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Integration through Civic Participation

- Exploring the Relationship between Membership in Organisations and Political Trust



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In the Nordic countries, an increasing part of the population consists of migrants from various backgrounds. Naturally, it is important to investigate what can be done in order for these migrants to integrate successfully. Previous research shows that some of the fundamentals of integration are trust and the sense of collective identity. Therefore, it is important to further investigate the components that can lead to an increase of trust in political institutions, and thus contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms that can subsequently increase a groups' sense of collective identity and integration. In response to the literature gaps, the present study investigates the relationship between political trust and civic participation, in light of Robert Putnam's (1993; 2000) argument in which he suggests that organisations that are structured in a horizontal way are expected to influence individuals' political trust positively while organisations that are structured in a hierarchical way are expected to influence individuals' political trust negatively. Accordingly, influenced by Putnam's (1993; 2000) argument, the hypothesis and the research questions of this study were formulated as: Organisations that are perceived as horizontal will show a positive relationship to political trust through all migration groups, while organisations that are perceived as hierarchical will show a negative relationship to political trust through all migration groups. RQ 1: Is there a positive relationship between political trust and horizontal organisations? RQ 2: Is there a negative relationship between political trust and hierarchical organisations? RQ 3: Does the relationship look the same through first-generation migrants, second-generation migrants and natives? To answer the generated questions, a quantitative research design was used with a data-set acquired from the joint EVS-WVS project and were consisted of 8634 (only members of the Nordic countries were included) participants, who were divided into groups based on their migration-background. The relationship between political trust and civic participation was analysed through a multiple regression analysis including dependent variable measuring trust in governmental institutions and independent variables measuring participation in voluntary organisations. Results indicated that all in all, the hypothesis cannot be confirmed in this study. This because the results were mixed as it was found that participation in organisations within various fields affects the migration groups differently. However, the most consistent results were found to be that civic participation in sport organisations has a positive effect on individuals' political trust, through all migration groups. Consequently, the results suggest that the structure of the organisations is not enough when trying to predict the effect of civic participation on political trust which is in contrast with Putnam's argument. .

Keywords: Integration, Civic participation, Political trust, Integration indicators, Hierarchical organisations, Horizontal organisations

Popular science summary

As an increasing part of the population in the Nordic countries consist of migrants from various backgrounds, it is important to investigate what can be done in order for these migrants to integrate successfully. One of the fundamentals of integration is that individuals together create a sense of collective identity in the society and start to trust one another. Since identity is viewed to be as one of the fundamentals to integration, it is important to investigate further what can lead to an increase in trust in political and public institutions, so we further are able to get a better understanding of the mechanisms that lead to an increase in the sense of collective identity and integration. The present study investigates the relationship between political trust and civic participation. Attention was brought to this specific relationship through Putnam's (1993,2000) argument that organisations that are structured in a horizontal way (e.g. sports clubs) are expected to have a positive effect on political trust while organisations that are organised in a hierarchical way (e.g. churches) are expected to have a negative effect on political trust. The hypothesis and the research questions of this study were based on this argument and are formulated as: Organisations that are perceived as horizontal will show a positive relationship to political trust through all migration groups while organisations that are perceived as hierarchical will show a negative relationship to political trust through all migration groups. RQ 1: Is there a positive relationship between political trust and horizontal organisations? RQ 2: Is there a negative relationship between political trust and hierarchical organisations? RQ 3: Does the relationship look the same through the three migration groups(first-generation migrants, second-generation migrants and natives)? A quantitative approach was selected in order to answer the research questions. The data-set was extracted from a joint project between European Value Study and World Value Survey. The number of participants was 8634 and only members of the Nordic countries were included. The participants were then divided into three groups based on their migration-background (e.g. first-generation migrants and second generation-migrants). The variables included to investigate the relationship between political trust and civic participation, were dependent variable measuring trust in governmental institutions and independent variables measuring participation in voluntary organisations. The relationships between these variables were analysed through a multiple regression analysis. Results indicated that all in all, the hypothesis cannot be confirmed in this study. This because the results were mixed as it was found that participation in organisations within various fields affects the migration groups differently. However, the most consistent results were found to be that civic participation in sport organisations has a positive effect on individuals' political trust, through all migration groups. Consequently, the results suggest that the structure of the organisations is not enough when trying to predict the effect of civic participation on political trust which is in contrast with Putnam's argument.

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1 Introduction

In the Nordic countries, an increasing part of the population consists of migrants from various backgrounds. An important question that arises, is what can be done in order for the countries to succeed with integrating these migrants. Creating a sense of collective identity or collective consciousness in the society is viewed to be one of the fundamentals of integration (Durkheim, 1893, 1897, Sackmann, 2003). Often, social trust is argued to have an important role when collective identity and integration are to be promoted. It is even so, that several indicators of social trust are included in the European Union's (2020), National Integration Evaluation Mechanism's (2020) and Anger and Strang's (2008) sets of integration indicators that are among other things used by authorities when integration policies are being developed in societies.

As noted above, social trust is believed to be very important to establish in order to succeed with integrating the migrants into the society. However, it has been found that in Europe, there is a stronger relationship between European identity and trust in political institutions (political trust) than European identity and trust in other citizens (social trust). (Verhaegen et al, 2015). This finding indicates, that even though social trust is important and should be included as a strong indicator of integration, political trust is not to be neglected.

The purpose and relevance of the present study are to be found in the lack of integration indicators that support the importance of political trust and what can be done to increase the levels of it. Since it has already been argued that one of the fundamentals of integration is identity and that political trust has a strong relationship with identity, I now want to bring light to and investigate what can lead to an increase in the levels of people's political trust. Therefore, the present study investigates the relationship between political trust and civic participation.

Attention was brought to the relationship between political trust¹ and civic participation through Putnam's (1993, 2000) argument that individuals' levels of political trust is affected by membership in civic voluntary organisations. According to Putnam (1993, 2000), organisations that are structured in a horizontal way (e.g. sports clubs) are expected to have a positive relationship with political trust, while organisations that are ordered in a hierarchical way (e.g. church) are expected to have a negative relationship with political trust. He explains that horizontal organisations "bring together agents of

¹Putnam (1993, 2000) He uses the concept of good government when discussing the effect of civic participation in horizontal and hierarchical organisations. Political trust is based on individuals' perception of the governments' performance, as is the concept of good government. (Boix Posner, 1996). Therefore, it makes sense that good government is interchangeable to political trust.

equivalent status and power,”(Putnam, 1993:176). This, while hierarchical organisations ”link unequal agents in asymmetric relations of hierarchy and dependence.” (Putnam, 1993:176). Boix and Posner (1996) explain that the main difference between horizontal and hierarchical organisations is based on that hierarchical organisations have a system that features non- collective decision-making and that the relationships within the hierarchical organisations are characterised by individuals depending on each other instead of mutuality. Hierarchical organisations are therefore limited in their capability of developing norms of cooperation and a shared sense of responsibility of achieving collective goals. This is argued to have a negative effect on political trust because cooperation, collective decision-making and mutually arriving at a solution, are the basics of what makes civic participation beneficial for individuals’ trust. (Boix Posner, 1996:4.

Putnam (1993, 2000) does not mention any specifics about if civic participation in the organisations is expected to affect individuals belonging to different groups (e.g. groups based on gender, income, nationality, etc.) in various ways. Since the background of the aim of this study lies in identity and integration, I will investigate if the relationship looks similar between three migration groups. Therefore, the three migration groups of this study are the first-generation migrant group, the second-generation migrant group and lastly, the native group.

Based on Putnam’s (1993, 2000) statement about the expected effects of civic participation, a hypothesis was developed. The hypothesis is formulated as: Organisations that are according to Putnam’s understanding perceived as horizontal will show a positive relationship to political trust through all three migration groups. On the contrary, organisations that are according to Putnam’s understanding perceived as hierarchical will show a negative relationship to political trust through all three migration groups.

Through this hypothesis, three research questions were developed, they are formulated as:

1. Is there a positive relationship between political trust and horizontal organisations?
2. Is there a negative relationship between political trust and hierarchical organisations?
3. Does the relationship look the same through the three migration groups (first-generation migrants, second-generation migrants and natives)?

This paper is organised in the following way. In section one, I discuss existing research done within the field of participation in voluntary organisation in relation to integration and political trust. In section two, I explain the concept of political trust, the importance of it and how the concept may be

understood in various ways in the literature and how it will be understood in this paper. In section three, I explain the concept of integration, how that too may be understood differently in the literature. I also describe three different sets of integration indicators, what they mean, how they are used, and I also discuss why it can be problematic to state that the indicators are used to measure integration. In section four, I explain the concept of civic participation, how it is used in the literature and how I use it in this paper. In section five, I explain what method was used to study the relationship between political trust and civic participation. In section six, I explain what data was used to study the relationship. In section seven, I list what variables are used in the analysis. In section eight, I describe the process of the tests and analysis. In section nine, I interpret the results. In section ten, I analyse the results in relation to the aim, hypothesis and research questions. In section eleven, I discuss the conclusion of this paper and the importance of future research. Lastly, in section twelve, I discuss the limitations of this study.

2 Previous research and Purpose

Participation in voluntary organisations is often viewed as a good way to develop and support integration. This view is so common that the relationship has become something that is typically perceived as self-evident (Østerlund Seippel, 2013). Even though perceived being self-evident, researchers have still found interest in investigating the relationship between participation in voluntary organisation and integration (Seippel, 2005, Østerlund Seippel, 2013, Hertting Karlefors, 2013, Stura, 2019, Elmoste-Østrlund et al. 2019, Dowling 2020, Middleton et al. 2020). In a number of these previously mentioned studies, it has been found that there is a positive correlation between integration and participation in civic organisations. (Elmoste-Østerlund et al, 2019, Østerlund Seippel, 2013, Seippel, 2005, Stura, 2019, Son, 2018, Dana et al, 2011). It has also been found that in several cases, Putnam is referred to when discussing integration (Ekholm 2019, Østerlund Seippel, 2013, Seippel 2005, Verhaegen et al, 2017).

When I went into the field of the already existing research, I had an idea that I would present research done on participation in organisations in the various types of fields studied in this paper, connected to integration or political trust. However, I soon realised that the idea I had was not lasting. This, because when looking through the research that has been done within the field of participation in civic organisations, it was soon noted that when searching for specific organisations, the majority of the research pointed towards the field of sport. Østerlund and Seippel (2013) refer to Ibsen & Ottesen (2001), Nicholson and others (2013) and Walseth (2008) when stating that "There is even some evi-

dence to suggest that voluntary sport organisations might foster more favourable conditions for social integration than most other voluntary organisations, due to the relatively high levels of face-to-face interaction.” (Østerlund Seippel, 2013:396-397). When reading this statement, keeping in mind the struggle of finding variety in research done on participation in civic organisations, I started to get more eager about the question if sport has a stronger positive relationship than other types of civic participation. Luckily for me, that question can be answered in this paper.

As mentioned, it was found that there is a lack of variety in the fields of where the influence of civic participation is investigated, especially the influence it has on integration. However, it was also found that the majority of the research that is done on the relationship between civic participation and identity and/or integration, is done with the focus on social trust and social bridging (Østerlund Seippel, 2013, Elmoose-Østerlund et al, 2019). This shows that there is research that investigates the relationship between civic participation, social trust and identity/integration, and since there exists research that shows that the relationship between identity and political trust is even stronger than the relationship between identity and social trust(Verhaegen et al, 2015), it seems fitting to now investigate the relationship between civic participation and political trust and discuss it in relation to integration.

The lack of previous research within the different fields of civic participation, and the lack of previous research done on the relationship between civic participation and political trust, indicates that the present study is filling a gap, it is needed. It contributes theoretically in the sense that it is testing a hypothesis that is based on a theory that is used in several other studies that examine the relationship between integration and civic participation. To my knowledge, there are no studies made where one is exploring the relationship between integration and participation in organisations in various fields, and comparing the relationships based on if they are by Putnam considered to be horizontal or hierarchical. Therefore, the idea is to do exactly that in this study. In the next section, I will explain the concept of political trust, the importance of it and how the concept may be understood in various ways in the literature and how it will be understood in this paper.

3 Political Trust

Political trust is in the literature sometimes used simultaneously as trust in the government and its institutions. (Marien Hooghe, 2011, Stolle Rothstein, 2008). According to The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) “Trust in government has been identified as one of the most important foundations upon which the legitimacy and sustainability of political systems

are built. Trust is essential for social cohesion and well-being as it affects governments' ability to govern and enables them to act without having to resort to coercion." (OECD, 2013:21). With this said, one understands that trust in the government and its institutions is one of the key factors a citizen has to have for him/her to feel well, calm and frankly satisfied with his/her position in the society. The individual has to trust that the government will do what is best for the individual, what is best for the society as a whole, including all groups on all levels, both private and professionally. The OECD claims that "Investing in trust should be considered as a new and central approach to restoring economic growth and reinforcing social cohesion..." (OECD, 2013:20). As it may be understood, trust in the government is viewed to be one of the key aspects that is needed in a high functioning society, both for the citizens well-being and for the government's sake. Social cohesion, that among other things consist of collective identity, is in the literature in some cases used simultaneously with integration. This means that according to the OECD (2013), trust in the government is essential for a successful integration.

As stated, trust in the government and its institutions is not only important for economic growth and social cohesion on the more structural level. It is also important on the lower, micro-level since it is influencing how the individual perceives the society which then affects how he/she acts, which in turn affects the society. OECD explains that "Trust in government institutions at the same time influences individual behaviour in ways that could support desired policy outcomes. This may range from rather narrowly defined policies and programs (such as participation in vaccination campaigns) to broader policy reforms (e.g. environmental regulation or pension reform)". (OECD, 2013:22).

It is explained that trust in the government builds on two components. The first is social trust which represents an individual's confidence in the social community. The second is political trust which represents when the individual evaluates the government and the governmental institutions. The second mentioned includes both trust on a more macro-level that is system-based and trust that is based on a more institution-level. (OECD, 2013). The relationship between these two components is affected by numerous factors and is changing over time. All citizens have their own, individual preferences of how they want things to be handled, therefore they all have their own sets of criteria that they use when evaluating a government's performance. This means that when they are evaluating the performance, they do not evaluate the performance in itself, but the perceived performance. This perceived performance is what is important when discussing trust in the government. (OECD, 2013)

As mentioned previously, according to OECD, political trust represents when an individual evaluates

the government's and the institutions' performance. However, the literature suggests that the performance is only one way to understand the concept of political trust. An other way that the concept can be understood in the literature is that "(...) political trust is a value that is learned early in life, which might be enhanced later on by participating in association and interpersonal trust." (André, 2014: 966).

This second understanding is referred to the cultural explanation of political trust while the first is referred to as the performance explanation. (André, 2013).

Since I will examine political trust between migration groups, I believe it is relevant to portrait what Stéfanie André (2013) discusses in her paper, that migrants political trust-level may be explained by both cultural and performance explanation. If higher trust, it can be because migrants that left their country of origin either because it is not as economically developed as the destination country, or that they fled because of political reasons, find that the new country is a major improvement compared to the previous country. If lower trust, it might be because individuals that are members of minority groups face a higher risk of being discriminated against and therefore have lower trust in the political institutions. It might also be because migrants that fled their country of origin based on political or economic reasons, have experienced distrust their whole life and therefore will naturally not trust the government and political institutions in the destination country either. The difficulty with the last explanation mentioned that goes in line with the cultural explanation, is that since it is learned early in life, second-generation migrants might have lower political trust than natives since they are influenced by their parents in their upbringing. (André, 2014).

This shows the complexity of political trust among migrants and immigrants and how one individual's background may affect future generations. As André (2014) discusses, there are several explanations about why migrants may typically have higher or lower levels of political trust than natives. André (2014) found in her research more support for the performance explanation than the cultural explanation, and it is the performance explanation that goes in line with how the present study will be conducted. This because it is this kind of information my data allows me to have access to and because I find support in OECD (2013) arguments about why it is important to have high political trust in the society.

To conclude this part, there are a number of ways to understand the concept of political trust. I find that it is important to explain the various ways of understanding the concept for the reader, even if I

do not discuss the different explanations further. This because I find a value in being transparent and give the reader an opportunity to understand how the concept may be perceived in other readings.

The understanding that is followed in the present study goes in line with OECD (2013) understanding of political trust and what Stéfanie André (2013) explains to be perceived as the performance explanation. Also, as mentioned briefly in the introduction, political trust in this study is used interchangeably with the concept of good government that Putnam (1993, 2000) uses when discussing the effect of civic participation in horizontal and hierarchical organisations. As mentioned, political trust is based on an individual's perception of the government's performance, as is the concept of good government. Therefore, it makes sense to use the two concepts interchangeably. (Boix Posner, 1996). In the next section, I will explain how the concept of integration may be understood in the literature. I will also describe three different sets of integration indicators, what they mean, how they are used and finally, I will discuss why it can be problematic to state that the indicators are used to measure integration.

4 Integration

As mentioned, in the Nordic countries, there is an increasing part of the population that consists of migrants from various backgrounds. Therefore, it is important to find ways to successfully integrate the migrants. Because of this, I want to discuss how integration is used and understood in the literature.

Integration is one of those concepts where everyone knows what it is but there is no unified description of its actual meaning. There is a general understanding that it represents a state where migrants and natives meet in the middle and “create” a new version of the society where they are one, where they are equal. In literature, the concept is generally called social integration and is again understood in various ways. This complexity of the subject is believed to come from the fact that both research that represents actors and social systems are referred to as social integration studies. (Roberts, 2009). According to Emile Durkheim, people's norms, beliefs and values together create a collective consciousness that is formed by social interactions and based on these individuals' shared ways of understanding and behaving in the world. According to Durkheim, this collective consciousness is connecting the individuals and creating social integration, it is both producing and binding the society together. (Durkheim, 1893, 1897).

Lockwood (1964) on the other hand makes a distinction between social integration and system inte-

gration. He says that “the problem of social integration focuses attention upon the orderly or conflictful relationships between the actors”(Lockwood, 1964:245) while “the problem of system integration focuses on the orderly or conflictful relationships between the part, of a social system”. (Lockwood, 1964:245). Also, Parsons discussed systemic integration when he portrayed a societal system with four subsystems referred to as AGIL (adaption, goal attainment, integration and latency). It was systemic in the sense where adaption stood for economic institutions, goal attainment for political institutions, integration for legal institutions and latency for kinship or religious institutions. (Mouzelis, 1997, Calhoun et al, 2012). Parsons’s portrait of the societal system was also used by Habermas (1987). He used it “. . . to link system-integration mechanisms of co-ordination with what he calls the system (the adaption and goal-achievement subsystems), and social-integration mechanism with the lifeworld (which corresponds to Parsons’s integration and latency subsystems).”(Mouzelis,1997:114). So, if one would accept the distinction between social integration and system integration, then “social integration refers to co-operative/conflictual relationships between actors, whereas system integration refers to compatibilities/incompatibilities between ”parts” that are always viewed as institutionalised complexes portraying different degrees of durability/malleability.” (Mouzelis, 1997:114). The distinction also means that one is able to see a social phenomenon from different perspectives, one of them being relations and interactions in time and space, and the other viewing “institutional complexes as a virtual order of rules/norms.” (Mouzelis, 1997:114).

The division between social integration and system integration that was presented above, will not be discussed and problematised further in this paper. The purpose of presenting it is that I believe it is important to understand how a concept is used in different contexts because it gives an understanding of how it is developed and it contributes to critical thinking and further evaluation of the concept. The reason why it will not be discussed further in this paper is that I believe that social integration and system integration go hand in hand, that they are connected to each other. The created interactions affect already existing relationships between actors. At the same time, they affect how individuals view the institutions, which thus affects the relationship between institutions and how that, in turn, affects the actors. This view goes in line with Durkheim’s explanation where collective consciousness is created by individuals’ interactions which both create and bind the society together. (Durkheim, 1893, 1897).

As mentioned, there are a number of ways to view and discuss social integration. However, I will from now on, simply call it integration in order to avoid confusion. Integration in this matter represents the state where migrants and natives “meet in the middle”, where they together create a collective

consciousness, where they together create ways of understanding and behaving in the world.

4.1 Indicators of Integration

When integration is studied, or when policies are made to promote integration, it is usually divided into several categories, so-called indicators. There are a number of theories and indicators of what measures integration, in this paper, I have chosen three of them, the reason why I did this specific selection is that all three sets of indicators are developed by big, influential institutions and thereby may have great political influence. Now I will now go through each one of the sets of integration indicators.

The first set of indicators were developed by the European Commission. According to the European Commission (2016), there are four areas of integration that have been prioritised. These are: Employment, Education, Social inclusion and Active citizenship. These four areas represent different levels of the society, more specifically employment and education help the migrant to be more successful on the labor market. Social inclusion helps the migrant to be a part of the social life privately but also contributes to the professional life through language skills and social contacts. Active citizenship means that the migrant is active in the democratic process which means participating in the more broad political and societal context. All these indicators show different aspects of the society, but they all have one thing in common, which is that the migrant is encouraged to have an active role in order to develop a stronger sense of belonging (EU, 2016).

The second sets of integration indicators were developed by the National Integration Evaluation Mechanism (NIEM) which is a “six-years long transnational project supporting key actors in the integration field to improve the integration outcomes of beneficiaries of international protection.” (NIEM, 2020). The aim of this project is to “(…) provide evidence on gaps in integration standards, identify promising practices and evaluate the effects of legislative and policy changes.” (NIEM, 2020).

The National Integration Evaluation Mechanism (NIEM) project cover four major areas and thirteen dimensions when measuring integration indicators, these are: Area: General conditions, Dimensions: Impact of reception on integration, Mainstreaming Area: Legal integration, Dimensions: Residency, Family unity and reunification, Access to citizenship. Area: socio-economic integration, Dimensions: Housing, Employment, Vocational training and employment-related education, Health, Social security. Area: Socio-cultural integration, Dimensions: Education, Language learning and social orientation, Building bridges. (Törngren and Emilsson, 2020:8).

Lastly, the third set of indicators were developed by Ager and Strang (2008). These indicators are developed through the Indicators of integration study that was done in 2002 in the UK. This study was one of several that was funded to support the integration of refugees and go in line with policy directions described in the Home office paper Full and Equal Citizens (2001). However, Ager and Strang found that the paper raised areas where integration was supported but it did not offer a clear definition of the concept. Because of this, they developed a framework with indicators, that they view as key components of integration. (Ager and Strang, 2008).

Ager and Strang's (2008) integration indicators are portrayed on four levels, and they refer to their model as "A conceptual framework defining core domains of integration"(Ager Strang,2008:170). The indicators are:

1. Foundation: Rights and Citizenship
2. Facilitators: Language and Cultural knowledge and safety and stability.
3. Social Connection: Social bridges, Social bonds and Social links.
4. Markers and Means: Employment, Housing, Education and Health

There are several things these three sets of indicators have in common, however, there are also several differences. The main thing that was noticed is that the EU(2016) includes active citizenship as something the individual takes responsibility for and is able to influence the outcome. This is different from the other sets since Ager and Strang(2008), and NIEM (2020) describe citizenship as a more of a legal factor connected to the laws and policies that are outside of the individuals' power and is more on a structural level. As I mentioned previously, these sets of indicators have been developed to measure integration. However, by including citizenship as an indicator in a more legal sense that discusses a country's policies, rather than an individual being active in the democratic process, one implies that rights and citizenship are things that exist by themselves and are provided by the host country. In line with this view, the indicators can be understood as sets of indicators that lead to integration and not indicators of what integration is. This means that one might question what the real purpose of these indicators is. Are the integration indicators developed and understood as something that measures the degree of someone's integration, or are they understood as concepts that lead/contribute to integration? I believe it is important to raise this question in further research and discuss the true purpose of these indicators.

The purpose of bringing light to the discussion above is to show how complex it can be to understand the purpose and usage of a concept. For example, there might also be some issues with simply stating

that these indicators measure integration. This because the word measure, implies that one can understand how integrated a person is based on these factors, the more “boxes” an individual is able to check, the more integrated he/she is perceived to be. If this was the case, the fact that different indicators have different values, since one can argue that some indicators are more important than others, would also be problematic. I believe that integration is more complicated than having a checklist that decides if a person is integrated or not, and therefore I would not understand and use “indicators that measure integration” in a literal sense. Also, if one is to understand it in a literal sense, it could be discussed if natives could be more or less integrated. This because also natives could check some “boxes” while not checking others. In line with this understanding, would a migrant that has checked all “boxes” be more integrated than a native that has not? I believe that it is important to go through these kinds of questions before stating that these integration indicators measure integration.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the integration sets were explained and compared in order to understand how the concept of integration is used in the literature and as guidelines when creating policies. As noted, in all three sets of indicators there are indicators measuring social trust and social connection, while there are no indicators in any of the sets that measure political trust or political connection.

To conclude this part, as mentioned previously, integration is one of those concepts where everyone knows what it is but there is no unified description of its actual meaning. There is a general understanding that it represents a state where migrants and natives meet in the middle but in the literature, the concept is much more complex than that. There is a big discussion on what integration really means, if there “should” be a division between social integration and system integration. I also discussed why it can sometimes be difficult to understand the true purpose and usage of the concept and what questions one needs to take into account when developing it and discussing it. Also, it was shown here that there is a gap in regard to political trust. Even though there is research that shows that political trust is strongly connected to integration, there is no indicator of political trust included in any of the three sets explained in this section. Therefore, I suggest that these indicator sets should be evaluated further in future research and I also suggest that political trust should be considered to be included as an indicator of integration.

In the following section, I explain the concept of civic participation, how it is used in the literature and how I use it in this paper. Also, I will again go through the aim, hypothesis and research questions briefly before continuing to the method part of the paper.

5 Civic Participation

Civic participation is a concept that may seem self-evident, yet there is an ongoing discussion about what kind of organisations/participation should be included in the concept of civic participation. In the literature, the concept of civic participation has been discussed several times and in several contexts. It has been pointed out that Putnam's (1993,2000) way of understanding the concept is too broad and vague since "... all sorts of informal social activities alongside associational involvement and political participation are included..." (Ekman and Amnå, 2012:285). They continue by stating that "when analysing citizens' levels of engagement, Putnam covered just about everything from reading newspapers, political participation, social networks and interpersonal trust to associational involvement. All of this was labelled civic engagement and the point was very simplified that such civic engagement tended to correlate with a functioning democracy and market economy (Putnam 1993)." (Ekman and Amnå, 2012:284). In other words, the critique pointed out to Putnam's way of understanding the concept of civic participation was based on the fact that it did not have enough limitations which made it too simplistic.

In an other context, the concept of civic participation is referred to as "... activities by ordinary citizens that are intended to influence circumstances in society that is of relevance to others, outside the own family and circle of close friends" (Adler Goggin, 2005:241). However, also this description of the concept has been discussed further because it was believed that it had to be adjusted so it would fit the migrant population as well. (Gsir, 2014). Therefore, it was stated that "The concept of civic participation [of immigrants] had to be broadened to include transnational communities, social capital, social organisation, and community organizing in ethnic-specific populations in order to capture a clearer understanding of the issue as it relates to immigrants." (Association for the Study and Development of Community, 2002:7).

Even though Putnam's (1993) way of perceiving civic participation has been criticised and several explanations have been developed based on the critique, I will yet in this paper understand civic participation in line with Putnam's explanation. This because the aim of this paper is to test a hypothesis that is based on Putnam's statement regarding the effect participation in civic organisations (from now on called civic participation) has on individuals' relationship to the government. Therefore, it makes sense for me to understand the concept like he does, even though it has been criticised and developed. Nevertheless, I decided to understand civic participation like Putnam, I still find value in explaining the other ways of understanding the context. This, because I believe it is important to be transparent and give the reader an opportunity to understand how the concept may be perceived in other readings.

According to Putnam (1993, 2000), networks of voluntary civic engagement have a great value and are an important factor for building social capital in a community. As mentioned in the introduction, he makes a distinct division between horizontal and hierarchical organisations and explains how the different kinds of organisations affect individuals and communities in different ways. He explains that “membership in horizontally ordered groups (like sports clubs, cooperatives, mutual aid societies, cultural associations, and voluntary unions) should be positively associated with good government.”(Putnam, 2000: 175). On the contrary “Membership rates in hierarchically ordered organisations (like the mafia or the institutional catholic church) should be negatively associated with good government; in Italy, at least, the most devout church-goers are the least civic minded.”(Putnam, 2000:176). To put it more concrete, according to Putnam, civic participation in horizontally ordered groups is expected to have a positive effect on political trust while civic participation in hierarchically ordered groups is expected to have a negative effect on political trust. This specific statement is used to develop the hypothesis this study is based on. As mentioned in the introduction, Putnam in his statement does not mention any specifics about how civic participation in these various organisations may affect individuals differently depending on what groups in the society they belong to (groups based on gender, income, nationality, etc.). However, Since the background of the aim of this study lies in identity and integration, it is relevant to investigate the relationship between first-generation migrants, second-generation migrants and natives.

As mentioned, the aim of this study is to examine the relationship between participation in various civic voluntary organisations and political trust. The hypothesis that was developed on Putnam’s statement is, that organisations that are according to Putnam’s understanding perceived as horizontal, will show a positive relationship to political trust through all migration groups. On the contrary, organisations that according to Putnam’s understanding are perceived as hierarchical will show a negative relationship to political trust through all migration groups.

The three research questions that were developed based on the hypothesis are:

1. Is there a positive relationship between political trust and horizontal organisations?
2. Is there a negative relationship between political trust and hierarchical organisations?
3. Does the relationship look the same through the three migration groups (first-generation migrants, second-generation migrants and natives)?

In the following section of this paper, I will discuss what method is used to study the relationship

between political trust and civic participation.

6 Method

To investigate the relationship between political trust and civic participation, a quantitative analysis will be made. Analysing this relationship with quantitative data, allows me to get an overview and set a base for future research. This method allows me to investigate and compare how the relationship looks for the organisations within the different fields. It also allows me to investigate and compare how the relationship looks for the different migration groups. As the aim is to examine the direction of the relationship, if it is positive or negative, using a quantitative approach in this study was self-evident.

Before proceeding to the next sections of this paper, I want to discuss the validity and reliability of this study. Since the data that is used is available for free, it is possible to run the same tests and, in that sense, reproduce the results. One way to check validity is to see how well it correspond with established theories, since the hypothesis in this study is developed through an established theory, I believe one can consider that also the validity is tested through that. However, something that may negatively affect the validity of this paper, is that the variables that are used to measure civic participation, are measuring membership in civic organisations. This means that it might be so that individuals report that they are members of organisations that they do not actively participate in. This will be kept in mind throughout the following sections and will be discussed if an issue arises.

The present section is considered to be the start of the methodology of this paper. In the following sections, I will explain what data was used to study the main relationship of this paper, then I will list what variables were used in the analysis. Following, I will describe the process of the tests and analysis and then I will interpret the results. Lastly, I will analyse the results in relation to the aim, hypothesis and research questions.

7 Data

The data that has been used in this study was extracted from the joint EVS-WVS dataset in September 2020². It was announced that European Value Study (EVS) and World Value Survey (WVS) were

²It turned out later that this version was a provisional version and the data that can be downloaded at this moment (December 2020) is the upgraded and final version. After consulting the Head of the WVS Association Secretariat, it was decided that the upgrade in the version was not influencing the results in this study. This because the data had an overlap of 95% (between the two versions) and because variables used in this study that

joining forces and producing a data-set where EVS was responsible for planning and conducting surveys in the European countries and WVS in the countries outside Europe. This data was sampled between 2017 and 2020 and the core data that was used in this study, was published in September 2020. WVS is an international non-commercial research program that has been operating in 120 countries and where the most used method is representative comparative social surveys. The strengths of this data are that the response rate is relatively high and that the data is easy to access. (WVS,2020). Another great strength is that they have been measuring trust since 1989 which indicates that they have great experience of these particular types of measurements that this study is based on. EVS on the other hand was started even earlier,1981, where individuals were interviewed using standardised questionnaires. EVS conducts the data gathering through surveys every ninth year and the most recent wave (before the present one) was in 2008 and covered 47 countries. Like WVS, EVS data is easy to access and free of charge. (EVS,2020).

There are of course also limitations with the data too. One of these limitations is that the data comes in waves that cover multiple-year periods and not individual years. This might be problematic if one wants to do research related to a specific period. Since this study is not related to a specific year, this was not an issue for this study. However, another limitation of the data that might be an issue for this study, is that the survey was only offered in English in Finland, otherwise, it was only offered in the Nordic languages. Because of this, the data is not migrant specific which means that migrants that are not able to communicate in any of the Nordic languages are not able to participate in the study. Another issue that comes with the fact that the data is not migrant specific, is that the number of participants is quite low for some migration groups when compared with an other group. In the present study, the natives represented 86.1% of the participants, migrants 8.2% and second-generation migrants 5.1%.

Individuals included in this data-set are natives, which are defined as “individuals whose parents and whom themselves are born in a country (. . .)” (Röder and Mühlau, 2010:7). First-generation migrants are defined as individuals that themselves and their parents were born in an other country. Second-generation migrants are defined as respondents that were born in the same country as they live in but have parents that were born in an other country. In the literature, there is a mixed view of individuals that are born in the country of residence but have only one parent born in an other country. In this study, these individuals will be viewed as second-generation which goes in line with the European Union’s definition of a second-generation immigrant: “A person who was born in and is residing in

belongs to EVS overlap with WVS, and the change was mainly done on variables that did not overlap between them.

a country that at least one of their parents previously entered as a migrant” (European Commission, 2016).

The data that will be used is from 5 of the 716 countries where the study was conducted. These countries are Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland and Iceland, which together count as the Nordic countries. The reason that these countries were selected is that they are both culturally similar and geographically close and all of them are viewed as high trust- countries. (OECD, 2013). The data was gathered in 2017 in Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland while it was gathered in 2018 in Norway. In the next section, I will list what variables will be used in the analysis.

8 Measures

8.1 Migration Background

The selection variables are the variables that are differentiating one group from an other. In this case, it is the questions that measure if an individual is a native, first-generation migrant or second-generation migrant. The questions were formulated as “Were you born in country?” “Was your father born in country?” and “was your mother born in country?”. Values for all three questions are the same where value 1 indicates yes (born in country) and 2 indicates no (not born in country). These three variables were put together and re-coded so that value 2 on the first question was changed to 200. This because it became considerably easier to read the results and differentiate what the numbers meant after running frequencies. The individuals that got value 3 are individuals that were born in country and both of their parents are also born in country. Individuals with value 4 were born in country with one parent born in an other country. Individuals with value 5 were born in country with both parents born in an other country. Individuals with value 202 were born in an other country with both parents born in country. Individuals with value 203 were born in an other country with one parent also born in an other country. Individuals with value 204 were born in an other country with both parents also born in an other country. These values were later again re-coded into variables where the individuals with values 203 and 204 represent first-generation migrants, individuals with values 4 and 5 represent second-generation migrants and lastly, individuals with values 3 and 202 represent natives. The reason why the value 202 was re-coded into representing natives even though these individuals were born in an other country, is because these individuals have parents that were born in the country and one can assume that they have had a cultural connection with the native country since childhood even though they themselves were not born in the country.

8.2 Political Trust

The dependent variable of this study, political trust, was created by a number of variables that measure confidence in the public institutions in the joint EVS-WVS data. For all the variables that are included in the analysis, the scale ranges from one to four, where value 1 means a great deal of confidence, value 2 means quite a lot, value 3 means not very much and value 4 means no confidence at all. An index was created by using the variables that measure confidence in the police, the courts, the government, the political parties, the parliament and the civil service. Before the index was created, reliability was controlled by measuring Cronbach's alpha where the results showed .807 which indicates that the reliability is very good.

8.3 Membership in Civic Voluntary Organisations (civic participation)

The core independent variables used in the study are variables measuring membership in a voluntary organisation (civic participation). This was measured by a question formulated as "Please look carefully at the following list of voluntary organisations and say which, if any, do you belong to?". The different types of organisations included in the study are within the fields of:

- Sports or recreation
- Education, arts, music or cultural activities
- Conservation, the environment, ecology, animal rights
- Humanitarian or charitable organisation
- Self-help group, mutual aid group
- Religious or church organisations
- Political parties or groups

The first five of the fields/types of organisations mentioned above, are in line with Putnam's (1993, 2000) statement, to be understood as horizontal organisations. Out of these seven types of organisations, the last two that are mentioned in the list, are to be understood as hierarchical organisations.

For all of the variables that measure membership in these public organisations, value 0 indicates that the individual is not a member, while value 1 indicates that the individual is a member of the organisation.

8.4 Control variables

The control variables that were included in this study were variables measuring age, sex, education, employment status and income were used as control variables in this study.

Sex was measured by the question “Sex of respondent?” and coded as value one indicated male and value two indicated female.

Age was measured by the question “Can you tell me your year of birth, please?” And the year was to be filled in with four numbers.

Education was measured by the question “What is the highest educational level that you have attained?”. The value 1 indicates primary level, value 2 indicates secondary level, value 3 indicates Post-secondary level and lastly value 4 indicates tertiary level of education.

Employment status was measured by the question formulated as “Are you yourself gainfully employed at the moment or not?”. The value 1 indicates full-time employment (30 hours a week or more). Value 2 indicates part-time employment (less than 30 hours a week). Value 3 indicates self-employed, value 4 indicates retired/pensioned, value 5 indicates homemaker or not otherwise employed, value 6 indicates student, value 7 indicates unemployed, value 8 indicate “Other”, value 9 indicate Disabled and lastly value 10 indicate military service. Before using the variable in the regression analysis, the variable was re-coded so that values 4-10 indicated “other”. This because I wanted to control individuals that were employed with those that were not or that had more “unusual” types of occupation, like military service.

Income was measured by the question “Here is a list of incomes and we would like to know in what group your household is, counting all wages, salaries, pensions and other incomes that come in. (..) after taxes and deductions.”. The values were on a scale from 1-10 where 1 represented the lowest and 10 the highest level of income. The variable that was used in the analysis was re-coded where value 1 represented low income level, 2 medium and 3 high income. However, no specifics were found on how much/how big of an income each step on the scale actually meant. Since this variable is used as a control variable and not as a “core” variable, the lack of specifics did not bring any difficulties to the analysis.

Overall Health, was measured by the question stated “All in all, how would you describe your state of

health these days? Would you say it is: Value 1 indicates very good overall health, value 2 indicates good, value 3 indicates fair, value 4 indicates poor and lastly, value 5 indicates very poor overall health. This variable was chosen to be used as a control variable because I believe that individuals' overall health affects if they seek to be active/members in organisations where they meet other people. I also believe that different levels of overall health may contribute to different levels of trust based on individuals' experience with public institutions. For example, if individuals with poor overall health have a bad experience with the public institutions, it may negatively affect their general political trust. It may also positively affect their general political trust if individuals have good experience with public institutions. Therefore, I wanted to examine how the relationship (if there even is one) between political trust and participation in voluntary organisation looked after controlling for individuals' overall health. In the following section, I will describe the process of the tests and analysis.

9 Statistical Analysis

First of all, frequency and descriptive tests were run for all variables included in this study, this was done to check for the variations within the variables to understand how it differed between the migration groups on a basic level. As can be seen in Table 1, the mean was reported for the ordinary variables measuring political trust, age, education level and income level. The percentage was reported for the nominal variables measuring gender (female), employment status (full time) and participation in the different types of voluntary organisations, including sport, art, religious, political, charity, environment and self-help organisations.

The next step was to do a bivariate analysis between political trust and civic participation within the different types of fields included in this study. The analysis was done for each migration group because one of the research questions of this study is to examine if the effects of participation in civil voluntary organisations differ between the three migration groups.

Before doing the multiple linear regression analysis, a curve estimation test was done for the control variable measuring age. This because I had an idea that the relationship between age and political trust could be nonlinear. The models included in the curve estimation test were linear, logarithmic, quadratic, cubic, compound and logistic. The results showed that the best-fitted model for the age variable is the quadratic model. This because it had the highest R^2 (.006), highest f-value (23.287) and a significance on 0.001 level. After the curve estimation test was done, a scatterplot was done to have a more clear vision of the nonlinear relationship (Table 3).

In the last step before doing the multiple linear regression, some of the variables were re-coded and re-made into dummy variables. This was done to make the interpretation of the results easier and because all variables that are included in a multiple linear regression have to be quantitative or dichotomous. The variables that were re-coded into dummy variables are sex, education, employment status, income, health and all variables regarding civic participation. This means that the only variable that was not re-coded into a dummy, was the variable measuring age.

When doing the multiple linear regression analysis, there was again a division done between the different migration groups, like in the bivariate analysis. In Table 4, it can be seen that there are three different models done in the regression analysis. In the first model of the analysis, the control variables included are age, sex and education. In the second model control variables employment status and income were added. In the third and last model, the control variable measuring an individual's overall health was included which means that in model 3, all control variables are included. The reason for including the control variables step by step is to see how the different control variables affect the relationship between civic participation and political trust. This means that one can track what happens to the relationship much more clear when including the control variables in order.

Before interpreting the results, it is important to keep in mind that the variable that measures political trust was coded in the way so that the lowest value (1) indicates a great deal of confidence in public institutions while the highest value (4) indicates none confidence at all. This means that a lower value on political trust in the table actually means a higher level of trust in reality. Lastly, I also want to mention that the numbers that are included in the bivariate analysis and in the multiple regression analysis, are the unstandardised coefficients. In the section that follows, I will first interpret the results of the frequency and descriptive statistics, then interpret the results of the bivariate analysis, then explain the results of the scatterplot and lastly, I will interpret the results of the multiple regression analysis.

10 Results

10.1 Frequencies and Descriptive statistics

As mentioned previously, the first step of the analysis was to run frequency and descriptive analysis to check for the variations within the variables. These results of these analysis can be seen in Table 1.

| | Total | Native | 1st generation Migrants | 2nd generation Migrants |
|-------------------------------------|-------|--------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Political trust | 2.37 | 2.38 | 2.24 | 2.40 |
| Female(%) | 49.6 | 49.3 | 51.8 | 53.5 |
| Age | 46.05 | 46.87 | 41.75 | 38.7 |
| Education level | 2.6 | 2.59 | 2.63 | 2.64 |
| Employment status Full time (%) | 52.2 | 52.2 | 56.5 | 50.2 |
| Employment status Part time (%) | 7.7 | 7.3 | 9.0 | 11.8 |
| Employment status Self-employed (%) | 6.2 | 6.5 | 4.3 | 4.6 |
| Income level | 2.05 | 2.8 | 1.86 | 1.96 |
| Overall Health | 2.04 | 2.05 | 2.01 | 1.92 |
| Memb. in Sport (%) | 37.6 | 38.6 | 27.5 | 36.5 |
| Memb. in Art (%) | 15.5 | 15.4 | 16.4 | 16.0 |
| Memb. in Religion (%) | 46.2 | 48.8 | 22.0 | 40.0 |
| Memb. in Politics (%) | 8.5 | 8.8 | 3.9 | 9.5 |
| Memb. in Charity (%) | 20.4 | 20.5 | 15.9 | 24.7 |
| Memb. in Environment (%) | 10.7 | 10.5 | 11.2 | 12.8 |
| Memb. in Self-Help (%) | 5.4 | 5.1 | 7.5 | 5.5 |
| N | 8643 | 7354 | 700 | 439 |

Table 1: Dependent and independent variables: Means/proportion by migration group

What can be seen in Table 1 is that the mean of political trust is similar between all three migration groups (2.38, 2.24 and 2.40). The group that has the lowest mean in the variable measuring age is the second-generation migrant group where the mean is 38.7 while the first-generation migrant group has 41.75 and the native group has 46.87. Percentages of female respondents are also similar between all three migration groups (49.3%, 51.8% and 53.5%), however, it is slightly higher in the second-generation group where it is 53.5%. The mean of the variable that measures education level is similar between the different migration groups (2.59, 2.63 and 2.64). However, it can be seen that there is a vast difference when comparing percentages of the variables measuring employment status. One can see that the first-generation migrant group has the highest percentage of full-time employees (56.5%) while the second-generation migrant group has the lowest percentage (50.2%). The second-generation migrant group has however the highest percentage of part-time employees (11.8%) while the native group has the lowest (7.3%). On the other hand, the native group has the highest percentage of self-employees (6.5%) while the first-generation migrant group has the lowest (4.3). This means that every migration group has an employment status where their percentage rate is the highest and one where their percentage rate is the lowest.

The mean of the income level is similar between the first-generation migrant group (1.86) and the

second-generation migrant group (1.96), while it is a bit higher for the native group (2.8). A reminder regarding the variable that measures the status of overall health, is that a low value in the table means a higher level of overall health in the reality. One can see that also in this case, the participants between the three migration groups reported a similar level of overall health (2.05, 2.01 and 1.92). However one can note a small difference where the second-generation migrant group (1.92) reported the lowest meanwhile the native group reported the highest mean (2.05). Regarding civic participation, the results show that the first-generation migrant group has the highest percentage of participation within the field of art (16.4%) and self-help (7.5%). The second-generation migrant group on the other hand has the highest percentage of participation within the fields of politics (9.5%), charity (24.7%) and environment (12.8%). Lastly, the native group have the highest percentage of participation within the field of sports (38.6%) and religion (48.8%).

What is important to note here regarding the variable measuring membership within the field of religion, is that in some cases, individuals have not actively chosen to become members of the organisation in their adulthood. For example in Sweden, an individual automatically becomes a member of the church when he/she is getting baptised as a baby. Also, parents might choose to apply for a membership for their children without the children being aware of it. This means that a number of individuals might have reported being a member of the church, even though not being religious or attending ceremonies. These individuals may have become a member of the church when they got baptised and they have later not exited the membership when they entered their adulthood. (Swedish Church, 2020).

10.2 Bivariate analysis

After the frequencies and descriptives were checked, bivariate tests were done to examine the relationship between political trust and civic participation in the different voluntary organisations, this can be seen in Table 2. Before proceeding to the bivariate analysis, I also want to mention that there will not be any more illustrations in the text (or in the bivariate table) about the control variables. This because all emphasis will be put on the relationship between civic participation in the various organisations and political trust. The control variables will therefore only be mentioned when describing what happens to the main relationships when the control variables are included in the analysis. (Table 4). However, an exception will be made for the variable measuring age since a particular change was made to that variable before it was included in Table 4 and a description of that change is relevant in order to be transparent to the reader.

| | Natives | 1st generation Migrants | 2nd generation Migrants |
|-------------|----------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Sport | -.120*** | -.090 | -.151** |
| Art | -.073*** | -.103 | .055 |
| Religion | -.058 | .024 | -.015 |
| Politics | -.053 | .072 | .144 |
| Charity | -.045 | -.101 | .001 |
| Environment | .049* | .097 | .121 |
| Self-Help | .082** | .043 | .231* |
| N | 7354 | 700 | 439 |

*p-value on 5%, ** p-value on 1%, ***p-value on 0.1%

Table 2: Bivariate regression of confidence in public institutions

As mentioned previously, the bivariate tests were done for each migration group, this because one of the research questions of this study is to examine if the relationship between civic participation and political trust differs between first-generation migrants, second-generation migrants and natives. What can be noted so far in the results of the bivariate analysis, is that the relationship between civic participation and political trust, indeed looks different between the three migration groups when there are no other variables included in the analysis. However, this difference is only seen for some of the variables/within some fields.

For example, it can be seen in Table 2, that political trust and civic participation in the field of art, show a positive relationship for the second-generation migrants-group (.055) that is not significant. On the contrary, the results show that there is a negative relationship between political trust and civic participation in the field of art for the group of first-generation migrants (-.103) and the group of the native population (-.073). However, the relationship is only significant for the native group. It can also be seen that participation in the voluntary organisation regarding politics has a positive relationship with political trust for both the first-generation migrant group and the second-generation migrant group (.072 and .144), but a negative relationship for the native group (-.053). In this case, none of the relationships are significant.

What can also be noted, is that civic participation connected to charity has a non-significant positive relationship with political trust when looking at the results for the second-generation migrant group (.001). However, the results show a non-significant negative relationship when looking at the results for the first-generation migrant group (-.101) and the native group (-.045). Lastly, there can also be noted a difference for civic participation in religious organisations where the results show a negative correlation for the native group(-.058) and the second-generation migrant group(-.015), while it

shows a positive correlation for the first-generation migrant group(.024). Again, the results here are not significant which makes them unsure and not generalisable.

Besides the difference, it can also be seen that civic participation in organisations regarding sport, has a negative relationship on all migration groups (-.120, -.090 and -.151), however, the relationship is only significant for the native group and the second-generation migrant group. This, while civic participation in environmental groups or self-help groups has a positive relationship through all three migration groups (.049, .097 and .121) and (.082, .043 and .231). Both of the relationships here are significant for the native group while for the second-generation migrant group only the relationship between political trust and civic participation in self-help organisations is significant. For the first-generation migrant, none of these two relationships are significant.

Another thing that has to be noted is the significance level of the correlations. The significance does not say anything about how strong the correlation is between the variables or what direction the relationship goes (negative or positive). However, what it does say, is the fact if one can generalise these results to the rest of the population besides the respondents included in this analysis. One may see that there is a lack of significant correlations when checking the first-generation migrant-group. One may also see that in the second-generation migrant group, there are only two relationships that are significant (sport and self-help) while for the native group there are four significant relationships (sport, art, environment and self-help). What is important to keep in mind is that a relationship that is not significant does not equal no results. The level of significance consists of two parts, one of them being the strength of the relationship and the other being the sample size. This means that if we compare two groups where one shows significant results (big sample size) and the other shows not significant results (small sample size), and we see a level of strength in the relationship between the variables that is very similar between the two groups. Then we can for sure understand that the difference in the significance is because of the difference in the sample size. Besides the difference, it can also be seen that civic participation in organisations regarding sport, has a negative relationship on all migration groups (-.120, -.090 and -.151), however, the relationship is only significant for the native group and the second-generation migrant group. This, while civic participation in environmental groups or self-help groups has a positive relationship through all three migration groups (.049, .097 and .121) and (.082, .043 and .231). Both of the relationships here are significant for the native group while for the second-generation migrant group only the relationship between political trust and civic participation in self-help organisations is significant. For the first-generation migrant, none of these two relationships are significant.

Therefore, the reason for the lack of significant results in Table 2 may be because of the low number of individuals participating in the research. In line with this argument, one might assume that the first-generation migrant group should have more significant results than the second-generation migrant group (which is not the case here) since that group has more participants. However, it may be so that the group itself has more participants but has fewer participants in those variables that do not show significance when tested.

As mentioned, in the statistical analysis section, before doing the multiple linear regression analysis, a curve estimation test was done for the control variable that measures age because I had an idea that the relationship between age and political trust could be nonlinear. This idea was based on previous experience that came from reading other studies where it has been shown that the specific variable that measures age has in several cases been found to be non-linear. After interpreting the results of the curve estimation, a scatterplot was done to have a more clear vision of the nonlinear relationship (Table 3). What can be seen in Table 3, is that the line has an upward (positive) tilt in the beginning, approximately until it reaches a point indicating 38 years, then the line is steady until it reaches approximately 63 years, and then it has a downward (negative) tilt until the line ends. This means that individuals in the Nordic countries, tend to have an increase in their political trust until they reach 38 years old, then it tends to be steady for approximately 25 years until it starts to decrease.

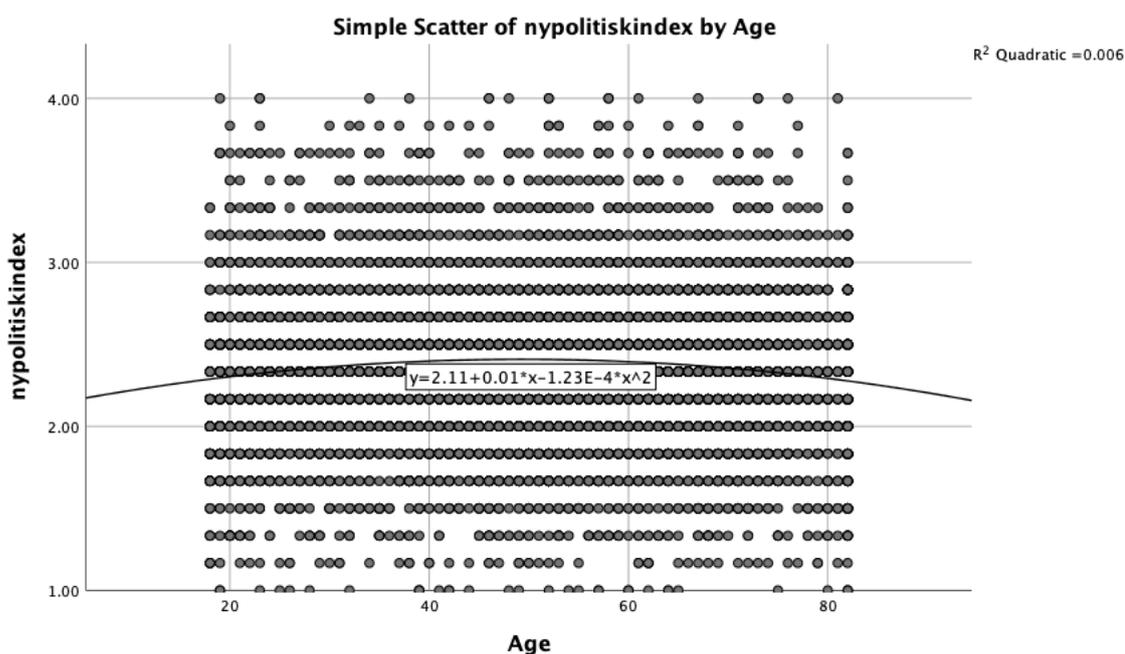


Table 3: Scatterplot and non-linear curve of the independent variable Age.

The last step before including the variable that measures age in the multiple linear regression is to make it squared. This is simply done by multiplying the variable with itself. This means that the results we later see in the linear regression for this specific variable will be quadrifid. In more simple terms, the regression will calculate a curve for the age variable instead of a straight line as it does with the rest of the variables in the test. Since this variable, which measures age, is only used as a control variable, I will not do a further interpretation of the results it shows in the regression. This because as argued previously, I want to keep the focus on the main relationship of this study, the relationship between political trust and civic participation.

10.3 Multivariate analysis

| | Natives | | | 1nd gen. Migrants | | | 2nd gen. Migrants | | |
|---------------------|----------|----------|----------|-------------------|---------|---------|-------------------|---------|---------|
| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 |
| Female | -.009 | -.019 | -.020 | -.052 | -.052 | -.052 | -.065 | -.060 | -.061 |
| Age | .019*** | .028*** | .023*** | -.001 | .001 | -.001 | .033*** | .030*** | .026** |
| Age2 | .000*** | .000*** | .000*** | .000 | .000 | .000 | .000*** | .000*** | .000*** |
| Edu. | -.208*** | -.176*** | -.152*** | .168* | .183* | .172* | -.028 | -.002 | .000 |
| Tertiary | | | | | | | | | |
| Edu. Post Secondary | -.148*** | -.124*** | -.104*** | .249** | .234* | .211* | -.047 | -.079 | -.076 |
| Edu. Secondary | -.037 | -.027 | -.015 | .123 | .116 | .093 | .154 | .164 | .154 |
| Empl. Full time | | -.083*** | -.042* | | -.022 | .005 | | .002 | .012 |
| Empl. Part time | | -.100*** | -.078*** | | .083 | .086 | | -.084 | -.080 |
| Empl. Self-employed | | -.082** | -.042 | | .062 | .083 | | .287* | .301* |
| Income. High | | -.090*** | -.074*** | | -.062 | -.043 | | -.061 | -.044 |
| Income. Medium | | -.020 | -.010 | | .062 | .077 | | .075 | .072 |
| Health. Good | | | -.220*** | | | -.210* | | | -.298* |
| Health. Fair | | | -.072** | | | .016 | | | -.225 |
| Sport | -.109*** | -.098*** | -.084*** | -.102* | -.092 | -.062 | -.148** | -.144** | -.125** |
| Art | -.022 | -.028 | -.019 | -.082 | -.090 | -.106 | .098 | .117 | .112 |
| Religion | -.053*** | -.047*** | -.046*** | .038 | .038 | .053 | -.001 | .008 | .026 |
| Politics | -.043* | -.044 | -.043 | .062 | .050 | .059 | .100 | .092 | .073 |
| Charity | -.028 | -.020 | -.016 | -.162* | -.167** | -.163* | -.005 | -.004 | -.017 |
| Environment | .083*** | .079*** | .076*** | .177* | .184* | .181* | .091 | .074 | .077 |
| Self-Help | .098*** | .085*** | .071** | .054 | .064 | .053 | .178 | .176 | .131 |
| Intercept | 2.159 | 2.071 | 2.289 | 2.142 | 2.076 | 2.290 | 1.732 | 1.785 | 2.121 |
| R2 | .053 | .065 | .085 | .040 | .051 | .076 | .105 | .134 | .149 |
| N | 6986 | 6986 | 6986 | 619 | 619 | 619 | 418 | 418 | 418 |

*p-value on 5%, ** p-value on 1%, ***p-value on 0.1%

A = reference categories included. Gender: male, Education level: primary, Employment status: other, Income level: low, Overall health: bad, Sport organisation: not member, Art organisation: not member, Religious organisation: not member, Political organisation: not member, Charity organisation: not member, Environmental organisation: not member, Self-Help organisation: not member.

Table 4: Multivariate regression of confidence in public institutions^A

Model 1

When looking at the results for the first-generation migrant group, one can see that there is a neg-

ative correlation between political trust and civic participation in organisation regarding sport (-.102), art (-.082) and charity (-.162). This means that in reality, civic participation in sport, art and charity organisations has a positive effect on political trust, this meaning higher political trust. The results show that the relationship is significant for sport and charity organisations but not for art organisations. On the other hand, there is a positive correlation between political trust and civic participation in organisations religion (.038), politics (.062), environment (.177) and self-help (.054). This means that in reality, civic participation in these organisations has a negative relationship with political trust, this meaning a decrease in political trust. The results also show that the only negative relationship that is significant in this model and for this migration group, is the relationship between political trust and civic participation in environmental organisations. It can also be seen that the slope of the b-coefficients decreased in all variables except the variable measuring civic participation in sport organisations. This means that the influence of civic participation in these organisations has on political trust becomes weaker when control variables are included in the analysis.

When looking at the results for the second-generation migrant group, one can see that there is a negative correlation between political trust and civic participation in organisations regarding sport (-.148), religion (-.001) and charity (-.005) (which means higher trust) while there is a positive correlation between political trust and participation in the art (.098), politics (.100), environment (.091) and self-help (.178) (which means lower trust). When checking for the significance, it can be seen that the only relationship that is significant is the one between political trust and civic participation in sport organisations. It can again be noted that when controlling for age, sex and education, there is a decrease in the slope of all variables besides art, religion and charity where the slope instead increased. What I find being interesting regarding this migration group, is that in the bivariate analysis the results showed that there was a positive correlation between political trust and charity (.001). However, in model 1, the results show a negative relationship (-.005). It will be interesting to follow this relationship and see if and how the other control variables affect this relationship, if the relationship will continue to be negative or if it will turn back to a positive relationship.

Lastly, when looking at the results for the native group, one can see that there is a negative relationship between political trust and civic participation in organisations regarding sports (-.109), art (-.022), religion (-.053), politics (-.043) and charity (-.028), and a positive relationship regarding the environment (.083) and self-help (.098) organisations. It can also be seen that the only relationship that is not significant in model 1 for this migration group, is the relationship between political trust and civic participation in art organisations and charity organisations. When comparing these results

with the results we got when doing the bivariate analysis, one can see that the b-coefficients got lower for all variables except environment and self-help, where they instead got higher. This means that when controlling for age, sex and education, the effect of participating in civil voluntary organisations regarding environment and self-help increased on individuals' level of political trust.

Model 2

In model 2, for the first-generation migrant group, the slope decreases for variables measuring civic participation in sport and political organisations while it increases for civic participation in art, charity, environment and self-help organisations. The results also show that there is no change in the slope for the variable measuring civic participation regarding religion when adding control variables for employment status and income. All variables continue to have the same direction. When checking the significance levels, it can be seen that the relationship between civic participation in sport organisations and political trust is no longer significant and can therefore not be generalised to the rest of the population. However, the relationship between political trust and charity becomes even more significant in model 2 (1% level) than in model 1 (5% level). Also, the relationship between political trust and environment continues to be significant on the same level as in model 1 (5% level).

For the second-generation migrant group, the slope decreases for variables measuring civic participation in organisations regarding sport, politics, charity, environment and self-help. This means that the relationship becomes weaker when control variables measuring employment status and income level are included. However, the slope increases for variables measuring civic participation in art and religion organisations, which then means that these relationships get stronger when the control variables for employment status and income are included. Besides the change in the slope for the variable measuring civic participation in a voluntary religious organisation, the relationship also goes from being a negative relationship (-.001) to being a positive one (.008). This relationship is shown to be very close to non-existent and therefore it is not unusual that the direction changes. Also, the direction of the charity variable continues to be negative. When checking for significant relationships for this migration group in model 2, it can again be seen that there is only significance between political trust and civic participation in sport organisations, as in model 1, and the significance continues to be on the same level (1%) as before.

When comparing the results in model 2 with the results in model 1 for the native group, it can be seen that the slope decreases for variables measuring civic participation in organisations regarding sport,

religion, charity, environment and self-help. On the other hand, the slope increases for the variables measuring individuals' civic participation in organisations regarding art and politics. For the native group, all variables continue to have the same direction (positive or negative). When checking for significance, it can be seen that there are no changes between model 1 and model 2. Civic participation in sport organisations continue to have a significant relationship with political trust on 0.1% level, religious organisations continues to have a significant relationship all on 0.1% level. Political organisations continue to have a significant relationship on the 5% level, environmental organisations continue to have a significant relationship on the 0.1% level lastly, self-help organisations also continue to have a significant relationship on 1% level.

Model 3

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, model 3 includes the control variable measuring individuals' overall health. In this model, for the first-generation migrant group, it can be seen that the slope continues to decrease for the variable measuring civic participation in organisations within the field of sports. This indicates that the more control variables that are included in the analysis, the weaker is the effect of civic participation in sport organisations on political trust. It can also be seen that there is a decrease in civic participation in organisations regarding charity, environment and self-help, that on the contrary, all showed an increase in the slope in model 2. An increase in the slope can be seen for the variables measuring civic participation in the field of politics, which showed a decrease in the slope in model 2. An increase in the slope can also be seen in civic participation in organisations regarding religion that previously showed the same slope in both model 1 and model 2. Also, the variable measuring civic participation in art organisations continues to have an increase in the slope, as in the previous two models. This indicates that the more control variables are included in the analysis, the stronger is the effect of civic participation in art organisations on political trust. Also, in this model, all variables continue to have the same direction as in previous models. When checking the significant levels, it can be seen that the only change is to be found in the relationship between political trust and civic participation in charity organisations, where it can be found a lower significance level in model 3(5%) than in model 2(1%).

The results for the second-generation migrant group show that the slope continues to decrease for civic participation in the fields of sport, politics and self-help. This indicates that the more control variables that are included in the analysis, the weaker is the effect of civic participation in these organisations on individuals' level of political trust. A decrease in the slope (weaker effect) can also be

seen in the variable measuring civic participation within art, which is contrary to the results that were found in model 2 since we in that model saw an increase in the slope (stronger effect). However, in model 3, the slope continues to increase for the variable measuring civic participation in religious organisations. An increase in the slope can also be seen in charity and environment, which both showed a decrease in model 2. Also, civic participation in organisations regarding charity continues to have a negative relationship with the dependent variable that is measuring political trust. This, while civic participation in religious organisation continues to have a positive relationship with political trust. When checking for significant relationships, it can be seen that the only significant relationship that is to be found is between political trust civic participation in sport organisations, as in the previous two models. Also, the level of the significance continues to be the same (1%).

When looking at the results of the native group, it can be seen that the slope continues to decrease for the variable measuring civic participation in sport, religion, charity, environment and self-help organisations. However, the slope does not continue to increase for any of the variables included in the regression that measure civic participation. In model 2, one could see an increase in the slope for organisations regarding art and politics. However, when adding control variables that measure individuals' state of overall health, the slope in organisations regarding art decreases so that it shows a slope lower than could be seen in model 1. For the variable measuring civic participation in the field of politics, the slope decreases so that it has the same b-coefficient as could be seen in model 1. In model 3, all variables continue to have the same direction (positive or negative) as in the previous model. When checking the significance level, it can be that there is a change in the relationship between political trust and civic participation in self-help organisations where we earlier could see significance on level 0.1% but now it shows level 1%.

Another thing that has to be noted in the models in the regression analysis, is the R². This number represents how much of the variation in the dependent variable can be explained collectively by the independent variables included in the table. In model 1, there is an R² of .040 for the first-generation migrant group, .105 for the second-generation migrant group and .053 for the native group. In model 2, there is an R² of .051 for the first-generation migrant group, .134 for the second-generation migrant group and .065 for the native group. Lastly, in model 3, there is an R² of .076 for the first-generation migrant group, .149 for the second-generation migrant group and .085 for the native group. This means that with all control variables included (model 3), it can be seen that 7.6% of the variation in the dependent variable that is measuring political trust, can be explained by this model. This specific number is for the first-generations migrant group. For the second-generation migrant group, it is

14.9% of the variation and lastly, for the native group it is 8.5% of the variation.

All in all, the strongest significant relationship, when all control variables are included, is found between political trust and civic participation in environmental organisations for the first-generation migrant group (positive). The second strongest relationship is also found for the first-generation migrant group which is the relationship between political trust and civic participation in a charity organisation (negative). The third strongest relationship is found for the second-generation migrant group which is the relationship between political trust and civic participation in sport organisations (negative). Other relationships that stood out are regarding civic participation in organisations within the field of self-help and art for the second-generation migrant group, however, these relationships are not significant and are therefore unsure. The most consistent relationship found is between political trust and civic participation in sport organisations since the relationship has the same direction through all models, all migration groups have a similar strength (although strongest for second-generation) and is at some point significant in all migration groups.

When looking at the significance in the regression table (Table 4) for the single variables, it can be seen that the levels of significance vary a lot. As explained earlier, it will be difficult to draw any valuable conclusion based on the significance levels. This, because of the low number in the first-generation migrant group and the second-generation migrant group. However, as discussed above, there are a number of relationships that have been shown to be significant.

Before proceeding to the analysis, I also want to mention that the regression analysis was checked for interaction terms. However, the results showed no significant (or close to significant) interaction terms. In the following section, I will again go through the aim, hypothesis and research questions of this paper and then analyse the results in relation to them.

11 Analysis

As discussed previously in this paper, according to Putnam (1993, 2000), good government (political trust is here understood as an indicator of good government) is affected by civic participation. In his statement, Putnam argues that organisations that are structured in a horizontal way (e.g. sports clubs) should have a positive association with good government, while organisations that are ordered in a hierarchical way (e.g. church) have a negative association with good government. The hypothesis that this study seeks to investigate, was developed through this specific statement. As mentioned, Putnam

does not specify how these diverse organisations may affect individuals that belong to different societal groups in various ways. However, since the background of the aim of this study lies in identity and integration, I investigated the relationship between first-generation migrants, second-generation migrants and natives. The reason that specifically these three groups were chosen is that there is a perception of migrants as a collective group being different from natives and that first-generation migrants differ vastly from second-generation migrants. (Sackmann, 2003).

Based on the hypothesis, the expected results are that civic participation in organisations within the field of sports, art, charity, environment and self-help will have a positive effect on the individuals level of political trust while civic participation in organisations within the field of religion and politics will have a negative effect on the individuals level of political trust. Also, it is expected that the relationships will look the same through all three migration groups.

Political Trust and Civic Participation in Sport Organisations

Sports organisations are by Putnam's understanding viewed as horizontal organisations. In the descriptive results (Table 1), it can be seen that the migration group that has the highest percentage of civic participation in organisations in the field of sports, was the native group. In the bivariate analysis (Table 2), the results show that civic participation in organisations regarding sport has a negative relationship with political trust, for all migration groups. In the multivariate regression analysis (Table 4) model 1, it can be seen that the relationship between political trust and sports organisation continues to be negative for all migration groups. The negative relationship can also be seen in model 2 and lastly in model 3 where all control variables are included. These results mean that in reality, there is a positive relationship between political trust and civic participation in sport organisations. This means that individuals that participate in civic voluntary sport organisations, tend to have higher political trust than individuals that do not participate in organisations within this field. However, the results are only significant for the second-generation migrant group and the native group. For the first-generation migrant group, the results are only significant in model 1. As discussed previously, the issues with the significance of the relationships were expected. Since it can be seen that the strength of the relationship is similar in all migration groups, one can argue that the reason that the relationship is not significant in models 2 and 3 for the first-generation migrant group, is because of the low number of participants. To conclude, through all migration groups, the results show that civic participation in sport organisations leads to an increase in individuals' levels of political trust. However, the results are not as sure for the first-generation migrant group and can therefore not be generalised outside the population included in this study.

Political Trust and Civic Participation in Art Organisations

Art organisations are by Putnam's understanding viewed as horizontal organisations. In the descriptive results (Table 1), it can be seen that the first-generation migrant group has the highest percentage of civic participation in organisations within the field of art. In the bivariate analysis (Table 2), the results show that civic participation in art organisation, has a negative relationship with political trust for individuals that belong to the first-generation migrant group and the native group. However, civic participation in art organisations has a positive relationship with political trust for individuals belonging to the second-generation migrant group. When looking at models 1, 2 and 3 (Table 4), one can see that the relationship between political trust and civic participation in art organisations continues to be negative for the first-generation migrant group and for the natives' group. This, while the relationship continues to be positive for the second-generation migrant group. To conclude, these results mean that in reality, individuals that belong to the first-generation group and individuals that belong to the native group, and that participate in civic voluntary art organisations, tend to have higher political trust than individuals that do not participate in these kinds of organisations. However, individuals that belong to the second-generation migrant group, and that participate in art organisations, tend to have lower political trust than individuals that do not participate in these organisations. However, these results are not significant in any of the migration groups which makes them unsure outside the population included in this study.

Political trust and Civic Participation in Religious Organisations

Religious organisations are by Putnam's understanding viewed as hierarchical organisations. In the descriptive results (Table 1), it can be seen that the native group has the highest percentage of civic participation in organisations in the field of religion. As mentioned previously, it is important to keep in mind that in some cases an individual has not actively chosen to become a member of this kind of organisation in their adulthood. This because for example in Sweden, an individual becomes a member of the church when getting baptised. This means that a number of individuals might be a member of the church because they have not exited the membership in their adulthood, and not because they actively choose to be a member. (Swedish church, 2020).

In the bivariate analysis (Table 2), it can be seen that for the second-generation migrant group and the native group, there is a negative relationship between political trust and civic participation in voluntary organisations in the field of religion. However, there is a positive relationship between political trust and civic participation in religious organisations for the first-generation migrant group. In models 1, 2

and 3 in the regression analysis (Table 4), one can see that the relationship continues to be negative for the native group while it continues to be positive through all models for the first-generation migrant group. A change can be noticed for the second-generation migrant group between model 1 and model 2. The change is that the relationship goes from being a negative relationship to being a positive one. This means that when we look at the relationship at a first glance, it appears to be negative, but when we test it further and check if there might be other variables influencing the relationship, we see that the relationship actually is positive. This is exactly the reason why it is important to include control variables when doing analysis, so the true direction of the correlation between the variables can be revealed. To conclude, these results mean that in reality, individuals that belong to the first-generation migrant group or the second-generation migrant group, tend to have lower political trust than individuals that do not participate in this kind of organisations. However, individuals that belong to the native group and that participate in civic voluntary religious organisations, tend to have higher political trust than individuals that do not participate in this kind of organisations. These results are only significant for the native group which means that only these results can be generalised and discussed in a broader sense in a correct way.

Political Trust and Civic Participation in Political Organisations

In the bivariate analysis (Table 2), it can be seen that for the second-Generation migrant group, Political organisations are by Putnam's understanding viewed as hierarchical organisations. In the descriptive results (Table 1), one can see that individuals belonging to the second-generation migrant group have the highest percentage of participation within civic voluntary political organisations. In the bivariate analysis (Table 2), it can be seen that for the native group, there is a negative relationship between political trust and civic participation in organisation of the field of politics. However, the results show a positive relationship between political trust and civic participation in religious organisation for both the first-generation migrant group and the second-generation migrant group. In models 1, 2 and 3 (Table 4), the relationship continues to be negative for the native group, while it continues to be positive for both the first-generation migrant group and the second-generation migrant group. To conclude, these results mean that in reality, individuals that belong to the native group and that participate in the civic voluntary organisation in the field of politics, tend to have higher political trust than individuals that don't participate in these organisations. This while individuals that belong to the first-generation migrant group or the second-generation migrant group tend to have lower political trust than individuals that don't participate in these organisations. The relationship is again only significant for the native group which then again means that only these results can be generalised and accurately discussed in a broader sense. However, this does not mean that the relationships that are not significant do not tell

us anything. It can be seen that the relationships for the first and second-generation migrants are the strongest, which means that for those migration groups, political organisations have the highest effect on political trust and the reason that the relationship is not significant may again be because of the low number of participants. However, it does mean that the results cannot be generalised outside the population in this study.

Political trust and Civic Participation in Charity Organisations

Charity organisations are by Putnam's understanding viewed as horizontal organisations. In the descriptive results (Table 1), it can be seen that the second-generation migrant group has the highest percentage of participation in civic voluntary organisations in the field of charity. In the bivariate analysis (Table 2), the results show that for the first-generation migrant group and the native group, there is a negative correlation between political trust and civic participation in organisations regarding charity. On the contrary, for the second-generation migrant group, the results show a positive relationship. When looking at the results from models 1, 2 and 3 (Table 4), it can be seen that the first-generation migrant group and the native group continue to have a negative relationship between civic participation in charity organisations and political trust throughout the whole table. Again, a change in the direction of the relationship can be seen for the second-generation migrant group. This time, the change happened between the bivariate test and model 1 in the regression analysis. As mentioned previously, the relationship between political trust and civic participation in a charity organisation was positive in the bivariate test. However, in model 1, where the other types of voluntary organisations were included together with the control variables age, sex and education, the results showed a negative relationship. As in the previous case when the variable changed direction, the change indicates that at a first glance, the relationship appears to be a positive one, but when including other variables in the analysis, the true direction of the relationship is revealed, which is, in this case, is a negative one. Also, the following models, models 2 and 3, continue to show a negative relationship between civic participation in charity organisations and political trust for the second-generation migrant group. To conclude, these results mean that in reality for all three migration groups, individuals that participate in the civic voluntary organisation within the field of charity tend to have a higher level of political trust than individuals that do not participate in these kinds of organisations. However, it can be seen that these results are only significant for the first-generation migrant group which means that the results can only be generalised for this group. It can also be seen that the effect of civic participation in charity organisations is notably stronger for this group than for the other two migration groups.

Political trust and Civic Participation in Environmental organisations

An environmental organisation is by Putnam's understanding viewed as organised in a horizontal way. In the descriptive statistics (Table 1), it can be seen that the second-generation migrant group has the highest percentage of participation in civic participation in environmental organisations. In the bivariate analysis (Table 2), it can be found that civic participation in this kind of organisations has a positive relationship with political trust, for all migration groups. This positive correlation continues through all three models in the regression table (Table 4). These results mean that in reality, individuals that participate in environmental organisations tend to have a lower level of political trust than individuals that do not participate in these kinds of organisations, no matter what migration group they belong to. The results are significant for the first-generation migrant group and the native group. However, the results show that for the second-generation migrant group, the relationship has the same direction and similar strength as for the native group. To conclude, it is shown that civic participation in an environmental organisation has a negative effect on individuals' political trust, however, the effect is notably stronger for individuals belonging to the first-generation migrant group than individuals belonging to the second-generation migrant group or the native group.

Political trust and Civic Participation in Self-Help Organisations

Self-help organisations are by Putnam's understanding viewed as organised in a horizontal way. In the descriptive statistics (Table 1) it can be seen that the first-generation migrant group has the highest percentage of participation within civic voluntary self-help organisations. In the bivariate analysis (Table 2), it can be seen that there is a positive correlation between political trust and civic participation in self-help organisations within all three different migration groups. In models 1, 2 and 3 (Table 4), it can again be seen that the relationship continues to be positive for all three migration groups even when all control variables are included. To conclude, these results mean that in reality, individuals that participate in civic voluntary self-help organisations tend to have a lower level of political trust than individuals that do not participate in these kinds of organisations, no matter what migration group they belong to. However, the relationship is only significant for the native group, but the effect is the strongest for the second-generation migrant group.

In the next section, I will discuss the conclusion of this paper and the importance of future research based on the findings.

12 Discussion

As mentioned previously in this paper, this study aims to examine the relationship between civic participation and political trust. This because it has in research been shown that in Europe, political trust has a strong relationship with identity. (Verhaegen et al, 2015). Since an increasing part of the population in the Nordic countries consist of migrants from various backgrounds, it is relevant to discuss what can be done to strengthen their European identity in order to reach a successful integration. Therefore, it is of value to investigate what factors lead to an increase in political trust.

I will start the discussion by answering the research questions and discuss the hypothesis, the first research question of this study was: Is there a positive relationship between political trust and horizontal organisations? The second research question for this study was: Is there a negative relationship between political trust and hierarchical organisations? And lastly, the third research question of this study was: Does the relationship between political trust and civic participation look the same through the three migration groups (first-generation migrants, second-generation migrants and natives)?

In this study, it has been found that participating in a horizontal organisation in the field of sport (all migration groups), art (first-generation migrant group and native group) and charity (all migration groups) increase an individual's level of political trust (positive relationship). However, a positive relationship was also found between political trust and civic participation in the hierarchical organisations within the fields of religion and politics. However, this relationship was only positive for the native group. It has also been found that there is a negative relationship between political trust and civic participation in the hierarchical organisation in the field of religion (first-generation migrant group and second-generation migrant group) and politics (first-generation migrant group and second-generation migrant group). However, a negative relationship was also found between political trust and civic participation in the horizontal organisations within the fields of art, environment and self-help. The negative relationship that was found between political trust and organisations regarding environment and self-help, applies to all three migration groups. This while the negative relationship that was found between political trust and organisations regarding art only applies for the second-generation migrant group. As may be understood, the relationship between political trust and civic participation does not look the same through all three migration groups. This means that the hypothesis that was developed based on Putnam's(1993, 2000) statement about the effects of horizontal and hierarchical organisations on good government, formulated as "Organisations that are according to Putnam's understanding perceived as horizontal, will show a positive relationship to political trust through all migration groups. On the contrary, organisations that according to Putnam's under-

standing are perceived as hierarchical, will show a negative relationship to political trust through all migration groups.”, cannot be confirmed in this study. However, there indeed are some organisations that show the effect that was expected. Before discussing this further, it is important to keep in mind that many of these results were not significant and therefore can not be generalised outside this study. However, this provides a good base in order for other studies to be made within this field.

In line with Putnam’s statement (1993,2000), positive correlations are expected to be found within the field of sport, art, charity, environment and self-help. However, the results show something else. For civic participation in sport organisations, the results do go in line with Putnam, for all migration groups. Also, for civic participation in charity organisations, the results do go in line for all migration groups. However, for civic participation in art organisations, the results for the first-generation migrant group and the second-generation migrant group do go in line with Putnam, but not for the native group. Lastly, for civic participation in environmental organisations and self-help organisations, the results do not go in line with Putnam, not for any of the three migration groups.

According to Putnam (1993, 2000), negative correlations are expected to be found within the field of religion and politics. However, results also here, are mixed. For civic participation in religious organisations, the results do go in line with Putnam’s statement, but only for the first-generation migrant group and the second-generation migrant group. For civic participation in political organisations, the results do go in line with Putnam, but again only for the first-generation migrant group and the second-generation migrant group.

To conclude this, for civic participation within the field of sport and charity, the hypothesis can be confirmed. However, for civic participation within the rest of the fields in this analysis, the hypothesis cannot be confirmed. All in all, the hypothesis explained above, cannot be confirmed in this study since the results as a whole, do not go in line with Putnam’s statement (1993, 2000). What this means, is that the relationship between political trust and civic participation is more complex than Putnam theorise it to be.

As it has been found in this study, civic participation in some organisations does have a positive effect on political trust while civic participation in other organisations does have a negative effect on political trust, and in this, Putnam was right. However, what I believe needs to be discussed further, is what actually is perceived as horizontally ordered organisations and what is perceived as hierarchical ordered organisations. For example, according to Putnam (1993, 2000), sports organisations are viewed

as horizontal organisations. However, one can argue that even within these types of organisations, there is a hierarchy. To be concrete, in a football club, there are board members that among other things have the power to decide how the yearly expenses should be divided (if a team should have more money than another) and on what fields the teams should play on. There are coaches that have to follow the guidelines and terms that the board has developed and decided. There are players that have to pay a fee to the club in order to have the right to participate. The coaches also have authority over the players where they can decide if they are playing in the next game or not. The authority even stretches so far that a person (the coach) has the power to say a word (e.g. "run") and the players are in many cases expected to follow the saying without any questions. In some instances, there are other authorities included, sometimes from the outside of the organisation, which in this case would be a referee when official games are played.

As mentioned, Putnam explains that horizontal associations "bring together agents of equivalent status and power," (Putnam, 1993:176). This, while hierarchical associations "link unequal agents in asymmetric relations of hierarchy and dependence." (Putnam, 1993:176). In line with the explanation above regarding the football club, according to Putnam, this sports club is organised in a way where all agents have the same, or similar amount of status and power. However, in the argument above one can simply understand that that might not be the case in reality since also in sports clubs, there are relations of hierarchy where the agents are not perceived as equals. As Boix and Posner (1996) explain, the difference between horizontal and hierarchical organisations is based on the fact that in hierarchical organisations, the relationships are characterised by dependence and that it is difficult for the individuals to generate norms and have a similar level of responsibility. They also explain that "moreover, vertical associations contain built-in hierarchies which facilitate decision-making and eliminate the collective action dilemmas which confront members of horizontally structured groups." (Boix Posner, 1996:3). To conclude, even though the organisation mentioned above (football club) is by Putnam perceived to be a horizontal organisation, one can simply understand that there are clear hierarchies within the horizontal organisation. Therefore, it is difficult and problematic to state that one organisation is horizontal while another is hierarchical. I believe that all organisations are hierarchical and horizontal in some ways, it is just a matter of more or less. Because of this, I argue that it is not correct to make fixed divisions since we clearly can see that the order within the organisations is not fixed.

Based on this, I believe that there are other factors that can be used to predict if an organisation would have a positive or negative effect on political trust. For example, it was shown in the section of previ-

ous research that it is believed that sports organisations have a greater effect on integration than other types organisations because of the high level of face-to-face interaction. Also, in this study, it was found that the positive effects of the sport were the most consistent one and for the second-generation migrant group, civic participation in this kind of organisations indeed had the strongest effect. However, it can be discussed further if the same effect would be found when investigating the relationship in sports where people are training more individually rather than training in teams. Then, one would not be able to argue that the high levels of face-to-face interactions would be the reason for its great effect. Instead, other mechanisms have to be investigated then. In line with this, one should also keep in mind if the participant has an active or passive nature. Something else that has to be considered when investigating the influence civic participation has on integration is the sex of the participants. This because it is known that there is a difference in how girls and boys from different backgrounds are encouraged to participate in various organisations.

As mentioned, it has been shown that civic participation in organisations within different fields does affect the three migration groups in this study in various ways. Therefore, I believe that more research has to be done on this in order to know how to in the most effective way target the different groups. Today, an increasing part of the population in the Nordic countries consists of migrants from various backgrounds. In order to succeed with integrating these different groups of migrants, we need to find ways that are effective in doing so. As mentioned, it has been found that in Europe, there is a stronger relationship between European identity and trust in political institutions than European identity and trust in other citizens (Verhaegen et al, 2015). Since identity is a strong part of the integration, we should consider this information and further investigate what leads to an increase in political trust in order to increase integration. What can be seen in the section where integration indicators are explained, is that there are several indicators that measure social integration and social trust. In the indicators developed by EU (2016) one can find social inclusion, by NIEM (2020) one can find social security, building bridges and social orientation and by Ager and Strang (2008), one can find social bridges, social bonds and social links. I am not here to say that social integration and social trust is not important for integration, on the contrary, I believe that it is very important. However, I am here to say that political trust is a factor that may also be considered when discussing indicators that countries use when developing policies for how to approach integration. This may be useful when authorities are creating, evaluating and/or developing projects that are intended to lead to successful integration. In this study, it is shown that civic participation in some organisations has a stronger positive influence on individuals' political trust for some migration groups while it has a weaker or even a negative influence on individuals' political trust for other groups. This information may be

used when policymakers are trying to investigate further and target what kind of civic participation works for the different migration groups.

As discussed in the section of previous research, it can be found plenty of research within the field of sport and it has even been stated that sports organisations might have a stronger relationship with integration than other types of voluntary organisations. (Østerlund Seippel, 2013, Ibsen Ottesen, 2001, Nicholson et al, 2013, Walseth, 2008). With regard to this, I questioned if the sport has a stronger positive relationship than other types of civic participation. I can in this paper answer the question by stating that a positive relationship was found through all three migration groups and it was the relationship that was the most consistent when looking at the significance levels. Yet, we have seen a positive relationship when looking at other types of organisations too. Therefore, I believe that further research has to be done on this matter. Research that looks into other fields and that investigates the strength of the relationships further in order to gain more knowledge about what types of organisations works best for integration, depending on what migration group the individual belongs to. Again, this should be done with the three migration groups in mind since we have seen in this study that it does matter what group individuals belong to. In the next and final section of this paper, I will discuss the limitations of this study.

13 Limitations

Even though the limitations have been discussed throughout the paper, I want to dedicate a section specifically for it. This because I believe it is important to be transparent with the limitations in order to make it easier for the next person attempting to do similar studies.

One of the limitations of this paper is that the survey that was used to collect the data for this analysis, was only offered in English in Finland, otherwise, the survey was not offered in any other languages than the Nordic languages. This means that migrants that were not able to communicate in any of the Nordic languages (except English in Finland), were not able to participate in the study. This is an issue because it can lead to the number being screwed since it affects which groups are able to participate in the study and which groups are not able to participate in the study. A consequence of this can be that sometimes no significant results can be found, or it may be difficult to draw a valuable conclusion based on the significance, as we saw in this study. As noted, the number of participants can be quite low for some migration groups when the data is not migrant-specific. For example, in the present study, the natives represented 86.1% of the participants, migrants 8.2% and second-generation

migrants 5.1%. Because of the low number of participants in some of the migration groups, I was not able to have a meaningful discussion about the levels of significance of the results and therefore I did not find it fair to compare the strengths of the relationship in the deeper matter than was compared in this study. This because I would be able to generalise the results for some groups while I would be unsure for other groups. Also, in this study the influence civic participation has on political trust is mainly addressed as a positive or negative relationship. The reason for this is because stating causality, that one variable creates a change in an other, is always a bit problematic in quantitative analysis and is viewed as a limitation. This means that it is not possible to rule out that there is an other variable, that is not included in this study, that affects the relationship between civic participation and political trust.

Another limitation of this study is that the variables used to measure civic participation is in fact measuring membership. This means that a person can be a member of an organisation without actually participating actively. This was mentioned in relation to the variable that measured civic participation in religious organisations. What one had to keep in mind, in that case, was that individuals may have not actively chosen to become a member in their adulthood because for example in Sweden, an individual becomes a member of the church when getting baptised as a baby. This means that a number of individuals might be a member of the church, even though not being religious because they became a member when getting baptised and they have just not exited the membership in their adulthood. (Swedish Church, 2020). The reason that this is considered to be a limitation is that it may affect the validity of this study in a negative way.

To conclude, because of these limitations, future studies can do it better. Future studies can gather or use already existing data that is more migrant-specific. This meaning offers surveys in more languages so that more groups can be included in order to expand the cultural diversity within the study. Also, I would recommend future studies to do proportionate stratified samplings in order to get a more representative diversity in the number of participants included in the study. This is favourable because if the groups are more equally/representative distributed, then one is able to compare the strengths/effects of the relationship in a greater manner and try to generalise the results to the rest of the population in the society. I would also recommend future studies to include a more broad variety of the organisations being investigated, for example, to include a number of different sports clubs instead of having one variable measuring different sports organisations. Also, variables that more specific measure how much and in what ways individuals actually participate in the organisations that they are members of are wanted. This because one is then able to investigate if it really is face-to-face interaction that is key if civic participation leads to integration, or if there are other mechanisms that

play a greater role.

14 References

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