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Participation, inclusion and belonging

*The importance of trust while integrating newly arrived immigrant children in a
Swedish primary school*

Christine Olsson

Supervisor: Jan-Olof Nilsson
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Abstract

This thesis investigates the importance of trust while integrating newly arrived immigrant children in a Swedish primary school located in a municipality where several neighbourhoods can be considered segregated. The research question is for this reason: *Is trust important while integrating newly arrived children in school and what does the trust building process look like?* Pupils, mainly newly arrived, teachers and other school personnel are interviewed. The data is analysed through theories of trust. The study concludes that trusting relationships in the school, involving teachers, peers, and parents are crucial for integration.

Key words: newly arrived immigrant children, trust, integration, school.

Preface

I am very grateful to teachers, pupils and other school staff at ABC primary school since without their cooperation this thesis would have never been written. Throughout this work my supervisor Jan-Olof Nilsson has been encouraging and a great support. Your comments and thoughts have been valuable and added to the quality of this thesis.

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Introduction

Definition of a newly arrived pupil:

One who has been resident in another country than Sweden but is now living in Sweden or is considered living in Sweden and has started ones education in Sweden later than the fall after the year the pupil turns seven years. A pupil should no longer be considered newly arrived after four years of schooling in Sweden (Utbildningsdepartementet 2014:18).

Aim of study and research question

The aim of this study is to verbalise newly arrived immigrant children's experiences of integration in introduction and regular class at a primary school, and investigate the role of trust in this process. Available research on newly arrived children and young in Sweden is limited and involves retrospective narratives from adults who immigrated to Sweden as children, ethnographical studies in school environments, research in schools through a teacher/parent perspective as well as students' narratives of their social integration in schools (Bouakaz 2007; Bunar 2001a; Bunar 2001b; Cederberg 2006; Jepson Wigg 2001; Parszyk 1999; Runfors 2003; Skowronski 2013). These studies have not focused on trust as a concept. The point of studying pupils' experiences in present time instead of interviewing adults who are looking back on their period as newly arrived is that memories may fade or wont be considered as important anymore. Since this study aims to give voice to newly arrived pupils, this thesis tries to a keep a naturalistic approach.

Therefore, I have chosen to examine following research question: *Is trust important while integrating newly arrived children in school and what does the trust building process look like?*

Method, theories and delimitations

Interviews have been performed with pupils, teachers and other educational staff at a primary school, alias ABC primary school. Interviewing teachers is relevant in order to understand their experiences and thoughts about these children whilst pupils' perspective contributes with first-hand narratives of their relationships with other pupils and teachers.

Trust is a central topic in the interviews with pupils and educational staff. The empirical data is for this reason analysed through theories of trust. For this reason, a review of the concept of trust in the sociological literature is presented. Sociologist Hanne Warming (2013) combines three sociological theories since she considers these to be insufficient to explain trust on their own whilst the combination provides a deeper understanding for trust building processes. She combines: Niklas Luhmann's concept of trust in trust, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus and Gerard Delanty's concept of cultural citizenship. Social capital is closely related to trust since it arises from the prevalence of trust in a society (Fukuyama 1995:26) and has for this reason an essential role in the study. Then a presentation of faculty trust, which more precisely introduce relational trust in a school context, followed by an explanation of system trust, which will provide an understanding for trust in abstract school systems.

Research of newly arrived children often concerns pedagogical perspectives. Examples of such research has recognised that teaching pupils who immigrate during school age their native language has benefits for them developing their second language (Cummins 1997; Hyltenstam & Tuomela 1996; Parszyk 2007; Thomas & Collier 1997). Another example of pedagogical research involves how school supplies and material can improve, and how teachers can evaluate and judge pupils' second language learning (Axelsson 1998). Although these subjects could be found in the same area of research, it will not be addressed since the aim of this thesis is to emphasise the importance of social integration, and how this relates to trust in the school, teachers and peers.

Disposition of thesis

The *Background* chapter will provide the reader with an understanding for the research topic. This involves a presentation of ABC primary school and how they organise education for newly arrived immigrant children through introduction classes. The chapter *Previous research* address how housing segregation in Sweden affect schools, as well as presents research on power relations in schools regarding newly arrived immigrant children in Sweden and abroad. Research about children's acculturation process will also be explained. Choice of theories will then be presented in *Theoretical framework* chapter. The *Methodology* chapter will describe the procedure of the study, which involved interviews with school personnel and pupils and concerns related to this followed by the *Analysis*. Lastly, a *Summary and discussion* will conclude the thesis.

Background

After my internship at the department of education in a medium sized municipality in Sweden I became interested in the situation of newly arrived immigrant children, which had become an increasingly important subject due to the higher number of refugees (mainly from Syria in the last year according to Migrationsverket 2015). Newly arrived children's first period in the municipality and in the Swedish school system was also recognised by the department of education as a phase that was important to learn more about.

ABC primary school is located in the municipality in which I completed my internship. Several neighbourhoods in the town where ABC primary school is located can be considered subject to segregation. According to the school principal, this primary school has in the last year received approximately 60 newly arrived pupils, mainly from Syria, they amount to 25% of the pupils at the school. About 98% of the pupils in the school have immigrant background, with Swedish as a second language. ABC primary school is an F-6 school, i.e. provides education for children starting preschool at the age of six through to year six when children are approximately twelve years of age.

Through public recognition by different departments of education in the country (Drewsen 2014) as well as through recommendations from the department of education in the municipality, it was considered that ABC primary school had developed a well functioning system of education for newly arrived immigrant children. In spite of this recognition there is a lack of research from the pupils' perspective. Teachers and school administrators also acknowledged this void of research, however, this void is not unique to this school or municipality, but is rather an issue that can be found nationally (Bunar 2001a; Bunar 2001b; Cederberg 2006; Jepson Wigg 2001; Parszyk 1999; Runfors 2003; Skowronski 2013). The reason for choosing a school that has been recognised as successful in this context is due to the fact that this system also should be scrutinized from a user perspective. Another important aspect involves pinpointing key elements that enable successful integration of newly arrived. This study hopes to contribute to the research on newly arrived immigrant children, whilst highlighting key elements in a supposedly well functioning system.

Why introduction classes?

Principals are free to organise education of newly arrived immigrant pupils in the way considered most appropriate according to the school's circumstances (Utbildningsdepartementet 2014:45). The school is not obligated to establish introduction classes if there is a very small group of newly arrived pupils. The purpose of introduction class is to receive an introduction to the Swedish education system and prepare the pupil for regular class. The transfer should take place as soon as possible. Normally the pupil stays in introduction class for approximately one school year, but the transfer could also take place sooner. In exceptional cases it may take up to two school years. When it is appropriate, the pupils participate in their regular class, which pupils are to be transferred to, such as during lessons in English (if the pupil has studied English in the home country), music and handicraft. After transfer to regular class pupils may receive tutoring in the different subjects in their native language, if the school can provide this.

At ABC primary school introduction classes has been established due to the increase of newly arrived pupils. Introduction class, in comparison to enrolling regular class straight away, was considered preferable by the school, due to that it gives the pupil "a safe place to land" and an opportunity to come to know the new environment. This addresses that the child may have traumatic experiences from the home country or from migration (same conclusions were also recognised by Szente et al. 2006). It was considered preferable to give pupils an opportunity to learn basic Swedish in an environment that considers their emotional needs, as well as gives them an introduction to the Swedish school culture (also recognised by Norrbacka Landsberg 1998). Another benefit with introduction class is that teachers can give pupils proper attention, which otherwise might risk becoming quiet and "disappear" in regular class. However, research opposing the concept of introduction class claim that these segregate children from regular class, thus hinder newly arrived pupils to integrate with the rest of the school (Allen 2006; Fridlund 2011).

Previous research

ABC primary school is located in a municipality where several neighbourhoods are subject to segregation. In order to situate the reader in the context of Swedish school politics, previous research on the consequences of housing segregation related to schools and education in these areas is presented. The second part of this chapter presents previous research concerning integration of newly arrived immigrant pupils into school environments as well as research on immigrant children's acculturation process.

Segregation - a challenge for Swedish primary schools

The consequences of housing segregation related to education in Sweden have been researched in social sciences during the last decades. Sociologists Göran Arnman and Ingrid Jönsson (1985) found in their early study in late 1970s that socioeconomic housing segregation was reinforced and also shaped in schools. Teachers then prepared and encouraged pupils from different social classes for further education differently (Arnman & Jönsson 1985:14). After Arnman and Jönsson's research, the social composition in segregated areas has to some extent changed. Housing has today been recognised as, not only a socioeconomically, but also an ethnically segregated arena in Swedish society (Bennich-Björkman 2002; Bunar 2011; Ålund 2000:28). An immigrant dense school does not necessarily imply housing segregation, but the composition of pupils in Swedish primary schools is still mainly based on attendance zone principle and it is for this reason considered to be mirroring the affects of housing segregation. Newly arrived either chooses or is directed to residential areas that are already densely populated by other immigrants (Skolverket 2004:40). The ethnical housing segregation may affect children's possibility to social integration into mainstream society since children are often much more tied to their geographical housing environment through preschool, school, community youth centre, and due to that children who live close to each other normally also play together on their spare time, while adults' time spent in the housing environment could be restricted to evenings and nights (Sangregorio 1987:117). Thus, the social and demographic composition of the community is reflected by the school's internal composition. Neighbourhoods with bad reputation and low status have schools with an equally bad reputation and low status label (Anyon 1997; Bunar 2011; Gustafson 2006; Rivkin 1994; Runfors 2003).

The freedom of choice, i.e. when parents chooses a primary school for their child in another area than the one assigned to according to the attendance zones principle, was incorporated in 1992 (Skolvalet). This could in theory prevent segregation in schools, which is due to housing segregation. The purpose of the freedom of choice was to achieve increased diversity, pedagogical innovation and a general rise in quality of education due to market forces (Blomqvist & Rothstein 2000:163). Even if research suggests that parents are positive towards the freedom of choice, few have used it and the majority of these parents have had higher education (Blomqvist & Rothstein 2000:166; Skolverket 2003b:131). However, it has recently become more common for people in the lower social classes to use freedom of choice, especially in neighbourhoods attached to low status. Increasing numbers of students who live in these neighbourhoods are exercising their consumer role by leaving multicultural urban schools (Bunar 2011:514). The outflow of students from these schools in Stockholm was due to the lack of credibility that these schools were subject to as a result of their geographical position in multicultural and low status neighbourhoods and thus their composition of students (Bunar 2011:146). However, Sociologist Nihad Bunar also found that the freedom of choice forced educators in these areas to create relationships with parents, and thus making them co-producers of education, as a strategy to keep pupils in the school (Bunar 2011:155).

Nevertheless, it is still the case that the political ambitions of equality and equal access to education on behalf of schools may be challenged by social and housing segregation (Bunar 2001b:82; 2011). This is now considered as one of the greater challenges in Swedish schools, as they might be unable to provide equal education, which will produce ethnical inequalities (OECD 2005:47). Teacher's may have difficulties carrying out planned lessons and help all pupils if a majority of them demand considerable support (Arnman, Jönsson 1985:32). Housing segregation is not only problematic for education, but also for individuals' self-esteem since we define ourselves, and our place in larger society, by the environment and people surrounding us. If others value our residential area in a negative way, it may also have negative consequences for our way of viewing ourselves (Ristilammi 1994:20).

School performances depend on various variables including gender, parents' level of education and parents' occupation (Utbildningsdepartementet 2014:16). Research from 2003 (Skolverket 2003a:94) established that pupils with foreign backgrounds were, in comparison to Swedish-born students, more often coming from homes with lower socio-economic status,

had parents with lower education, and parents who were not working. This demonstrates that pupils' school performance is related to class and can be transferred to all ethnical groups, Swedes and other. When controlling for the variables gender, parents' level of education and parents' occupation, statistics show that students with two foreign-born parents generally perform worse in comparison to their ethnic Swedish peers (Bennich-Björkman 2002; Utbildningsdepartementet 2014:16). Furthermore, research confirm that the social environment, i.e. the neighbourhood they are living in or the school they are going to, might have had an affect on pupils' school performance (Coleman 1966 in Skolverket 2004:39). The National Agency of Education has defined immigrant-dense schools as having at least 40% of the pupils entitled to education in their native language (Skolverket 2004:39). Indicators revealed that pupils who are enrolled in immigrant dense schools are performing worse in reading-comprehension compared to students attending other schools (Skolverket 2003a:29). Consequently, the foreign born pupil enrolled in an immigrant-dense school was performing worse than the foreign born pupil in a less immigrant-dense school (Skolverket 2003a:94).

This research pinpoints the problems with segregation and its long-term consequences on society that among other things could involve reproducing social classes. Bunar (2011) claims that Swedish multicultural urban schools face two challenges, where the first concerns the location of the school, which is stigmatized and economically impoverished, leading to growing concerns regarding the quality of education, lack of credibility and outflow of students. The second challenge refers to these schools' relationship with the broader community, such as public authorities and universities, but also the ambivalent relationship with students' parents; according to Bunar they were partly regarded as consumers due to the freedom of choice, but at the same time, teachers also considered parents as culturally conservative opposing the values the school tried to teach.

Power relations and integration in schools

Following research considers integration of newly arrived immigrant children in schools. This includes research on relationships among peers, teachers and parents.

Several researchers demonstrate that relationships between teachers and newly arrived immigrant pupils in Swedish schools are considered troublesome. Ing-Marie Parszyk (1999) found in her dissertation in educational sciences that immigrant students were experiencing invisible racism in Swedish schools. Teachers did not allow them to take as much space in the

class as Swedish students. They also experienced that Swedish students distanced themselves from them through not making eye contact or turning their backs against them. Ulrika Jepson Wigg (2001), lecturer in educational sciences, interviewed adults who immigrated to Sweden as children. They described their time in introduction classes as “waiting rooms” and that the teacher transferred pupils to regular class on an arbitrary judgement. Some interviewees also report on the frustration of spending long periods in introduction class without fully understanding the reasons. Several interviewees also considered the school context important for building new friendships. Ethnologist Ann Runfors (2003) found that the relationship between teachers and immigrant children to be complex due to teachers, in spite of good intentions, segregated and subordinated children through categorisations of “immigrant children” with various problems that also deviated from the “Swedish” children. On a good note, Meta Cederberg (2006) found in her dissertation in education through interviews with twelve women who immigrated to Sweden as teenagers, that they all had had successful school careers. Cederberg writes that teachers had for some interviewees been a positive turning point. These teachers had not only been important in terms of educational support but also essential for social support.

Following research concerns the relationship between teachers and parents in Swedish schools. Bunar (2001b:277) found that the relationship between teachers and parents of newly arrived students had in some cases been described as strained. Bunar claims that the weak position of the parents, due to limited forms of capital and weak influence in everyday tasks, is confirmed and deepened in relation to the school. The schools also tended to take over the role of the parents regarding the development of the child, what Bunar calls “surrogate parenting”, which referred to parents as unable to raise their children due to their marginalised position in the labour market and consequently in society at large, but according to Bunar, it was also due to them being immigrants. Thereby they became marginalised in relation to education of their children. Laid Bouakaz (2007) was able to draw similar conclusions in his dissertation in educational sciences while reporting that obstacles for cooperation between educators and parents in a Swedish urban school was on behalf of teachers who resisted letting parents into school activity.

Concerns regarding relationships between peers in Swedish schools has been emphasised in following research. Bunar (2001a) interviewed six Bosnian youth who described feelings of inferiority due to limited skills in Swedish while speaking to Swedish students. On the other

hand, they also experienced superiority in the interactions with Swedish students due to their lack of life experience. The Bosnian students were compensating their feelings of inferiority in the language with the confidence of having vast life experiences, which they referred to as experience of war and migration. In her dissertation in migration studies, Eva Skowronski (2013) investigated the social situation of students who immigrated to Sweden during their last four years at compulsory school or during upper secondary school. Skowronski's study is of interest for the study at ABC primary school since she investigates the social interaction between students with a focus on the possibilities and hindrances for inclusion of newcomer immigrant students in different social groups at the school. Hostility and reluctance to include newcomer immigrant students in social groupings at regular educational level was found, but also the opposite, i.e. a readiness to include each other in different social groupings at school, regardless of for example different religious affiliations. Students were in time included in social groupings, but in the beginning they were usually alone or isolated.

Recent international research on newly arrived pupils has been performed by Damien Riggs, professor of social work, and Clemence Due (2009), lecturer in psychology, who studied children with refugee and migrant background entering the Australian educational system. They studied how children were located in the school space in relation to norms in the school and the broader community (Due & Riggs 2009:58). Due and Riggs found that interaction between NAP-students (New Arrivals Programme) and non-NAP students rarely took place in the schoolyard. The lack of inclusion in school environments was considered partly due to the negative image of asylum seekers, refugees and other migrants of "middle-eastern appearance" depicted by many institutions in Australia. They also found that English proficiency on behalf of NAP students was a prerequisite for inclusion into the school environment. Dawn Allen (2006), lecturer in education, found that Canadian introduction classes were recognised as an obstacle for social integration with pupils from the rest of the school since these classes were associated with negative characteristics such as language deficiency and immaturity. Ethnomusicologist Kathryn Marsh's (2012) research, also based in Australia, found that positive interactions between newly arrived immigrant children and Australian children could take place through music performance, which she claimed led to "social synchrony". Music was claimed to be a crucial underpinning of feelings of social comfort, belonging and identity. While working together towards common goals of music, dance creation and performance, students were engaged in cooperative work with a shared engagement, which was seen as contributing to effective intergroup contact and social

inclusion. For those students whose ability to connect verbally was limited because of language difference, school music activity provided a joint enterprise in which students could engage cooperatively. It was in this school considered that students were provided with opportunities of peer tutoring while using music and language meaningful to them. This enabled them to feel a sense of mastery in a context where lack of knowledge in the environment might have left them feeling disempowered (Marsh 2012:107). Sociologists Panagiotis Giavrimis et al. (2011) have noted the lack of research on trust in relation to newly arrived students, and accentuate the importance of trust and social networks developed by immigrant students in Greek primary schools. Giavrimis et al. stress the need of an intervention program in Greek schools in order to facilitate students' social inclusion.

Acculturation process

Previous research highlights lack of trust in school environments and in relationships with peers, or in relationships between teachers and peers. The relationship between parents and teachers have also been stressed as an important one that must be taken more serious and involve trust. However, these studies may accentuate the lack of trust without theorising the importance of this concept, which was also noted by Giavrimis et al (2011). Research has acknowledged that newly arrived immigrant children's ability to adjust to their new environment and experience social inclusion is depended on their social and psychological adaptation to the new conditions, and forms part of the so-called acculturation process (Berry 1990). The acculturation process refers to the process of cultural and psychological change that results from first-hand contact between two distinct cultural groups. By creating trust with proper educational, familial and societal support, children have the potential to successfully adapt to their new culture and experience significant success (Romero & Branscome 2014:206).

This study aims to contribute to the research presented above and emphasise the importance of trust concerning integration of newly arrived immigrant children in school.

Theoretical framework

Context

Even if it has been claimed that trust has been absent in sociological literature before Niklas Luhmann presented the topic 1979 (Warming 2013:11), trust has in fact been theorised in sociology much earlier. Trust has been considered the glue that makes co-operation, solidarity and altruism possible and sociologists such as Emile Durkheim, Ferdinand Tönnies and Talcott Parsons all acknowledged the importance of trust on personal as well as societal level. Trust is essential for societies since it brings people closer together and provides the potential of starting meaningful relationships. Trust can in this sense be considered the building block of social solidarity and the absence of trust as a signifier of social breakdown (Warming 2013:11). Trust is especially important viewed in the context of children's education since distrust in interactions with teachers has been found able to determine children's marginalisation or self-marginalisation in the education system. This has been found to possibly reduce children's alternatives of action in the education system and generate anxiety and suspicion against educator's action (Baraldi & Farini 2013:135). Children cannot be considered passive recipients of adult's information and command, but should instead be recognised as social agents who actively participate in the construction of social systems (Baraldi & Iervese 2012). As noted in the Background chapter, trust is especially important in situations concerning newly arrived children since proper social support is crucial in order to adapt to the new culture and experience success (Romero & Branscome 2014:206). This importance of trust was evident in the interviews while speaking of integration, and therefore the concept trust is the chosen topic of this thesis.

Disposition and choice of theories

Firstly, a brief overview of trust in the sociological discipline is presented. A useful combination of sociological theories is constructed by sociologist Hanne Warming (2013) who combines: Niklas Luhmann's concept of trust in trust (1979), Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus (1984) and Gerard Delanty's theory of cultural citizenship (2003). She considers these theories to be insufficient to explain trust on their own, but this combination provides us with a deeper understanding for trust building processes, especially in relation to children. This concept of trust is a useful tool while analysing the collected data since it enables a discussion of how trust and distrust relates to children's ability to participate and feel included in their school environment. The theory of social capital is also essential since it helps to pinpoint the importance of the school, not only for pupils' ability to develop social capital, but

also for understanding their parents and how they use, and may depend, on school personnel for information, not only concerning school related topics, but also for general information about authorities, Swedish school culture and practices. Then the concept of faculty trust explains the dynamics of trusting relationships in school environments. An explanation of system trust is presented as this relates to trust in abstract school system (the grading system) and how this may either promote feelings of inclusion or alienation.

Trust as a theoretical concept in sociology

Sociologists Michael R. Welch et al. (2005) claim that literature in social sciences has treated trust and social capital virtually synonymously (Wilson 1997; Brehm and Rahn 1997; Glaser, Laibson, Scheinkman and Soutter 2000; Arrow 2000; Putnam 2000 in Welch et al. 2005:456). It can also be stated that social capital and trust are mutually reinforcing (Brehm and Rahn 1997:1017 in Welch et al. 2005:456). The sociological perspective focuses on trust as a mean for building and maintaining social relationships (Welch et al. 2005:453). It has been stated from a sociological perspective that stable social relationships cannot exist without social order (Misztal 1996). But it is equally apparent that trust is a requirement for both social order and social relationships and it has been a difficult task to detach these from each other since they are mutually reinforcing. The difficulty in this task is due to a dialectical relationship, which exists between trust and social order. Sociologist Barbara Misztal (1996 in Welch 2001:7) has been considered representing the dialectical nature of trust as connected to an expectation about the persistence of a moral social order. Trust provides a crucial basis for that social order by setting the most basic limiting conditions necessary for human interactions to continue. Misztal's definition of trust states that trust consists of believing the consequences of someone's intended action will be appropriate from our own point of view (Misztal 1996 in Welch 2005:454). Political scientist Russell Hardin (2002 in Welch 2005:454) claims that this conception of trust as action is supported by the fact that individuals choose to act or react toward others based on the amount of trust they have placed in those persons or the level of trustworthiness the person is perceived to have demonstrated. Familiarity is also linked to trust and explained as: the more an individual is familiar with another person, the easier it is to trust that person (Macy and Skvoretz 1998:639 in Welch 2005:460).

Sociologist Frank Hearn (1997:97) provides us with a useful explanation of trust and its components:

Trust and trustworthiness, and the moral individuals who embody them, arise in communitarian interdependencies and social institutions that instil in people the habits of reciprocity and responsibility and the sense of moral obligation whose presence affords the strongest grounds people have for trusting one another. Social capital, those features and practices of cooperation that enable people to work together in pursuit of shared purposes, originates and becomes abundant only where trust prevails.

Luhmann's concept of trust

Basic trust is a term in developmental psychology established by psychologist Erik Erikson (1950). This should be understood as a psychological structure developed in early childhood considered as the essential and universal condition for trusting one self, other people and systems. Luhmann claims that while the concept of basic trust is a competence learned through a successful passage through an development stage in the early years of the child's life, Luhmann's concept of *trust in trust* is a relational concept. Luhmann acknowledges that trust is a communicative act rather than an inner feeling. Trust in trust develops over time, throughout life and vary according to the object of trust within a psychic system (a personality). Individuals are then able to trust people whom they are familiar with due to the fact that we simply trust in trust (Welch et al. 2005:458). Therefore, emotional interactions can trigger and sustain trust, and distrust might for this reason undermine social bonds. Trust is constructed in interaction and builds on mutuality (Warming 2013:18).

Warming (2013:14) finds Luhmann's theory of trust to be inadequate due to that the psychic system remains somewhat of a black box in his theory. According to Warming this theorising becomes too deterministic and essentialistic. Thus, there is a need to complement this theory with Bourdieu's concept of habitus, which enables a closer analysis of how the social interplays with the personality dimension of trust, as well as an explanation of how it changes over time.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus

Habitus is, according to Bourdieu, generated through an internalisation of the social, including the societal power structures. The societal power structures are in Bourdieu's terms considered as social, cultural, economic and symbolic capital, field, positions and doxa. The different forms of capital are, according to Bourdieu's theory: economic (material and financial assets), cultural (scarce symbolic goods, skills and titles) and social (resources accrued by virtue of membership in a group). Once these set of capital are considered legitimate on a specific arena (field), they transform into symbolic capital (Wacquant

2008:268). Individuals' particular set of capital contains a system of dispositions that people acquire, and depends on the successive positions they occupy in a field. Doxa is in Bourdieu's terms the experience by which the natural and social world appears as self-evident (Bourdieu 1984:471).

Habitus includes a spectrum of cognitive and affective factors involving thinking *and* feeling. Habitus could also be expressed as the relationship between "the social structures" and the "mental structures" where habitus is the interface (Jenkins 2002:76). Habitus is thus a system of dispositions, through which the actor understands, judge and act in the world. It is also the integrating principle, which convert the social positions relational characteristic to the positions that characterise a certain lifestyle (Järvinen 2003:410). Thus, habitus consists of internalized structures which guides the individual in its thinking and acting and expresses itself in pretty much everything that she does; body posture, language, taste in films, books, art etcetera. These unconscious schemata are acquired through lasting exposure to particular social conditions and conditionings, via internalization of external constraints and possibilities. Each person has a unique individual variant of the common milieu even if people subjected to similar experiences also share large parts of them. This is why individuals of the same nationality, social class, gender and so on; spontaneously feel "at home" with one another (Wacquant 2008:267). Habitus is thought of as including dispositions for trusting, which Luhmann considers as trust in trust, and the personal attitude that in relation to social norms leads others to see one as trustworthy or not.

Bourdieu has been considered to be overly structuralistic and attributing too much importance to habitus as a fixed structure and thus excludes the individual's own conscious choice to either act or resist (Jenkins 1982). This criticism implies similarities with that of developmental psychology and the concept of basic trust, which assigns too great a role of early childhood, when the child is creating abilities for trusting and attitudes that promote trustworthiness. Bourdieu replies to this criticism by establishing that habitus is in fact developing throughout life (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:133).

Individuals' ability to trust others is in this sense not only developing through the early parent-child relationship, as is the case in basic trust, but is also shaped by participation in, and incorporation of, power structures in different fields. Individuals are then experiencing and learning whether others are trustworthy (Warming 2013:15).

Delanty's concept of cultural citizenship and learning process

The purpose of introducing Delanty's concept of cultural citizenship into this thesis is the possibility to illuminate positive spirals of social trust and inclusive citizenship, as well as the reverse, which is how distrust constitutes a barrier to children's citizenship and participation. However, in this context Delanty's theory only becomes interesting in relation to Luhmann and Bourdieu since trust could be considered a prerequisite for the type of citizenship that Delanty discusses.

Citizenship rights are normally discussed in relation to adults where children are considered as not-yet-citizens (Warming 2013:18). Warming considers that children's citizenship may also be constructed in the power dynamics between adults and youth since children and young in general have lower status than adults and lack power in our society (Eder & Fingerson 2003:34; Warming 2013:28).

According to Delanty, the advantage of theorising cultural citizenship as a learning process is that it shifts the focus away from the fact of membership of a polity onto common experiences and cognitive processes (Delanty 2003:602). Cultural citizenship is a normative concept due to that it critically addresses how this relates to subjective feelings of integration/exclusion, recognition/misrecognition and belonging/alienation (Delanty 2003:604). Citizen identity has in this perspective an emotional as well as a cognitive dimension and is able to grow or become damaged by everyday practices. This includes interactions between peers and civil society agents and officials, such as teachers, and it is in these interactions that the subject comes to know and experience his or her identity as a citizen – as belonging, included or recognised – or not – in society (Warming 2013:24). This is what Delanty calls a learning process (Delanty 2003:602). Delanty claims that citizens learn citizenship and that this takes place in informal context of everyday life and that it is heavily influenced by critical and formative events in people's lives. Inclusive learning processes produce feelings of belonging, which involves citizens becoming co-authors of the context they participate in. Disciplining and discriminative processes, on the other hand, produce alienation and feelings of stigmatisation (Warming 2013:25). Thus, citizen identity, in accordance with Luhmann, is built up or damaged by communicative acts.

Social capital

As stated above, there is a close relationship between trust and social capital. Social capital has an essential role in terms of newly arrived immigrants, which was also shown in this study. Social capital has traditionally been located in the realm of civil society, which is close to Bourdieu's definition, namely resources that one accrues by virtue of membership in a group (Jenkins 1992:85). However, political scientist Dietlind Stolle claims that social capital is rather deeply embedded in the triangular relationship among the state, the family and civil society (Stolle 2003:36). It is the positive interactions that occur between individuals in the network that lead to the formation of social capital. In this context, issues such as trust and reciprocity become a focal point of social capital formation. Political scientist Francis Fukuyama (1995:26) writes:

Social capital is the capability that arises from the prevalence of trust in a society or in certain parts of it. It can be embodied in the smallest and most basic social group, the family, as well as the largest of social groups, the nation, and in all the other groups in between.

Faculty trust

Faculty trust has been viewed as critical to successful interpersonal relations, leadership, teamwork and effective school operation (Hoy 2012:78). Faculty trust was according to Wayne Hoy (2012:78-79), professor in educational administration, conceived as the collective belief that the word and promise of another individual or group could be relied upon and that the trusted party would act in the interest of the faculty. The three referents of faculty trust was 1) trust in the principal, 2) trust in colleagues, and 3) trust in the organisation. Faculty trust also refers to the reciprocal relationship in which parents and teachers trust each other to consistently act in students' best interests. It was noted by Hoy that the behaviour of school staff makes differential impact on the quality of trusting relationships in school. It has also been found that schools that have a high level of trust in parents and students are more likely to have a high level of collaboration with parents and among the faculty (Tschannen-Moran 2001:327).

The persistent research of school performances made by Hoy (2012:84) during the last three decades has resulted in the conclusion of three school variables that make a difference in school achievement: academic emphasis, collective faculty trust and collective efficacy. Academic emphasis refers to the degree to which a school is driven for academic excellence. Academic emphasis is considered as: high achievable goals are stressed, the learning

environment is serious, teachers believe in the ability of all students to succeed, and both teachers and students respect high academic achievers (Hoy 2012:80). Collective faculty trust was in this context also linked to faculty trust in students and parents (Hoy 2012:81). Collective efficacy refers to collective judgements about the capability of the school as a whole (Hoy 2012:83).

System trust

Faculty trust involves trusting relationships between individuals; system trust refers to trust in an abstract system. System trust is generalised communication mediums (Luhmann 1979:48), such as money in the economic subsystem or, which is relevant in this case, truth in expert subsystem. Bourdieu considers these systems not only a medium of communication but also of power (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:90). Thus, trusting an expert subsystem implies that others, and in this case children, are not experts. They may for this reason not feel invited or qualified to take part in the co-authoring process. This could also mean that one must accept certain identification of problems and solutions, either in form of demands, discipline or control, or as demands for self-governance. If those who participate also believe in the same truth, or system, it will make cooperation smoother. Although, this does not imply that experiences of disrespect will be heard, but it could rather silence such experiences and thus prevent inclusive citizen identity. An example could be the educational expert system truth about competences that should be reached at a given age, combined with the truth about children's responsibility for their own learning (Warming 2013:27). The grading system was in this study found as a system that has the potential to make pupils feel excluded. System trust has been considered a system that is based on and strengthens power relations (Warming 2013:23).

Methodology

The method for gathering data for this study is interviews. This chapter will present the sampling, ethical considerations, structure of interview and concerns related to the chosen method as well as how this was managed followed by an explanation of how data was interpreted.

Overview

Interviews have been performed with four teachers, two teaching in introduction class and two teaching in regular class, one tutor, the principal, and the student counsellor who is also the coordinator of newly arrived children in the municipality. Thirty children were interviewed, mainly in groups of two or three. Twenty-four of these were newly arrived and have been, or still were enrolled in introduction classes. The remaining six were not newly arrived hence began their schooling in Sweden. Interviews were recorded and the interview data was transcribed and coded into different themes, which is a common way of conceptualising interview data (May 2011:152). Alias is used while mentioning the school, personnel and pupils. The researcher has a naturalistic approach in relation to the interview material since interviewees' representations of their reality have been considered (Ryen 2004:106) due to that their version and interpretation is of interest in this study.

Children

Sampling

Interviews were conducted with twenty-four pupils who were or had been enrolled in introduction class and six not newly arrived pupils who thus only been enrolled in regular class. The children from introduction classes were the main focus of this study due to their experience of introduction class and integration in the new school/class. The purpose of interviewing children who had not been enrolled in introduction class was due to that they were at times helping another pupil with translations or purely for the purpose of empowering the other pupil by their presence (further explanation about this below). However, their experience concerning newly arrived pupils in the class or the mentor's program is also an important perspective for this study.

Interviewees were enrolled in years 4-6. The choice of interviewing the children in this age group, and not years 1-3, was due to the increased likelihood of longer experience of an

education system abroad and it is therefore possible that these interviewees can compare experiences of different school systems. Since they may have become integrated into another school culture their experience of integration into Swedish school culture may become more complex.

The sample is a non-probability sample since it is selected without a sampling frame (May 2011:99-100). A sampling frame could have been created due to prior knowledge about the number of newly arrived pupils in the school. However due to relatively small interview data that was collected through each interviewee (further discussion about this below) there was a need to interview all children who had informed consent from parents as well as had a wish to participate in the interview.

Ethical considerations

Whilst carrying out this study, ethical concerns in social sciences according to Vetenskapsrådet have been considered. The ethical requirements concern information, informed consent, confidentiality and utilization of interview data.

Confidentiality has been considered and alias is used while mentioning the school, personnel and pupils for the reason of protecting interviewees' identities. Since the children are enrolled in primary school in years 4-6, age 10-13, informed consent from parents was needed to let the children participate in the interviews. A letter describing the purpose of the study and utilization of interview data was handed out to pupils who delivered it to parents, who signed if approving their child to participate in the study. A concern regarding this involves the fact that parents, due to lack of Swedish proficiency, may not fully understand the content of the letter and may for this reason have ignored it. It is also possible that parents have agreed and signed without fully understanding the content. Having parents consent could be considered a first step, but one must also reflect on the necessity of having the child's consent. Adults who work with children must ensure that children are adequately informed and empowered to make a decision about their participation (Harcourt & Conroy 2011:39). This was especially important in this case since the interviews took place during school hours; children may for this reason consider the interviews as mandatory and consequently do what they consider are expected of them. It was for this reason important to inform the children that participating was a choice made by them. Pupils who participated were introduced to the research topic, its purpose and utilization as well as informed about confidentiality. This was done in a matter of

conversation with the children by letting them participate through questions, e.g. while mentioning the university I could ask if the children knew what a university was, if they had visited Lund, discuss the purpose of an interview and what confidentiality means.

Structure of interview

Pilot interviews were made one on one, but due to concerns related to this, which is further developed below, the subsequent interviews were conducted in focus groups of two or three pupils. This empowered them in the interview and enabled a more fruitful conversation. The interview started in a very unstructured way, which is preferable in most cases, but is especially important with children (Reinharz 1992) since it allows the interviewees concerns to go away. This informal attitude was adopted in the interviews and the interview was conducted without an interview guide (although the central themes discussed concerned integration and trusting relationships). It was instead important to focus on the interaction with the children; the atmosphere, tone of voice, facial expressions and body language were important elements in the interview setting. The interview proceeded with open-ended character.

Concerns encountered in interviews with children

Thirty children were interviewed due to the relatively small interview data that was collected through each interviewee. The difficulties related to interviewing children were evident after the pilot interviews, which were made one on one, where the children were more focused on the interviewer than on the questions. The interviewer effect, i.e. the effect the interviewer has on the interviewee relates to characteristics of the interviewer, such as their age, sex, race and accent etcetera (May 2011:140). This resulted in short and unfocused answers such as “fine”, “yes” or “no”. The children were in these interviews more reluctant to speak and/or limited in their descriptions. This also relates to concerns of power dynamics between adults and youth since children and young in general have lower status than adults and lack power in our society (Eder & Fingerson 2003:34).

Conducting focus group interviews were more productive since it was to some extent easier to establish trusting relationships, which is important in order to overcome the predisposition of children to respond to adults with a “right answer” (Harcourt & Conroy 2011:41). This was quite common even if they were more outgoing. The child could after some time go back to the topic in order to rephrase what was previously said, which seemed to result in a more

honest statement due to that the interviewee added more details and complex dimensions to the previous answer.

In a few interviews the challenge was due to language differences. Some of the children spoke little Swedish and English, which are the languages that the researcher can understand. There were at times other children who could help with translations if there was a child with the same first language. At times, this seemed to be an excellent method; the children interacted with each other and helped each other in both Swedish and the first language. They were in this way able to give descriptive explanations. However, using other children as translators was at times also destructive to the interview. The translations seemed at times unreasonably long or short considering the length of the question and were mostly resulting in yes or no answers. It was naturally also more difficult to have an informal talk in this manner and consequently left the interviewee feeling unease. These interview data were problematic for the analysis due to thin descriptions and problematic translations. Consequently most of it had to be discarded.

Empowering children

It has been noted that interviewing children and adolescents present researchers with unique opportunities but as in this case, also dilemmas. Therefore, it has been considered that participant observation and ethnography to be preferable methods. The reason for not using ethnographic methods in this study was due to the value of giving young respondents voice to their own interpretations and thoughts rather than rely on adult interpretations of their lives. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child has been acknowledged by many researchers as a significant reference for including children's views on matters that concern them (Eder & Fingerson 2003:33). Triangulation was considered as an option in this research, i.e. doing ethnographic study as well as interviews. It would have most likely added to the depth of the research but due to the limitations of time and length of the study, the idea was abandoned.

Due to unsuccessful pilot interviews that were made one on one, the aim with focus groups was to empower the children in the interview setting. Participants in focus groups are encouraged to talk to one another instead of answering questions in turn (May 2011:137). The children were for this reason conducted in groups of two or three so that the child was not alone with the researcher. This placed the interviewees in a position of power as they

outnumbered the researcher while being among their friends and peers. While keeping the groups small in size, such as three or four members, also helped to minimize the influence of peer power dynamics (Eder & Fingerson 2003:45).

School staff

Sampling

Interviews with school staff involved four teachers, two teaching in introduction class and two teaching in regular class, one tutor, the principal, and the student counsellor who is also the coordinator of newly arrived children in the municipality. Interviews with teachers in both regular and introduction class were important in order to understand how they reflected on strategies of how to integrate newly arrived pupils into the class and build trust towards them as teachers as well as for the other children. The perspective of the principal is important due to her role of being the leader of the school which involves a crucial role for building faculty trust in the school (which is pointed out in the theory chapter). Tutor and student councillor had the roles of informants, as they were able to provide information about their functions in the work with newly arrived pupils.

Structure of interview

While having memorised the central themes to be discussed (integration, trust and relations, transfer to regular class), the interview had the character of a conversation. This could also be called semi-structured interviews, a method widely used by social scientists since questions are normally specified, but the interviewer is freer to probe beyond the answers (May 2011:134). The engagement these teachers appeared to have for the school and their pupils shaped the interviews.

Data interpretation

Five themes developed while analysing the empirical data. These themes are *Familiarity*, *Friendship*, *Moral social order*, *System trust and cultural citizenship*, and *Faculty trust*. It could be considered a challenge to use theories of trust to categorise the empirical material since the themes are closely related and even intertwined, they may be difficult or even impossible to separate in the empirical world. However, this categorisation is used as an analytical tool in the analysis and the differentiation provides the reader with a deepened understanding for how these concepts individually adds to an understanding of trust building processes in this context. This means that the themes should not be viewed in absolute terms, e.g. it may be difficult to draw the line between familiarity and friendship.

The themes *Familiarity*, *Friendship* and *Moral social order* mainly discuss relationships and familiarity between pupils and how they are able to build trust in their new environments as well as how teachers enable cooperation as a way to successfully integrate pupils. The separation between the themes *Familiarity* and *Friendship* is to some extent based on a supposedly chronological order of a trust building process, where trust in trust and dispositions for trusting in ones habitus arguably could be considered a requirement for building a more trusting friendship. Trust in trust and dispositions for trusting in ones habitus are for this reason the main analytical tools in *Familiarity*. The differentiation from *Friendship* is important due to the fact that a person who considers oneself familiar with an environment or individuals does not necessarily feel belonging; one could consider oneself familiar with one's surrounding without experiencing cultural citizenship. In the theme *Friendship* the concept of cultural citizenship and learning processes demonstrates how trusting relationships affects children's participation and ability to create inclusive citizenship, therefore these concepts will be the main analytical tools. Friendship is then clearly different to that of being familiar with someone since it has a greater probability to create cultural citizenship. In the theme *Moral social order*, trust is mainly viewed and reflected on in terms of the dialectical relationship between trust and moral social order, and is therefore associated with the concept of trust in trust and how this relates to feelings of obligation. The main point of this theme is to investigate how giving trust to pupils obligates and creates reciprocity, which is an important characteristic of faculty trust.

The theme *System trust and cultural citizenship* discusses how the grading system may challenge pupils' possibility to cultural citizenship, while trust in the system at the same time seems to be necessary for inclusion. The theme *Faculty trust* discusses the organisation of the school, which involves interpersonal relations. System trust and faculty trust are intertwined, however system trust could be considered as referring to an abstract system focusing on how individuals are affected by a non-personal structure, whereas faculty trust is a relational concept and focuses on how agents create a trusting environment through interaction. Faculty trust is thought of as facilitating system trust since this normally emerges from trusting people who trusts the system. Quotations have been chosen due to that they are representative for the theme or deepen the analysis, although they could be interpreted within more than one theme.

Analysis

The five themes developed whilst analysing the interview material were: *Familiarity, Friendship, Moral social order, System trust and cultural citizenship* and *Faculty trust*.

Familiarity

Familiarity with pupils in introduction class enabled pupils to develop trust in trust. Both teachers and pupils recognised the importance of cooperation between introduction and regular classes, since it enabled familiarity and trust, which is a very important precondition of successful integration when the child transfers to regular class. It is mostly lack of familiarity about new peers that children describe as difficult and inhibits them to participate.

Pupils in introduction class may naturally find comfort in each others company due to arguably similar experiences of migration and limited Swedish proficiency, which may separate them from other Swedish speaking children in the school. Some newly arrived children may find peers with the same first language, which enables them to speak to each other. The cohesiveness that can be created in these classes could be explained through familiarity. Familiarity is linked to trust and explained as: the more an individual is familiar with another person, the easier it is to trust that person (Macy and Skvoretz 1998:639 in Welch 2005:460).

I: *Where you nervous when you started introduction class?*

Mirella: *Yes, but a girl helped me. We speak the same language. She could speak Swedish and she helped me to talk to some other children.*

I: *How did that make you feel?*

Mirella: *It felt good.*

Interview with Mirella.

Amila: *Yes, I was very nervous on the first day to meet new friends and stuff like that. But there was a girl who helped me. She [also] comes from Syria.*

Interview with Amila.

Mirella and Amila may have developed a form of trust in trust in the school system as well as in other pupils with shared experiences, before entering the Swedish school system. Peers in the classroom then helped them to feel less nervous, which strengthened their ability to trust in trust. The nervousness could be described as an uncertainty about the prevalence of trust

and a moral social order in the new environment. Trust building processes are in these situations built up in communicative acts whilst speaking to someone in their first language and trust was for this reason, according to Luhmann's theory of trust in trust, strengthened due to familiarity. Thus, due to previous experience Mirella and Amila may have developed trust in trust, and thus trusted individuals in the class that they felt familiar with. Mirella and Amila were able, in spite of nervousness, to feel included. Their ability to create trust in the classroom is thus shaped by participation in, and incorporation of, social structures in this particular field. These pupils were then learning whether others are trustworthy. Their habitus is then developing dispositions for trusting, which Luhmann would consider as trust in trust.

Milan and Yasmin on the other hand did not have classmates who could speak their first language and they felt for this reason lost in the new school.

Milan: *I didn't know what to do so I was a little sad... I couldn't do anything... I just knew a few words.*

Interview with Milan.

I: *Do you remember when you started introduction class?*

Yasmin: *Yes, it was really difficult.*

I: *How did you feel?*

Yasmin: *You were pretty lonely, because you couldn't talk to anyone and you couldn't have best friends because you knew that you were going to go to other classes later on, it was pretty nervously... strange feeling. [...] Introduction class wasn't as fun as going to regular class but perhaps it was due to that you didn't know the language and it was for this reason more difficult to explain to friends so you were more lonely, at least in my case.*

Interview with Yasmin.

In these examples it seems to be the case that lack of communicative acts, and thus familiarity, hinders Milan and Yasmin from creating trust in trust.

Openhearted attitudes appeared to be common in introduction classes. Ava, teacher in introduction class, referred to the red carpet in the classroom where the class would sit down and speak about feelings. This is likely to increase familiarity between pupils.

I: *Do you think about strategies to win pupils' trust?*

Ava (teacher in introduction class): *I talk to them. Its important, we talk a lot. We talk and talk and talk, about feelings, about everything!* Interview with Ava.

Tanja (teacher in introduction class): *We talk about feelings all the time and it is okay to cry and then everyone knows that the person is having a bad day. It's a natural thing so I may not be thinking about it that much, but perhaps because it is a natural thing to me, it may for this reason have become the type of climate we have in the classroom.* Interview with Tanja.

Teaching children to trust in trust and offer them social support was considered important among the teachers, especially since they recognised the vulnerable situation that these children may be in. Having close relations with pupils and having a respectful climate in the classroom has not only been recognised as important due to their emotional wellbeing but also due to that teachers must create trusting relationships in order to counteract possible distrust in interactions since this can determine children's marginalisation or self-marginalisation in the education system (also recognised by Baraldi & Farini 2013:135). This may be especially important in the case of newly arrived children since they lack preconceptions of their new environment.

For some children, familiarity with pupils and teachers in regular class was an important part of a successful transfer to regular class. Pupils who were more worried about transferring to regular class quite often also explained that they did not know anyone in their new class.

Amila: *I didn't feel that nervous since I knew everyone in the class because I had math class with them [...] they were really nice.* Interview with Amila.

Hamed: *This year I started fourth grade and last year I was in introduction class. But I like it better in fourth grade. For example, if you are in introduction class, you may have friends and things like that, you may not want to go to another class, you become afraid and things like that [...].* Interview with Hamed.

I: *Can you tell me about when you started regular class?*

Joseph: *I was a bit nervous... I didn't talk as much Swedish as them. So I was worried about how I was going to manage...*

I: *How did you feel after you started?*

Joseph: *It's okay now. I know all the children, I know what they do in the break, and I know when school starts and when the school starts everyone goes inside. Better than in introduction class because the teacher won't say that there is a new pupil in the class or that another pupil has transferred to regular class.* Interview with Joseph.

Amila mainly considered familiarity with pupils in regular class as essential for a successful transfer since it meant she had trust in individuals already in the class. Hamed refers to the safety of regular class since it meant being familiar with pupils. These social relationships can also be explained as social capital, which they could develop due to trust in trust, and this enables a smoother transfer to regular class since the pupil already has some form of symbolic capital in the new field. According to Hardin (2001), the conception of trust as action is supported by the fact that individuals choose to act or react toward others based on the amount of trust they have placed in those persons or the level of trustworthiness the person is perceived to have demonstrated, as recognised in the examples above. Joseph was primarily concerned about not having enough Swedish skills. Familiarity with the language was for this reason his main concern while transferring to regular class. However, after the transfer, he was more content with regular class due to familiarity with routines in comparison to introduction class where changing of social structures occur more often than in regular class. Consequently, changes in social capital and positions of power occur more often in introduction class. One might be able to gain or lose influence faster in introduction class, while regular class may involve slower progression in capital due to the stability of positions in the field. Introduction class involved inconsistency in social relations due to loss of important social support when friends transferred to regular classes. This may also challenge his ability to trust in trust and this played an important role in the satisfaction with regular class.

It was also found that lack of familiarity could possibly delay integration.

I: *Does it happen that you get new pupils in the class?*

Milad: *Yes, it happens.*

I: *What do you think about it?*

Milad: *In the beginning... we don't know him, is he mean or is he nice... but after a while when we have gotten to know each other, it's better.* Interview with Milad.

Milad, in regular class, had never been enrolled in introduction class before, and he also refers to being unfamiliar with their new classmate, which consequently seems to make him more suspicious. The ability to trust others, explained as trust in trust, is an ability that one can develop over time and throughout life (Warming 2013:15). This also shows how one's habitus, which consists of internalized structures, guides the individual in its thinking and acting, and thus offers an explanation to how different experiences shape one's habitus and consequently also the individual's possibility to trust. As Milad claims, after a while when the new peer has integrated into the new class and arguably settled into the existing social structure, it becomes easier to trust the newcomer. Children in regular class who had once been in introduction class tended to have feelings of reciprocity towards new pupils from introduction class, due to that they had been in the same situation once, and due to familiarity with the situation for the new pupil, and subsequently they were also more trusting towards them.

Ava and Sofia express the importance of cooperation with regular class in order to establish familiarity.

Ava (teacher in introduction class): *This is a good way to think, also for other schools, that there must be cooperation between introduction and regular classes [...] I don't know how other schools work but cooperation between colleagues is important... Otherwise it becomes patchy. Not only for the teacher from introduction class but also for the teacher in regular class as well as for the pupil who has to find oneself in the new social environment. This is how I feel. And I think we can get better at this.*

Interview with Ava.

Sofia (teacher in regular class): *We have not had that much cooperation before, it has previously been that you receive a pupil from introduction class, you may have had a conversation about the pupil especially about the social aspects but after the transfer, you have just done your thing. We are now trying to find forms for cooperation so that introduction becomes smoother and better for these children.*

Interview with Sofia.

Ava and Sofia confirm the children's need of familiarity with regular class. They express the importance of cooperation between introduction and regular classes in order to facilitate a smoother transfer for pupils, which would involve more elements of familiarity, social support and trust. Familiarity has in this chapter shown to strengthen pupils' ability to build

trust in trust in their new environment whereas unfamiliarity and lack of communicative acts inhibits trust.

Friendship

Familiarity can be considered the first step towards friendship and the following chapter will reflect on how closer relationships with peers affect their citizenship. Friendship seemed to be an important element for the children's experience of integration. It was obvious that children who felt integrated in the group claimed to have friends. Lack of friendship was recognised as hindering inclusive citizenship. The transfer to regular class could either be appreciated or problematic since one might either lose or gain power positions while transferring between different fields. Communicative acts with friends or lack of communicative acts could produce feelings of either belonging or alienation. This could be interpreted as having or not having friends affects children's ability to experience inclusive citizen identity.

Samir explains the importance of friendship in introduction class:

Samir: There was something that wasn't good in introduction class. I had a friend, and then he moved to [...another city in Sweden...] and I was really sad. Interview with Samir.

Samir refers to the mobility of pupils to be a negative experience in introduction class. According to school staff, the mobility of pupils in introduction classes could be due to a rejection from the migration office and that the family consequently had to leave the country. It was also common that families moved closer to relatives in other parts of Sweden. This mobility of pupils was also noted in previous chapter, where Joseph found consistency and familiarity with routines and peers in regular class comforting (Familiarity p. 26-27). In Delanty's terms, lack of interaction with friends may affect Samir's feelings of inclusion and belonging.

Naturally, Yasmin who had not enjoyed the situation in introduction class (Familiarity p. 25) welcomed the transfer since this enabled her "a second chance" to establish friendship, as well as new social capital and positions of power in her new class.

I: Do you remember when you started regular class and how that felt?

Yasmin: *Yes. It was great because I was teased and pretty lonely before... so it was a good thing to start over so that I could make new friends and forget about what had happened before.*

Interview with Yasmin.

Aida and Samir refer to already having friends in regular class.

Aida: *I was going to start in [...name of regular class...] when I was able to speak Swedish. But then I came here instead [...another regular class...], which my best friend [from introduction class] is in. That is really good. [...] And I wasn't sad that I didn't have any friends since my best friend already was there. And then it took very little time and then I had more friends in regular class.*

Interview with Aida.

Samir: *First I was worried, then my friend, who went before me to regular class, was there, and then I got to know some other friends who were in my soccer team. Then I knew everyone and we could talk to each other.*

Interview with Samir.

Jamal and Hamed who had friends in introduction class found the transfer to regular class more difficult.

I: *How was the transfer to regular class?*

Hamed: *I was a bit sad because I had to leave my friends in introduction class. But still, it was okay.*

Interview with Hamed.

I: *How was transfer to regular class?*

Jamal: *It was difficult but we are becoming friends now. We have started to play with each other and things like that. But I didn't have a friend in this class before. But it's getting better. We are not fighting anymore.*

Interview with Jamal.

Yasmin welcomed the transfer to regular class due to the lack of friendship and social capital in introduction class that hindered her from inclusion. Aida and Samir found the transfer easy since they had friends in regular class, which meant that trust and social capital had already been established. Trusting relationships is then enabling them inclusive citizenship. As concluded in previous chapter, familiarity could lead to participation and sometimes to feelings of inclusion, whereas a requirement for belonging seems to be friendship. Hamed and

Jamal who had friends and social capital in introduction class, described the lack of this in the new class as difficult, which can be analysed in terms of losing power positions when transferring between different fields. At least for Hamed the transfer had been okay, whereas for Jamal it had been a tough start where acts of distrust had shaped his first period in regular class and hindered him from developing inclusive citizenship.

Sofia who teaches in regular class describes the challenges of integrating pupils into these.

I: *What is the most difficult element of integration?*

Sofia (teacher in regular class): *Problems occur on the breaks and those are also the most difficult times to get them integrated into. It is difficult to play soccer if you don't know the rules and if you can't communicate about the rules. That creates frustration and then there may be fights. So that is the most difficult task. It is, in the classroom, from an educational perspective, easier for a teacher to structure things so that everyone can work and participate. This is considerably easier I think, than the things that is freer and involves less structure.*

I: *How does it normally turn out?*

Sofia: *It normally works out. And sometimes it does work out really fast. But it becomes more difficult if they know little Swedish.* Interview with Sofia.

Sofia recognised that the breaks and the schoolyard were the most difficult times and places for her to manage. Partly as a way to address this problem, as well as facilitate a better introduction into regular class, the school had introduced the mentor's program. This means that a pupil in the class helps the newcomer to find their way around school and sits next to them in the classroom. This is a way to force distribution of social capital. Pupils, especially those who had been enrolled in introduction class, referred to this system as positive since it enabled them social capital, and in best-case scenario, inclusive citizenship and in the long run friendship.

The mentor's program has the potential to create trusting mutual beneficial relationships, which can be viewed as interactions where pupils experience their identity as citizens through cooperation with classmates, enabling inclusion and belonging. Delanty would consider this creation of citizenship as a learning process.

Milad: *Cooperation is beneficial... you learn more. If the three of us work together, I can say something that he doesn't know. Everyone knows something that they can share with the others and consequently we get good marks.*

I: *Do you cooperate a lot in class?*

Milad: *Yes.*

Milad: *Sometimes we are not allowed to but... it's easier to cooperate. Unless... it should not be too much... For example, in math, if my friend says the answer straight away, I don't have time to think and then I won't learn. You have to be a little bit clever...*

Interview with Milad.

Milad is in this sense also reasoning about social capital and how he can use peers to succeed in the classroom. Since it is the positive interactions that occur between individuals that lead to the formation of social capital (Stolle et al. 2003:36), one could claim that trust and reciprocity became an important part of social capital formation. While cooperating and establishing trusting relationships with peers in the classroom, the children are able to learn how one can form valuable relationships and how these can be useful in terms of how they can develop and improve their learning.

Friendship was not only important between pupils but could also be of importance between pupils and teachers. Katarina, teacher in regular class, tried to create trust in regular class:

Katarina (teacher in regular class): *I have my pupils on Viber so they can text, email or call me if they need help with anything. And they do. They can call in the evening and ask what the homework was or if they need help with anything. And I have been very open about that because I understand that they cannot always receive help from home because mom and dad can't speak Swedish. For this reason, I try not to give more homework than necessary, but if it is necessary, of course, they can call me. In the beginning it was mostly about the homework but now they can contact me and ask what I am doing. So it has developed from being just a teacher-pupil relation to become a more personal relationship.* Interview with Katarina.

Katarina is in this quotation exemplifying how trusting relationships develop into social capital for the pupils who can receive help with schoolwork outside school hours. Thus, this can be considered as social capital also for the parents, who may not be able to help their children due to lack of Swedish proficiency, hence depends on the teacher to be able to help

their child. This might develop into friendship where the pupil may also make contact with the teacher for personal reasons. This might not be considered the same kind of friendship that could exist between peers, although this friendship might have qualities that the child's friendships with peers lack. This relationship may also be valuable in terms of their citizen identity, as they may feel included and recognised by the teacher.

In Delanty's terms, as a learning process, the children may come to develop citizenship in relationships with friends. Lack of such interactions may on the other hand affect the pupils' feelings of belonging and consequently it could produce feelings of alienation.

Moral social order

As pointed out by Misztal (1996) it is difficult to detach trust and social order from each other since they are mutually reinforcing. Stable social relationships cannot exist without a social order whilst it is equally apparent that trust is a requirement for both social order and social relationships. The children trust they will receive help from others in the classroom due to an existing moral social order, which exists because they have trust in each other.

Yasmin was confident about the transfer to regular class.

Yasmin: I expected that I was going to make new friends in regular class and that they would help me if I needed help with anything.

I: Was that the case?

Yasmin: Yes, it was like that.

Interview with Yasmin.

In comparison to Mirella and Amila (Familiarity page 24) who expressed uncertainty about the prevalence of trust and the existing moral social order in introduction class, Yasmin *expected* the help while transferring to regular class. On the one hand this can be considered connected to a belief in a moral social order that obliges the other children to help Yasmin. On the other hand, it could also be considered as trust in social relationships, in which moral social order depends. These differences in trust also indicate variations of trust, which in a Bourdieusian sense may be dependent on their previous participation in different fields, which have shaped dispositions for trusting within their habitus, or in Luhmann's terms, abilities to trust in trust (Warming 2013:15).

Ali explains his development of once being the newcomer and dependent on the help of others, whilst now being the one who others depend on.

Ali: I help them with translations when they don't understand. First my friend helped me with translations and now I am helping others.

I: How does it make you feel when you help others?

Ali: Very, very good.

I: Why do you think it makes you feel good?

Ali: Because I think its funny that my friend was helping me before and now I can help others and I can work by myself without help from my friend.

Interview with Ali.

Ali expressed gratitude but also pride while explaining that he was now the one who was able to help new pupils in the class. Although this suggests that Ali acts in terms of reciprocity and obligation, it may also be the case that the ability to help others empowers him while acting in accordance with the moral social order, and being able to participate and feel included in the classroom. In a functionalistic view, the moral social order of helping others enables social relationships and thus social capital, which everyone benefits from. It is then the positive interactions that occur between individuals that form social capital where issues such as trust and reciprocity become a focal point (Stolle 2003:36). These interactions with peers are then producing feelings of inclusiveness. This learning process may enable Ali to come to know and experience his identity in the classroom. Bourdieu would claim that Ali gained cultural as well as social capital, thus a raise in symbolic capital (power) within the particular field of the classroom's moral social order.

Fatima confirms the existing moral social order.

I: Were there other children who spoke Arabic in introduction class?

Fatima: Yes. It was good because when the Arabic speaking teachers were not there, I could translate to them.

I: What did you think about that?

Fatima: Well good, because you should help friends and the whole class.

Interview with Fatima.

Fatima refers to trust through obligation and the morality behind the act. As previously considered, the children trust they will receive help from others in the classroom due to an existing moral social order, and one could claim that this moral social order exists because children have trust in each other.

Ava and Tanja who teaches in introduction class recognised that the children took responsibility to help if they could.

Ava (teacher in introduction class): *These children are amazing. They feel so much responsibility when a new pupil arrives, I don't even have to say anything about it. It feels good because that means that we have built this trust and safety together. When a new pupil arrives I don't need to remind them because they know exactly what to do. They feel this responsibility themselves... 'It is my responsibility because I have been in the same situation'.*

Interview with Ava.

Tanja (teacher in introduction class): *They are very curious and ask if the new pupil is from Syria or from elsewhere and if they are from Syria then they understand why. [...] When there is a new pupil arriving, it is as if he or she always been there. I don't notice a difference, they accept and welcome the new pupil and the new pupil also seem to enjoy it, more often than not, that's the case...*

Interview with Tanja.

Ava and Tanja have trust in the moral social order in the class, which enables them to feel confident that the new pupil will be included. This displays the dialectical relationship between trust and the moral social order. The existing moral social order that the children normally help each other have given Ava and Tanja the confidence and trust that the class will help the new pupil. Since pupils receive this trust they feel obliged to act in accordance with the moral social order. One can consider that acting in terms of the moral social order enables participation, maybe even inclusion, but it may not extend to belonging. The analysis in previous chapter *Friendship* indicates that friendship may be a requirement for belonging.

The transfer from introduction to regular class was not considered an easy process of integration. In comparison to Ava and Tanja, Sofia was more analytic and thoughtfully prepared the class for a new pupil arriving to regular class.

I: *How do you prepare the class for a new pupil arriving and is it different when the pupil is from introduction class?*

Sofia (teacher in regular class): *Yes, it is different. We talk about it a lot and I remind the class that there is a new pupil arriving who does not know much Swedish and that we have to help each other. And we have a mentor's program, which means that everyone who enters the class receives a mentor who is responsible for the new pupil so that he or she is able to receive extra help in class and on the breaks so that he or she has someone to be with. The mentor should also show them school premises and where they can find the canteen, books etcetera.*

I: *How does the class react to that?*

Sofia: *It works pretty well. Most of them have been in the situation themselves so they know that it is important. And we help each other a lot here. We often work in pairs and they rarely work alone. So they are paired up and work together and the new pupil often work with his or her mentor. And it is at these times also important to support the pupil in the native language.*

Interview with Sofia.

It can be interpreted that the moral social order to help newcomers is not as strong as in the previous examples from introduction class. However, they try to create a moral social order through the mentor's program, which enables a form of social capital to the new pupil, and is recognised as essential whilst being a newcomer in the class. It has been recognized that social capital can only exist once trust has been established (Fukuyama 1995:26). Trust is in this example established by having the mentors helping the newcomer to find their way around school and sitting together in the classroom, which also seemed to work pretty well. The dialectic relationship between trust and the moral social order (mentor's program) becomes evident in this example.

Sofia and Tanja described their different strategies of how to create trust in the classroom.

I: *How is the teacher able to help the pupil to create trust for other pupils?*

Sofia (teacher in regular class): *I believe that I should be a strong leader. If I am a strong leader, the pupils will subordinate themselves under my leadership and there will for this reason not be anyone other than myself who have control in the classroom. That's my strategy. I'm being very clear about that in here [the classroom]. Then they understand that they have to be nice to each other because everything else is unacceptable. I guess that's my*

strategy. [...] By keeping it strict, there are no opportunities for bad things to happen in the classroom.

Interview with Sofia.

I: How is the teacher able to help the pupil to create trust for other pupils?

Tanja (teacher in introduction class): It is a really good group climate in here, because we work like that, I mean... I think the first few months are so important; the group should build feelings of solidarity in the school so that they are able to trust each other and the rules... I work a lot with normative workshops and role-play and we talk a lot with our hands since they don't know the language and it is for this reason easier to use body language. So we work with that a lot and how one should act towards one another. Interview with Tanja.

Sofia tries to create a trusting environment in the classroom by establishing social order through authority. In order for this to work Sofia must build trusting relationships with pupils so that they can trust Sofia as a leader. Tanja, on the other hand, tries to create trust by letting pupils participate (co-writing their context) and thus produce feelings of inclusion. She aims to establish a moral social order through feelings of solidarity. These different methods may provide the children tools they need in order to learn how to trust in trust.

The dialectic relationship between trust and moral social order is evident in this chapter since the children's ability to trust in trust may also reinforce the moral social order. Feelings of obligation and reciprocity in the physical school may increase trust in the abstract school system.

System trust and cultural citizenship

If the grading system is considered an expert subsystem within the education system, it implies that some are experts. Children are not experts since the system is created by adults. Warming (2013:28) considers that children's citizenship is constructed in the power dynamics between adults and youth. This may have consequences for pupils' inclusive citizenship since children really have no choice but to subordinate themselves, it is merely a matter of embracing or rejecting the system. Due to Delanty's theory of cultural citizenship we understand how individuals through communicative acts create their identity as citizens. A way of doing this is when teachers (as experts and official representative of the system) try to create system trust by discussing the grading system with pupils and parents. Inclusion was more difficult whilst children did not have sufficient education or lacked sufficient Swedish.

Trust in systems in society seems to be an important component for the children to feel inclusion.

The grading system was recognised by teachers and principal as a system that has the potential to be counterproductive towards trusting relationships between pupils and teachers. It was recognised that pupils who come from rural areas in different parts of the world may not have received the education they were entitled to. These pupils may then come to face huge obstacles in trying to keep pace with peers in the Swedish school system.

Marianne (principal), speaking about newly arrived children with insufficient educational background: *In sixth grade, they fail in a number of subjects and I feel that they will never be able to pass. This is very destructive. I feel deep unhappiness about what to do with these children and how to handle it. [...] We try to make sure that the pupil can pass at least one subject. Now we are in primary school [class 4-6] but in secondary school [class 7-9], that won't work, teachers don't have the possibility to support the pupils as much there. This is the downside of the grading system and it is very tragic. [...] How does the individual motivate oneself if everything is difficult and he or she doesn't have parents who can support them? What would I do? Become the class clown or what?* Interview with Marianne.

Marianne refers to children who may be subject to the marginalising consequences of the expert subsystem due to previous inadequate education. However, this system was recognised as potentially destructive to all newly arrived children, irrespective of educational background, due to lack of Swedish proficiency.

I: *Do you think the grading system challenges trust?*

Sofia (teacher in regular class): *It's really tough. We get pupils [newly arrived children] who are super ambitious and want nothing less than to get good marks and fit in and therefore they work really hard. Then the first semester in class they fail. That's really tough. I also communicate this to parents. Getting good marks is difficult, especially in Swedish as a second language. It is in other subjects possible to receive a mark fairly early on since you can show your knowledge in other subjects in your first language. [...] The attainment goals are to be reached in sixth grade and the later they arrive, the bigger the challenge to receive a grade. It is easier if they arrive in fourth grade. But it is tough in sixth grade.*

Interview with Sofia.

Constantly failing in subjects in spite of efforts to pass could potentially be harmful to the pupils' motivation. The grading system was for this reason acknowledged to possibly be an obstacle for building trust with pupils who lack sufficient previous education or Swedish proficiency. As a learning process, citizenship takes place in communicative situations in everyday life. The anxiety expressed by Marianne and Sofia highlights their understanding for how this learning process may determine pupils' possibility to inclusive citizenship. Thus, citizen identity can either be built up or become damaged in everyday practices, as noted in the principal's statement of becoming the class clown. However, it may be considered that being the class clown can be expressed in communicative acts even though it may be a protest against the system. A less evident marginalisation might be the submissive individual who quietly accepts the system although positioned furthest down in it. Without symbolic capital it is difficult to make one's voice heard. And without communicative acts it is difficult to create inclusive citizenship, even if one trusts the system.

I: *How do you build confidence after failing a pupil?*

Sofia (teacher in regular class): *I try to break down the goals in smaller parts so that the pupil can still see an improvement, that a pupil clearly can see that, 'Okay I know these different parts and I might be able to accomplish them on a good level, but these parts...' perhaps the pupil is missing the words or whatever and have for these reasons problems with this. It should be made clear, what they can do and what they can't, and that they are constantly improving, and that they are able to see that. I think that is really important. Otherwise they may struggle and still fail. That's dangerous.* Interview with Sofia.

Sofia acknowledges that the grading system may be challenging the ability to trust, and in order to come to terms with this, communication about what the pupil can and cannot accomplish was necessary. This may have the potential to create inclusive citizenship where the pupil feel included even when recognised as failed by the system.

In spite of its acknowledged negative consequences, teachers also considered the grading system a useful tool, as a medium for communication, while working with parents of newly arrived pupils. This can be considered creating system trust with parents.

Sofia (teacher in regular class): *Our system is explicit, our tools of judgement is built up in a way that means that we grade our pupils from fourth grade. And I think that suits our area*

here because it becomes explicit for the parents so that they understand how their child is doing even if they don't understand all the words of judgement criteria. If the pupil receives an F, they understand that the child is failing, if they have an E they are passing and if the child has an A they know that it is excellent. It facilitates cooperation with parents.

Interview with Sofia.

While speaking to the children about school, the children often mentioned their marks and how or what they enjoyed about schoolwork. Even if the grading system facilitates cooperation with parents and even if most children seemed to be positive towards this, one must still consider, that trusting an expert subsystem means that one must accept demands for self-governance. According to Warming (2013:28), the effects of this self-governance should be subject for future research since she considers that these may affect children's citizenship.

The grading system has been recognised as possibly harmful to children's inclusive citizen identity. Teachers' awareness of this motivated them to try to establish relationships with pupils and parents in order to facilitate system trust, which will be further developed in the following chapter of *Faculty trust*.

Faculty trust

Faculty trust involves trust in the principal, trust in colleagues and trust in the organisation. Faculty trust also refers to the reciprocal relationship in which parents and teachers trust each other to consistently act in students' best interest (Hoy 2012:78-79). Faculty trust, which involves educators, pupils and parents establishing trusting relationships, can be viewed as facilitating system trust. This was essential in order for newly arrived pupils to integrate into the school system. Faculty trust was a focal element at ABC primary school. Teachers and principal spoke about the need to establish relationships with pupils and parents as well as how the institution must work together towards common goals and visions. The relationship with parents may also be of significant importance due to the need for explicit communication about Swedish school practices in order to create trust in these systems. It was also noted that the three school variables that make a difference in school performance, which Hoy (2012:80) defines as academic emphasis, collective faculty trust and collective efficacy, were reoccurring topics.

Pupils and teachers alike frequently referred to high achievements in school. Children who chose to speak about their marks in their schoolwork were also excited about their development and work in school. Most pupils also had a high level of ambition, where a majority considered that becoming medical doctors was an appropriate occupation for the future. Whilst some children could mention the status they would earn whilst becoming doctors, it is possible to consider that these claims are due to their incorporation of system trust, where pupils acts in accordance with the system. These ambitions were also found among parents. Teachers referred to parents' high level of ambition concerning the children, which were at times considered higher than for average ethnic Swedish parents. School staff repeatedly stated the need of having "high expectations" in pupils, which is referred to as "academic emphasis" in Hoy's theory of faculty trust (2012).

Marianne (principal): *If you compare how we used to think about it before, if parents don't care, if they are analphabetic [...] The pity syndrome... We don't think like that anymore. Everyone should reach the minimum criteria and through our analysis we also know which ones we should challenge. Those who are ambitious should also be challenged. It should be on individual level. It is important to communicate with the pupil and say that you are here, but we want you to be here. And we try to reflect on our methods. Are they effective or not so that we can find the most effective way of teaching. [...] This is it, we must keep telling them this. Finish school, finish school, finish school. Receiving marks.* Interview with Marianne.

High expectations in pupils were spoken of in relation to previous attitudes, i.e. school staff having less expectation on pupils who had a more difficult background. The individual was for this reason not expected to perform at the same level as someone who had excellent conditions for performing well at school. This attitude is now considered counterproductive since children who do not have sufficient support from home are for this reason considered even more dependent on teachers and the school to work complementary to the home environment.

Arguably, a consequence of high expectations could be that children may feel excluded:

Amad: *When I'm answering the question, I want my answer to be enough; I want the teacher to say, 'That's enough, I understand'. I don't have anything else to say. If we don't know what to say we don't raise our hand, but then she picks. She picks me but I don't know what to say.*

And I'm guessing. It's really difficult... I think if the teacher is easier on us, I think we will learn more, more than if someone is yelling and says, 'You have to', I hate this... and I won't learn.

Interview with Amad.

Another child explained another situation where faculty trust can be considered partly lacking:

I: *Can you tell me about when you started regular class?*

Hamed: *I was really happy. Well, I get sad when the teacher says 'You were in introduction class so you can't do this'. She has said that a couple of times.*

I: *What is it that makes you sad?*

Hamed: *Because I think everyone is better than me and I'm the worst.*

Interview with Hamed.

One can then consider that the situations described above could potentially harm Hamed and Amad's possibility to inclusive citizenship since experiences of disciplining and discriminative processes may produce feelings of alienation and stigmatisation. Since these situations can be considered challenging faculty trust, they may also inhibit system trust, but it is also possible to view the quotations as merely disapproval of the specific teacher. But their questioning of the teachers actions can be viewed as a questioning of the truth and practices that the system rests upon.

Examples of faculty trust was, on the other hand, described liked this:

Joseph: *The teachers, they stand like this [gesticulates with arms and smiles]. They go to your table and show you. In [...native country...] they just stand like this [stands up straight and pretends to read a book] and read to the class. In Sweden they show you and explain. Describes... [...] The teachers are the best. I like school.*

Interview with Joseph.

Another child explained that she felt safe in regular class due to support from the teacher:

I: *Could you tell me about transferring to regular class?*

Samirah: *I was a little scared, they know really good Swedish and perhaps they wouldn't understand me. But it was good. [...] Our teacher gave me easier things to do in the*

beginning and she sat with me and explained everything that I didn't understand. After the class I could get more help. It was good.

Interview with Samirah.

These are examples of when teachers include pupils and tries to build relationships with them. Citizenship is in these situations created through participation and consequently promotes feelings of inclusion and belonging. Joseph and Samirah could in these situations be recognised as subjects who actively cooperate in the construction of faculty trust, which should increase their system trust.

Teachers and principal enforced that in order to be successful in their mission; they had to have not only trusting relationships with children, but also with parents.

Marianne (principal): *Teachers' mission is to have conversations with parents because I think it is a lot about creating relationships with parents so that they feel safe to leave their child here. And that you keep contact with the home and tell them when something happens, both positive and negative and also that they are allowed to come and visit and so on. These teachers are devoted their pupils and they are attentive. If something happens, they sort it out. Much depends on relationships here. A lot. One has to talk to each other and also listen.*

Interview with Marianne.

The principal is explaining faculty trust, i.e. that she had trust in the work of teachers and that they will and are able to establish healthy and close relationships with parents, as proven a successful method in order to enable parents' understanding for the system, which help pupils reach high levels of performance.

Ava (teacher in introduction class): *I have really good relationships with parents, I give them a lot of time and they can call one night and say, 'I'm sorry that I'm calling you but I have received a letter from the migration office and I don't understand what it says.' And I can say, 'I understand it like this, but I'm not sure.' And they say 'thank you, thank you, thank you!' Very grateful. And if you have this relationship with parents, you will always have them.*

Interview with Ava.

I: *How is your relationship with parents?*

Tanja (teacher in introduction class): *Very good! I have given my phone number. I know that it is difficult to come to a new country. Sure, there are limits and you may have to say that you don't have anything to do with this.... But they want their child to succeed and they visit the school and listens... they are interested and they participate...* Interview with Tanja.

Teachers have become social capital to these parents. While phone calls and conversations may take place after school hours; Ava and Tanja expressed an understanding for the importance of these trusting relationships with parents since they create faculty trust in the long run, both in the school system but also in other institutions by helping the parents to understand them. Sofia mentions parents' trust in her role as a teacher.

Sofia (teacher in regular class): *There is great gratitude towards the school and teachers are not questioned, they are curious but it is nothing like 'Oh, there is too much homework', nothing like that. No, parents are positive. But it is difficult to communicate because you cannot call when there is a problem because you have to have interpreters and that's important and we are allowed to use interpreters as much as we need, in all conversations. It's important because otherwise I can talk and parents listens a little bit but if you want to have a good dialogue you need interpreters. [...] But you also have to communicate everything here. On parent-teacher meetings we have to talk about how the parent can help their child with homework, reading, what are appropriate sports clothes to bring, what does swimming lessons involve, and why we do excursions. A lot needs to be communicated to the parents, which one may take for granted with Swedish parents.* Interview with Sofia.

These relationships with parents, which can be considered as part of collective faculty trust (which Hoy 2012:81 defines as faculty trust including students and parents) has been recognised as one of the school variables that make a difference in school performances. Thus, these relationships could be considered as mutually dependent, where parents depend on good relationships with educators in order for their child to succeed in school, while teachers on the other hand depend on parents supporting their children in schoolwork, and bolstering their children's system trust. As noted by Hoy (2012) behaviour of school staff makes differential impact on the quality of trusting relationships in school.

Faculty trust has now been mentioned in terms of trust in parents and pupils. However, faculty trust also depends on trust in the principal as well as trust in colleagues (Hoy 2012). Even if teachers did not directly refer to the relationship they had with the principal, there was still an indication of mutual respect towards one another. Teachers could refer to the principal while speaking of a topic they were confident that the principal could develop and discuss. In the same way, the principal could refer to teachers' competence in certain matters. Even if the predominant discourse at ABC primary school involved a great deal of faculty trust, Ava also discussed the lack of knowledge and experience about newly arrived children among teachers in general and that this could be frustrating:

Ava (teacher in introduction class): *What do I do with a teacher who may be insecure, perhaps not in her or his role, but because the teacher may never have had a pupil from introduction class before, and they don't dare to take this challenge and they may feel that the pupil is not ready. I can in these situations become a bit cranky and say, 'But what does it mean to be ready? He should not even be in school if he is ready!'* Interview with Ava.

This example could be considered as a spiral of faculty distrust, where lack of trust in Ava's ability to prepare pupils properly results in distrust of regular teachers ability to educate newly arrived pupils.

Collective faculty trust, which refers to faculty trust in students and parents (Hoy 2012:81), was evident in conversations while referring to parents' participation in the school. Collective efficacy refers to collective judgements about the capability of the school as a whole (Hoy 2012:83), and this was mentioned while expressing awareness about each individual's needs, where one should either be challenged or perhaps is in need of extra support. Academic emphasis was spoken in terms of "high expectations" in pupils. It was interpreted that academic emphasis was important in this particular school in order to oppress possible negative socioeconomic influences on pupils' educational performance. This can be related to previous research about school performances in immigrant dense neighbourhoods, which show that the social environment, i.e. the neighbourhood they are living in or the school they are going to might have an affect on pupils' school performance (Coleman 1966 in Skolverket 2004:39). In the interviews, it was also interpreted that the discourse about these neighbourhoods as well as the stigmatization that this inferred was in itself a damaging

discourse for the pupils' confidence and identity as well as, which was also pointed out by Bunar (2011), damaging to the credibility of the school.

Summary and discussion

Trust, social capital and integration are arguably phenomenon that are difficult, or at least complicated, to measure, especially in the case of young children since we cannot measure their activity in the labour market or their status in the housing market which arguably are arenas where one can determine to what extent an adult is integrated into society, at least in statistical terms (as measured by Integrationsverket 2004:37). In this thesis young children's ability to trust and consider themselves integrated have been recognised as a feeling, or possibly an experience in the classroom, that they are able to express and explain.

Feelings of trust and integration were in the first stage developed through familiarity. It was found that newcomers were able to build trust through familiarity with children in introduction and regular class. Familiarity in introduction class was often established while being able to speak to someone in their first language. By participating in certain classes in regular class (where Swedish proficiency was not essential such as during music, handicraft and possibly English), introduction pupils could establish familiarity with pupils in the class they were to be transferred to. Being familiar with someone in regular class was also an asset that had enabled them to get to know other pupils. Creating familiarity could possibly strengthen the children's ability to trust in trust, which enabled them to participate in the class and even feel included. Familiarity also had the potential to develop into friendship and it seemed to be the case that children had to establish friendships in order to experience cultural citizenship and thus feelings of belonging.

Children who no longer were newcomers considered their participation in the classroom, such as when helping others, as a key to inclusion since it enabled them status in the field of the classroom. Children explained that they could interpret for the newest of newly arrived children in introduction class. In regular class pupils were helping newcomers in the mentor's program, which involved sitting next to them in class and possibly support them in various school assignments, showing them around school or playing with them in the schoolyard. Several children explained that this was also the kind of support that they had received as newcomers and could be considered an essential support in order for them to create trust in their new environment. These feelings of reciprocity and moral obligation can be viewed as a result of trust, however, the dialectic relationship between trust and the moral social order were reflected on whilst analysing the empirical material, and it became obvious that trust

also depend on a moral social order. This was recognised as children trusting each other due to a moral social order and the moral social order existed because children were able to trust each other. Consequently, this enabled essential social support to the newcomer who internalised this form of behaviour, thus was obliged to help new pupils coming after them. This spiral of trust had arguably developed a climate of trust and norms of reciprocity and moral obligations.

Trust could be considered a focal topic in schools and it has been considered that teachers are officials, who must involve children's confidence and trust in order to make them feel included and able to participate in the context they take part in. Childhood studies claim that children cannot be considered passive recipients of adult's information and command, they should instead be recognised as social agents who actively participate in the construction of social systems (Baraldi & Iervese 2012). This seemed to be the case at ABC primary school where children often spoke about their participation in the classroom. Trust was also a natural element in conversations with pupils and educators. In several interviews, trust seemed to be a significant component while speaking of relationships between colleagues, with parents and not least, between teachers and pupils. In addition to personal trust, faculty trust (which involves trust in principals, trust in colleagues, and trust in the organisation as well as the reciprocal relationship in which parents and teachers trust each other to consistently act in pupils' best interests (Hoy 2012:78-79)) seemed through interviews with teachers and pupils to be a regular occurrence. Faculty trust seems to be crucial for creating system trust, such as trust in the grading system. School staff also tried to integrate pupils in the system and create system trust through high expectations, which meant that educators expected high levels of school performance by all pupils.

Distrust in interactions with teachers has been found able to determine children's marginalisation or self-marginalisation in the education system, which may reduce their alternatives of actions in the education system and activate anxiety and suspicion for educators' action (Baraldi & Farini 2013:135). Children must also be confident in education since they cannot avoid participating in it (Baraldi & Farini 2013:134). Distrust was found when pupils were not familiar with other pupils in the class and consequently lacked social support. Teachers in regular class tried to control this situation by forcing distribution of social capital through the mentor's program, where the mentor was to make sure that the newcomer felt included and had someone to turn to. Pupils experienced distrust in

introduction class mostly when they were unable to speak to others in a common language. Teachers acknowledged this difficulty, and tried to adjust the climate in introduction class to be more intimate where openness about feelings was often expressed through body language. Consequently, distrust created through lack of communicative acts can be repaired or complemented with physical social support in terms of communication through body language where pupils still can participate and possibly experience inclusion. The grading system was found to have the potential to reduce trust or be counterproductive towards trusting relationships between teachers and newly arrived children due to either insufficient educational background from the home country or due to lack of language proficiency in Swedish. Educators expressed awareness of this potential creation of distrust and they tried to control this through communicating with pupils about the system in order to include them and build trust in the system even if they felt excluded by it. One teacher in this study explained that she tried to build relationships with pupils outside the school and that pupils could contact her through social media. This strategy could possibly enable trusting relationships even if the pupil experienced distrust in the school environment. Distrust towards teachers was also found when pupils felt excluded or discriminated by them.

A valid claim is that trusting relationships is essential in all schools and concern all children, not only newly arrived immigrant children. Although, it could be even more important in case of newly arrived children since they might face challenges that may be unthought-of by natives. They are not only growing up in a foreign country, which has been recognised as a confusing and difficult process, in order to move on they must also integrate into the new society and catch up with native children, whilst they at the same time need to preserve their own culture of origin (Zhou & Bankston 1994). They may also face the loss of relatives and friends in the home country as well as loss of social status and homeland (Eisenbruch 1988). This aside, immigrant children must seek help and support in the new country in order to deal with everyday challenges, as well as avoid marginalization and social exclusion (Giavrimis et al. 2011:63). In the case of newly arrived children, it is exceptionally important to develop trust promptly due to that they may have little rootedness in the new country as well as weak preconceptions about the Swedish school culture, understanding for teaching methods, the teacher's role and the value-system. It is for this reason important that these children are able to create trust in these systems, these moral social orders, in order to be able to integrate into them.

This study does not only point to the importance of building trusting personal relationships but also to create trust in the systems. As mentioned in previous research, it has been acknowledged that newly arrived children's ability to adjust to their new environment and experience social inclusion is depended on their social and psychological adaptation to the new conditions, and forms part of the so-called acculturation process. The acculturation process refers to the process of cultural and psychological change that results from first-hand contact between two distinct cultural groups (Berry 1990). The acculturation process has been recognised to possibly be a difficult one for a child whose parents have recently immigrated, but it is not necessary that it will be a negative one. By creating trust with proper educational, familial and societal support, children have the potential to adapt to their new culture and experience significant success (Romero & Branscome 2014:206). Social networks that immigrant children develop can play a significant role in the acculturation process since they facilitate knowledge exchange, they alleviate apprehension and they enable socialisation and community building (Ryan et al. 2010 in Giavrimis et al. 2011:63). Therefore, the concept of trust and social capital should be considered relevant in studies of newly arrived children. One must also consider that trust may be especially important viewed in the Swedish context, as presented in the chapter of previous research, i.e. if newly arrived children are subject to segregation and stigmatization in immigrant dense neighbourhoods. The school context may then become a valuable tool for both parents and children in order to build trust and understanding in the new country Sweden. Future educational policies must counteract the affects segregation has on schooling, where schools subject to segregation may suffer a decline in quality of education (OECD 2005:47) or lack of credibility (Bunar 2011:146). Educational policies must address how trust can be implemented in schools, not only to provide the necessary motivation for the pupil to be able to succeed in various subjects but also because it is crucial for integration, such as understanding norms and value systems, create social and cultural capital and an understanding for how society and the institutions function. If newly arrived children do not learn to develop trust in their school environment, where would they?

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Appendix

Interview guide for teachers

Teachers in regular class:

Would you like to tell me something about yourself and your profession?

- How long have you worked at the school?
- Which class do you teach?
- Your opinion about your profession?

Transfer

- When should pupils transfer to regular class?
- What are the assessment criteria for transfer?
- What do you think about these assessment criteria?
- Do you cooperate with the teacher in introduction class? And your opinion about this.
- Are there any challenges when transferring pupils to regular class?
- Are you satisfied with the existing system of transfer? If no, any thoughts about how this transfer could improve?

Integration

- Do you prepare the class for a new pupil arriving?
- Is it different receiving a pupil from introduction class in comparison to receiving non-newly arrived pupils?
- Is it your experience that newly arrived pupils receive support by peers after transfer to regular class?
- In what way can teachers facilitate integration for a newly arrived pupil?
- What is your experience of social cohesiveness in the class?
- How can the teacher enable social cohesiveness?
- Are there any challenges while working with newly arrived pupils in regular class?

Trust

- How do you build trust with the new pupil? Is it different with newly arrived children?
- How can the teacher encourage trust in the classroom?
- How do you notice if pupils distrust yourself or other pupils in the class?
- Your thoughts about the grading system. Is this system inhibiting or strengthening trust?
- Other situations that could challenge trust?

Teachers in introduction class:

Would you like to tell me something about yourself and your profession?

- How long have you worked at the school?

- Which class do you teach?
- Your opinion about your profession?

Integration

- Do you prepare the class for a new pupil arriving?
- In what way can new pupils receive support from other children?
- In what way can teachers facilitate integration for a pupil?
- What is your experience of social cohesiveness in the class?
- How can the teacher enable social cohesiveness?

Trust

- How do you build trust with the new pupil? Is it different with newly arrived children?
- How can the teacher encourage trust in the classroom?
- How do you notice if pupils distrust yourself or pupils in the class?
- Your thoughts about the grading system. Is this system inhibiting or strengthening trust?
- Other situations that could challenge trust?

Transfer

- When should a pupil transfer to regular class?
- What are the assessment criteria for transfer?
- What do you think about these assessment criteria?
- Do you cooperate with the teacher in regular class? And your opinion about this.
- Are there any challenges when transferring a pupil from introduction to regular class?
- Are you satisfied with the existing system of transfer? If no, any thoughts about how this transfer could improve?

Interview guide for principal

Would you like to tell me something about yourself and your profession?

- How long have you worked at the school?
- Your opinion about your profession?

Transfer

- When should pupils transfer to regular class?
- What are the assessment criteria for transfer?
- What do you think about these assessment criteria?
- Are there any challenges when transferring pupils to regular class?
- Are you satisfied with the existing system of transfer? If no, any thoughts about how this transfer could improve?

Trust

- How can a teacher build trust with a new pupil? Is it different with newly arrived children?
- How can a teacher encourage trust in the classroom?
- How do you notice if pupils distrust teachers or other pupils?
- Your thoughts about the grading system. Is this system inhibiting or strengthening trust?
- How can a teacher enable social cohesiveness?
- Other situations that could challenge trust?

Interview guide for children

Could you tell me something about yourself?

- Age and grade.
- Time lived in Sweden
- Family members
- Time enrolled in introduction/regular class?

Experienced integration

- Experiences from introduction class
 - What was good/bad/fun
 - Relationships with peers and thoughts about this
 - Relationships with teachers and thoughts about this
- Experiences from transfer to regular class
 - Feelings of excitement or nervousness and why.
- Experiences from regular class
 - What is good/bad/fun
 - Relationships with peers
 - Relationships with the teachers

Schoolwork

- Schoolwork in introduction class
 - Challenges related to this (language or subjects)
- Schoolwork in regular class
 - Challenges related to this (language or subjects)

Future

- Thoughts about the future. Secondary school/future work. Positive/negative.