female dominated (*Ibid*). In general maybe they are 7, 10 or 15 boys at school as they mainly tend to go to "Agnesfrids Gymnasium" that is a practical school in the same district (*Ibid*).

### 4-2-2. Projects

Three projects of Kontaktpersonverksamheten, Sprak Café and Integration i Förening are being run by the Malmö municipality. These projects follow the common goal of increasing contact between immigrants and the Swedish society at large. They are of interest to this research in terms of evaluating the type of social capital that they produced through their activities.

#### 4-2-2-1. Kontaktpersonverksamheten/Contact person program

Established in 2001, this program started its activities with a primary focus on creating personal interactions between newly arrived immigrants and Swedish residents of Malmö as well as other residents who had sufficient knowledge about the Swedish language and society. Since 2009, with a change in contact strategies, the project collaborates with the Language Café and is held jointly in Malva Center. These joint programs are held on a monthly basis and are announced through city of Malmö's website as well as the program's Facebook group (Kontaktpersonverksamheten i Malmö).
4-2-2-2. Sprak café/ Language Café

Starting in 2009, the project Language Café is run by INAR (Malmö stads övergripande avdelning för arbete- och integrationsfrågor) and functions in cooperation with AIC (Arbets och Integration Center) and Malmö Kommune. The main objective of the program is to create a meeting/talking place with no formal requirements, such as need for registration. (Personal interview, B). Being held in Malva Center, the project provides immigrants with a place to meet others while practicing Swedish. Malva Center is open daily from 10:00-16:00, but has extended hours on days with special events.

4-2-2-3. Integration i Förening/ Integration in associations

In cooperation with MISO (Malmö Sport Organization) and Funded by Malmö municipality, this program started in 2007 as a temporary project in Malmö and now is run through MIP (Malmö Non-Profit organization). The main objectives of the program include informative activities on the part of the immigrants to increase their knowledge about importance of associational life in Sweden as well as increasing the chances of integration into the non-profit associations. The informative activities in are carried out in SFI (Swedish for Immigrant) courses throughout Malmö, as well as within the associations themselves (Personal interview, C).

4-2-2-4. Area description- Malva center:

Located in Södra Sofielund, Malva Center is the joint meeting place for participants in the Contact Person program and the Language Café.

**Figure -11. Malmö Södra Sofielund**

![Map of Malmö Södra Sofielund](Malmö Stad, 2010)
The neighborhood is a part of the district Södra Innerstaden, one of the "disadvantaged" districts amongst 10 city districts of Malmö (NEHOM, 2002). In 2008 approximately 43% of the population in the district was composed of immigrants (both first and second generation) with people from Iraq and former Yugoslavia being the majority (Malmö Stad, 2010). While the immigrant population makes up for 60% of the population in greater-Södra Sofielund; again, with the people from Iraq composing the majority. Among this 60%, the first generation immigrants (the ones born outside of Sweden) take up for 45%. The remaining 15% are born inside Sweden, with both parents born outside of Sweden (Malmö Stad, 2010).

The high concentration of first generation immigrants in the neighborhood as well as the district makes the Malva Center a suitable location for projects aiming increased social activities for the immigrants. Also, the center's close distance to Fosie—a densely immigrant populated neighborhood with over 53% immigrants—as well as Augustenborg district, makes it easy for the first generation immigrant population of the neighborhood to take part in activities held in the center (Malmö Stad, 2010).

4-3. Approaches for selection and contact with respondents

The empirical data of this research consists of two parts. As for the integration strategies, the data is conducted through three in-depth interviews with the project responsible persons, as well as personal observation and participation in two of the projects. In case of youth's social networks the data is conducted through semi-structured in-depth interviews with young students in Rönnens Gymnasium as well as an in-depth interview with the school mentor.

4-3-1. Young student's social networks

The data about young student's social networks was gathered through interviews with one informant and 15 respondents in Rönnens Gymnasium. In order to achieve a better understanding on the structure of social networks amongst students, one in-depth interview was conducted with the student's mentor. The interview consisted of a part with general data about the school such as ethnic mixture, socio economic level of the students and their educational attainment. The second part focused more on group dynamics between students from different countries and their patterns of social mix.

The interviews with the respondents were done in two phases. In the first phase 9 students of both genders were interviewed through semi-constructed in-depth interviews (for an analyzed version of interviews see appendix 4). The interview questions consisted of six sections. The first part dealt with general information about the respondents and their family. Part two focused on the respondents inside family social capital as well as the outside family social capital (i.e. networks and relationships) the respondent would have through his/her family members, such as family's friends and relatives as well as membership in clubs and associations. The third section aimed the respondents' personal social relations, both through school (i.e. group of friends and activities done through school) as well as social networks outside of school. Part four aimed identifying the impacts of these social structures on the youth's attitudes and values as well as information conveyed through youth's social networks. The final part of the interview focused on youth's other possible information channels besides their social relations. Personal reflections were applied to phase one interview structure, resulting to slight variations in phase two interview outline. These variations were mainly in
form of additional follow up questions in order to increase clarity in youth's responses. During phase two 6 students were interviewed.

Both phases of the interview were carried out in the school's canteen during the student's lunch break from 10:50-13:30. The respondents in both phases were chosen at random after considering for certain limitations. In most cases the whole group sharing a table would be interviewed. In this way the respondents would consist of a group of friends (sharing same social ties) and in several cases including both Swedish and immigrant students. Although the main target of the interviews were Swedish students, in three cases interviews were carried out with students not born from Swedish parents but sharing the same lunch-group as Swedish students; these interviews were done in order to allow for a deeper insight as well as a point of comparison about possible ethnic-based differences among the same group of friends. However, as the main target group of the research was the Swedish youth (as well as other residents that did not show evident signs of ethnicity based exclusions) groups of students that were clearly limited to other ethnicities and were showing obvious signs of different ethnicity (such as the whole group speaking in other languages than Swedish) were avoided.

Results of personal observations in both visits were documented as well. These observation focused largely on the group dynamics that took place in the dining room and different types of evident groupings based on distinguishing factors such as the dominant language being spoken in each of the groups, the group's gender mix and size, as well special dress code features such as headscarf's and hijabs. These observations were later used as a point of further reflection and possible interpretation of the interview responses.

4-3-2. Integration projects

Three in-depth interviews were conducted with the respective project responsible persons as the informants. Each interview was about one hour long and consisted of three parts. Part one aimed general information about the program, its goals and objectives as well as target groups and activities. Second part of the interviews focused on participating immigrants, including general information (age, gender, country of origin, etc), their ways of learning about the program and their levels of participation. This part also attempted to gather an impression about types of social networks and relations built by immigrants and how, in general, they were affected by these strategies. The final section focused on the information on part of the Swedish participants.

The observation-participatory activities were conducted over three visits to Malva Center within one month (April 19th- May 17th). Two of the occasions were shared activity days of the projects by the Contact Person program and Language Café with special informative activities going on. The other occasion was a normal working day of the Language Café. Each visit was about 3 hours in length during which I personally took part in the Swedish practice activities with other members as well as listened to the informative presentations. Through these activities short informal interviews were also conducted with different immigrants taking part in the program. In contrast to the rest of the interviews that were all held in English, these informal conversations were done in Swedish as it was a requirement of the Language Café. After each visit, personal reflections were made and documented about the general atmosphere of the program, the level of participation and participant's attitudes toward the events. Also as the project organizers were actively taking part in the mentioned
events, besides the in-depth interviews, further information about uncertain and unclear points were gathered through complementary short conversations with the organizers during these visits.

4-3-3. General data regarding respondent

4-3-3-1. Youth's social networks

The student respondents consisted of 14 girls and 2 boys between the ages of 16-20, among them 12 were born from Swedish parents and 3 were second generation immigrants born from Albanian, Eritrean and Hungarian parents. In the latter case they were all born and raised in Sweden. Their common feature besides studying at Rönnens Gymnasium was the fact that they were friends with each other (i.e. members of the same social network).

4-3-3-2. The integration projects

All the three informants were Swedish and in their 30's or 40's. All had previous experience working with immigrants through other projects or SFI language courses. The participants of the joint projects Contact Person program and Language Café varied greatly in age, gender and country of origin. The immigrant participants were both men and women between the ages of 20 to 60 years old. However, it appeared that the women's participation was slightly higher. It also seemed that most of the older men (those in their 40's and 50's) were accompanied by their wives/partners. Younger men (those in their 20's to mid-30's) attended the events independently. On average, during the three visits there were more respondents from the (greater) Middle Eastern countries such as Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. Still in each visit participants from other parts such as Turkey, South East Asian countries, Eastern European countries and also West European countries were present. The Swedish people taking part in activities were fewer in number and would mainly attend during the Contact Person project days; they consisted of mainly women but there were also a few young men.

4-4. Limitations

A major limitation of this study is the low number of male student participants. This fact becomes of special importance as decreases the chances of better understanding of the gender aspects of the results, as there are less options for a gender based comparison. Also as the samples were chosen based on "snowballing" people who were in the same group (i.e having common values) were interviewed. Accordingly, this study can face the risk of over reliance on respondents who share the same ideas and attitudes.

The current research was carried out in a limited time period. Influences of the time limitation is best seen through the limited number of samples (15 students). This lowers the reliability of the potential generalizations based on the sample group.

In case of the students, although not very evident, language seemed to have a slight negative impact on the interviews. Although the students had good command of English it seemed that the "excuse" of language was commonly used for not giving detailed responses. Also the possible "distance" between me (the interviewer and also a foreigner/immigrant) and the interviewees (Swedish youth being asked about their attitudes and relations towards other "immigrants") could have potential influences on the responses.
In regards to the research aimed at the projects on the other hand, my state of being an immigrant was evidently helpful in receiving detailed insights from other participants, especially those also coming from Asia-Middle East.

Lastly, it is of importance to emphasize that the current research aims to give an overview of the consequences of the present types of social capital in Malmö on conditions and levels of trust. Thus the research does not evaluate the quantity of trust levels between the residents, as the time limitations and the scope of this research did not allow for the deep and vast quantitative research needed for such a study. Instead, as following the major aim of the research, this study tries to give a better understanding of how the social networks can influence the conditions of trust.

5. Empirical data and findings

This section is divided in two main parts. Part one shows the results of the interviews with young students as well as personal observations. The second part displays data regarding the activities of the integration projects.

5-1. Students social networks

5-1-1. Insights from informant; the students mentor

The following are the results of an interview with Johan Bohamn, the school mentor. The 378 students of Ronnengymnasium consisted primarily of girls from different countries. Although some of the students lived in Centrum, most of them came from neighborhoods in surrounding districts like Hyllie and Rosengard, and based on families economical status, could have been considered as (lower) middle class families. In terms of educational attainment, "many of the students claimed that they wanted higher education," but there were no follow up data available on that matter; however, as most of the students already had (or would establish) connections for job through their internship project (praktik), it seemed unlikely that they would continue to higher educational levels.

Regarding the school's social mix, Johan agreed that the possibility of segregation in the school does indeed exist. As based on the mentor there were many students from different countries and, although they did interact all together during class hours ("that is the school's rules"), after class hours and in breaks it is not easy to follow how social interaction continues. In general, problems did occur between students at school, but they were not seen as ethnicity based problems; "Rather they are just problems related to normal teenager." According to Jonas, in the break hour, distinct groupings were evident: Somalians gathered with Somalians, Arab's with Arabs and Balkan country people tend to hang out with other Balkan countries. "Also boys hang out with the other boys no matter what country they are from." Language seems to be influential in these groupings as Arabs and Somalians seem to tend to speak together in their own language, but this was not always they case as students from Balkan country people did not always converse in their language together, but instead, talked in Swedish.

The only cases that problems occurred in relation to students home country and respective traditions and norms were mainly when they faced some religion based problem while doing
their practicum ("like Afghan girls resistance against rolling their sleeves up while working in day care centers").

5-1-2. Personal observations

The two visits to Rönnens gymnasium were done during the student's lunch break. The interviews were also held in the school's canteen, which is a big hall with around 25 tables of different sizes (from 4 to 20 people). The canteen has a mini-bar where students can buy snacks and also microwave ovens for personal food. In both visits the canteen was rather full at the beginning of lunch break. Many students were sitting around bigger tables and forming bigger groups but smaller groups of 2 and 3 were also evident. The only group having boy students consisted more or less of the same members during each of the visits. Groups clearly consisting of people from Arabic countries were very noticeable as the girls were wearing Hijab and mainly speaking in Arabic. Another group of Arabic speaking girls and a 1 or 2 boys was noticeable during both visits as they would stay in the canteen the longest (after 12:30 the canteen would become empty). Arabic-speaking group seemed to also be in close terms with the woman (also speaking Arabic) in charge of the snack bar. Despite the claimed high amount of African students, not many groups of them were seen in those two visits.

5-1-3. Interview with Students

This part of the research is divided into seven sections based on categorizations of the interview questions, each section is followed by a short comparative part regarding the empirical data gathered through my previous research (Salem, 2009) about the situation in the Afghan community.

5-1-3-1. Family background

The respondents all shared some common factors. They were all between the ages of 17-21. With the exception of three, all the rest were all born in Sweden form Swedish parents. Those three (respondent 2, 4, 7) were, respectively, from Eritrea, Albania and Hungary. Besides respondent (4) whose father "owned his own company", parents of all the other respondents were employed in the service or public sector. (For a list of parents' occupations see appendix 5) Regarding parents occupation, no noticeable gender-based differences were observed. The higher rates of mothers working in health care sector can be related to the fact that Rönnens gymnasium offers specialization and training in health and dental care. Surprisingly, besides two of the respondents who gave exact details of their parents educational level ("university degree and Hogskolan diploma"), the rest claimed that they did not know about their parents level of education. Even after changing the question from "what is your parents' level of education?" to what is your parents' Utbildning, to make up for possible language barrier factors, "I have no idea!" remained a common response for this question.

In terms of "bridging networks" provided through work place, inquiries were made regarding nationalities of the parents colleagues. Seven of the fathers were claimed to either have "immigrant" colleagues or be in contact with people from other countries, namely, Eastern European countries. Two of the mothers as well had contacts with immigrants from many different countries (Iran, Iraq, Poland, China and many other places). Those mothers were working as "vården" and "migrationsverket," respectively.
Young Afghan students showed some differences in this part. The Afghan respondent group also consisted of students between the ages of 15-20. However, they were mostly born in Afghanistan and had moved to Sweden at an early age. Regardless of the age when they moved here they had not been to school back in Afghanistan. Aside from one case, the rest had unemployed parents with fathers who were usually on a sick leave and mothers attending the SFI School. Also with one exception (who was born in Sweden) the rest had all learnt Swedish language through school. Although the young Afghan students were all fluent in Swedish, neither of their parents knowledge of the language exceeded beyond day to day conversations, if it existed at all.

5-1-3-2. Family's social capital

With the exception of three respondents who were born from non-Swedish parents, all others shared social networks with other "Swedes" who were friends (more frequently) or relatives. Among those respondents only one of them (respondent 12) had relationships with people from other courtiers (Iran, Iraq and Poland). Accordingly the respondents mother had more contact with "immigrants" through work place. (Mother working as "Migrationsverkert"). In case of the non-Swedish parents (respondents 2, 3 and 7), the social networks consisted of friends and relatives from their respective courtiers (Albania, Eritrea and Hungary).

In regards to membership in different associations and clubs, only five of the respondents (1, 6, 7, 12, and 13) said that their families were members of any type of association. This finding is most unexpected as membership in associations is projected as a "Swedish model" of networking and a means of "how the Swedish society works" (Personal interview 3). Among those five families, respondent 7's family was members of a Hungarian club—the country of origin of parents—that conducted monthly activities as well as on special occasions. Respondent 12's family was also part of a "non-Swedish" group—a Palestinian organization.

The respondents' family social capital did not seem to be that influential, however. None of the respondents seemed to be much involved in doing activities with their family. Instead, they seemed to be busier with their own personal networks. This situation could have also been expected due to their ages. Among the activities done with family members watching TV, eating dinner going out to the movies and bowling were most referred to. Four of the respondents (2, 8, 10, and 11) also mentioned travelling with their family. International destinations were seen in 2 cases, where respondent (2) usually travelled to Albania—the parent's country of origin—and number (11) who mentioned travelling to countries such as Israel, Egypt and USA.

Similar to the Swedish respondents, the Afghan students were also in homogenous social networks with only other immigrants—primarily Afghans—who were either their relatives or friends and neighbors. None of them were involved in relationships with Swedish people through their family, if at all. A point of interest is in contrast to the negative responses of Swedish students regarding being members in an association. Most of the Afghan respondents seemed to be member of one of the two afghan communities/förening in Malmö. These communities conducted activities during Afghan special occasions such as "Eid" (the term used for New Year's festival and also other important celebrative occasions). However, aside from the Afghan community neither the families nor the students themselves were members of other sorts of organizations or groups. On a general level, family social ties
seemed to be stronger in the Afghan community. Among entertainment options of the whole family eating out, grilling on the beach in summer time and watching TV together were the most mentioned.

5-1-3-3. Students' social networks through school

The interviewed students all confirmed that they had some friends at school (ranging from 1 to 6 in number), but at the same time many of them made it clear that those friends were not their best friends. ("I have no best friends" (respondent 1)). Also, a few of the students were hesitant about those friends being "close" or "good" friends. ("I have no close friends here, I have my own other friends" (respondent 8)). Six of the respondents had only Swedish friends. Those respondents "with no close friends " and " other friends outside school" fell into that group. The rest of the respondents had mixed groups of friends including "Swedes" and people from other countries. Among those "other countries" east European countries were mostly referred to (e.g., Albenia, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Croatia), but Eritrea, Finland and Spain were also mentioned. None of the students (besides respondent 6) mentioned having any friends from Middle Eastern countries.

In regards to school's ethnic mix, three of the respondents (5, 7, 9) "did not know" if the majority of the students were from Sweden or other countries. Only one respondent (2) thought they were mostly Swedish and the rest found people from other countries being the most. When asked where those other countries were, the most frequent responses were "I don't know, from all over", and "many different countries, I don't really know. After insisting for an example, the most common responses included Iraq, Arabian countries as well as the Middle East (from respondents 2,3,4,6,7,8,10,11,12,13). Three Respondents (5, 1, 9 and 13) insisted that they "did not know" and gave no exact examples. The other counties mentioned at times corresponded to the countries mentioned before regarding the respondent's country of origin. In general in an ascending order the mentioned countries were Finland, Somalia, Iran, Afghanistan, Bosnia, Albania and Serbia, Middle East, Arabian countries and Iraq.

The interviewed Afghan students all confirmed at least having one or two best friends at school. These friends were in most cases Afghan classmates or classmates from Iran or Arab countries. They were attending Gymnasium schools with majority of immigrant students, most of which were people from Arabic countries. The respondents had mostly all attended their pre-Gymnasial education at Kroksbäcksskolan that is evidently dominated with immigrant students. An interesting factor here was the difference in interpretation amongst students regarding the term "immigrants". Of particular interest was the conceptualization of the term "immigrant" for the Afghan youth. By using the word "immigrant" most of the respondents were basically referring to people from the Middle East.

5-1-3-4. Youths social networks besides school

Most of the respondents claimed that they spent time with friends after school. In nearly all cases those friends were friends other than those at school and they were mostly Swedish. One of the respondents (8) however said she would not do anything after school and "would just go home". Accordingly, respondent 8 is the same respondent saying she had no close friends at school as well.
Most of the respondents were members of their local neighborhood gym and would go there for training. Besides that three of the respondents were members of associations and would spend time there 2 to 3 days a week. Other activities mentioned were training in a dance club, playing drums in a music band (band members were 4 "Swedish" people), running in the park and also "hanging out" with their boyfriend or girlfriend.

All the Afghan students claimed that they spend their after school free time with their friends. Besides the sports centers and at times libraries none of the respondents were members of any group or teams. Similar to the few Swedish male respondents the Afghan boys would mostly play soccer or go to the gym for training. On the part of the girls the differences in after school activities were more evident. Most of the Afghan girls said they would "go out with their friends." As there is not much entertainment options in the neighborhood it never became clear what, exactly, they did while going out. It could however be understood that be "going out" they actually were referring to "going in" to their friends houses or just walking around the neighborhood. The Afghan girls would also form a big group and go to the movies, but that "does not happen often ". Nearly none of the Afghan students (especially the girls) seemed to be actively involved in religious activities, although their parents—especially fathers—attended Friday prayers at mosque regularly.

5-1-3-5. Differences between Swedish and immigrant groups

Except of one respondent (7) all the other students claimed they could be in groups with both "Swedes" and "immigrants" and that it "does not make a difference for me," although they did also acknowledged that "there are differences between groups" and "different opinions" and "ways of saying things (Arabic people are more aggressive)". They also claimed that by being in groups with different people "you learn about people". One of the respondents (11) also claimed that "at first, when I first came to this school, being in different groups was very scary for me, but now I am ok". The reason for that based on the respondent were the "differences in terms of attitudes" and the fact that "they were not like me".

Besides their personal attitude towards partnership in groups however, all respondents agreed on the existence of differences in other groups. Besides two respondents (5 and 6) who "assumed there were differences but did not exactly know" all other respondents referred to family rules such as "permission for the time they can stay out" (as opposed to their permitted time for being out), "number of times parents would call them and see what they are doing" (opposed to their parents just having to know where they are going), "not being able to go to certain places like clubs" and "not being able to have boyfriends/girlfriend easily". Arabian countries, Muslim countries and Iraq were the countries that these differences referred to. "Most of my friends act as if they would be from Sweden, but those from the Middle East have lots of different rules" (respondent 7). In terms of trusting others and asking for help, all the respondents would refer to "the friend who is closest," or their parents. More follow up questions showed the closest friend was also from their respective country of origin.

In cases of having one or two Swedish classmates, neither of the Afghan respondents had close or friendly relationships with them. Unlike the Swedish group of respondents who did not show any negative signs about social contact with other groups, Afghans attitudes ranged between indifference on the part of the Swedes ("Swedish students are more for themselves, I just say hi and bye to them") to existence of negative feelings about immigrants ("They (Swedish classmates) are not kind, they talk "shit" about us, they hate us").
respondents all agreed on existence of behavioral differences among Swedish families and groups with Afghans or other immigrants. Similar to the Swedish group, these differences were mainly referred to Swedish teenagers having more freedoms (Swedish students are freer, they go to disco, us immigrants don’t go, they have boyfriends and smoke and drink, but we don’t.” “They (Swedish students) can bring the girls to their houses, I can’t”) and also more restriction for Afghan girls and women; "we (afghan women and girls) do not go swimming”. In contrast to the Swedish respondents, the Afghan respondents evidently showed less interest in mixing with Swedish groups. (Immigrant groups are better; we are loud, funny and joke a lot”. "I feel more comfortable in immigrant groups, Swedes don’t talk that much” and "I don’t want to be with them (Swedes), they are not talking or doing anything, I get bored when I am with them." Again, contrary to the Swedish group that did not show much interest in having some of the other groups cultural traits, in case of the Afghan group, if they could choose, some of them would like to have a mixture of the Swedish-Afghan behavioral traits.

5-1-3-6. students' information about Sweden and other countries

All respondents had some idea about Sweden's culture and history despite their frequent initial response of "no, I don't know anything about Sweden's culture and history". The information they had about Sweden was obtained from School as well as through their families. The three respondents with non Swedish parents had some levels of knowledge about their respective countries. That knowledge was mainly obtained through family. The immigrants that live in Sweden had relatively low information about their country's culture and history except for one respondent (12). However, nearly all of respondents referred to Ramadan ("that thing of Muslims when they do not eat") and religion as a characteristic of the immigrant's culture and history. They acknowledged that religion is not an exact example of culture but as "we have a class about religion and learn about other countries religions there, however, we do not learn much about their culture or history". Another mentioned factor was that "they (Iraqi's or people from Arabic countries) don’t have Christmas like us" and that "they (Muslim countries) don't celebrate Christmas but they have their own thing". Accordingly, all these "cultural" traits were representative of "Iraq" or "Arabic countries"

Respondent 12 had relatively high amount of information about;"They pray five times a day, they eat Halal and not eat pork, they don’t eat after sunrise in Ramadan and they do not drink”. This knowledge was obtained through her boyfriend who was from Iraq, but it seemed that she had also contact with other immigrants as according to her "but there are differences between Muslims, some others say we do not do any (or some) of those things and some others do them".

Regarding the Afghan group's information and ideas about thier own country and Sweden, it seemed that Afghanistan was mostly seen as related to some negative traits such as limitations—especially for women—or lack of educational options and freedom. In contrast, nearly all the respondents referred to Swedish culture as "democratic" and free with opportunities for everyone. Regarding the culture nearly all the respondents referred to Afghan food and cuisines, Afghan music and to some extent knowledge of Afghan literature. All the respondents celebrated the traditional ”Eid” of Afghans including Bayram (or Petr, at the end of Ramadan), Eid e Ghorban and also Nowrooz (21th March). They also knew partly about Swedish history, Swedish national songs and clothes and knew about but not actively celebrated the Swedish Festivals and occasions. "They celebrate things with Jesus," The most
mentioned Swedish occasions however were Midsummer festival, Christmas, Santa Lucia's day and Valborg.

5-1-3-7. Respondents information sources

In terms of news sources, most of the respondents claimed that they would read the newspaper at some level (every morning, sometimes, when I am on the bus, not that often). The newspaper's named as information sources were Metro (the free newspaper also distributed on the buses) and Sydsvenskan. Electronic sources of news were not mentioned that often. Many of the respondents (9 out of 15) read some sort of magazine based on their personal interest. Gossip and fashion magazines as well as sports and music were among those most referred to.

In response to the question "if they knew any recent news going on in Sweden or the world?", with the exception of two respondents who answered, "I don't know," the rest had some knowledge about current events. These events varied from celebrity gossip (the Princess's boyfriend cheating on her) to national level news ("Ash cloud over Sweden" and "elections in Autumn in Sweden") as well as more global news ("money problems in Greece", "oil leakage in the US"). It also appeared that the respondents had relatively good update on the news, as the most referred events on the first visit was the volcanic activity in Iceland ("the thing in Iceland", "the volcano", "the ashes") while in the second visit problems in Bangkok-Thailand were mainly referred to ("War in Bangkok", "I read in the news: Do not do to Bangkok for holidays").

The information source for the Afghan youth was mainly claimed to be Swedish television news and Metro the newspaper. Regarding a recent event, at the time being asked (spring 2009) they mostly referred to the Swine Flu epidemic.

5-2. Projects aiming integration:

5-2-1. Participants' background and general information:

The three projects have different participants, although this difference is less in terms of the twp joint programs of "Contact person project" and "Language café".

In all three cases these projects the initial contact between the program and the immigrants is mainly done through SFI courses, which implies the fact that the participating immigrants are not familiar with the Swedish language and do not yet have a job. While the target group of "Integration i Förening" is the very broad group of all SFI students in Malmö, the volunteer immigrants who decide to take part in "Contact person program" are claimed to be mainly "highly educated".

In total people taking part in the "language café" show an equal mix of men and women between ages of 17 and 64. The participants in the "Contact person program" are mainly men between their 20's and 30's and fewer numbers of women, who tend to be of younger ages.

5-2-2. Types of social networks created by these projects

The people getting in contact through contact person program vary greatly based on countries. On the part of immigrants they are claimed to be "Very mixed, from Europe,
Africa, Middle East, Russia and many other countries..." This social mix is also stressed as a point of difference between this project with other immigrant related activities; "this project is not like some other projects that the participants are only from Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq.....they (the participants) are from many countries and highly educated" (Personal Interview A). On the contact side, the volunteers are mainly from Sweden as well as second generation immigrants who are interested about their origins and first generation immigrants who want to share their experiences. They vary in age, from 17 to 60 but consist primarily of women in their 20's, 30's and 40's. Lack of participating Swedish men in the program was mentioned as an intriguing point.

The contacts established through "language café" are between its participants coming from 35 countries in total. Although "there are many people from Iran and Iraq" the ethnic mix goes beyond and includes "Europe, Africa and Asia" (Personal Interview, B). As Ylva is the only person in charge of the language café, besides her assistant ("who is from Bosnia but has lived in sweden for 15 years") contact between the participant and Swedish people will depend on activities of the joint program "Contact person project". It is important to mention nearly all the participants of the "language café" highly appreciated the option of having a meeting place. Their high rate of participation also proves their claims."I come here every day as I do not know anyone else here in Malmö". As well as the options provided through the Café, "Here you can meet nice people and maybe make friends" (Personal Interview E).

The main goal of the project "Integration i Förening" is to increase the immigrant's potential for having contact with the Swedish society. So unless the immigrants decide to join an association, there will not be much breadth in the social networks created. The informative activities, however, are done through the project manager (Linda) and some other teacher assistants and include providing for pedagogic strategies while giving general information (Personal interviews, C). The participants then meet the immigrants in their SFI courses and hold presentations for them.

5-2-3.Information and values conveyed through these projects

The project "Integration i Förening" aims to increase awareness about "associational life in Sweden." The driver behind the project is to increase the immigrants' chances of "benefiting from the options of being in associations" as they play an essential part in the life of people in Sweden, especially through "importance of informal contacts established through associations". Also, information about values and norms conveyed through associational life such as "democracy" would be a side product of the program. The project introduces different types of associations, what could be done in them, how is the process of registration and differences between different type of associations in terms of fee and membership conditions. Eventually information about the "rights of establishing your own association" is also given to the immigrants. An important aspect of the information conveyed through this project is the project's belief on mutuality of integration. Therefore besides the activities done in SFI courses, the project also tries to make associations more open to accepting "immigrant" members and holds informative activities for them as well.

The contact people in the "Contact person project" are supposed to convey information about "Sweden, its culture and traditions and ways the society functions". Also through the informative activities participants get to know more about "history" of Sweden (such as event on April 19th with historian Mats Olsson talking about history of Skane in the past 150 years,
held in Swedish) as well as rights and obligations they have through living in a Swedish society. (For example, on May 17th, a lecture was held giving the participants information about tenant's rights and obligations, held in Swedish). All these activities also aim to increase the participants' knowledge of English as well.

Through the "Language Café" participants learn the Swedish language, and through their conversations in doing so, they share experiences and thoughts about "ways of Swedish society", options for having "a job" or "conditions needed for continuing to higher education" as well as sharing information about their own respective cultures and histories. In addition to other information about events going on, cooking recipes and also simple words in other languages besides Swedish are exchanged. (Personal observations)

6-Analysing and discussion

6-1. Types of social capital resulted through youth's network

Based on a social capital framework, the analysis of the gathered data show the respondents are mainly involved in groups with "same/like" people. These are the type of social networks that are referred to as "bonding" social capital (Putnam, 2000:22-24). These networks are good for help and support among the members, but not efficient in transferring knowledge and new ideas about other groups (Ibid).

The "bonding" networks of the respondents can be seen in cases of their outside family social capital that is the networks and relations they get through their family (Coleman, 1988). With only one exception, the rest of these networks consists of relationships with "same" people in terms of country of origin (Swedes have "Swedish" friends, The Hungarian family is a member of a Hungarian club and the Eritrean family's social network consists of other Eritrean relatives).

Also, regarding the respondents own social capital, their outside school social structures and activities follows the same pattern to a high degree (e.g. hanging out with other Swedish friends after school, playing in the music band with four other Swedes, Running in the park with Swedish friends, going to the riding Förening).

It is the social relations within the school, however, that deserves more attention. Again here, the social networks are in the form of "bonding" but similarity is not based on sharing the same country of origin. The respondents had friends from other countries such as Eritrea, Albania and Hungary. Moreover they all claimed that they had no problems interacting in ethnically diverse groups. However, building on respondents claims about their social networks at school (i.e. mainly a mix of Swedish and East European countries), and considering the schools ethnic mix (Middle eastern, African and east European), a pattern could be seen in which the groups from the Middle Eastern countries (or Arabian countries as referred to by the students) are not involved in the social networks of the Swedish youth. The trend can also be applied to African students as they were also not mentioned besides the one Eritrean respondent who was also referred to by other respondents. As a result of the mentioned groupings a pattern creating the borders of "similarity" and "difference" can be viewed that is not based solely on diverse ethnicity but is created through different diverse ethnicities. This argument can be followed through the respondents' definitions and examples of "similar" and "different" groups. "Most of my friends act as if they would be from Sweden,
but those from the Middle East have lots of **different rules.**" Also the responses about different ethnic and cultural behaviors mainly referred to students from "Iraq and Arabian countries" or more generally "Middle East". The "difference" referred to represents religion related behaviors and differences, mentioned through statements such as "it is their religion that leads to different opinions... ." An important factor to mention is that difference in religion itself on its own did not seem to be an obstacle to social mix in other cases (such as the Albanian friend who followed Ramadan and Celebrated Bayram—the feast after Ramadan—rather than Christmas). But the influential factor was seen when "...(opinion differences based on religion) leads to different rules in their families. They (the Middle Eastern) have different permissions about time of staying out and they cannot go everywhere (such as Clubs) or have girl friends or boyfriends"

Indeed, following those rules reduces the chances of social mix based on shared activities to a high extent. Considering that most of the mentioned rules would prevent the Middle Eastern students from sharing activities such as "going to a club or party on weekends" or "hanging out with their boyfriend" or even "going to the dance group for training after school" and "running in the park".

The high strength of laws and rules being imposed to the Middle Eastern students can be seen as a sign of their strong in-group social capital. The social segregation of immigrants in certain neighborhoods, as previously mentioned, is an issue of concern (Malmö Stad, 1999:19, as cited in Scuzzarello,2010; Andersson, 2007) Additionally, neighborhoods characterized as the most disadvantaged and thus segregated have the highest population of people from Middle East as well (NEHOM, 2002). Personal empirical research showed lack of nearly any sort of bridging social capital amongst the Afghan community with very high and powerful levels of bonding social capital.

Bonding social capital in this case acts as a means of social control (Portes, 1998). Especially in a country like Sweden, where the social rules and norms are highly different, this effect can become stronger. Along with high social control comes highly valued in group traditions and norms (Ibid). These norms although have potential benefits. They prevent the group members from doing certain activities (Ibid) such as "going to a club or party" or "hanging out with their boyfriend" or even "going to the dance group for training after school" and "running in the park". What I would like to argue here is that the "un-similarity" that prevents social mix between the groups of Middle Eastern and Arabic students with the Swedish groups (including non Swedish members as well) is a product of another social exclusion coming from the parental norms and values imposed through the families of those students. The important role of socio-economic conditions in this situation is undeniable. These factors along with the Swedish conceptualization of immigrants as "Invandrare" can indirectly lead to an ethnically based perception of "immigrants" as the “other” whose ways of being are defined as a problem (Scuzzarello, 2010). Indeed both the "Swedish" respondents as well as the Afghan students associated the estate of being an "immigrant/Invandrare" with being from certain countries (i.e. the greater Middle East).

**6-2. Impacts of the existing types of social networks**

Regardless of the reasons behind formation of limited groups of students, the current situation can be viewed as important due to the impacts resulted by it.
Being in bonding groups or limited groups of same/like people helps the group members through the support and solidarity they receive through the group (Putnam, 2000:22-24). These types of groups can have other consequences for the groups own members as well as those who are not part of the group (Porets, 1998; Fukuyama, 2001). The important factor here is noticing the two-way relationship between membership and non-membership in a group. In other words, "non members" can also be seen as members of their own group. Consequently, attention should be given to the in-group dynamics and generated values and norms of both groups, as at the same time there would be another conceptualization of group members and non members going on.

6-2-1. Social capital effecting norms of reciprocity

The simplest consequence follows the fact that people who share social relations tend to have a sense of shared identity (Putnam,1995). According to levels of trust, people tend to trust those others who are more similar to them (Alessina and Ferrara, 2007). The current situation shows that there is a view of similarity between the students in the same group (the Swedish students and their friends from (mainly) east European countries) but no sense of shared identity and similarity among that "Swedish" group and the Middle Eastern students. In other words in an environment representing diverse range of ethnic backgrounds, it is only some of those ethnicities that are considered as different. This could be explained based on the closure of their social structures since it is the closure of the social structures that can make them sources of shared identity and trust (Coleman, 1988, Porets, 1998). There is no closure between the "Swedish" group and the group of "Middle Eastern" students at school as they do not share the same groups of friendship. They also do not share activities after school as well. This also reduces the chances of closure of networks. As neither in school nor after school, the actions of these two groups imposes effective externalities on the other, the functions of social capital such as mutual obligations as well as norms of reciprocity will not be achieved. Instead, the situation is completely opposite and it is the sense of "difference" that is existing among the two groups and impacting the (chances of) interactions.

Furthermore, strong "bonding social capital" has the potential of creating a "radius of distrust" (Fukuyama, 2001). The "Swedish" students did not show any direct signs of distrust towards the other "immigrant" students of the school—a condition very different from the results of the research on the Afghan community (Salem, 2009). In the mentioned research, besides one respondent who was a part of social structures with "Swedish" groups, all the other respondent's explicitly claimed "they did not trust the Swedes" and that "Swedes considered them to be having many problems" (Salem,2009). If that is the case, then it could be claimed that the condition of the distrust might have partly been based on the Afghan youth's limited bonding social capital and the dominant perception in the social network about "Swedish people finding them(Afghans and immigrants) problematic". Thus it could be argued that the continual lack of contact will have pose further negative impacts on conditions of trust.

6-2-2. Social capital effecting circulation of information

An interesting factor among the results is the frequency of statements regarding lack of knowledge on different levels about the "Middle Eastern" students. From very general issues "I assume there should be some differences, but I cannot say, as I don’t exactly know" to more detailed phenomena "We know they do not eat in Ramadan but we don’t know why?"
and also "they don't have Christmas, it's something else they celebrate but I don't know what it is," there seems to be an information gap within the respondent group. Information is a byproduct of sharing social relations (Coleman, 1988). Indeed, most of the information the students had was obtained through their social networks either in case of their own home country in cases that they were not from Sweden; "I know these things about my home country from my parents" (inside family social capital) or about other country's customs and culture, "my boyfriend is from Iraq, I know they pray five times a day," or "...but some Muslims do so, and some others [that you meet] say they do not do them." In all cases the relations and networks led to uptake of information about subjects related to the members of the network. Therefore, the current situation where the "Swedish" social networks do not include the other group impacts the diffusion of information negatively. Since, according to Coleman (1988), information is the basis for action, lack of information in relation to the other group can have a preventative impact on actions such as initiating a relationship or trusting others. As previously discussed in section 3-1-1-2, trust and information are strongly related (Offe, 1999). Moreover, although resulted by social interactions, trust is at times a pre-requisite for imitation of interaction as well. Trust is the perception and belief about the future actions of a person (Offe, 1999). In cases when people do not know the reasons behind the differences or the potential outcomes of those differences it would be even harder to go beyond those differences and start interactions.

6-2-3. A reinforcing cycle of social exclusion

An important factor here is the weight given to "religion" related traits and religiosity as distinguishing characteristics of the students from the Middle East. "Religion makes them have different opinions" and "they have different rules and permissions based on their religion". Also the incomplete diffusion of information resulted by lack of shared social networks has given more importance to religion related factors. As the only norm and special activity related to the "immigrants" was Ramadan. This overrepresentation of religion becomes more of an issue considering that through the school curriculum, as based on the students own statements, they only study about the other countries religion and not its culture or history. It might be due to the fact that religious rules and norms are of high importance in the families of those students, but it should also be considered that there is a high probability of those students from the Middle East having to follow those rules on a non-voluntarily basis; since, it is a negative externality of bonding ties to limit personal freedom and impose some norms (Fukuyama, 2001). In this way, the perceptions of the Swedish group might be built by some enforced in–group value that might have been unwanted on the first place. Accordingly, a reinforcing cycle would be created in which Swedish students consider the Middle Eastern immigrants to be different (based on their religious norms). Resulting in the Middle Eastern immigrants' social networks being limited to those that have imposed the unwanted norms on them and as the nature of the limited in-group relations is giving more power to the same norms. This exclusion becomes of more importance due to its gender dimension, especially when considering that most of these downward leveling norms aim limitations towards the female members of these groups.

6-2-4. Impact of family social capital

Coleman (1988) mentions that outside family social capital (i.e. networks and social structures achieved through family) impacts youth's attitudes and values. As can be seen from the results of the study, the only respondent (12) who's family also had social networks with
"immigrant" families on a personal level also showed more interaction with "immigrants" in general—her boy friend was from Iraq and she had relatively high knowledge of norms and customs of the country. Although it is not possible to find a common pattern based on only one case, this situation can be seen in accordance with Coleman's argument. The following part of this chapter will therefore focus on projects that can influence the social networks of the first generation immigrants and the Swedish residents of Malmö.

6-3. Integration projects

It is of importance to mention these projects result to different outcomes in types of social networks as they have different goals in the first place. While the joint programs "Contact person project" and "Language Café" (i.e. Malva center programs) aim to increase the actual chances of contact between immigrant and Swedish residents, the project "Integration in associations" aims to increase the potential for these contacts.

The voluntarily participation of diverse immigrants in Malva center leads to various civic benefits attributed to voluntary associations. These positive externalities include increasing the potentials for people to cooperate, acquire civic skills and adopt such civic orientations as trust and tolerance (Weltzel et al., 2005). The social structures created in the language café link people who have a common factor (being an immigrant) but are from very different backgrounds (ethnic, age, gender and education). The amount of information circulated through these networks is very high. Through these interactions the members get more information about norms and conditions of the new society (through sharing personal experiences) learn the language (an important tool in generating further contact with the Swedish society) and enjoy other benefits of being in a social groups as they find friends. These structures can lead to shared goals and mutual obligations among the members. "When you see others are practicing and learning the language, then you get encouraged to learn it too".

Also the activities of the contact person program creates links between Swedish and immigrant residents, social ties that are mutually beneficial. They are useful in helping the immigrants achieve more information about the norms of the Swedish society on one side, but also helpful in allowing for opportunities for Swedish residents to obtain further information about immigrants on the other.

However, these Swedish/immigrant networks are less likely to create mutual obligations or effective norms of reciprocity as they do not have the needed closure to make them effective. This situation might change with time.

6-4. Impacts on Malmö's integration policies

The current situation of social capital among the youth in Malmö can be seen as contrasting to Malmö's integration policies. Based on these policies, communication, mutual understanding and knowledge about each other's culture, perspective and society are pre-conditions for the process of integration being fully realized. The current situation shows lack of communication and interaction between certain immigrants (mainly from the Middle East) and the rest of the society (The Swedish residents as well as the other more similar residents). This lack of communication decreases chances of mutual understanding and shared goals and values. The lack of communication also negatively impacts levels of knowledge and
information about other societies. Interactions being influential in levels of trust, and trust important in continuation of interactions then leads to a reinforcing cycle where the lack of communication might continue to grow.

Considering Sweden's policies and the importance of democratic norms such as equal rights and opportunities, this situation requires further attention, as it seems there are intra-group differences regarding the issue of trust. While the Swedish respondents at the school did not see reason for distrusting others, the Afghan respondents had clearly lower levels of trust towards Swedish people. As mentioned in section 2-3, trust is an asset that can reduce the costs of transactions (Offe, 1999). It is sensible to argue that people with less resources would be the ones needing these benefit resulted by trust. However, as Offe (1999) mentions the less affluent are the least likely to afford trusting others. Accordingly, as can be seen in Malmö, the less affluent group of immigrants (in socio-economic terms) is also the one enjoying the benefits of trust least. Further, as previously mentioned in section 3-1-1-1, interactions and information conveyed through them have positive impacts on levels of trust. These factors are absent in the social structures of the respondents. Consequently, the chances of creating trust relationships are also low. Continuation of this situation has negative consequences on equal options and rights on the part of the immigrant residents of Malmö, and thus, can be seen as a threat to Sweden's integration policies.

On the other hand, the activities of the municipal projects can be seen as a part of communicative measures that are attempting to increase the levels of integration. The impact of these projects though their social networks can be seen most influentially through their mission of increasing information. Information, being a condition needed for trust and trust a condition needed for interaction, can spread over time. These projects may have an increasing impact on levels of communication and social relations among the city residents. However, these projects have a limited range of participants, "those are motivated to progress, get a job and have a better future" and it seems that "usually have higher educational levels". Still, those dealing with higher socio-economic conditions and being affected by their externalities including the current condition of non-integration, which does not seem to be covered by these projects.

7-Conclusions, recommendations and further remarks:

This study has attempted to explore and evaluate the quality of social capital among a group of young Swedish students studying in Rönnens gymnasium in Malmö. The social structures and their resulted interactions are an important means of generating norms of reciprocity (i.e. trust) and act as information channels. Both of these factors are claimed to be important in well functioning of a society. At the same time, due to the influential role of the social networks and relations of parents in shaping youth's attitudes and values and behavior, the research also focuses on the situation of social capital among a group of adult immigrant (first generation) and adult Swedish residents of Malmö. This is done by evaluation of three integration projects, with the common factor of increasing social contact between the "Swedish" and "immigrant" residents. The research has attempted to highlight the quality of created social capital through these projects and its impact on future chances of social mix of the city residents. Special focus of this research is on the ways that social relations and networks of Malmö influence the trust situation.
The results of this research regarding the youth's social networks and structures point towards existence of distinct and separate social networks. The differentiating factor of these groups can be mainly seen through the range of options and activities that the group members are able to do. It is based on this margin of options that the Swedish students define differences between "Swedish" and "immigrant". At the same time, this categorization matches with an ethnic based grouping so that the distinct social groups would consist of those from the Middle East (represented by Iraq and other Arabic countries) on one side and those from Sweden and their "same" friends (i.e. mainly from East European countries) on the other side. The role of socio-economic conditions and the already existing social exclusion in Malmö is of special importance in creation of this grouping. These conditions also seem influential in the Afghan youth's definition of "immigrant" by mainly referring to people from the Middle East. As a result, not much social mix was found to occur between Swedish and immigrant groups, and therefore, chances for social structures to create trust relationships are low.

Lack of bridging contacts between Swedish group and the "middle eastern/immigrant" group has negative consequences on the creation of norms of reciprocity as it decreases the chances of having common goals and mutual obligations towards each other. Furthermore, the incomplete diffusion of information reinforces the differences between the two groups and thus reduces the chances of trust building.

A finding that requires further research is the current intra-group trust relationships. The comparison of results of this study with a previous research done on the Afghan community in Malmö shows that while the majority group (Swedish students) do not show any signs of distrust towards the other groups, while the minority group of Afghans showed high levels of distrust towards the Swedes. Thus it is of interest to conduct a more in-depth study on the socio-economic reasons behind this condition as well as the impacts of the current condition on future socio-economic situation of the minority (i.e. immigrant) group.

The results of the research also showed that the group of Middle Eastern students was highly represented through their religion and religious traits. It seems likely that this condition is a result of the already existing situation of non-integration in Malmö, and eventually gives more strength to the inside group norms and traditions that are portrayed as religiosity. Therefore, it would be of interest to carry out further research focusing on impacts of this conceptualization following the social constructivist view point in formation of identity.

On the other hand the results of the research exploring the projects and the social capital being built through them shows that all three projects have positive impacts on diffusion of information. These projects become of more importance considering that the exchange of information happens mutually although they are not similar in quantity. Through these projects immigrants gather knowledge about Swedish language, norms and ways of society's functions. This happens in the form of direct informative activities through the project "Integration i Förening" or as a byproduct of social structures in the joint projects of "Contact person program" and "language café". Similarly, through the direct informative activities for Swedish associations run by the project "Integration i Förening" as well as through increased contact by the other two projects, the Swedish residents get to know more about immigrants. This can be seen as a means of integration where acceptance and information is exchanged and achieved mutually.
On the part of social contact created by the projects, different outcomes can be seen. The social networks created between immigrants taking part in the projects seem to result in positive outcomes of social structures by creating common goals and norms of reciprocity. There appears to be a relationship between socio-economic conditions and participation in these projects, however, as participants of these projects are those with higher education and a strong will for upward social mobility.

On the side of the contact with the Swedish members, the positive functions of social capital seem to be less evident as the created networks do not follow the condition of closure; that is, the ability of the members to impose effective externalities on each other. This situation might change in time.

Following the integration plans of Malmö the current conditions of social capital can be primarily seen as a barrier to future communication and the resulting mutual understanding and respect desired by the city policies. The integration projects on the other hand seem to be efficient in fulfillment of these measures at least by increasing information levels, which alone, could be a basis for future action. Despite their positive impacts, it should be kept in mind that these projects have a certain category of participants with at least higher levels of human capital if not as well other sorts of capital. Thus, the most disadvantaged group that is already facing the problems of social segregation and dealing with the outcomes of the condition will remain left out of the beneficiary outcomes of the integration projects. Thus, it would be of interest to have further research conducted on possible plans and methods that will have a wider scope of participants to ensure that the vision of successful integration moves from the policy documents into the social reality.

8-References


Personal Interview D. Johans Bohamn. School mentor in Rönnens Gymnasium.


9-Appendix

9-1. Appendix 1. Types of residence permit

Appendix 1. Types of residence permit granted in 2008

(Regerringskansliet, 2010)
9-2. Appendix 2. Total fertility rate

Appendix 3. An overview of articles published in The Local 2007-2010

Segregation 'widespread' for Swedish immigrants
Published: 18 Dec 08 16:32 CET Online: http://www.thelocal.se/16452/20081218/
A study released on Thursday by Statistics Sweden (SCB) reports widespread segregation in the fields of education, housing, employment and politics.

'It's as if we immigrants stink of rotten fish'
Published: 30 Apr 08 16:42 CET Online: http://www.thelocal.se/11468/20080430/
When deciding where in the world to study and work, Nabeel Shehzad, an engineer from Pakistan, thought Sweden seemed like the perfect place. But that was before he began to encounter discrimination on a regular basis.

Immigrant children 'like visitors from the Middle Ages'
Published: 11 Jan 08 09:12 CET Online: http://www.thelocal.se/9624/20080111/
Children who come to Sweden from Iraq, Afghanistan and Somalia can be likened to time travellers from the Middle Ages, according to a report commissioned by top education officials in Eskilstuna.

Rosengård: Integration in the eye of the storm
Published: 27 Mar 09 13:58 CET Online: http://www.thelocal.se/18506/20090327/
Malmö suburb Rosengård has come to symbolise Sweden's struggles with integration. AFP's Marc Preel examines a community grappling with its identity after a winter marred by rioting and clashes with the police.

Asylum seekers face greater opposition
Published: 10 May 08 08:44 CET Online: http://www.thelocal.se/11664/20080510/
Asylum seekers in Sweden face greater opposition from the public for the first time since 2004, a new SOM study by Gothenburg University has shown.

Tension following removal of Malmö mosque activists
Published: 15 Dec 08 13:30 CET Online: http://www.thelocal.se/16358/20081215/
Tempers flared in Malmö on Monday morning as riot police used dogs to clear three protesters out of a basement office which has served as a mosque for more than a 15 years, but had been ordered closed back on November 24th.

Rosengård riots abate after two violent nights
Published: 20 Dec 08 07:29 CET Online: http://www.thelocal.se/16488/20081220/
The streets of Malmö’s Rosengård district were relatively calm on Friday evening, as the hundreds of youth who rioted earlier in the week refrained from engaging in renewed clashes with police.

Rosengård firefighters call it quits
Published: 28 Apr 09 15:31 CET Online: http://www.thelocal.se/19130/20090428/
After months of suffering through thrown rocks and threats directed at his squadron during numerous calls to the Rosengård neighbourhood in Malmö, local fire chief Henrik Persson said on Tuesday he is stepping down from his post.

Politicians call for Rosengård curfew
Published: 1 May 09 09:15 CET Online: http://www.thelocal.se/19184/20090501/
Politicians from the Moderate and Sweden Democrat parties in Malmö are calling for a nighttime curfew for youth in the Rosengård neighbourhood, claiming that the situation at the Herrgården housing area has become untenable.

More pupils fail to make the grade
Published: 14 Aug 07 16:58 CET Online: http://www.thelocal.se/8186/20070814/
A record number of teenagers has failed to meet the entry requirements for upper secondary school. Fewer pupils than at any time in the past ten years had good enough grades.

Fitting in: Swedish parties think anew on integration
Published: 14 Mar 08 16:02 CET Online: http://www.thelocal.se/10486/20080314/
David Landes looks at press reaction to the proposals for citizenship classes and an asylum policy which decides where refugees get to live.

Swedes cool towards ethnic diversity
Published: 24 Oct 08 12:19 CET Online: http://www.thelocal.se/15198/20081024/
Greater numbers of Swedes are expressing hostility towards ethnic diversity, according to a new study.

Hate crimes plague Södertälje refugees
Published: 18 Nov 08 06:33 CET Online: http://www.thelocal.se/15748/20081118/
Muslims and newly arrived refugees in Södertälje, just south of Stockholm, are being subjected to harassment and hate crimes, according to police.

Big trouble in 'Little Baghdad'
Published: 17 Feb 08 21:08 CET Online: http://www.thelocal.se/10014/20080217/
Part one of a three part series looking at the challenges posed by large scale immigration from Iraq to a relatively small Swedish town.

Sweden proposes immigrant orientation
Published: 20 May 10 08:22 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/26742/20100520/
All newly arrived immigrants should undergo courses in core societal values and be taught about how Swedish society works with municipalities obliged to offer 60 hours of teaching, a government inquiry has proposed.

Youth gang forces Malmö pre-school closure
Published: 26 Apr 10 13:22 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/26292/20100426/
A pre-school in Malmö's Rosengård district was shut down on Monday morning in the interests of staff safety following an extended period of threats and harassment from a gang of local youths.

Top flight club bans foreign language use
Published: 10 Mar 10 13:39 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/25452/20100310/
Swedish top flight football club, Brommapojkarna (BP) have introduced a language policy requiring all players to speak Swedish to each other in order to be eligible for selection.

Immigrants cleaning Swedish cities: report
Published: 2 Mar 10 10:37 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/25298/20100302/
Immigrants workers make up 41 percent of Sweden's cleaners despite accounting for only 16 percent of the workforce. In the cities the numbers are even higher, a new report shows.

Swedish employers shun foreign grads: study
Published: 18 Jan 10 13:02 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/24444/20100118/
The Swedish job market has become tougher for degree-holding immigrants in the last decade, a new report shows.

Home childcare trend fuels segregation fears
Published: 5 Jan 10 16:49 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/24222/20100105/
Sweden’s childcare allowance is proving ever-more popular in heavily immigrant neighbourhoods, resulting in the closure of some preschools and prompting fears about the measure’s unintended consequences.

Immigrants listed as a 'risk factor' nationwide
Published: 23 Dec 09 10:35 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/24018/20091223/
It is not just HSB housing association in Skåne in southern Sweden that has classified immigrants as a risk factor in assessments of working environments. The criteria have been used by real estate companies across the entire country for at least a decade, reports Swedish daily Metro.

Swedish town restricts 'immigrant weddings'
Published: 16 Nov 09 14:20 CET
Online: http://www.thelocal.se/23292/20091116/A local politician from Landskrona in southern Sweden has decreed that only one “immigrant wedding” can be held at the town’s local community centre every month. “We don’t want to have too many,” Lars Svensson, the centre's manager and Social Democratic member of the Landskrona local council, told the local Helsingborgs Dagblad (HD) newspaper,
Svensson then went on to explain what he meant by the term “immigrant wedding”.
“It’s those who live in the city. There are quite a lot of Kurds and Palestinians who get married. There's something about having an oriental background; there can be between 400 and 500 guests,” Svensson explained, adding that "European immigrant groups” aren't included in the term.

(The local ,2007,2008,2009)
9-4. Appendix 3. Analyzed interview questions

A-1. Basic general information;

Name (optional):

A.1.1 How old are you?

A.1.2 Which grade are you at?

A.1.3 What is your nationality?

A.1.4 How many years have you been in Sweden? (If not Swedish)

A-2. General information on family

Family background as Social, human and financial capital. Regarding sub research question 1.

A.2.1 What is the educational level of your parents? Have they been to university or not?

A.2.3 What is your father's job?

A.2.4 What is your mother's job?

Family social capital, including inside and outside family social capital. Family social capital can influence youth's attitudes and values. Regarding sub research questions 2, 3 and 4.

A.2.4+1. Do you know what countries your parents' colleagues come from?

A.3.1 Who does your family hang out with more?

A.3-2 How many people does your family hang out with?

A.3.3 What is their nationality?

A.3.4 What is your family's relationship with them? (Are they friends or relatives?)
A.3.5 What clubs or organizations or unions is your family a member of?

A.3.5-1. What do you do there and how often do you go there?

A.3.6 What do you do for entertainment with your family members?

- Cinema/theater
- Reading
- Travelling
- Watching TV (what channels/programs)

---

Students own social networks, influencing their social mix with others, also impacting on levels of trust. Regarding sub research questions 3, 4 and 5.

**B. youth’s social networks**

B.1. Who are your best friends at school? (Of what country do they come from?)
B.2. Where do most people of your school come from?
B.4. How many of the students in your school come from another country?

**Students' social capital outside school. Influencing their social relations. Regarding sub questions 2, 3, 4 and 5**

C.1. What do you do after school?
C.1. Do you go to your friends houses? or do they come to your house? Where are the friends from?
C.2. What are your entertainment options after school?
   - Sports?
   - Going to the movie? (What's a good movie you saw recently?)
   - Going shopping? (Where do you mostly go?)
   - Listening to music (Who do you like?)
   - Watching TV (What channels?)

C.3. How do you get there? How long does it take?
C.4. What groups, clubs, teams unions out of school are you a member of? (Why yes or not?)
C.5. Are you a member of any voluntary associations (forening)? (Why yes or not?)
C.6. What do you like you did after school? (That you are not doing now)
E.14. What do you know about the environment? / Do you do activities in the nature?
   - Hiking
   - Camping
   - Outdoor sports
   - Grilling →

E.15. Do you do anything to save / not harm the environment?
Attitudes and information conveyed through youths social networks. Regarding sub research questions 5 and 6.

E.17-1. Do you think your friends from other countries have different views about future? (can you give an example)

E.1 In what groups do you feel more comfortable, groups with more Swedes or more non Swedes?

E.#1 In case of a problem who do you go to? Who do you trust?

E.#1-1. The last time you had a problem, who did you go to? (where is the person from?)

E.#1+1. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

E.2. Do your (Non-)Swedish friends have different rules in their families? How are they different from your family's rules? (Example)

E.2+1. Of what countries are those friends?

E.3 Do you know where most of the immigrants in Sweden come from? Can you name some countries.

E.4+1 Do you know anything about their countries culture and history? Can you give an example?

E.4+1-1. Where did you learn about it?

E.5 Do you know Sweden's culture? Can you give an example of sth related to Swedish culture.

E.5-1. Where did you learn about it?

E.5+1. Do you know about your own country's culture and history? Can you give an example. (if not originally from Sweden)

E.5+1-1. Where did you learn about it?

E.6. What are the most important festival/holiday you celebrate? Do you know what are important in other countries? (examples)

Students' information about Sweden and other countries. Can be used as an indicator for the types of social networks they are involved in. Regarding sub-research questions 2, 3, 5, and 6.

E.4 Do you know where most of the immigrants in Sweden come from? Can you name some countries.

E.4+1 Do you know anything about their countries culture and history? Can you give an example?

E.4+1-1. Where did you learn about it?

E.5 Do you know Sweden's culture? Can you give an example of sth related to Swedish culture.

E.5-1. Where did you learn about it?

E.5+1. Do you know about your own country's culture and history? Can you give an example. (if not originally from Sweden)

E.5+1-1. Where did you learn about it?

E.6. What are the most important festival/holiday you celebrate? Do you know what are important in other countries? (examples)

Students' information sources.

E.9 Do you read books and magazines?

E.10. What newspapers do you read?

E.11. What websites do you use more?

E.12. What is an important event that has happened recently (based on the news)
### 9-5. Appendix 4. Data regarding student's parents' occupations.

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<th>Age</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Fathers Education</th>
<th>Father's job</th>
<th>Father's colleagues</th>
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