LUND UNIVERSITY

Exploring the Dynamics of Immigrant Social Capital in Local Youth Organizations

A study conducted in Malmö, Sweden

Erika Haxhi
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Abstract

According to the Euro-barometer conducted by European Parliament in 2016, 57% of Young People in Europe have the perception of being excluded from the society in their country of residence (EPRS, 2016). With rising of anti-immigrants sentiments across the globe and increasing discourse on failed integration, one of the most affected groups are young migrants (MUCF, 2016). Differently from existing hostile realities for migrants in Europe, Sweden has received attention for its strong commitment towards their integration at first. However, their latest policies since 2015 are taking a big shift towards stricter conditions in receiving and integrating migrants in society. The Agency for Youth and Civil Society in Sweden reports that youth have achieved a high level of engagement compared to other countries and their voice is noticeably heard from all level of government instances (MUCF, 2017). One way of understanding immigrant's engagement is to look at their participation in local associations and their experience of social capital which is the focus of this study. Whereas social capital may refer to a rich variety of features of social interactions, I suggest that we investigate three most discussed dimensions: social trust, social networking and civic skills. In this perspective, this study attempts to contribute to the existing literature by exploring its application within a specific case, tackling the individual level through collecting data from in-depth interviews.

The findings suggest that types trust, social ties and less significantly civic skills as dimensions of social capital are influenced by positions, resources, and intensity of participation for each individual in the organization.

Key words: a young immigrant, voluntary associations, social capital, local, trust, social networking, civic skills
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1   Introduction

As migration and migrant-related themes become worldwide central issues, the questions of integration in many spheres of society are more in the spotlight including Swedish context. In the aftermath of identity politics rise, a strong debate has emerged around youth category of migrants and there is also a major focus claimed by the Swedish government to empower this specific group[1]. This has been accentuated as the Swedish society demographics is transforming and becoming less homogeneous with 1/5th of the inhabitants foreign-born or having parents that were born outside of Sweden (second-generation migrants) (Blomst, 2014).

The focus of research on youth ranging from the age of 16 to 26 is important because of the high percentage they constitute in the population but also for their ability to bring a long- term and sustainable change in the future. Sweden was a pioneer in introducing youth policy, and in promoting internationally new and innovative advocacy instruments for youth and disadvantaged youth. Some of the methods and tools of participation made available for youth in Swedish Municipalities are associational engagement, voting, political party mobilization, being elected at the local and regional councils, LUPP[2] questionnaire for youth to follow up youth policy and consultation with youth councils (MUCF, 2017).

Despite the commitment of Swedish state to voice young people and especially the most disadvantaged ones and its allocation of large funds for the work of local associations to push forward their participation, there is not enough research in studying these internal dynamics, thus it does not appear clear what keeps youth from different background together in organizations. How do they experience this coexistence and how are they able to work together in creating shared goals? The work of associations in a society is particularly important for a wide range of reasons. What is interesting for this study is its importance in mobilizing social capital, which has been recognized by research since the 1940s. This asset in associations is not only embraced by individuals who choose to engage and by the community but also from state institutions. Governments everywhere see the urge to share their resources in decision-making and handle certain society issues with the assistance of the community and local associations.

This study aims to contribute to this field through approaching a grass-roots perspective, putting youth volunteers experience on the forefront of the research.

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[1] Integration Policy & Statement of the Government, 12 September 2017

[2] Lupp questionnaire- is a survey that enables municipalities, urban districts or regions to gather knowledge on the living situation of young people in their area, as well as information on their experiences and opinions. https://eng.mucf.se/knowledge-about-young-people-lupp-r

In a wider perspective, the study will help to inform the audience and assist them in evaluating these platforms engaging migrant youth, looking more closely at how people explain their social relations along with their participation in the associations. We also want to understand the factors explaining what keep them connected and trustworthy and how this is reflecting in building civic skills.

1.1   Outline of the research

This study will first provide some insights on characteristics of the voluntary sector and youth sector in the Swedish context as background information and it will then be followed by conceptualization and development of the social capital concept. The theoretical framework is constructed upon discussions of social capital forms and dynamics of social capital emphasizing three main milestones: social trust, information flow, and civic skills, which will be utilized in focusing the data collection and provide a major contribution to guide the analysis of fieldwork findings.

1.2   Research Scope & Research Question

This research path tries to make a confrontation between not so pleasant realities where youth with foreign background find themselves with the over-appreciated concept of social capital. The study aims at investigating the understanding of social capital by migrant youth who are engaged in local organizations with a special focus on dimensions of social capital constructed and experienced in the social interactions.

In pursuit of this principal aim, there are 2 underlying goals that this research will take forward: First to explore how social capital is experienced along youth engagement in associations with inter-ethnic composition. The link is presumed to have always existed but will be more interesting to explore the insights and extent of the three main dimensions in a specific context. Second, with this study, I would like to contribute also to pinning down evidence base for the effectiveness of the social structures / interactions in creating social capital as seen by the individual level to potentially contribute in the future to the aggregate level. The study ambition is to present the youth perspective of immigrants which is not always the one prioritized. Although this study is focused only on Malmo Youth Associations' in Sweden, it hopes to also inform research on youth involvement in other constituencies using an inductive style of analysis. In long-term, it also contributes in informing youth policy in a context of different inter-ethnic dynamics taking into account also youth organizations settings.

Research question:

How do *youth with foreign background* experience *social trust* and *social networking,* and the development of *civic skills* as multi-dimensions of *social capital* from their positions as members/volunteers, in the context of local youth organizations in Malmo?

2 Background

The internal and external dynamics of the third sector in Sweden have been influenced by historical conditions including: the shift of political attitudes of different parties in power, the change of population demographics which also brings up new needs to the society and makes the government respond approaching new integration policies, youth and civil society, policy design and implementation. Indeed, an informative background is guiding this study to further explore a more specific concern which is the social capital of inter-ethnic youth communities in the local setting. This will be followed by a preliminary overview of the concept of social capital and its development in time.

This study focuses in Malmo given the relevance of its current debate of immigrants in Sweden but also characterized by the high migrant concentration and population diversity existing since the early 1990s, being one of the most prominent migrant gatekeeper cities in Europe. Indeed, Malmo becomes a very interesting environment to conduct a study with inter-ethnicity as a cross-cutting issue as it stands out as the city in Sweden which is home to people with 179 different nationalities who speak 150 different languages. 31% of Malmo's 315,000 inhabitants are foreign-born (approximately 50% male and 50% female). Only in 2017, the in-migration signed off 23 686 newcomers in which more than 50% were young people aged 15-24 (intervals of Statistics Sweden are 10 years, not possible to have 16-26) (SCB, 2017). For the purpose of this study, young migrants will be defined as people who have moved or their parents have moved to Sweden for better life conditions: aiming for 16-26 age-group which is also the focus of youth policy in Sweden. The choice of local level derives from the increased importance given to cities and municipalities in managing youth and migrant affairs (decentralization[3] of institutions) in Sweden and other Western European countries even though these debates are still much stronger and focused on the national level as the local level has not managed yet to reach such depth of the political debate to the extent which national level politics have (Skelcher, Sulival and Jeffare, 2013). Additionally, it is important to clarify the reasons why choosing to study migrant related social capital in associations and not in other environments. This is due to issues of primary data accessibility, being aware of a structure which is well documented and gives the space to explore the insights in a given frame but also considering the recognized importance of youth

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[3] Decentralization- Swedish municipalities, county councils and regions are responsible for providing a significant proportion of all public services. They have a considerable degree of autonomy and have independent powers of taxation
https://skl.se/tjanster/englishpages/municipalitiescountycouncilsandregions/localselfgovernment.1305.html

organizations role in democracy and their enabling ability to engage people in civic life. At the same time, the population is not as big and spread out as would be the case in studying informal structures of migrant gatherings or other random social circles. Social capital is known to be present in many environments, at a workplace, even in a coffee shop, restaurants, parks, streets, family, community and schools. It is not maybe inferior to study those environments, it can even provide with stronger social interactions but it can be less doable to focus the study, select and find participants. All these sources or settings are worth exploring but the association setting has also a richer theory to be based on (Newton, 1999, 2001). Research tracking collective mobilization of migrants indicate that studying the urban areas is more useful considering that the social collective networks are much more present and mixed in cross ethnicity compared to the rural areas and also omnipresent in the principal cities.

2.1   Characteristics of the voluntary associations in Sweden

Voluntary organizations for the purpose of this paper and based on a multitude of documents consulted will be considered as a particular kind of institutions which facilitates and enable people from different backgrounds, age, and ethnicity to come together and cooperate to achieve shared goals.

In a positive perspective, these associations would generate and mediate social relations between people engaged and let values such as tolerance, mutuality, civic attitude to travel through groups. They can teach more norms of belonging and solidarity to a community. As defined by Swedish scholar in the field Lundström "*Organizations or associations that are founded on the basis of common ideas or interests, that have some sort of public character and organizational form, that can be established and dissolved without decision from public authorities, that build on voluntary commitment and [most often] personal membership*" (National Report Sweden, 2010). In the 1990s, civil society in Sweden and other Western European countries came close to the municipalities prioritizing a shift to the local authority level. With a traditional major engagement focused on trade unions, the third sector expanded in other spheres: social, education, leisure, political etc (Lundasen, 2013). Regardless of the development of the voluntary sector, Swedish society, in general, has been and is still characterized by high civic society engagement performing mostly charity activities and community service (Morales and Geurts, 2007). To illustrate this, statistics indicate that in 10 Swedes, 9 of them participate or have been part of activities within an association. Despite the theory that explains the expansion of the welfare state as leading to a reduction of the non-profit sector, sometimes named as colonizing civil society this remains still arguable (Esping-Anderson, 1990). Other scholars and internal politics have disputed this argument stating that Welfare state & civil society can be promoted as complementary when it comes to

the Nordic case. The shrinking space of associations is also sustained by the fact that 75% of the third sector on the national level operates outside the country channeled as foreign aid (Lundasen, 2013). Today the engagement in voluntary associations is even coordinated and facilitated by national and local agencies such as (Volontärbyrån[4]). These agencies provide information for individuals to select volunteering opportunities that match the best with their skills, time and interests (National Report Sweden, 2010). Within governmental frames, voluntary associations are regulated by tax law to facilitate the administrative procedures and they operate mostly by membership. Pontus Odmalm looking at the voluntary sector in Malmo shows that voluntary sector is still very much dependent on the state when we speak about its finances. Malmo recreational board instructs that the only voluntary associations/civil society activities which are qualified for state grants are the ones targeting youth and children but at the same time promoting integration values. The prohibition to promote its own ethnic values and "swedize" everything reflects the top-down policy. The policy which prevents organizations to implement specific ethnic activities discourages to push forward ethnic-specific issues.

2.2   Political context

It is important to highlight that networks do not operate in a vacuum but there is a socio-political context behind them. The political attitudes are significant in understanding the dynamics of the third sector and engagement of immigrant population.

In this context, we can identify some turning points, starting with the rise of right-wing parties in Sweden. The emergence of a right-wing political party named New Democracy in 1990 with a hostile agenda against immigrants, followed by the emergence of Sweden Democrats who are gaining more power and hold a clear intolerant agenda are shaking the situation for migrants in the country. On the other side, the major party, Social Democrats, have integrated into their platform less tolerant policies towards migrants. In these terms and other policy occurring, the existing bond between the welfare state and a tolerant multicultural environment has lost its glory lately (This is often referred to as the 'progressive dilemma[5]' (Goodhart, 2004). Even so, this is still debatable in the Swedish case where people engagement in the third sector has not experienced yet too much decrease. Integration issues are shared among different authorities at the national, regional and local level and are not anymore, the responsibility of only one institution. These are also introduced as main goals in the government

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[4] http://www.volontarbyran.se - on-line matching tool for volunteering opportunities from Swedish non-profit organisations

[5] See also: Progressive dilemma by David Goodhart-
https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2004/feb/24/race.eu

integration bill and EU commission report stated in 2015[6] were "Equal rights, obligations and possibilities, for all regardless of ethnic and cultural background". There is a major focus on the labor market integration and education and a major part of the budget is allocated in that direction (European Commission, 2015). Indeed, Swedish integration policy has long been directed towards civil society and the organizational life of immigrants (Borevi, 2002: ch. 4).

2.3   Local political context in Malmo

In today's world, integration has many different layers. And ethnicity related societal issues are just one of them. The local level is very close to this issue.

This has been over the last 30 years on the central and local politics agenda in Malmo. As an OECD[7] report puts it: "by its very nature, integration will always be first and foremost a local affair". Especially the critical interactions between newcomers and the larger community are first handled at the local level. At the local level, the policies have a more direct impact at the life of immigrants (Body-Gendrot and Martiniello, 2000). The local institutions are the gatekeepers and the ones which experience any kind of struggle in the first place. It is also the local context which offers more concrete engagement opportunities for citizens and vulnerable inhabitants who do not have yet the citizen status? At the local level, the opportunity is given to create social and political links through creating associations and other mobilizations forms.

2.4   Youth sector in Sweden

When looking at social capital, it is particularly important because of the potentially high impact it has on youth. They have always been historically at the forefront of society. They are a dynamic force of change; they have initiated and precipitated revolutions. However, they still remain vulnerable as they have limited financial power and capital in the society.

The first discussion of youth as a special social category in the public/governmental debates in Sweden dates back to 1939 with the emergence of a Youth Care Committee. Most of the initiatives especially at the local level addressed leisure time and hobbies (Forkby, 2014: 47). It was not until the beginning of 1990s that political participation of youth was included in the youth

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[6] see 2015 budget bill from the minority government, the goals for the integration policy (Lika rättigheter, skyldigheter och möjligheter för alla oavsett etnisk och kulturell bakgrund)

[7] New migration thinking for the new century http://www.oecd.org/dev/38295367.pdf December 2006

policy agenda (Forkby, 2014: 53). Again high on the agenda of the next government in 2009, it was emphasized that youth and vulnerable youth which includes minorities and immigrants should participate and influence welfare (Skrivelse 2009: 53). There is only one agency whose goal is to promote "access of youth to influence the welfare and support the government in issues relating to civil society policy" (MUCF[8], 2016). Before and during 2014 elections they have supported initiatives aiming at increasing the participation for young people and youth with foreign background. As it is mentioned above, MUCF reports indicate that there is no existing consultative, advisory mechanism or representative bodies for young migrants in any government level. Although there is space for youth consultation at the local level this is not binding. There are many entities to organize youth such as county councils for youth, local public authorities with competences in youth fields, local youth council but we do not know how the voice of migrant youth is taken into account when designing and shaping policies as there is no institutionalized mechanism to provide this liaison and lack of research to reflect the outcome. Additional findings suggest that Youth Policy is established by Parliament which is obligatory only at the central level and advisory at the municipal and regional level. There is only one known mechanism which is the referral system where each year Swedish government sets out legislative proposals in the form of the bill and before it takes a position, shares it, refers them to relevant bodies. Among these bodies, the national council of Swedish youth organizations (LSU) is appointed as a referral body to represent and bring the voice of youth (Young's People Participation, 2016). In such a limited space for youth to participate, influence in decision-making and make their voice heard, youth association still play a big role in this perspective.

2.5 A conceptual overview of social capital

As we have now an overview of the contextual situation where youth with foreign born background participate, we can continue by introducing a focus to social capital. Someone would describe social capital using the term "chair" We use chair to designate a broader category of objects that can vary within shapes, colors, function but still belong to the same category. In this section, we will present an overview of the social capital concept which will be further developed later in the theory.

Borrowing from the earlier sociological studies of Bourdieu the concept of capital famously discussed by Marx extended the utilization through adding 3 dimensions: Cultural, Economic and Social capital. In this study we will employ only the social dimension: "*Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or*

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[8] MUCF- Myndigheten för ungdoms- och civilsamhällesfrågor- Agency for youth and civil society

virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 119). Following the later but influential work of Putman who increased the agenda on the research of social capital in relation to politics and society, we see that, engagement in voluntary associations, manufactures social capital which can be expanded and used in other environments with an extensive focus in democratic institutions. The definition that Putman gave to social capital is "*features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, than can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions*" (Putman, 1993: 167). We will stop to discuss the abstractions and the implications of these definitions later in this research. The social capital caught interest and application in the field of organizational theories, development and humanitarian work (Krishna, 2002). Social capital is defined many times relatively related to its function in different fields: democracy, economy, psychology, anthropology and it is still on its way of expansion. Putman's social capital theory accentuated the two famous aspects: bonding ties between people that are similar in some essential ways and bridging ties between people who differ from each other. We expect bridging dimension can apply in a more significant way as we are tackling the heterogeneous networks compromised by cross sections in society (Putnam, 2000). However, Putman does not exclude the possibility of co-existence of these two dimensions within the same community.

As we are dealing with social capital in cross-ethnic organizations in a society highly shaped by the shift of demographics, it might be interesting to mention that social capital was also brought into migration studies. Social capital and mostly its dimension of the social network have been highly influential in explaining settlement of migrants in receiving countries (Castles and Miller, 2003). Understanding social capital in heterogeneous groups implicates other unpleasant things additionally that can be found in diverse communities. This might include ethnic tensions which bring different power relationships, social traps, and struggles of connection which are caused by clash of identities, exclusion, beliefs and values that different communities are facing that rise up to phenomena of extreme right-wing movements In Sweden we are faced to today with deportation narrative, hostility and harsh border policies which take a step ahead from what has been usually associated with Swedish inclusive and tolerant society. Such aspects in today's society question social capital strength but at the same time bring into light the need to incorporate it for its positive returns.

3   Theoretical Framework

This chapter will provide the research with the theoretical framework to be utilized in understanding the manifestation of different forms of social capital in the setting of youth associations where inter-ethnic communities engage.

Faced with a lack of consistent theory with explanatory power that finds its application in different contexts, the author will attempt to collect and build from different organizational theories within this field. If the focus of the study would have been to emphasize the role of the state agencies providing opportunities for individuals to participate in different forms though regulations, constitutional framework, policy programs; we would instead have considered using institutionalism which takes forward the salience of institutional level (Lowndes and Roberts, 2013). In these terms, institutionalism would explain social capital as being activated by the government institutions in recognizing the big role of the political structures and would have suggested a more a top-down approach (Rothstein, 2005). But in this case, as we are looking at the perceptions of individuals and also as we are interested in meanings and use of different concepts to describe social relations we adopt a constructivist approach. This will be realized through using the multi-dimensions of social capital in the discussion and building on different theories from Verba, Putman to more recent studies. Refereeing to the large theory ground, I propose to stand on 3 main insights which come up as very important when analyzing social capital. These are social trust, information flow/social networking, and civic skills. The nature of each of this dimension can be understood in simple words as values/norms/ that keep people together, the structure to create and maintain relationships and its materialization through skills. Bearing in mind this simple outline and grasping more insights for each dimension, the theory will try to create the ground to answer the primary question of this research: How do *youth with foreign background* experience *social trust* and *social networking,* and the development of *civic skills* as multi-dimensions of *social capital* from their positions as members/volunteers, in the context of local youth organizations in Malmo?

3.1   Engagement in youth associations and dimensions of social capital

The bond created among people and social structures that enable them to come together and participate have always been seen as significant in explaining returns

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in social, economic and political activity (Stout, 2008). Ever since Alexis de Tocqueville published "Democracy in America", the link was acknowledged and discussed in social science research circles. The academic discourse has regarded engagement in voluntary associations effective in developing social capital empowerment and much empirical evidence have been supporting the influence that high social capital brings in democracy, governance and decision-making (Almond and Verba, 1963; Verba and Nie, 1972). It is also acknowledged that the various modes of connecting in an association can result in different types of empowerment. However, in most of the cases, social capital has been considered as an asset for the individuals, groups, institutions and overall society itself. While more recently, social research has started to question the use of social capital, bringing additionally into light the struggles and downsides of it. For instance, one of the authors who has written about these downsides of social capital is Bo Rothstein, Swedish Political Theorist and Professor of Goteborg University who worked with Putman and other influential authors in this stream research. He brings about social dilemmas in voluntary cooperation that will be considered when analyzing social capital in the Swedish context (Rothstein, 2005).

Among a rich literature on social capital in voluntary association, several gaps can be identified. For instance, the age group dimension of the immigrants in studying social capital needs to be further explored and the engagement in associations at the local level participation patterns should also be taken forward with an attempt to explore recent data in qualitative and quantitative research. There is a dominance of empirical data collected through surveys, accentuating causal relationships of variables and very few qualitative methods have been introduced in this field. On the other hand, the individual and the group level has not been so much the focus in the discussion of social capital within inter-ethnic communities.

3.2   Social Trust

We start by introducing the concept of social trust which is one of the most mentioned terms in the construction of social capital theories then we grasp sub-dimensions of this term building on different definitions, utilization and explain how it can potentially be manifested outside the organization settings.

The research makes a bigger room to discuss social trust compared to other two dimensions considering its large interpretation and its different forms of manifestation. Social trust is recognized to make a significant jump from the Hobbesian state of nature that was more characterized by a central goal of survival and competition towards a more socially aware society, a pleasant world where people can cooperate, appreciate each-other and cohabitate in peace and prosperity (Luhmann, 1988). One of the main definitions used to define trust in social capital studies surveys is: "*the belief that others will not at worst knowingly or willingly do you harm and at best act in your interest*". Although this definition is used in quantitative method and not precisely within the context of organization

(European Social Survey[9]) we can track some of the meaning and the use of certain words to describe trust. In other studies where social trust is connected to its function in society, trust designs: "*the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest and cooperative behavior, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other members of that community". Those norms can be about deep "value" questions like the nature of god or justice, but they also cover secular norms like professional standards and codes of behavior*" (Fukuyama, 1995: 26). Some of sub-dimensions suggested by the literature on social trust within organizations are: **connectedness**, **honesty**, expectants of **mutual help/support**, **friendship** or as Newton (2001) would describe the superfluous character of trust encompasses such terms as **empathy**, **solidarity**, **respect**, **tolerance**, **reciprocity** etc. Putman recognized the interrelation between trust and social networking as combined them on the way of achieving shared goals in democracy, finding an application at the individual but also at the group level, recognizing its public and private returns. Within the Putman (2000) concept of social trust, we can distinguish two dimensions which assist in bringing insights into the concept itself. The "**thin trust**" which represents **weaker** trust in social network such as just saying" Hello" to someone in the circle and other basic polite or formal interactions. On the other hand, **thick trust** designates a stronger expression of the value and more present in close inter-personal relations among people. Whereas Uslaner (2002) referred by Michael Stout, creates an analog dichotomy with Putman's theory in classifying trust as a **strategic** function at the individual level (being aware of its benefits) and trust with a moralistic view in the group level. The **strategic trust** can relate to a personal interest on the way of pursuing a common good. But it can also be operationalized as an **individualistic benefit** which is promoted for present and future investment in the group. So, we can see trust as **strategic** but at the same time as a **moral** value which is not easy to distinguish if you don't have a depth access to the specific community relations. People can help each other or do favors because of different types of motivations. This can come from shared norms, values, interests and even because they have embedded this solidarity in their personality.

But how is social trust generated? Rothstein helps us to come up with this question which is hard to be answered when one refers to Putman's theory or to other fellow researchers. The attempt to answer it brings about the lack of detailed operationalization of the concept. Such an abstract term as trust can be seen and considered in many different angles as Rothstein would state. Statistical correlations are very limiting in expanding the explanatory power of this issue. Rothstein categorizes social trust in a similar vein with Uslaner. He identifies trust as being grounded on **moral/norm value** generalized **trust** that is created and shared among people in the group and particularized trust which points at more

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suspicious and selective attitudes in trusting people, characterized by general society misanthropy.

There is obviously a very positive perspective in what Putman and his fellow researchers state on the existence and use of social capital neglecting that social trust and solidarity generated through the group bond can even be used for some destructive purposes. Here we could think of how this mobilization based on trust can be exploited by more powerful stakeholders such as political parties to advance their agenda and militants to strengthen more extremist groups which can still be organized in the voluntary sector. Other struggles critical studies have encountered that are not entirely captured by Putman is, for instance, the inefficiency of social trust operating within an environment where people cannot overcome the ethnic barriers and have different social-economical and even political status. In contrary, they would explain how is more likely for similarly positioned people to come together and cooperate in such settings (Goodhart, 2004). People who have similar demographic characteristics, ethnic background, age or education would have an easier time to connect to each other. This phenomenon would be recognized as the "Homophily" (Stout, 2008: 69). The link can hardly be applied and bring positive returns in a cross-ethnic community according to these critics. It emphasizes the risk that in an inter-ethnic group there might me segregation and lack of cooperation between people with different background and this would question diversity.

Other studies bring into the debate whether types of organizations can show the same contribution or efficiency in creating the trust and bringing returns in other fields. For example, some of the organizations have very weak contacts with other organizations in the field, others might be isolated and more service oriented or might struggle to form interactions with decision-making structures. This can also be purposeful if we take the example of authoritarian organizations who strive for creating and maintaining strict vertical relations and not allowing members to have the same access to opportunities and resources of the organization (Togeby, 2007). These are cases where is difficult to see any spillover effect of networking outside the organization. While more traditional theories generalize the application of social trust in cross-ethnic community, Teney&Hanquet call attention to how building social trust differs from one ethnic group to another and fails to be significant in all the ethnic groups taken into analysis. Not all people with foreign background have the same impact or respond the same way to social trust. For instance, the ones who have been living longer in one place and have higher level of integration in the society might reflect the same patterns also within the organization settings. However, we should also acknowledge at this stage that not every ethnicity is accepted and treated equally and thus they are given distinctive trust roles in the associations and as a consequence, they manifest different ties. Depending on the various implications of social capital for different ethnic communities, people engaged can manifest different types of trust in their relationships.

When elaborating the function of social trust, the existence of the spillover effect from one organization to the other must be regarded. Some of the associations embedding social trust might be interrelated and this connection

spreads out social trust through a social network which is the other mechanism that I will develop below. The social capital might grow with its application in interconnected organizations. The values, norms created in smaller circles can be reflected in bigger circles (Newton, 1999: 173). Here I can think of local associations collaborating with national ones, associations operating in a coalition or belonging to a bigger umbrella organization or even political party or municipality council which consults the civil society in different issues. Of course, young people engaged in the organizations are taking actions in other environments. They are citizens, friends of other people, students in schools or university or colleagues in a working environment. Thus, exploring the dimensions within the youth organizations might help to grasp its manifestations elsewhere. The same logic in reverse can explain how the values of social trust constructed somewhere outside the setting of youth association have traversed and spilled on the organization. For this reason, values of solidarity and trust cannot be automatically granted since they might have pre-existed before joining the organization and they are just utilized but they are not formed there (Jacobs and Tillie, 2004).

In the Swedish context we have to consider that there is a tight competition between cross-ethnic organizations due to a large amount of needs in combination with confronting a scarcity of funds and support for everyone As it was also introduced in the background section Pontus Oldmalm who studies the link in Malmo Municipality associations demonstrates how difficult is for certain minorities to raise in the agenda specific ethnic issues as the integration policy does not allow this kind of civil society operations in Sweden anymore. At the same time, one should consider that the majority of these organizations are mostly dependent on state money channeled by local or national cooperation agencies (Oldmalm, 2005)

3.3   Social Networking / Information Flow

Social networking, for the purpose of this study, can be defined as the use of platforms to interact with other people and exchange information in the organization. In addition to developing social trust, voluntary organizations can provide opportunities for participants to collect information and get informed about different sort of issues and opportunities.

Association may function as a pool or a platform of **internal** and **external** knowledge encompassing information generated inside the organization utilized and exchanged there but also the information which emerged inside and it is able to flow or surpass the frames of the organization which will be described as the spill-over effect. Again, we turn to Verba as he was one of the first recognizing the ability of voluntary organization in mobilizing flow of information and contributing to other purposes such as political participation for example (Verba et al, 1993: 357). Verba also points out the advantage of the **spill-over effect** of the information flow from one organization to another setting. If someone from

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one organization knows someone in another, it creates a bigger flow that can be useful and connects people together in expanding the circle. For instance, if one member has a professional contact, he/she can share it with another member who doesn't have one or if he/she has any information on the event occurring, this information can be shared in the circle. A reprise by Jacobs and Tillie (2004) indicate that access to information can also be provided if one knows somebody who is a member of an organization or who can be described in other words as socially active. To illustrate this, let us take for example; someone who is not a active in the organization but someone he/she knows is engaged, the social capital of this person can be mobilized through individual connection to this friend/connection. The returns of organizational membership on social capital are thus extended. Other aspects of social capital such as values, trust can also be spread out through this friendship or professional network. This connects the spill-over effect with the other dimension that I am going to take forward below: civic skills. In civic skills one member is able to use the information for leading, taking an initiative outside the organization circles. When investigating the extent in which social networking increases we can take into consideration these other features: (1) the number of organizations, (2) the types of **activities** (3) the **density** of the organizational network (Jacobs and Tillie, 2004) even though this will not be the central focus in this research.

Social structures in the organization might not be uniform everywhere; they can have breaks or as Burt puts it "holes". By these terms, we understand gaps of information among people. Those who are close to the hole are able to connect and control the information circles. In the same organizations, they are individuals with different positions and some of them have better access to information. They are able to obtain more social resources because of their status or position and use them but they can even share with others. So, it becomes important according to these theories the position that people have in the network to determine if the link is significant or to reach out the extent of the link. This theory stems from the work of Burt of **structural holes** – **connected** to the Granovetter theory of weak ties. This also goes along with Putman (2000) **bridging social** capital and thin and thick trust that mentioned in the social trust section. It is relevant to point at thin trust as more present in such social networks which can still mobilize the collective work and encourages the development of civic engagement. This concept is more relevant to be applied in a heterogeneous group where people have different social and economic positions and they can benefit or exchange information with each other.

What is also important to realize is that people relate with each other in different ways, some find friends, some are considered as colleagues and some just as citizens who are working for a better society. We have to keep in mind that all those kinds of relations can exist in one particular group within one organization as Onyx and Bullen (2000) suggests. The density of ties that one creates with different people in one big group does not necessarily prevent them from supporting each other with information.

We have to recognize also that not all associations are responsive to the positive effects of bonding between ethnic heterogeneous groups. In times when

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immigrant communities are more and more perceived as a threat and as drainers of welfare, we have to consider also the downsides of bonding migrant capital. Many more areas are criticized for not being able to overcome ghettoization, isolation that immigrants have created among themselves. To add to this, this city sometimes is perceived as being overwhelmed by refugees and their needs creating dependency relations to access the services and their rights the other variable.

3.4   Civic attitudes / skills

Civic skills can be defined in various ways depending on the sources we refer to. We will try to understand using definitions from the theory of social capital and practical association with activities that develop them in the organizations. Broadly, synthesizing the theory, they encompass the ability and skills that allow people or increase the likelihood that they would participate in the public life. They can also be understood as a prerequisite to be a responsible citizen, to exercise his/her rights, take actions and initiatives in a broader community.

Putman (1993) suggests that "*the art of associating trains participant's skills that are necessary to be active in public life*". For the purpose of this study, civic skills will be considered beyond the individual knowledge acquisition but more skills that are generated through social interactions in the youth organization. We should not neglect at the same time that civic skills can be considered not only as a dimension of social capital but at the same time be manifested outsourcing/spill over in civic activism, something that is facilitated by being part of an organization and participating in the activities but not isolated there (Stolle, 1998). Moreover, civic skills may appear as a predicator which explains why people engage in some organizations and their motivation to join an organization. These other aspects or functions of civic skills should be prior understood in order to channel the proper location where these skills are generated and operating. When investigating the civic skills, we have to take into account the association type of activities. It might be true that associations which pay more attention to leisure time might be less likely to have the same impact on civic empowerment as compared to the ones which have a more social, educational or political agenda. For example, an organization that has on its agenda social debates, diversity awareness, environmental awareness raising, political mobilization is much more predisposed to attract young people who already hold an interest in these issues and in developing civic attitudes. The connection between civic skills and engagement in organizations has long ago been recognized. With civic skills, we also understand skills and capacities gained or improved in the association that enables action in other environments.

Participating in associational activities as suggested by Jan Teorell who studied social capital in the Swedish context should be inherently considered as exercising one's civic skills (p 51). From the very first decision one takes to engage in the association it is recognized to be exercising one's civic skill as a

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citizen's right to association. Then followed, by very simple activities such as expressing one's opinion in a meeting and practicing active listening, reflecting and discussing on certain society and community issues it develops communication skills in connecting at the same time with others that can be applied in a broader context (Green and Brock, 2005). For example, someone is participating in electing a board member for the organization and uses social interaction, learns something about election fairness and its right to vote. Other common activities where these skills/attitudes can be observed are: trainings in different topics, debates, presentations, writing skills, decision-making meetings, taking initiatives in the organization, participating in a demonstration, organizing a public activity, an awareness campaign, partnerships with other stakeholders in the same sector, learning about a policy etc (Ayala, 2000). Moreover, when discussing civic skills and its dimensions related to social capita what counts is also if the member is in an active or passive position, the density of his/her interactions are very important to observe how much one is exposed to these skills (Teorell, 2003). It is not hard to understand that those who are more active in the social circles might develop more and stronger civic skills and those who stay more in shadow might lack some opportunities. However, this assumption retrieved from theory will be further examined through data collection and developed in the analysis section. Within the inherent form of civic activism found in the association engagement, critics call attention to the behaviors that are connected to the social capital but not necessarily nourishing positive democratic attitudes. Some of them can feed dangerous attitudes in the public life (Granovetter 1973). This requires more exploration of the types of activities where participants are engaged and detailed exploration of the civic components. An example to illustrate this would be the civic skills used for extremist mobilization and movements, radicalization behaviors which are and have always been present in the society and which are sometimes formed or shaped among youth third sector environments.

Turning back to the bright side of civic skills, some of the benefits of civic knowledge yielded by association's, points to the increase chances of understanding the importance of participation, the ability and encouragement to use one's civic rights, awareness and improve democracy. This brings us again to cite Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995: 15) "*If someone didn't participate leads to think of three reasons: "Because they can't. Because they don't want and because they did not know how to do it*". The first and the last and be facilitated by acquiring civic skills and the last by being involved in a social networking circle and using the flow of information. Gaining knowledge on the rights, institutions, the issues and how to contribute in its development can also give rise to counteract or resistance of the individual as one's recognizes that government action is not accurate. The more knowledge people gain the more likely are people to inform also each other and have debates, discussion which brings civic skills very close to the flow of information. Sharing responsibilities and tasks among a diverse group enriches the individual and group awareness. We can see also in this dimension that skills are so related to information and it comes back to the

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hardship to cut one from the other. In acquiring skills people might share trust and use the information flow in the social relations within the youth organization.

3.5   Research contribution and synthesis

First, exploring these three main aspects of social capital with the contribution of various studies and various theories, this research will try to overcome the dominance of causality that other researchers have overused in their researches using quantitative methods in the past.

The difficulties of measuring social capital as reflected above, endorsing a high level of abstraction and a lack of solid operationalization, brings difficulties in the application of the theory. One of the main takes of the theoretical analysis is the very close connection between the three dimensions discussed. The strong interrelation between them finds roots on the definition of social capital and on the way of understanding each of the dimensions. The words used to describe trust and social networking has very similar meanings. As we can retrieve from the literature, these concepts exist in a circular connection; one is difficult to survive if one excludes the other dimension. When we ask about reciprocal support for instance, even though the first attempt is to retrieve information about trust we might get insights at the same time about information flow and skills. Or on the other hand, when we talk about solidarity, bonding, friendship these all concepts imply the two dimensions together. So after all, with a multidimensional explanation of social capital, we cannot expect to have separated results and strict groupings on the three milestones. Another implication that we can anticipate in the results is that people can even talk about different types of social trust, different sub-dimensions of social networking mixing all together. Of course, they do not have in mind the same structure as we have with this theoretical framework. They also can be controversial, with the same people they might claim to have strong and weak ties for different purposes, for different sort of situation and this is something embedded in the general human psychology. This is to say that I attempt to be able to fill in a structure created on theory basis but the results can require changes in the shape of a structure.

Beyond romanticizing the engagement in the social sector, I tend to take forward also the possible negative effects and the struggles that people in heterogeneous communities face, when trying to connect which are mostly neglected with few rare exceptions found in the work of (Portes, 1998) or Bo Rothstein (2005). This can be found in such context as Malmo city and its structures, considering its frequent clashes between people or groups of different ethnicities and at the same time the high engagement by youth in different social sector organization. Many youth association centers and recreational centers are very present, especially in some districts and suburbs which have the reputation to be more problematic or targeted for ethnic-related violence or intolerance. Swedish media will often talk about such cases or mostly include these clashes in its sensational articles in Malmo involving mostly euphemism 'youths".

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The field research will also try to tackle different power dynamics and positions that people hold in the organizations: from the people who know and act strategically and can take most advantage of social capital to others who stay inactive and benefit in silence or not at all from social capital (Lin, 2001). After all, is important to acknowledge that within the same group of people in one organization, not everyone possesses the same resources, time, skills, education, and experience. All these resources together create limitations in their accessibility of knowledge, relations, and opportunities.

Finally, on the way of anticipating the understanding of results, I would also like to consider something which is not explicitly present in the literature which is the struggle of talking about the physical social network in an era that is dominated by technology and social digital network. This phenomenon is prevailing every structure or institution in today's society and especially it applies to the young generation who are the main subject of this research. This can still be tackled with questions such as: What platform do you use to create ties?

4   Research design

As it is already mentioned in the above section, we must be aware that most of the studies in the field have applied quantitative methods using statistics, surveys and causality relations. However, that has not been fully successful in giving explanatory power to the dimensions and driving forces of social capital but has been successful in explaining the extent and fluctuation of social capital. Thus, I explore the qualitative method to investigate the role of associational engagement by young immigrants in their local participation, investigating on the individual level response using a constructive approach.

The study is conducted in youth organizations in Malmo. To prepare the design for in-depth interviews, local qualitative interviews, statistics surveys (secondary sources), models of qualitative interviews and policy documents are consulted. Given the level of abstractions in these concepts featuring social capital dimensions presented on the above sections, there is an obvious need for operationalization of the terms: social trust, social network, and civic skills to collect more focused data. This will help also to recognize any pattern of these aspects in the response of interviewees. My field research consists of data and analysis from 12 in-depth interviews, each duration is approximately 1-1,30 min, conducted throughout 2 weeks of April 2018 which will expand and specify the knowledge on this issue.

4.1   The advantages of applying qualitative research / interviews

The adequacy of using qualitative interviews responds to the questions being asked in this research which involves meaning reflections.

Face-to-face interaction will allow interpretation and investigation of social capital meanings and dimensions as it is important to understand the diversity inherent in this term. Through conducting interviews, I am not asking for a specific response to a question or testing a hypothesis but I am more interested in unpacking an individual experience which at the same time provides some hints about the group level. In addition to this, the research deals with concepts that have not been enough broken down and meanings that are interpreted and reconstructed by people in a specific context and specific situations. For this, participants need to have time to reflect on their experience, to feel worthy in their position and to have the chance to talk their thoughts freely (Seidman, 2006). A qualitative method allows investigating how & why research questions and in-depth social phenomenon (Yin, 1994). It provides space to tackle the research

from the perspective of members involved in the organization caught in the natural setting applying a bottom-up approach (Creswell, 2014). Alongside this, it values the perspective of people who are involved in the ground process of the organization; tolerate beliefs and subjectivity in a reflexive process. In experiments, for example, participants would be placed in another environment, being conditioned to go through a more authoritative process of investigation and in surveys we would have a more superficial view and not go deep into meanings and interpretation but also not have the possibility explore the role of the context. With a major belonging in constructivist approach, qualitative interviews give us the freedom to consider different sources of information and accepting realities constructed from different participants and myself as the interviewer, bearing in mind that this bias is inevitable (Ritchie &Lewis, 2003). Saying this, we allow the respondent's subjective perceptions on the features of social capital and appreciate this as an essential part in building our research.

4.2   Applying in-depth interviews

In this study we conduct interviews striving to approach an inductive form which will potentially allow drawing general conclusions and also meaning interpretations of the data that can be applied in a broader context (Creswell, 2014: 32). Thus, we conduct in-depth dialogical interviews with open-ended questions.

The use of in-depth interviews provides with the opportunity to combine structure and flexibility, using a topic guide as a semi-structured protocol including content mapping and content mining questions to reach deeper levels of understanding. It involves interactive communication and use of probes to reach depth and utilization of follow up questions. This method accentuates the importance of language and prioritizes face to face interviews which can cover not only contains information but also expressions, symbols, prosodies and a better and more direct interaction (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

In addition, with the help of Wagenaar's collection (2013) we can direct the conduct of in-depth interviews in a dialogical way, so we can grasp better the meaning as constructed during the process of interviewing allowing the researcher and participants to affect each other in the process of interviewing and grip the daily understanding of the questions regarded.

Interview outline will be tested with a small group of stakeholders and adjusted several times based on the results. Then the tool will be rolled out with the larger target group. After collecting and analyzing data from the interviews, I will able to connect better with the role of social trust, information flow or civic skills with the theory. One issue to be tackled in the methodology is the struggle of isolating the migrant factor from the general category of youth. This will be done using a control group of young people with no migrant roots (1 native participant for each organization) and try to compare the results with each other. The number of interviews for the purpose of this study suits the one suggested by

a methodological base (around 12 interviews). In each organization is important to have a representative sample of 4-5 people at least. Although this number depends on the overall number of members/volunteers each organization has. Also, in the process of contacting the organizations and institutions, I will provide them with some information on the duration of the interview, the purpose of using the data and how the results will be disseminated (Legard, 2003). When we reach contact with potential participant we share information about their role in the interview and on the overall research recognized by the methodology as "cognition" process (May, 2011).

4.3   Sampling & defining the population for the research

We are aware that conducting a study in Malmo youth associations might not be relevant for all Swedish municipalities given its specificities. However, it can be applied to other heterogeneous European cities that hold similar characteristics.

The suggested sampling technique for this study is purposeful sampling considering the difficulties of finding participants in such a specifically framed population (Seidman, 2006: 53). Taking in consideration the time restriction and also my status as a student in conducting this research, the access in interviewing association members is not easy. From 26 youth organizations, I have mapped (immigrant youth participating is my population. Randomization even if it can be highly suggested by research in general, in this case, considering the specificity of the demographics, would not work well. In case there are not enough participants using the purposeful selection or in case some of the respondents cancels their participation in the interviews, we can also consider little additional selection through snowballing.

4.4   Selection of the organizations and interviewees

Mapping out youth organizations in Malmo, I came up with 26 associations engaging youth with foreign backgrounds, which was visible on their agenda appearing on their website and which are also connected to local issues which are a special interest of this research. Organizations are selected based in some criteria: First, they should have a youth focus with an agenda, engaging foreign-born or second generation migrant members/volunteers. Second, they must have existed for more than 1 year to be able to offer some structure for giving the opportunity to the development and exploration of social capital.

The selection with the aim of securing more representativeness will include one more formalized and bigger organization and one smaller organization, leave the space open for a third organization. To prepare for this selection I have

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gathered information provided by Volontarbyran in Malmo to skim their main type of activity, location, composition, and size. The selection takes into consideration also the density of foreign-born population in the area where organization is located. In order to access different views and different dynamics, participants were selected holding different roles in the organization including more and less active members. After this stage, I will proceed with contacting 15 organizations that seemed to have more frequent activities among 26 youth organizations identified. Some of them are also disqualified as their meetings are held in 3/6 months which might not be relevant to investigate social interactions among youth. In the process of contacting them through emails, calls and even visiting in person in their offices in Malmo, some of the organizations that claimed in their websites to approach youth from different backgrounds when they were asked if they could identify foreign-born or with second generation migrant members, they responded to not have this kind of participants. From the ones that were receptive to my request, some stated that their members are only the ones who are paying a fee to support their activities which is an increasing practice now in Sweden. Physical volunteering is fading away. Obviously, face to face membership is the one which is the interest of this study. Among them, were also people who delegated me to other organizations or other individuals as they don't consider themselves to be the adequate NGO to be taken into analysis. Other ways I explored in the process of contacting organizations and individuals, also was using Face book and LinkedIn to reach contacts. After this long and complex process of contacting, I came up with 3 youth organizations that fulfilled the above-mentioned criteria and had people who were interested to participate in the research. Apart from this, in this time of the year organizations receive a lot of requests from students to collect data from them to develop their respective thesis and it can be a bit overwhelming for the people who are engaged in these organizations. Finally, after this long process of selection of this three organizations, a brief profile of their activities is introduced on table 1.

Table 1: Brief profile of the 3 organizations where the participants are engaged

Organization Name	Profile of the activities
SSU in Malmö	Political organization for radical socialist youth. More than 2000 youth are engaged in Skåne. Malmö branch is one of the strongest in Sweden. The organization mobilizes different types of clubs inside that have different nature and organize different types of activities. It strives for common ideology, common goals, debates and expansion of the position in the Swedish local and national politics. The organization has a very hectic agenda with many frequent activities: political and social meetings among its members but also engaging a larger audience with a principal aim of recruiting new people.
Tamam Malmö	Tamam is a local organization helping mainly foreign newcomers in Sweden in their education and integration process. Their motto is "Friendship without Borders" The organization is quite small in Malmo but has other branches which have a larger activity focusing in two main projects but at the same time they mobilize

youth participants in social and sports activities.

Hassela Helpline in Malmo	Hassela is a locally based association working with vulnerable youth against abuse, crime, bullying, and exclusion in the society. Its main projects are Movement which focuses on developing their leadership skills and impacting the society and second: empowerment which focuses more in preparing youth for the job market and job-related skills. Their participants are in the 14-29 age groups. Hassela is concerned in issues of diversity and gives priority to the most vulnerable youth in the local setting.

Source: Organizations Website
http://www.hasselaskane.se/
http://tamam.se/lokalforeningar/tamam-malmo/
https://www.ssu.se/klubb/malmo-ssu-krets/

Table 2: Demographic characteristics of the interview participants

Initials	Age	Gender	Org type	Length of engagement	Location	Occup/Edu	Country of origin
O.P	16	M	Y.P	2 (years)	Rural	student	Sweden
R.B	16	F	Y.P	1	Rosengård	student	Kosovo-Alb
B.A	16	F	Y.P	2	Rosengård	student	Syria-Iraq
K.W.A	27	F	Y.P	6	Malmo	-	Egypt
M.B	23	F	Social	2	Stockholm	NGO	Gambia-Tanzania
E.L	26	M	Social	2	Malmo	Student	Sweden
S.F	24	F	Social	3	Outskirts	Student	Germany-Alb
Anna	27	-	Social	2	-	-	-
S.M.D	-	M	Social	1	-	-	-
S	30	F	Helpline	2	Malmo C	Sociologist	Sweden
A.A	23	M	Helpline	2	Malmo C	-	Iraq
A.K	26	F	Helpline	1/2	Malmo	Education	Bangladesh

4.5 Operationalization of the 3 dimensions on the grounds of the theory

Considering the complexity of the concepts, before going to the field, I set myself the task to prepare a detailed topic guide along the operationalization of the concepts. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, social capital spectrum in associations has three important dimensions.

The questions asked in the interview will attempt to reflect the main elements and try to generate as much information as possible to allow space for meaningful contribution in the field. Different types of question tackle different components of these social capital aspects. I tried to formulate the questions consulting some researches applying qualitative method in the field and I tried also to tackle some of the dimensions used in famous surveys but rebuild them in a qualitative way. The group of questions including information on: age, gender, occupation/

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education, their ethnical background in case they were willing to disclose this information are always considered that might bring interesting implication into the analysis. In our case I added also the length of residence in Malmo, the location of residence (urban/rural) as previously has been found these characteristics are important in research of similar nature.

Table 3: Operationalization of the concepts and interview questions

Dimension	Aspects	Interview Questions
Background	**Length of residence**	• For how long have you been residing in Malmo, Sweden?
	If the participants want keep a protective identity , we need to also get the participants consent in responding to this group of questions)	• a) Age: b) Gender c) Occupation/Education c) Urban/rural area? d) Ethnical background.
	Motivation / reasons of joining the organization	• Please explain the reasons why did you join this youth association/organization?
	Length of involvement	• For how long have you been involved in the youth association/organization?
Social Trust	**Presence or lack of social trust / or distrust**	• If you were to ask for some help /support in a situation would you turn to people from the organization? And if you were to be asked from other people for support in a situation would you help them? Follow up by how, what etc
	Type of trust : for ex thin, thick trust (Newton, 1997) particularized generalized trust- to a selfish interest when people want to achieve a common good (Rothstein, 2005) **Strategic/individualistic trust related to individualistic benefit Uslaner (1997)** **Track words such as : empathy, solidarity, mutuality, respect, tolerance, reciprocity (Newton, 2001)**	• Can you give an example? What would be the case? What are the things that you would ask for support from the people in the organization? • What type of support have you received from them? If you would need some more personal emotional support for example, would you turn to them? (Specify using what do you mean by that? Can you describe more? • Do you consider true/ do you accept all information coming from other members in the organization? • If there are information that you would withhold how would you proceed?
	Factors influencing trust : ex: normative , moralistic, strategic elements (Rothstein, 2005)	• How did you build the supportive bond? What is the basis of this bond that you create with these people in the organization? If they don't come up with something give examples: any values, norms, and interests etc, goals?
	Spillover effect : interconnection with other organizations, constituencies- spreading out social trust from one organization to another environment outside. (Newton,1999a; 173)	• Do people have connections with other organizations or if you cooperate with other organizations are the values, norms, solidarity etc traversing as well? How?
Social	**Presence or lack of social networking**	• Do you feel part of the social community in the organization? In which way?

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Networking/ Information Flow	(add reference)	• How do you get along with other people in the organization? • Have you received any assistance in knowing or doing things outside beyond organization act ivies?
	Types of social networking strong or weak ties (Granovettter, 1976) Bridging –relationships that overcome differences in age, ethnicity (Portes, 1998) Bonding –Bridging (Putman, 2000)	• How many people do you know personally in the circle? How could you describe your relation with other people in the organization? • How do you feel about sharing time, responsibilities with other people? • Have you encountered any struggle in this process? • What do you share in common with other members of your association? Likewise are there any significant challenges?
	Spillover effect / extension of social network beyond the organization	• Do you get to know other people through contacts provided in the organization? How would this happen?
	Diversity / inter-ethnic relations "homophily" – Mike Stout	• How do you feel about being in contact with people in the organization that have some different characteristics in terms of language, culture, ethical background etc?
Civic skills/attitudes	Presence or lack	• What are the activities in the where you participate with other members in the organization? Ask for a specific activity and then if it helped to increase a related skill? Then approach the civic skill
	Types of activities bringing civic skills (Green & Brock, 2005)	• How frequent do you feel like learning something from these activities where you engage with other people that you can use to impact the society/ be a responsible citizen?
	Types of skills /attitudes (Ayla, 2003)	• Which are these skills?
	Rational of engagement/perceived impact	• How do you select the type of activities where u engage/future role? What are the returns/benefit in engagement/ cooperating with others in the association? Give an example if possible (check civic skills)
	Finalizing the interview process	• Do you have something to add? Do you feel that there is something else that we need to bring up in this discussion?

4.6 Analyzing data with QDA miner software

As it was mentioned before, to analyze and mainly organize the data from the interviews, I have data was organized and analyzed the data from interviews, I have used QDA software. In this section, I will offer an overview of the main stages of this process.

Each interview is associated with a written memo where I will explain the circumstances and all the observations around which cannot be recorded or

transcribed. These are collected all together to guide the understanding of results and add on the situational analysis. This information is integrated in the analysis section. Data retrieved from the interviews are coded through the help of relevant qualitative analysis software such as QDA miner which is accessible for free. This software helps to figure out the frequency in using certain concepts, decide on the most relevant topics/themes and identify similar trends in the response of participants. The software also helps in identifying easily the quotes as you look for one specific code and integrate that quote in the respective part of the analysis section. The guideline created beforehand will be assisting this process of defining themes and codes. Concepts which have been explained in the operationalization but do not appear in the codebook are the ones which were not considered to be filled with relevant information from the participant's answers or some others which were seen as repetitive and already discussed in other responses. However, most of the concepts identified and explained in the operationalization were found to be relevant in building the codebook and organizing the analysis. Here is important to underline that different types of trust and social networking identified and explained in the operationalization are grouped in one code to not overload the content of codebook. Further, there is one last clarification to be made: After coding the most significant part of each transcript, highlighting each code on different colors to be easily visualized, we need to illustrate each part of the analysis with corresponding quotes. In this stage, the command code retrieving facilitates this whole process. The use of this data organization can be demonstrated with an example retrieved directly from the software although this consists of 1 single transcript and we can combine many more using different commands in the software. There is also the possibility to integrate graphs and charts to summarize various findings. The following figure offers an overview of all the themes and codes identified and further used to build on the analysis.

Figure 1: example of code and themes retrieving

Category	Code	Case	Text
General Background of the participants	Age	Tr 1	am 24
General Background of the participants	Occupation/education	Tr 1	Right now? I have been studying Human Rights in Lund, I have a few papers that I need to hand in just to get my degree but otherwise I am working as a personal assistant with a boy that has autism, thats what I am doing right now.
General Background of the participants	Location of residence	Tr 1	I live in Malmo but I live, its not in the city but its a bit outside the city but is still Malmo is not a village. It called hamostad. It used to be a beautiful place but its turning to a gheto place in a way. Its happening a lot of things but yeah is still nice.
General Background of the participants	Country of origin/ ethnic background	Tr 1	R: I have been living there since I moved here to Sweden, has been 16 years now. So I moved here when I was 9. Before I lived in Germany and I was born there, I was there until I was 7 and then they deported us back to Kosovo.
General Background of the participants	Length of residence	Tr 1	I have been living there since I moved here to Sweden, has been 16 years now.
Civic skills	Type of activities	Tr 1	went back to be a volunteer instead and I am doing here in Malmo in the home support with children helping with their school work and it is very interesting , I love seeing people that are changing in a way to be more
Civic skills	Rational of engagement	Tr 1	what did happened in that period that made you so good and they were there at the work support everyday pushing themselves. And you are like if you can do that I cant I do that with myself in my life like...maybe I already gained that
Social Trust	Presence/lack of social trust	Tr 1	hm..yeah I am always the person that tries to do my best and try to help and it's not just in the volunteer part but its also in the working part I always say Tamam we were talking and outside we cant do and so people become your friends. you trust and in that way is a small family.With some of these people you share more: hopes and dreams and with some you share less but mostly is like (aa) what to do in the future more private things , like things that go around like school or ah jobs or life in general like oh Im tired of this or Im tired of that or did you read about what news said about that or things like
Social Trust	Types of trust	Tr 1	
Social Trust	Factors influencing trust	Tr 1	you find this safe place and you say I wanna trust this person what they do and how they proceed with things and then is just happens that everybody includes everyone and then you find the safetennes and the trust within the people because they really try to engage everyone and that's very important I think to gain this safeties when you can just talk about things. Try to engage people to talk more is very important
Social networking/info flow	Spill-over effect	Tr 1	something there and we have other organization that we support that we share the same values and it is really good because you learn from others as well how they do it and how you try to do it as well. Me personal not but we
Social networking/info flow	Diversity network	Trt 1	Is really interesting because everybody is different but when you talk to them , you are like you so much in common because not so much difference. As for example a friend that is from Georgia and when she talks about her parents when we are together and I am like it sounds like my parents. Or another

Figure 2: Themes and codes organized through QDA software – codebook

General Background of the participants
- Age
- Gender
- Country of origin/ ethnic background
- Length of residence
- Occupation/education
- Location of residence

General information on the Organization enagement
- Motivation/ reasons of joining the organization
- Length of engagemnt
- Background information of the organization

Social Trust
- Presence/lack of social trust
- Types of trust
- Factors influencing trust
- Spill-over effect of trust in outh constituencies

Social networking/info flow
- Presence/Lack
- Types of social networking
- Spill-over effect
- Diversity network

Civic skills
- Type of activities
- Type of skills
- Presence or lack
- Rational of engagement

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4.7 Research limitations – in theory and field work

This section will provide the study with the research limitations faced in the theory and during the field work.

First, the analysis rests on qualitative data referring to 3 associations which can risk in generalizing theories that may not be relevant for the whole population and not become applicable to other types of association which hold different nature of activities and are composed by people who create different types of relations. Saying this, the research might not fulfill the long-term attempt to generalize findings in other constituencies. In this perspective, as it is also stated by Jacobs and Tillie (2004) who makes a collection of the most significant studies investigating social capital dimensions, it is yet hard to find cross-national research in this topic. This requires further and larger research. Most of the studies covering the current field are contextual and advised to not be considered fully relevant in another country context or even on a smaller scale, hence regional or local/municipal context. Going through theoretical frameworks, I also come across the tendency to focus only on newcomers and leave behind the "established immigrants" which can provide insights into the long-term development of social capital. For this purpose, I tend to include even second-generation migrants as participants in the interview. Along the theory limitations, we need to point out the complexity that exists in categorizing the term social trust, social networking, and civic skills. In the theory scholars use very different terms to identify these concepts. Among all terms that I have encountered into my study I could pick up some examples: dimensions, build-ups, aspects, returns, links, mechanisms and many more. From my synthesis of the theoretical framework, I decided to use dimensions as the most adequate term.

Regarding the field work limitations, the study was unable to reach directly rather less active members /young migrants from different associations to provide a more holistic view of the study. Being inactive blocks even the possibility to access my request to interview them. Sometimes, they would respond to my invitation by saying that they cannot contribute to the study because they do not know much about what is happening in the organization. The perspective of less active members was tackled from the active ones in the interviews. Another limitation which is specific to this case is the language barrier if the participants did not speak English which is the language of this research they were impeded to participate. A translation of the interview topic guide can facilitate this process but as we are dealing with in-depth interviews, language is very important. And in addition, this research aims to tackle complex concepts and meanings that would not be easily explored if we do not share the same language: the participant and the interviewer. Many things can be lost in translation. Again, in the field research, another consideration that comes out is that the research rests only on present data retrieved from interviews. Little can be known how the social capital /dimensions are changed and developed over time (Manty & Manty, 2015: 93). The lack of longitudinal data could feed more understanding regarding the development of trust, civic skills and social networking. The only indication in the

interviews will be to ask about the length of engagement and see how it fluctuates. Even so, it would not reach much depth.

Another limitation that I encountered through the process of contacting organizations and trying to select participants, is the decline of physical volunteering in the organizations following an increasing trend of being just member by paying a monthly contribution/donation. These are all inactive members who do not engage themselves in any sort of activity or fail to get to know anyone in person in the organization. Along the process of contacting the organization, some of the them responded negatively because they think they don't meet the criteria of this research although from the visible representation on their websites appears to be a perfect match. However, they stated in the communication that their members are mostly native Swedish and their diversity rests mostly on their target groups. A difficulty which is relevant for the whole study, not only field research is lack of data or accessibility disaggregating ethnicity/nationality because of the migration policy with the exception of a database managed by statistics Sweden titled as STATIV[10] . Yet, not every information is publicly accessible. Residents are not supposed to be registered anymore as foreign-born. The only data which can be considered and registered is the country of origin. This is information that would be rather more relevant if the selection would be random but, in this case, we are applying purposeful selection which overcomes these barriers.

A last observation is that paid staff is playing an increasing role in associations, replacing the role of volunteers which comes up also in the background (Lundasen, 2013). Interns are also recruited more instead of enlarging their volunteering campaigns Also, participants of the activities are not considered as members, approaching a more private oriented mind-set and a trend of professionalization of the third sector (Eek, 2006). There is also an obvious distance between members and their governing boards which could be observed from my contact with the organizations in Malmo. The board was always the one who was prone to select the volunteers. The employees in the organization were trying to first look if the topic was interesting and applicable before contacting the volunteers and sharing the information about this study.

4.8   Ethical considerations

Research involving refugees and other types of vulnerable communities usually generate ethical challenges.   As we are not directly interviewing the most vulnerable participants and newcomers but instead second-generation migrants

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[10] in accordance with the Public Access to Information and Secrecy Act (Offentlighets- och sekretesslagen (2009:400), meaning that all information about the personal or financial circumstances of individuals are subject to secrecy and cannot be presented so it can be traced back to the individual

and foreign-born can also avoid some of these challenges. In the case of participants under the age of 18, a written consent provided by their parent or guardian ahead of conducting individual interviews is needed (May, 2011). 3 of the interview participant who are under 18 years old in the case of SSU were required consent and a support of an adult in the organization to fix the interviews was needed, respecting the ethical guidelines of the respective institution. As the position of this age-group is fundamentally important to dig deeper in the research and cover many different perspectives I insisted to find a way to include them. Also, there was a great willingness from their part to contribute to the research as their representation is still very low in the youth organization structures.

The ethical fragility consists mostly on the first section of the questions covering information about their background or experience as migrants in another country. This could trigger some disturbing experience or remind of some heavy emotional state. Apart from the individual, there is also an institutional ethics that should be considered, respecting the guidelines of each organization. To enter certain institutions and contact individuals for interviews some public institutions could require an official consent prior to the contact with interviewees.

In the case of the helpline organization, considering that many of the participants are coming from the most vulnerable group, I had to consult the employees in the selection and they did not recommend talking to the people who have severe psychological struggles and also the ones who have protective identities.

The question of confidentiality was discussed with each of the participant prior to interviews and for some of them who demanded anonymity; this was protected making invisible their names, the organization name and also some of their general characteristics.

5 Results and Discussion

After conducting in-depth interviews with 12 participants from local youth organizations in Malmo, we will introduce the most significant results in their answers on the 3 main dimensions of social capital grouped according to the coding themes and subthemes of all the interviews transcriptions organized with the help of QDA analysis software.

The discussion will be effectuated in accordance with the operationalization of theory and concepts under the three milestones: social trust, social networking, and civic skills. The discussion will attempt to answer the initial research question: How do *youth with foreign background* experience *social trust* and *social networking,* and the development of *civic skills* as multi-dimensions of *social capital* from their positions as members/volunteers, in the context of local youth organizations in Malmo?

There is a clear connection between what the theory suggests and what the results demonstrate. The literature advocates an evident presence of social capital in youth voluntary organizations as manifested through the three dimensions. What is also obviously relevant from the theory is distinction in how people connect with each other within organizations settings indicating diverse types of trust along those relationships. The interview questions in a qualitative way have tried to capture the experience of young members of youth organizations on these dimensions. The main discussions are illustrated by one or more original quotes retrieved from the transcripts of the interviews.

General demographic characteristics are important in defining that participants are diverse within the youth group given their country of origin, gender, age, and slightly occupation and length of engagement. What this can also indicate is seeing if there are any trends in relation to participants embracing similar characteristics, considered as trends. In this study, the primary goal of introducing them is to demonstrate the diversity of the sample even though we will try to pick up some small trends. First, length of engagement is quite similar with a dominance of 1 or 2 years and in this respect, we cannot obtain significant trends in analyzing this characteristic. Location of residence gives more insights in relation to the social networking strength when participants tell about bonding activities they organize with their initiative outside the organization. Occupation and education results to be significant and this will be elaborated in the section below. There is a dominance of girls in the sample and this also reflects its actual higher representation in the whole youth volunteering community in Malmo. Country of origin demonstrates the diversity nature of this group with a bigger representation of Ex-Yugoslavian, Syrian and Iraqi community as first and second generation immigrants. Native Swedish participants are considered to analyze the inter-ethnic dynamic but at the same time as a comparison group.

5.1 Social Trust

From the first view of the results, analyzing the first subtheme coded in QDA software as a presence or lack of social trust in youth organizations, we can state that there is an obvious presence of social trust embodied as a broad value that allows communities to cooperate together and be able to achieve common goals.

This is what it is found in the relations between youth coming from different ethnical backgrounds. A diversified network is integrating social trust as a general value. This first feature can be observed in all the interviews conducted. Even without directly indicating the term trust in the questions content, the answers have pointed out that there is a social trust among them and this is closely related to the association environment, norms and principles embedded in the organization but also shared among youth participating. This first observation is what has been preached by the theory since the surfacing of social capital concept, what Verba and Putman have indicated.

> "Like one thing that happens when you spend a lot of time is that you notice whether or not they are like trustworthy so to speak ah and that goes for the people in the organizations. Trust and sacrificing a little bit for each other"
>
> (Interview n.9, E.L, 2017)

> "From the name of the organization, it means "friendship without borders".
>
> (Interview n.1, S.F, 2017)

> "Yeah it is very focus on relationships and soft values, trying to help each other".
>
> (Interview n.7, Linda, 2017)

What is to be furthered discussed is certainly its various ways of manifestations and its understanding. Refereeing again to the theory which indicates a superfluous character of trust, distinguishing a multitude of its types, we would expect that when participants describe their relations with other people in the organization as friendships, intimate relations with the willingness to support and help in personal settings, this will be classified as a thick trust. On the other hand, what we can observe is that the professional aspect of trust is very high and overstated by most of the participants. We can say that there is a tendency of considering each other at the first place as colleagues who share a professional trust but the personal, intense trust one is more hesitative. This is even more observable in the helpline organization where activities have a tendency to be professionally oriented with the main focus on preparing youth for the job market.

> "Professional help definitely. For example now before meeting you I run into Josefine. Whenever she works a lot even so we try to take somehow some of that burden of her. For example now I'm doing interviews with new volunteers. I did one last week and I have another one on Tuesday. This is that sort of thing that she usually be doing but she is nearly at the end of her term in the board she did not have the time"
>
> (Interview n.9, E.L, 2017)

When approaching a deeper level of social trust coded as (types of trust) and (factors influencing trust with other people in the organization) through questions such as: What type of support have you received from the members? If you would need some more personal emotional support for example, would you turn to them? Can you describe and exemplify it? The answers implicate hesitation in the first instance, starting by taking a silence break, thinking, and following by prosodies such as: hmm, ahh, mm or what do you mean! And when they are asked for examples, most of them implicate the personal space but it still rests mostly on the professional level with few exceptions.

> "But otherwise helping, to some degree we socialize a lot when we get together. Being able to give advice. Like one of my colleague started a new job one month ago and we could talk a little bit about that and I knew someone who work at that same place before so that sort of thing"
>
> (Interview n.9, E.L, 2017)

> "For example we needed some help to rent a gymnasium for volleyball and then we had some more experienced individuals from Tamam who new how to organize and I contacted them and they helped me to do. Sometimes they needed someone to drive the kids from the train-station so I did it. I tried to help in the ways I could"
>
> (Interview n.4, S.M.D, 2017)

As it is introduced in the theory, when one investigates types of trust there is a spontaneous collision with types of ties which is depicted also in the answers of the participants. If people talk about support solidarity, reciprocity in terms of values embedded in the large society and also reflected in their relations with other people in the organization, this will lead to what in theory we call generalized trust. This is often described by participants as a normal way of connecting to other "colleagues" inherent in the guidelines of the organization and described as the normal mode of acting in professional relations. Then again if the factors influencing the creation of trust are individualistic, working towards a shared goal but embedding many differences in their thoughts and gaps in their stands, this indicates the presence of potential strategic trust. The most used word to describe this connection is: we are different but "we relate to each other".

> "The bond is deeply rooted in the society we come from. What kind of issues and how we see these issues, this is the standpoint where we all agree and from there on is very easy. To have this kind of bond is very important. Our differences make all alike"
>
> (Interview n.12, K.W.A, 2017)

> "I think the spectrum of opinions is very broad, you can be more left or more right and we discuss and we make a decision. When we represent we can't speak as an individual's, this is the guideline"
>
> (Interview n.10, O.P, 2017)

Within the code" type of trust" we can identify the existence of strategic trust which can be easily confused with the generalized trust because of its similar understanding. Strategic trust is designated as a personal interest when people pursue a common good. In this type of trust, people are strongly aware of its returns. In participant's answers, we can grasp that they know how these relations

and the values embedded with lead them to achieve final goals in projects, in their personal and community development.

> "It doesn't matter who you are outside, you are here for the project, and you take part of the same information. That helps and it is also the way, pedagogical methods, created relationships. They are here for each other for 8 weeks. They fika together, activity that is supposed to strengthen the bonds"
>
> (Interview n.8, A.A, 2017)

> "Even in situations when you don't relate we ask questions a lot, to get the same state of mind"
>
> (Interview. n.11, R.B, 2017)

Referring to what in theory we point out as thick trust, findings from the interview suggest examples which are much particularized to the situation and people they connect with. They feature the relations with some of the people in the circle but not with all of them in the same way. Words such as bonding, clicking, friends, friendships, talking about private things, understanding each other's reality and hanging out outside the organization would mostly signify the thick /strong trust but at the same time what Putman designates as bonding in such relations.

> "With some of these people you share more: hopes and dreams and with some you share less but mostly is like (aa) what to do in the future more private things , like things that go around like school or ah jobs or life in general like oh Im tired of this or Im tired of that or did you read about what news said about that or things like that.But sometimes you do talk about Tamam as well. But you have people that you snap also and you start seeing things and sending snaps and like I thought about you when I saw that or funny things. You get jokes and part of that"
>
> (Interview n.1, S.F, 2017)

The values, norms created in smaller circles can be reflected in other settings outside the youth organization (Newton, 1999a; 173). The participants are not coming with detailed answers in this issue. It remains unclear the level of what is defined as the phenomenon of spill-over effect, questioning their connection with other organizations and if their values traverse the border of their respective organization. There is recognition of cooperation with other organizations and individuals but they cannot elaborate if such elements as norms, values embedded in social trust are making through, although they state that other organizations have similar goals and interest as the ones where they are engaged.

5.2   Social Networking

Social networking defined as the use of platforms to interact with other people and exchange information in the organization is also something that all the participants are exposed to in their respective organizations and they seem to take advantage of it for professional purposes, to create, maintain relationships, for a more general knowledge on society issues and also to be updated with what is occurring on in the organization.

Youth association serve their function as a pool of information gathering and using knowledge inside and outside connecting people who are engaged with each other, different positioned and also benefiting people who are not involved directly but have certain connection with participants. Employing Putman's terminology, bridging social capital dominates over bonding in these specific heterogeneous groups. What we can draw attention here is how this information is spread out and how interaction in diverse groups is actually occurring illustrated by participants personal experience.

Most of them talk about being introduced to the organizations by friends and this implicates what in theory is described as bridging outside the organization (Putman, 2008). Many of them when asked how they engaged themselves, explain by mentioning their long experiences in volunteering before joining the existing organization. They have met people who introduced them to the activities of this organization and this is how some of them got to start their engagement.

> S.F states: "My best friend was participating as a volunteer in 2014 I think and they had this picnic that they were organizing and she was like: do you wanna come? It will be really fun for you and I was like sure why not. And then I went there and we had the picnic.
>
> (Interview n.1, S.F, 2017)

> First time I met someone from Tamam, a friend, he was part of the board a couple of years ago. During the migration crisis in 2015 Tamam had amazing activities and events to provide the refugees. Another event was organized by another friend of mine and he was the organizer for the Tamam projects focused on refugees. It was around 2015, so I have been involved since then.
>
> (Interview n.4, S.M.D, 2017)

> "So the president of the organization actually did the master with me so he said you should join because I study international relations and we have a good platform for you to express your feelings and then I joined."
>
> (Interview n.12, K.W.A, 2017)

Additionally, the findings show how people who are positioned as leaders, members of the board, chairpersons are important to lead or guide the others who are not in the same position in the group. They can provide more knowledge and information for the members who are positioned in lower seats or holding not so active roles. The people who are designated as board members, chairperson, leaders of specific clubs or departments are able to access more social resources and they can use them or share with others. Some of these people might even have more connection with other people outside the organization and use their authority to initiate and maintain relations with partners and other stakeholders.

> "As a board member it has always been like asking other members for supporting projects" project for example I had Mosen a guy that wanted to start a football group here in Malmo for newly arrives so I was like he has this idea would you support this and I think would be very good for Malmo to have it for them to be somewhere, ok it was for a friend"
>
> (Interview n 1, S.F, 2017)

When asked about how information is spread out, participants think of very formal information at first and they identify a fixed department or a person who is

in charge of this issue. However, it becomes obvious that not everyone is able to access all the information resources directly. Granovetter with the theory of "strength in weak ties" in combination with the parallel theory of structural holes proposed by Brut recognize the strength of these people positioned higher to empower and support other members in the group. In this case, even if the ties are weak and not everyone is engaged with the same intensity, there is still this opportunity of connecting active with non-active and stimulate the flow of information which serves everyone in the circle. So it becomes important according to these theories and the answers of participant the position that people have in the network to determine if the link is significant or the extent that this link can reach.

> "Al information come by email and we have the chairperson and the vice-president and they update us with the meetings and they are the ones more filtering. It is not my role specifically and I also got information to my email".
>
> (Interview n.2, M.B, 2017)

The better-positioned people are the ones who are reaching the new members, mobilizing and providing social meeting points. They are in charge of finding opportunities to better integrate them in the social circles of the organization. Among the three organizations selected, SSU is more focused on recruitment given its profile as a political organization. They distinctively emphasize the responsibility they have in noticing if there are new members, invite new people and entertain constantly these emerging relations with the newcomers. It seems to be a top priority in their agenda to engage and interact with less active members or the guests. This is especially relevant during elections times. The recruitment gets so personal that they also try to convince their family members to be active members. On the other hand, the two other organizations are smaller and the number of volunteers is limited. Hassela embedding a major professional profile strives to increase the number of project participants and does not focus its resources on the volunteering part. At the same time, TAMAM highlights the importance of its outreach activities but strives at the same time recruiting and keeping volunteers engaged.

As we mentioned above, some of the answers from SSU participants were particularly interesting when asked about their relations with new members and non-active ones:

> "All the member that are active. And for the less active ones we try to invite in more activities".
>
> (Interview n.10, B.A., 2017)

> "Whenever they come we try to spot them and ask: how are you etc. Social media is a very important tool to reach out".
>
> (Interview n.12, K.W.A., 2017)

> "We get people who add us in faceook so fast after the debate meetings. I got like 2 right after the last meeting. Now we are friends and they see what I do, we write to each other: show up lets have some fun. It is so basic".
>
> (Interview. n.11, R.B, 2017)

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Among the participants, those who are younger (seen as a feature of 3 participants who are 16 years old) are more prone to explain relations in terms of strong bonding and emphasizing the emotions and passion in connecting and engaging in the activities of the organization. This sort of description would be categorized as the strong ties as compared to the older members who neglect the personal aspect and focus the relations more on a professional level.

> "The main thing is that we have this connection all the youth. We just click and also just the drive we have by our age" The majority, we make get into the debate, we take it in and we help each other. We can do better, we don't hesitate. We lift each-other up and do that together.
>
> (Interview. n.11, R.B, 2017)

A lot of interaction is going on or followed up through social media. The digital tools are used for strengthening bonds, increasing contacts and staying updated with the lives of other fellow members. Social media works as an important pool of information where people get informed about events, social meetings, organizational occurring but also learning opportunities and share this sort of information between each other. At the same time, it assists them to enforce and entertain the already created relations.

Moreover, we can distinguish some different characteristics between the most vulnerable and members who are already established in the country. Although this perception is introduced by the already established members in the local society, considering the fact that in the interviews we don't have access to newcomers/the most vulnerable ones, it can still inform us in certain degrees about the issues. We can see that the vulnerabilities are different among ethnic and native Swedish in the Hassela example; this creates different dynamics of social capital. The solidarity of sharing similar struggles is something that comes up a lot but at the same time, they state that the solidarity rests on solutions and not in problems and this does not prevent them from collaborating with each other.

> "I think the main thing is all being part of the society in a different way than the norm. Like we have been the ones who had to struggle more because we are not native Swedish, people see you in a different way that you have always to prove yourself. Those people have been in similar things as me and they have felt those dark emotions, why do I have always to prove myself, why do I have to work harder than anyone else because of how I look like or because of where I am from.
>
> (Interview n.8, A.A, 2017)

> "Among all we see some kind of solidarity among youth with foreign background: Even if we are born , and we speak perfectly Swedish, we don't look and if there is a debate for example about Syrian crisis , I am not Syrian, but this is something that is going to trigger Bela when she sees how Margot is addressing and we talk about it , and a lot of people are frustrating about it and we say lets write about it''
>
> (Interview n. 12, K.W.A, 2017)

As the theory also recognizes, besides the positive view on the dimension of social capital, there are also the dark sides of it which can be tracked in the answers of the participants. Participants coming from a foreign background might connect with each other because of the similar situations they go through. Even if they have obvious differences in their background with native Swedish, this does

not seem to create barriers in working together for the same goals. Focusing on solutions and not problems somehow helps them overcome the potential social traps on the way.

As A.A whose parents escaped the war and came to Sweden 20 years ago states:

> "Solidarity leading to anger can ruin the whole group" "You have to find your own way, your own strength; you can't copy someone else, or follow someone's path because you will not make it. They are many people here that have friends who got shot you know things going on in Malmo, shootings and stuff. There are many who know those persons, who were together, who assisted. So we try to focus on how to make it better"
>
> <div align="right">(Interview n.8, A.A, 2017)</div>

Still, discussions about inter-ethnic relations are not easy to be tackled in the youth organizations in Malmo. The talks on diversity implicate strict guidelines of the organizations. It is evident that you cannot speak about certain things in the organization. During our discussion, members state that values of the organization are endorsed and the background of how the organization is formed contributes to how participants create relations somehow. The needs of specific ethnic groups or ties which are specific to one ethnicity are not coming out in the interviews. People deny talking about specific related issues for one ethnicity and this appears to be even inherent in the guidelines of the organizations. This is also what in the background we explained as the shift of integration policy in Sweden. A restriction shows that there is a safe space which is at the same time a framed space.

> "It's timid how you talk about certain things" It is a survival mechanism to not seeing yourself as a victim even if you are a victim, you just have to find a work to do and dont care about discrimination and all" – there is a reservation when we talk about confrontation between different ethnicities in the same environment, people are more stepped back and what they say about diversity is a bit confusing.
>
> <div align="right">(Interview n 5, A.K, 2017)</div>

In the vulnerable communities, social interactions and embedded trust in them are more complex and specific to each case. There is a lack of trust in the society and institutions and this is sometimes reflected in the relations within the organization. But at the same time in the most vulnerable communities, the social capital lacking outside can become stronger and more specific inside. For example, in the case of Helpline, there are people who are feeling not appreciated, bullied by others or having abusive relations. Some of them have even protective identify and implicated in questions of safety nets. The safety that they lack outside, the broken relations and lack of recognition make them feel very grateful for finding people inside that understand and believe in them. Thus, they are faced with two different social relations realities existing outside and inside.

> "There are 2 girls that are very shy and it is very clear that is a way to break free from their families and they become very very good friends"
>
> <div align="right">(Interview n.7, Linda, 2017)</div>

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The non-native appreciate and talk more in depth about being together with other non-native, which makes them feel more comfortable. This is recognized as that sort of connection which makes similar people come together, known as the homophily phenomenon in the theory. Yet, as we already mentioned above, being together in some aspects with people from similar background does not prevent members from creating and maintaining relations with native Swedish members. Overall, we are unable to perceive any huge gap in these inter-ethnic connections. Even though youth come from different background what connects them is their motivation, interests, activities where they are engaged all together regardless of their differences.

> "You can see that there is a person from another country and maybe this is that person biggest problem that you dont have a perfect language but otherwise you might be like oh I just want to work so they have their issues to get established in a new country. Because this is a country which is tough to be established if you don't have the language, not everyone is traumatized by war but my struggle is that I don't have enough Swedish yet. But there are people who are born in Sweden. The reason why they are here is problems with anxiety, psychological, maybe you dropped out of school early, maybe you have been depressed. Often maybe you come from a lower social class. We are here for different reasons. The group connection is still there. You come from different perspectives which I think is good meeting. The meeting point is being far from being established in the working society. But the reasons are very different.
>
> (Interview n.7, Linda, 2017)

Another aspect of "Homophily" comes out as well. Similarly positioned people have a stronger cooperation with each other. The people who are in the board, people in the same departments, people who are in the same clubs, people who are studying the same field, people who are living and have grown up in the same neighborhood, people who are speaking the same language (but this last one results to be less significant). For instance, one of the primary observations that results from the interviews is that education seems to be very closely related to the motivation of engagement and what connects some people to each other. Most of the participants have before or are pursuing at the present moment studies in social science which offers already a presumed awareness of human rights, international relations, society issues, law, and pedagogical background. Some of them already mentioned this as an influence or motivation in their engagement during the interview. There is also a sort of gender solidarity combined with a similar socio-economical background. Here we can distinguish some groups: young men with ethnical background who are unemployed or young single moms or with abusive partners.

We were not able to retrieve many insights concerning the spill-over effect of social networking. Even though participants answer that they are in contact with other organizations and exchange information, still this results to be the responsibility mostly of certain people who are in charge of communication or public relations. All participants agree to have connections with other local organizations and participating in events coordinated by the municipality and other local governmental agencies. Some of them help in recruiting, in learning processes, and also few rare individual contacts.

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5.3 Civic skills

The attitudes, abilities, and skills that allow people or increase the likelihood that they would participate in the public life are omnipresent in almost all the participants' answers. Out of the three dimensions analyzed, this one seems to acquire very similar answers among the participants regardless of their relations or differences in their individual background. Considering this, we devote a smaller space to discuss this dimension.

The omnipresence of civic skills is highly due to the nature of activities where youth are engaged. As the theory suggest, the first fact that youth are engaged in the respective organization tells about their eagerness to be active citizens and offer their contribution to various community issues. On the other hand, the profile of the organization selected in this research creates stronger possibilities for members to acquire and exercise civic skills: One political, one social with a focus on supporting refugees and the third one helping vulnerable youth along their preparation for the job market. Saying this, we can retrieve from the answers that Civic skills represent one of the main motivations to join the organization, for example:

> "I always enjoyed lecturing or helping people understand things"
> (Interview n.9, E.L, 2017)

However, from the answers the nature of skills is not highly distinctive. Civic, personal and social skills are very interrelated. Some of the most important activities identified from the participants that contribute directly to the civic skills are: Teamwork, debates, seminars, learning about society issues, teaching, preparing for the job market, communication workshops. These types of activities are organized to mostly develop their skills but at the same time to use them in outreach events, campaigns, assist newcomers, teach children and organize for other youth who as mentioned above are considered as the target of organization projects.

> "We have different workshops, seminars and where I was part of, we had demonstrations a lot of them that we showed our support. For example in 2015 a o lot of Asylum seekers and refugees came to Sweden and obviously passed through Malmo and there were a lot of issued related to this at the political level. We thought that it was very important that we came up when people demonstrated like against how the government dealt with these issues and that's what we demonstrated a ,ot of times. In 2016 when they decided sending home like a lot of Afghan boys, claiming that the country is safe which not this is is one thing that we came with our board. You learn a of stuff and you get to know many people, we interact with so many people and our personal social skills and I have become better like presenting before people and so and I think is work related. It turned out to be useful for my CV as well. I learned a lot of things. We don't have a big of a budget, I learned how to apply for findings, how you budget, how to manage different projects. That helped me in my work life"
> (Interview n. 2, M. B, 2017)

This is interrelated with the exchange and use of information that they share with each other. Sometimes they also use learning resources that are available for

local organization in the way of increasing their capacities. At the local level they are offered capacity building opportunities for the key people in the organization. They mention the coordinating municipality agencies, volontarbyran who organizes seminars, learning workshops in issues such as organization and operations, diversity, organizing campaigns etc...

The rationale of engagement in activities matches the overall motivation of engagement in the organization so this does not really feed the research with new and significant knowledge. Motivations various from the interest in society issues, develop themselves, advance knowledge which is already acquired in education institutions, help other people in the community or connect better to the job market. Many motivations can be found in only one individual answer.

> "I have learned about the themes that I didn't learn in my studies and exchanging with others and to make a lecture about that. We also have the possibility to get the education through the support for local organizations: how to be more diverse in the group. And these kind of education is offered to the board and the most active members.
>
> (Interview n. 8, Linda, 2017)

6 Concluding remarks and further research

In this section I will underline the most significant findings of the study combined with the theory and summarize how this research has contributed to the existing literature. Suggestions for further research in this field will also be added as a final remark.

The importance of youth organizations as safe space for inter-ethnic communities is recognized by most of the theory in the field and supported by participant's answers in the in-depth interviews conducted for the purpose of this research. The contextual knowledge on Swedish local voluntary organizations and findings show that this setting is also framed by government policies, financial conditions, and organization guidelines restrictions. All of these frames constrain the possibility of having a very open dialogue among inter-ethnic communities including specific ethnic issues. Clashes between individuals with different ethnical background which are reported to be more then present in Malmo are hard to be tackled in this context. Thus, we come up with an overall positive view of social capital and its dimensions in this study. It is important to bear in mind that such a positive view of social capital found among youth members of voluntary organizations does not provide any overall insights relevant for the social cohesion in the general society, given the framed context of analysis.

Social capital and its dimension are invoked as omnipresent in inter-ethnic communities within youth organizations. The 3 main dimensions are by no means mutually exclusive. Interrelation between social trust, social networking, and civic skills of social capital is one of the main pickups of this study. One is difficult to exist without pointing to the other. Various types of ties and trust depend on the position, resources available and intensity of participation. Research also understands the extent to each member/volunteer reach information varies along the position they hold in the organization. Among all the types of trust identified, thin trust and generalized trust prevailed. These feature professional ties as dominant over stronger trust and thick trust. These last ones were slightly traced in more personal relations. In a highly motivating environment for the development of civic skills, communication skills, decision-making awareness and learning on important issues in society take a most significant space.

From the overall study I also like to touch upon 3 words from my own synthesis which could facilitate the perception on the nature of these dimensions and can be easy absorbed by everyone reading this study. I would refer to Social trust as value-norm related, social networking as structure-related and civic skills as assets/materialization of social capital. Lastly, I would like to highlight a common expereince of struggles and vulnerabilities in line with different ethnical

backgrounds which connects people and strenthen bonds. However, this connection was seen as able to cross the dividing lines through focusing on a meeting point to reach the common goals. Also similar occupation and socio-economical status results feeds a significant connection between members. There were only slight differences in how native-Swedish and youth with foreign background experience the dimensions of social capital

Further research should be able to reach more inactive or less active members over the long run to have a more holistic view of the youth organizations population. It should attempt to include newcomers as an important group of inter-ethnic youth communities. Extending the time-span of the research increases the opportunity to observe how each dimension emerges and develops withing the organization setting. This can bring many benefits and be applied easier in other constituencies.

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