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Ethnic Minorities in Central Europe: What predicts civic engagement and the feeling of being socially integrated?

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Contents

Abstract

Introduction: This thesis investigated how demographic variables affected the social well-being amongst ethnic minorities in Central Europe, building on acculturation and social capital theory.

Method: The sample consisted of 543 respondents from six different countries in Central Europe, all stating that they belonged to an ethnic minority group. Data was provided by the European Social Survey, round 3. Social well-being was measured as two different outcomes; feeling of being socially integrated and civic engagement. Binary and logistic regression was used to assess the predictive power of the demographic variables on the outcome variables.

Results: Five of the demographic variables were found to be significantly associated with the feeling of being socially integrated. The strongest predictor was age, indicating that higher age predicts higher levels of feeling of being socially integrated. For the civic engagement model, only 'parents born in country' and 'urbanization' were found to be significantly associated with civic engagement.

Discussion: The different measures of social well-being; feeling of being socially integrated and civic engagement, were predicted by different variables. The feeling of being socially integrated model gives support to earlier empirical findings, where income, age, and language play an important role. The civic engagement model explained less variance than the feeling of being socially integrated model. This suggests that other variables are more important in the prediction of civic engagement than those included in this study

Keywords: ethnic minorities, integration, acculturation, social capital, social well-being

Samandrag

Introduksjon: Denne studia undersøkte korleis demografiske variablar påverka sosialt velvære blant etniske minoritetsgrupper i Sentral Europa, og byggjer på teori om akkulturasjon og sosial kapital.

Metode: Utvalet bestod av 543 respondentar frå seks ulike land i sentral Europa som oppgav å tilhøyre ei etnisk minoritetsgruppe. Data vart skaffa frå European Social Survey, runde 3. Sosialt velvære vart målt som to ulike utfall; sosial kjensle og sosial fungering. Binær og logistisk regresjonsanalyse vart brukt for å vurdere predikativ effekt av dei demografiske variablane.

Resultat: I sosial kjensle modellen var fem av dei demografiske variablane statistisk signifikant assosiert med sosial kjensle. Den viktigaste variabelen var alder. Denne indikerte at høgare alder var assosiert med høgare nivå av sosial kjensle. Når det gjaldt sosial fungering, var det berre to av dei demografiske variablane som var signifikant assosiert med sosial fungering; foreldre fødd i landet, samt grad av urbanisering.

Diskusjon: Dei ulike måla på sosialt velvære; sosial kjensle og sosial fungering, er predikert av ulike variablar. Sosial kjensle modellen støttar tidlegare forsking der inntekt, alder og språk spelar ei viktig rolle. Sosial fungering modellen forklarte mindre enn sosial kjensle modellen. Dette kan tyde på at det er andre variablar som er ikkje inkludert i denne studia som er viktigare i predikeringa av sosial fungering.

Nøkkelord: Etniske minoritetsgrupper, integrering, akkulturasjon, sosial kapital og sosialt velvære.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1.   Study aims

This study is written in the field of health promotion, and employs a psychosocial perspective to investigate social well-being amongst ethnic minorities in Central Europe. The study is of an explorative nature, and aims to identify demographic predictors of social well-being amongst ethnic minorities in Central Europe.

1.2.   Background

As a result of increasing immigration, most of today's societies are multicultural. Within these societies many individuals live as ethnic minorities. Thus, investigating social well-being amongst ethnic minorities might seem to be a relevant issue for an increasing number of individuals within today's multicultural society.

The increasing cultural diversity in societies may represent some challenges, both to the individual and to society. At the individual level, the term acculturation is used to describe growing up and adjusting to two different cultures. Through acculturation processes one can achieve skills and gain competence to collaborate and communicate with individuals from both cultures (Marin, Chun, & Organista, 2003). This thesis acknowledges that social well-being is an important aspect in the acculturation process, and investigates what predicts social well-being amongst ethnic minorities. Social well-being will incorporate two aspects in this thesis; feeling of being socially integrated and civic engagement.

Empirical findings have stressed social support as a salient factor in the acculturation process (Oppedal, Roysamb, & Sam, 2004). Belonging in a social network, and feeling security and support through such networks are important assets to gain access to social capital. Social capital, in turn, is acknowledged as central for health. Individuals that have left their home country to immigrate into a new host country can be thought of as a challenged group in regard to social well-being. Leaving their country of origin might represent a loss of identity,

as well as a loss of friends and family. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that ethnic minorities will be at risk in lower levels of social well-being, based on a lack of access to social capital within the new society.

Previous findings in acculturation theory have produced somewhat inconclusive findings in regard to ethnic minorities and health. Most studies have tended to focus on the negative outcome of acculturation. Ethnic minorities are found to be at risk of psychological distress due to the acculturation process (Fandrem, Sam, & Roland, 2009; Yu, Huang, Schwalberg, Overpeck, & Kogan, 2003) . However, there is a need to acknowledge that acculturation might also result in an improvement in health, as a result of exposure to better life opportunities and health facilities (Sam & Berry, 2006).

However, it is reasonable to assume that ethnic minorities are a challenged group in regard to health. There are many factors contributing to ethnic health inequalities, and socio-economic factors are said to be one important factor. However, it is important not to put all ethnic minorities into one disadvantaged category. This thesis aims at recognising and identifying factors that promote mental health amongst ethnic minorities. To be able to create beneficial networking at a community level, it is important to study which factors determine successful integration. Furthermore, providing ethnic minorities with this knowledge might enable them to make informed decisions regarding strategies in their acculturation process.

On this background this thesis sets out to explore which factors promote on the one hand a feeling of being socially integrated, and on the other hand level of participation in community activities, among ethnic minority groups. Together these two factors are chosen to capture social well-being. The theoretical foundation for the thesis and definitions of key concepts will be presented in the following chapter, at the end of which the research questions will be stated formally.

This thesis will employ the term ethnic minority. Ethnic minorities refer to a group living in an area which contains a larger group of people that are different in regard to race or nationality. The term is thus based on a group that differs from the majority population in the country of citizenship, and belongs to a minority. Sam (1994) stresses that the term 'minority' does not refer to minor value or less significance, but rather to population group size.

2. THEORY

2.1.   Acculturation

2.1.1. Definitions and background

The term acculturation has been used as a general term when discussing integration, immigrants and refugees. Roughly speaking, it can be defined as all the changes deriving from contact between different cultural groups or individuals. Looking back in literature, acculturation was perhaps first used by Powell, referring to psychological changes brought on by cross-cultural imitation (Sam & Berry, 2006). Other research fields have been using the term as well, and there have been early definitions from both anthropological and sociological perspectives. Anthropologists first presented the term to describe cultural changes as an outcome of intercultural contact. A more formal definition was supplied in 1936 by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits. They defined acculturation as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns for either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton and Herskovits, in Castro, 2003, p. 8). The International Organization for Migration (IOM) came with a definition of acculturation in 2004; "the progressive adoption of elements for a foreign culture (ideas, words, values, norms, behaviour, institutions) by persons, groups or classes of a given culture" (Sam & Berry, 2006, p. 11). This definition is however criticised for excluding the fact that acculturation can also incorporate a refusal or a resistance to adapt to a new culture (Sam & Berry, 2006). Furthermore, Sam & Berry argues that the definition from Redfield et al. is the most common one among researchers in the acculturation field, and the definition that is most cited.

Sam and Berry (2006) also points out that acculturation and its definitions has been used wrongly as a synonym to assimilation from early stages. Assimilation is defined by Berry (1997) as a situation where either the individual looses his original ethnic and cultural background and decides to adopt and identify with membership within the host society, or the society as a whole expects ethnic minorities to abandon their own cultural origin to become more similar to the host society. As an example, anthropologists used the term on primitive

societies that benefitted from cultural contact with an 'enlightened' group of people. Sociologist on the other hand, used the term acculturation or assimilation more directly towards ethnic minorities, and how they adapted to the majority and their culture. Based on the different perspectives and traditions, Sam and Berry (2006) stress that there is a need to conceptualize the term and clarify its definitions.

2.1.2. Psychological acculturation

At first, acculturation was only regarded as a phenomenon at group level. However, when acculturation became an area of interest for psychology, there was a need to distinguish between acculturation at a group-level, or collective phenomenon, and psychological acculturation. The first part relates to the change of culture in a group, and the latter relates to changes in the individual's psychology. Berry (1997) stresses that the type of changes happening at the two levels differ in several aspects. Acculturation at the group level has more focus on changes in a social group and its structures, and how it affects economy, politics and legislature developments in the group. Psychological acculturation on the other hand, refers to changes in an individual's identity, values, attitudes and beliefs.

The benefit from dividing acculturation into a psychological- and a group-level, is related to the relationship between these two levels. Graves (1967) argues that the objective factors resulting from contact with the host majority, represents changes for the minority group. Changes deriving from this contact provide opportunities or limitations to the individuals living within this group, and thus affect the psychological acculturation, or the changes within the individual's belief, values etc. In turn, the psychological acculturation and the individuals personal traits, will affect the individual's response to these objective limitations or possibilities. As a conclusion, one could state that the acculturation occurring at group- and individual levels are representing different aspects; however they can not be interpreted separately. They are closely linked, and need to be seen as a process.

Moreover, Sam stresses that individuals vary as to how often or how actively they participate in the general changes occurring in a group (Sam, 1994). Thus there is a need to focus on acculturation as an individual or psychological change, and not merely at a group level. This thesis will focus primarily on psychological acculturation, and the term acculturation will refer to that concept.

11

2.1.3. Adaption

Adaption is a term that incorporates both the process of acculturation, as well as the outcome of acculturation as a process. When talking about the long-term outcome of an individual's acculturation process, the term psychological adaption is often used. Berry (1997) refers to this psychological outcome as to how the acculturating individual and the majority cultural context "fit" together. Sam (1994) refers to psychological adoption as the level of well-being and satisfaction, and the individuals feeling of being accepted in the new cultural environment.

Three types of adaptations have been recognized; adjustment, reaction and withdrawal. These adaption types are linked to the terms integration, assimilation, and separation, which will be further discussed later in this theory chapter.

2.1.4. Different perspectives on directions and dimensions of acculturation

Sam and Berry (2006) argue that there are two main issues that need to be highlighted when discussing acculturation; directionality and dimensionality. Directionality refers to which direction change takes place. Dimensionality refers to whether or not change occurs along a single dimension or two independent dimensions.

Early acculturation theory and research regarded the acculturation process to be a uni-directional process. They described a change in the acculturating individual's psychology, involving a change in their values, attitudes, behaviour and beliefs. The notion in this assimilation perspective is that change only takes place in one direction, meaning that one group changes to become more alike the dominant group. This may also be an explanation as to why the two different terms acculturation and assimilation were used interchangeably.

Contrary to this belief, the bi-directional perspective claims that a mutual or reciprocal influence occurs when two different cultural groups or individuals meet. This means that there is a chance that both groups and individuals may change as a result of the cultural contact, not just one part. However they do not necessarily change towards a mid point. Today, most researchers have accepted the bi-directional perspective.

Regarding dimensionality, the uni-dimensional perspective claims the acculturating group or individuals to experience a decrease in their own cultural identity when acquiring a new cultural identity from meeting the host society. The more a group or individual accepts or acquires a new cultural identity, the less the origin culture is maintained. The two different cultural identities are seen as mutually exclusive and therefore problematic to maintain simultaneously. This belief regarding the dimension of acculturation is linked to a uni-directional belief, and parallel to an assimilation theory.

Today there is a general acceptance that the development in acculturation is bi-dimensional, meaning that it is possible for an individual to adapt into a new cultural identity at the same time as he or she maintains his or her own cultural identity. Change can occur along two different and independent dimensions (Sam & Berry, 2006).

Even though acculturation in theory incorporates the reciprocal effect of two culture groups meeting and how they affect each other, this thesis will only focus on the minority or immigrant group. This is due to the scope and size of the thesis, and not a statement that the majority group is less important to study.

2.1.5. Acculturation strategies

When cultural groups or their individual members are trying to establish a new life in a multicultural society, one has to make some choices regarding acculturation. Berry (1997) emphasizes two aspects when individuals or groups have to live together in a multicultural society. The first one is *cultural maintenance*. This concerns to what degree cultural identity and cultural characteristics are considered as important, and thus worth maintaining. The next aspect is *contact and participation*, and relates to how much one should involve oneself in other cultural groups, or if one should live isolated from these. Depending on which of these choices one makes, one can derive four main strategies for acculturation. When an individual belonging to a minority group does not want to maintain its own cultural identity, and seeks daily interactions with other cultures, the Assimilation strategy is defined. In contrast, when the individual regards it as valuable to maintain his or her own cultural heritage, and at the same time avoids contact with other cultural groups, a Separation strategy is used. When the individual both wishes to maintain its cultural heritage as well as interact as part of a bigger social network, Integration is possible. Finally, when the individual has little interest both in its own cultural heritage and the host society culture, the Marginalisation strategy is defined.

The ideal of integration may successfully and "freely" be achieved by minority groups when the majority in society is open and including towards a cultural diversity (Berry, 1997).

The main strength of this model is that it acknowledges the fact that acculturation is a complex process, and that there are more than two different strategies. It also allows immigrants to maintain their own heritage. That is, adapting to a new society is not necessarily synonymous with giving up one's own culture. In fact, research reveals that keeping in touch with cultural heritage is of great importance to psychological well-being (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001).

Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other ethnic groups?	Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?	
	YES	NO
YES	I INTEGRATION	II ASSIMILATION
NO	III SEPARATION	IV MARGINALIZATION

Figure 1: The different strategies of acculturation (Castro, 2003).

2.1.6. Ethnic Identity

Phinney et al. (2001) discuss ethnic identity as an important aspect of the acculturation process that takes place when immigrants try to make it in a new society. The authors stress that there are vague distinctions between ethnic identity and acculturation. The article argues that acculturation is a larger phenomenon that also contains a broad spectre of values, beliefs

and attitudes that change in the process of two cultures meeting. Ethnic identity is regarded as the part of the acculturation process that focuses on the subjective experience of belonging to a group.

In comparison, one can also regard ethnic identity and "national" identity as two dimensions of group identity. Furthermore, one identity can vary irrespective of the other. For example, when an individual has a strong ethnic identity as well as strong "national" identity, i.e. identifies with the new society, he or she can be described as bi-cultural, or to have an integrated identity. Moreover, immigrants who do not identify with either of the cultures, will have a marginalized identity, and this may lead to a negative outcome for the individual.

2.1.7. Acculturation stress

The acculturation process can bring along some difficult challenges. It's not only the process of interacting with a new culture that is regarded as difficult, but doing it parallel to maintaining one's own cultural heritage. These challenges are often referred to as acculturation strain, and can lead to an increased risk of depression (Oppedal et al., 2009). However, its important to acknowledge the fact that strains concerning acculturations are to a great degree dependent on social and personal factors, both within the individual, but also in the society to which the individual is trying to connect to (Berry, 1997).

Berry (1997) defines different levels of challenges related to psychological acculturation. The first level is characterized by psychological changes that are easy for the individual to overcome. This is often referred to as cultural learning, behavioural changes and social skills acquisition. When individuals experience conflicts related to their meeting with a new culture, they may have what we call a "culture shock". Berry is critical to the use of culture shock as a term, and prefers "acculturations stress" as a better and more appropriate term. The final level arises when individuals experience serious problems concerning acculturation, which leads to risks of mental illness. This implies that changes in the cultural context are too demanding, compared to what the individual can cope with.

2.1.8. Ethnic Identity and psychological well-being

Phinney et al. (2001) argues that most studies have proven that a combination of a strong ethnic identity combined with at strong national identity is the acculturation strategy that will

promote the best adaption, and thus psychological health. In contrast, low scores on both ethnic and national identity are correlated with low acculturation. However, the choice of acculturation strategy will be affected by ethnicity and contextual factors (Phinney, et al., 2001). Berry (1997) emphasises social support as one of the most important factors in the acculturation process.

2.2. *Social capital*

2.2.1. Definition

An increasing body of research supports the notion of how important social capital is for health (Keyes, 1998; Ryff & Keyes, 1995; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Social capital is seen as a promoter of good health, and a protector against illness. The concept of social capital was first studied by Bourdieu, but has lately received a great deal of attention. The concept has also been elaborated by Putnam, and is perhaps first and foremost associated with him (Lin, 1999; Tones & Green, 2004). Putnam revived the term social capital in "Bowling Alone", and stressed that social capital is central to understanding the important role networks plays in connecting individuals to their community, and in creating a vital civic engagement with active and integrated citizens (Ødegård, 2010). Thus social capital might be claimed to be a vital factor for successful integration of minority groups.

Social capital can be defined in many and different ways, depending on which perspective one has. Roughly, it can be described as network and trust between individuals. Putnam describes social capital as a feature that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit through social trust, social networks and social organisations (Putnam, 1995a). This implies that individuals work together through social features to pursue shared values and goals.

Social capital exists both at an individual level and at a group level. Putnam argues that social capital can be linked to political participation, but that the two terms are not synonymous. Political participation refers to how individuals relate to political organisations, whereas social capital refers to how individuals relate to one another (Putnam, 1995b). Roughly, one could say that individuals with a broad social network characterized by reciprocal trust indeed

have a greater social capital compared to those with a social network influenced by suspiciousness. Based on this, social capital can be regarded as a phenomenon or a property of individuals, and something that one can have more or less of, and something that a society can be more or less affected by (Ødegård, 2010).

2.2.2. Civic engagement

As mentioned above, social networks, norms, and mutual trust are not only attributes that are valuable to individuals, they also play a crucial role to the functioning of society. Putnam's thesis is that when individuals participate in both formal and informal groups, this will contribute to a rise in social capital, both within individuals and society. He uses the term civic engagement when discussing social capital. Civic engagement refers to how individuals relate to the community they live in, and its surroundings. In his article "Bowling Alone" (1995a), Putnam argues that the civic engagement in the United States has declined for the last 35 years. He draws a picture of people voting less, engaging in and discussing politics with friends and neighbours less, participating less in voluntary organizations, and in general meeting less for civic and social purposes. Furthermore, he emphasizes this decline in social engagement as a major threat to social and individual life. He draws a picture of a more criminated and corrupted society, where the government is less effective as a direct result of the decline in civic engagement. He believes that when individuals are engaged in societal matters, governments as well as schools will achieve better results. At the individual level, he associates social disengagement with a lower quality of life, which in turn affects mental and physical health. He highlights happier and healthier individuals as a result of more social interaction (Putnam, 1995b).

Putnam also stresses that civic engagement is not merely about increasing political participation (1995b). Civic engagement can be expected to have a positive impact on both individuals, families, networks, workplaces, physical and mental health, making them better-functioning (Mittelmark, in Tones & Green, 2004). Putnam draws on group membership as an indicator of social capital or civic engagement within a society. This can be groups like bowling leagues, sports clubs etc. However, he stresses that the groups have to gather people for actual meetings, and thus he is sceptical about "mailing list" organisations and their contribution to social connectedness, since they do not imply face-to-face meetings, but rather connect only trough a common symbol (Putnam, 1995a).

17

2.2.3. Social strain

Another important aspect of social capital is that it is not solely positive. Some social ties or networks may contribute to what we refer to as social strain, which in turn may have a negative affect on health. An example of social strain can be individuals within a social group that practice actions like deprivation, criticism, high demands etc. According to Mittelmark (1999), actions like this may produce psychological and physiological reactions in a human being, regardless of whether those actions are intended or unintended. Furthermore, Mittelmark stresses that although some have regarded this social strain to be of minor importance because it is only experienced occasionally, it is reasonable to hypothesize that experiencing social strain repeatedly over time will have a negative health effect. This has been supported in empirical research (Bancila & Mittelmark, 2007; Mittelmark, 1999, 2001).

2.2.4. Bonding and Bridging Social Capital

An important distinction has been made between bonding social capital and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital refers to social cohesion within the group, while bridging social capital refers to social capital that reaches across different groups or/and communities. This dividing line in social capital has also been referred to as vertical and horizontal social capital, where vertical social capital captures social capital that cuts through different layers of social class/groups, whereas horizontal social capital focuses on relationships between similar individuals within a community or a group (Harpham, Grant, & Thomas, 2002).

A group membership strengthening bonding social capital will provide a stronger sense of belonging within the group. This can be an important contribution to for instance ethnic minority groups, by providing social and psychological support. However, such bonding groups may also serve as segregating groups, where the strong social cohesion reduces the individual's scope of action and possibility to affect and influence its surroundings. There may also be difficulties in breaking out from such a group, especially if the individual has no other network to seek support from (Ødegård, 2010). As a contrast, bridging social capital groups will unite individuals from different social groups and communities, and create networks that are transcendent and cut across social boundaries. According to Putnam, a bridging social capital will be more appropriate than bonding social capital when it comes to

generating a feeling of identity, belonging and reciprocity across differences. However, it is important to acknowledge that the two different aspects of social capital are not competing opposites. A social network or group should strive to achieve both a bonding and a bridging capital (Putnam, 1995b). For ethnic minorities bonding capital might refer to the maintaining of cultural heritage by participating in ethnic networks. Bridging capital will provide the ethnic minorities with networks that transcend ethnicity.

2.2.5. Linking social capital

Putnam presents the term social capital as a result of individual's participation in civil engagement. However, another author in social capital theory, Michael Woolcock, believes the concept to work the other way around; he regards individual's participation in organisations and network as a consequence of social capital, not a precursor (Ødegård, 2010). Woolcock presents another concept in social capital theory – linking social capital (Woolcock, 1998). Why do well-functioning democracies hold a higher level of social capital compared to nations and regimes that are characterised by corruption and ethnic minority related conflicts? Woolcock argues that the answer to this question should focus one a dynamic approach to social capital, and one that incorporates cultural, economic and political structures and contexts. He defines linking social capital as what happens when individuals build network and relationship with individuals and institutions that are different in regard to power and authority, and stresses that communities with high levels of social capital are distinguished by trusting relations between government and civic society. This establishes opportunities for a strong relationship between different participants from different areas in society, which in turn will provide better opportunities for individuals and networks to take action and influence society (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Ødegård (2010) stresses that Woolcock is not trying to eliminate or replace Putnam's terms bonding and bridging social capital, but rather is offering a more nuanced perspective on the concept.

2.2.6. Voluntary- and social- organizations

Voluntary organizations can be an important contribution to social capital. This also illuminates bonding and bridging social capital. In voluntary organisations where all the members are alike based on for example ethnicity, a bonding social capital can be created. These types of groups are characterized by a strong sense of loyalty within a relative

homogenous group. However, groups like this can come across as excluding towards individuals, or groups outside. Introverted groups may take their own lead, without much contact to other network outside. Bridging social capital on the other hand, is created within networks that transcends boundaries across groups and community, and relates and creates contact to other networks.

2.2.7. Social capital and ethnic minorities

As mentioned earlier, bonding social capital can be defined as social ties between people in similar situation or in a group. A natural example of a bonding social capital group is family, close friends or neighbours. One of the illuminating benefits from such groups is the trusting characteristics and mutual obligations. However, there are other arenas that serve as a personal network characterised by a high degree of closure. Groups where individuals are highly similar based on a distinct phenomena or cultural contribution may also incorporate a high degree of social capital, and be of a closed or bonding nature. Also groups constantly dealing with other groups that are perceived as more powerful may develop a strong bonding. Ethnic minority can thus be an example of both these criteria's (Woolcock, 1998). The simple fact that the members of the group share cultural norms and values, as well as awareness that there may be a perceived prejudice towards them, reduces the probability of bridging to the exterior society. Lancee (2010) argues that one could classify all social ties with co-ethics as a contribution to an embedded, bonding network, depending on level of analysis. Ethnic networks often build on ethnic solidarity and enforceable trust. However, there might be a problem reaching out to the community, or the exterior level. Lancee argues that this is due to the fact that outside the bonding ethnic group, the individual is less dependent on ethnic recourses.

2.2.8. Different views on social capital

As mentioned above, linking social capital implies both bonding and bridging network, and is thus building on Putnam terms. However, as already briefly mentioned, there is a distinct difference in how Putnam and Woolcock regard social capital. Putnam states that social capital is the result of civil engagement, where individuals participate trough membership in both organized and unorganized networks and groups. Woolcock on the other hand, argues that this kind of social interaction is more a result of social capital. Woolcock and Szreter

(2004) do not believe the relation between citizens and their networks to be the decisive factor in a society's social capital, but rather how political government and other institutions create and affect the amount and type of social capital. As a result of this, they argue for a public engagement to ensure that people are given resources and opportunities to act in and affect their societies.

Ødegård (2010) stresses this distinction due to the notion that the inclusion of linking social capital makes room for a more critical and analytic perspective on social capital. A high level of social capital in a group, a local community or a society is indeed a good thing, as it creates opportunities and access for group members to certain privileges. However, a marginalized group, for instance an ethnic minority group, may become even more marginalized by being cut off from resources as they are not included in the relevant networks. Power, politics and ideology are important parts of the relationship between government and civil society. Thus social capital needs to be developed trough a mutual understanding of a shared value or goal, and founded on mutual respect, trust and equity in regard to social status. Szreter stresses this perspective to be of great importance when dealing with and focusing on ethnic minority groups, or other groups that are considered as marginalized (Szreter, 2002).

2.2.9. Practical implications for different perspectives

Another important argument for making a distinction between Putnam's explanation of social capital, and Woolcock's explanation, is that it has practical implications in regard to public policy. Is it possible to stimulate to the creation of social capital? When funding social capital on Putnam's community oriented view of social capital, the responsibility for creating bridging network is within individuals or minor groups. This view has been criticized for being both rhetorically dangerous, as well as placing the responsibility for social capital within individuals. However, when taking Woolcock's institutional oriented view into consideration, it opens opportunities for creating institutional trust, exemplified by governments establishing different types of collective welfare arrangements. This can be closely related to the important aim within health promotion of building a healthy public policy, where government and states enable citizens to participate, affect and take part in questions regarding their own lives and health. Within health promotion it is seen as important to avoid victim-blaming, meaning that individuals carry the full responsibility for their own

lives and wellness. Moreover, it's also in thread with the important goal of reducing the gap of inequities within a society.

As a conclusion, democracy and building relations based on reciprocity and respect can be said to be fundaments in linking social capital. The key to linking or bridging social capital is to optimize social relations between stakeholders that represent both government and the civil society, at a macro- and micro-level. Szreter argues that those stakeholders should work as "social brokers", meaning that they will serve as a mediator, or a bridge between society and powerful people and institutions. Representatives from government, or workers in volunteer organizations could be an example of such stakeholders, or "social brokers" (Szreter, 2002).

2.2.10.   Social capital and acculturation

Basing social capital on the three concepts *bonding, bridging,* and *linking,* will contribute to a greater acknowledgment that network resources and contextual conditions will affect ethnic minorities in their acculturation process. As presented in the acculturation theory, an integrated strategy is the one linked with the best positive outcomes, and incorporates both maintenance of ethic cultural heritage, as well as participation and contact with the majority culture, or external group. As one can see, this is closely linked with bonding (maintaining cultural heritage) and bridging (participation and contact with the host or majority culture). When incorporating linking social capital, contextual and structural conditions will be acknowledged as determinants of network building with different stakeholders, and in different areas. The main point is that social and political integration in a civil society can not solely be seen as created by organisational activities, with consequential trust and networks, or ethnic minorities' acculturation processes. Public policy and the initiative taken by the government also play an important part.

When proposing integration as the best acculturation strategy incorporating bonding, bridging and linking social capital, the presumption is that this strategy will lead to a positive outcome in well-being. Mental and physical health, a high level of self-esteem, psychological satisfaction, and good results in school or work are commonly used as terms when discussing successful acculturation (Phinney, et al., 2001). Theory and research on acculturation have emphasized the importance of adaption into a new society, and literature has repeatedly

proven integration to be the most adaptive mode of acculturation, and the one most conducive to the well-being of ethnic minorities (Phinney, et al., 2001)

2.3.   *Social Well-being*

2.3.1. Well-being as a concept in health

The World Health Organisation defines mental health as something more that just the absence of mental illness, and as a state of wellbeing, where the individual can realize his or hers abilities and potential. It incorporates coping with normal stresses of life, being able to work and function productively, and to make a contribution to community (WHO, 1986). This definition incorporates a more holistic view of health, and stresses that health is a positive concept, and a resource in the every day life. It is also a foundation for individual's well-being, and the effective functioning of a community (WHO, 2011). This definition is also in thread with health promotion, where focusing on the positive aspect of health is an important aim.

2.3.2. Positive mental health

Recent literature has changed its focus from a pathological view incorporating dysfunction and illness, towards a more positive and salutogenic view, which emphasizes well-being and positive health, and Huppert (2005) gives Seligman, Ryff and Diener credit for this shift. Furthermore, she defines positive mental health as "a combination of subjective well-being and of being fully functional". Being fully functional refers to developing one's own potential. Huppert (2005) argues that positive mental health can not solely be achieved by positive feelings. She exemplifies this by drawing a picture of individuals grieving from the loss of a family member or friend, and stresses that positive mental health in these situations actually requires that the individual has experience in negative emotions. Furthermore, positive feelings do not always bring on personal growth, or fulfilment. At the same time, positive functioning, or realizing one's potential, is not guaranteed to conduce happiness, engagement or joy. In other words, positive mental health consists of positive feeling and positive functioning. Based on this definition, well-being is approached by two different philosophical perspectives; the eudemonic perspective, and the hedonic perspective.

2.3.3. Hedonic and eudemonic approach

Deci and Ryan (2008) summarizes subjective well-being as having a high level of positive affect, a low level of negative affect, and a high degree of satisfaction with one's life. When focusing on the subjective experience of well-being, this has been associated with the hedonic approach to well-being. The hedonic approach refers to pleasure, satisfaction and happiness, and involves a cognitive grading of the circumstances in one's life. Deci and Ryan stresses that although subjective well-being has a focus on positive and negative affect, and has been used interchangeably with happiness, there is still room to elaborate the concept within the fields of eudemonia. They present another perspective of well-being, stating that even though individuals report happiness, they are not necessarily psychologically well (Deci & Ryan, 2008). This view is closely related to the eudemonic perspective. The eudemonic approach is concerned with the functioning part of well-being, and refers to realizing one's potential and living well. Well-being is thus not seen as the outcome, but rather as the process of fulfilling and realizing one's potential. The eudemonic notion of living life to its fullest can be traced back to Aristotle.

As a conclusion, the hedonic perspective represents a more private and personal criteria for evaluating one's life, whereas the eudemonic perspective stresses the more public and social evaluation of their functioning in life (Huppert et al., 2009).

2.3.4. Subjective well-being

Leading psychologists have called out for a need to collect subjective data on well-being to draw a more holistic picture of well-being (Diener & Seligman, 2004; Lyubomirsky, Sheldon, & Schkade, 2005). This is due to the already large amount of research regarding material conditions of people's lives and health. However, there is less knowledge about how individuals actually experience their quality of life, or well-being. This is an important shift in focus. Even though there has been an increase in income, health and education, there has not been an equal rise in life satisfaction or happiness. In fact, some studies have proven that in economically developed countries there has been a rise in rates of depression, suicide and divorce.

The concept of subjective well-being has undergone change throughout time, and the term well-being has often been labelled "happiness" or "life satisfaction". In 1967, Warner Wilson reported happy individuals as: "young, healthy, well-educated, well-paid, extroverted, optimistic, worry-free, religious, married person with high self-esteem, high job moral, modest aspirations, of either sex and of a wide range of intelligence" (Wilson, in Diener, 2009). A more recent definition of well-being refer to the positive evaluation of the individuals own life, and incorporates positive emotion, satisfaction, engagement and meaning (Diener & Seligman, 2004).

2.3.5. Social well-being

Keyes (1998) argues the importance of investigating the social structure of an individuals life, seeing that individuals are living their lives embedded in social networks and communities. He suggests that social challenges are one criterion that individuals use to evaluate their lives. The link between mental and social health was clearly stated in the World Health Organisation's definition of health in 1946, where health is defined as; "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being" (WHO, 1986).

Social well-being is defined as "the appraisal of one's circumstance and functioning in society" (Marks & Shah, 2005, p. 526). It is closely related to social capital as described by Robert Putnam. However, social well-being is exclusively based on an individuals' own judgement or perceptions, as in subjective well-being. The concept includes important facets as how they feel about the society in which they live, their sense of belonging, and how much they feel they contribute to society. As a conclusion, social well-being can be said to be a dimension of subjective well-being, which focuses on the interpersonal relationship and how the individual perceives this. Keyes (1998) describes several social dimensions that constitute social well-being; social integration, social contribution, social coherence, social actualization, and social acceptance. *Social integration* refers to the extent to which the individual feels he or she has something in common with people around him or her, the degree of belongingness. *Social acceptance* refers to trusting others, and viewing others as capable of kindness. *Social contribution* reflects whether or not individuals feel that what they do is seen to be valuable in the society, and that it is contributing to a common goal. *Social actualization* contains the idea of growth and development within individuals, and is the perception of the societies potential and benefits. *Social coherence* refers to individuals that

are able to make sense out of their surroundings, and is linked to the concept of 'sense of coherence' (Antonovsky, 1979).

There has been some disagreement concerning what contributes to well-being, and how to capture and measure the concept. When researchers first started exploring the concept of well-being, the focus was first and foremost on determinants of well-being, and how the state of well-being affected the individual. Well-being has been a focus for many areas in science; psychology, sociology and behavioural science, and the concept has changed throughout time and with each field of science. Research in well-being thus incorporates both the individual aspect, as well as using well-being as a measure of the society and how well it performs (Diener, 2009). The following chapters will briefly look into what constitutes well-being.

2.3.6. Improving well-being

Being happy or achieving happiness, may be conducive to many and have important bi-effects, which benefit individuals, their families and community. The benefits of happiness for functioning are supported in cross-sectional, longitudinal as well as experiential studies. One could say that happy people are more flourishing, and therefore it is valuable to try and increase happiness in a population. Happiness is closely linked to social well-being, with the functioning part of an individual's life (Lyubomirsky, et al., 2005, Kraut et al., 1998). As a conclusion, well-being is seen as an important indicator of mental health, and to have an impact on individual's health and longevity. Thus, well-being research is an important subject for health promotion and health psychology research (Xu & Roberts, 2010).

2.3.7. What affects well-being?

There is also a discussion as to how happy one could expect to be, and what counts for one's level of happiness. There is consensus that happiness depends on three different aspects; genetic predisposition to happiness, situational factors or context and intentional activities. It has been stressed that well-being must be regarded as an active and changing process and that intentional activities may explain more of the variance in well-being than contextual factors do. However this can be good news, seeing that intentional activities – the behavioural, cognitive and motivational choices we make – is the factor individuals are most capable of changing in order to reach a higher state of happiness or well-being (Lyubomirsky, et al.,

2005). Although the following chapter focuses on happiness, this is closely linked to social well-being, seeing that happy people are more flourishing and have better functioning.

2.3.8. Genetic predisposition

Lykken and Tellegen (1996) provided evidence that happiness is first and foremost determined by genetic predisposition. Their research based on twin, suggested that the heritability of well-being could be as high as 80%. However, there has been some disagreement to the exact percentage of genetic predisposition, and the common belief is that 50% of well-being is predicted by genetics. This theory is supported by research proving that individuals tend to return to their "baseline" of happiness after experiencing a positive or negative event, meaning that we all have a "set-level" of happiness (Huppert, 2005). This is also an indicator that subjective well-being is rather "fixed", and based on our genetic, "what goes up must come down".

2.3.9. Circumstances

Circumstances are said to count for about 10% of the variations in well-being, and includes factors like income, marital status, neighbourhood, job-status etc. These are all factors that tend to preoccupy societies, and individuals spend a disproportionate amount of time focusing on these areas in life. As an example, people tend to focus on income and salary, and view this as a key to happiness (Huppert, 2005). However, this is not necessarily true. As mentioned above, people are very adaptable, meaning that every positive or negative experience one has in one's life, will not provide for a long term effect on happiness or well-being. This is referred to as hedonic adaption, and is due to the fact that people tend to adapt to constant circumstances. "Thanks to our capacity to adapt to ever greater fame and fortune, yesterday's luxuries can soon become today's necessities and tomorrow's relics" (Myers, 2000, p. 60). A study by Brickman, Coates and Janoff-Bulman revealed that individuals who had won the lottery did not experience a significant rise in happiness within a year, and some even tended to be less happy than they were before winning the lottery (Brickman, Coates, & Janoff-Bulman, 1978). This can also be explained by expectations and comparisons. As individuals adapt to changes in circumstances, the expectations of what contributes to happiness change as well. Individuals tend to compare themselves, both with themselves and where one wishes to be in life, but also with other individuals. And moreover, once the goal is

achieved, there is a new comparison and thus the goal post is always moving (Marks & Shah, 2005).

2.3.10. Intentional activities

Hedonic adaption does not represent the same problems in intentional activities as it does in circumstances. Although individuals may adapt to the benefits from participating and working in a voluntary organization, by making small changes in the time or set frame, the enjoyment over engaging in meaningful activities may return. This means, intentional activities can be controlled by the individuals, opposed to circumstances that tend to go ahead without the individuals having much to say (Huppert, 2005).

Huppert emphasizes another aspect as to why intentional activities have long-lasting effects on an individual's well-being; intentional activities that are eudemonic will aim in seeking fulfilment rather than happiness or pleasure. Thus, these activities will create a rise in subjective well-being based on feeling good as a bi-effect of being engaged and functional. Within ethnic minorities, this can be thought of as a result of engaging in a civic society. Participating in community activities might produce a feeling of social integration as a bi-result.
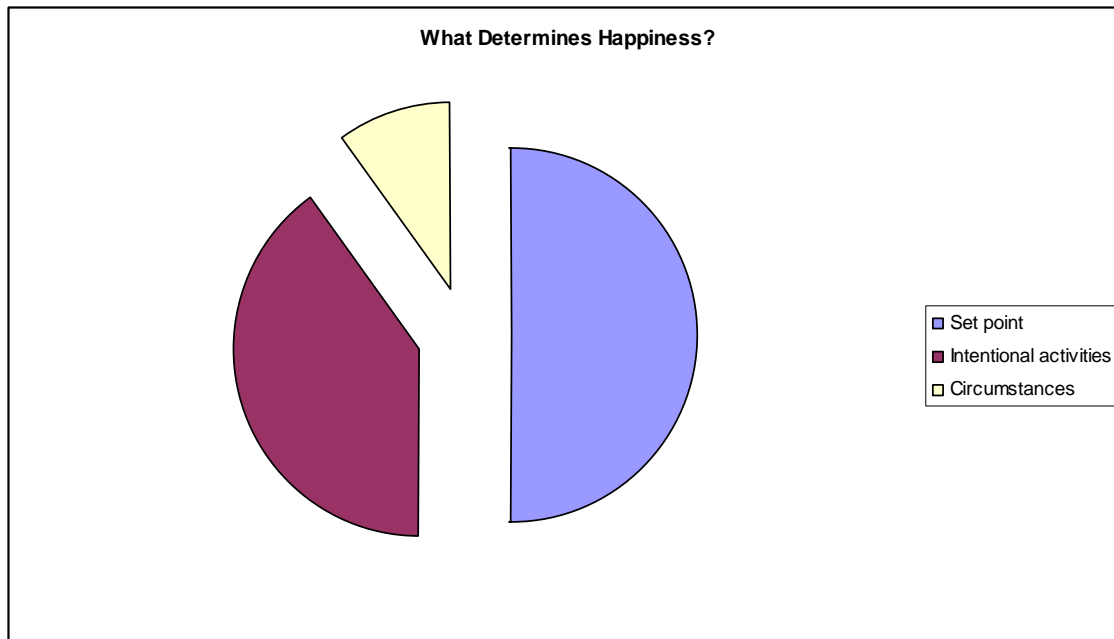
Figure 1: What determines Happiness? (Lyubomirsky, et al., 2005)

2.3.11. Well-being and social capital

Huppert et al. (2009) argue for including indicators of social well-being when measuring well-being. By doing so, one can manage to focus beyond the individual aspect of well-being. Individuals do not live their lives isolated from society and other people, and how an individual relates to the surroundings is a significant contribution to well-being. Putnam (Putnam, 2001) has proven a link between how happy, productive and healthy an individual is, and how he or she rates in a group's social connectedness. Based on this relationship, it is of importance to include items measuring this aspect in the individual's every-day life in surveys focusing on well-being. Both objective and subjective measures of civic engagement should be incorporated, in contrast to earlier research where only objective measures of social capital were used.

Another aspect of well-being is the benefit individuals experience by taking part in voluntary activities. This is based on the notion that – even in stressful times – an individual will have greater effect of giving social support than receiving it (Huppert et al., 2006). This means that

contributing to social support will have a greater positive impact on our well-being, than receiving it. Contributing to social support has also been linked to a better physical health (Huppert, et al., 2009)

Huppert et al. (2006) emphasizes the importance of using both questions that reflect general evaluations on an individual's well-being across nations and questions that reflect events during the last week. By doing so, social well-being incorporates well-being both as a present idea of one's own well-being, as well as a more general evaluation.

2.4. Empirical findings

2.4.1. Minority status and health inequalities

One of the most important goals within the field of health promotion, building on important principles such as justice and equity, is to reduce the gap in health inequalities. Social inequity in health describes systematic differences in society, where health as a resource is unequally distributed between social groups in society. These differences in health depend on social and economic status. Higher socioeconomic status provides better health. The correlation has a gradient nature, and exists in all layers of the society (Marmot et al., 2008).

Another important factor that contributes to differences in health is whether or not the individual is part of a minority or majority group within the general population. However, it is of importance to stress that all minority groups are not similar and general conclusions about health status can not be drawn. There are many different aspects of belonging to minority groups that contribute to health inequity, and skin colour is perhaps the most obvious one. Other factors are language skills, economic differences, cultural heritage, and so on(Argyle, 1999).

2.4.2. Minority status and social position

There have been many attempts to try and explain the poor health amongst minority groups compared to the general population. One of the most important research findings is that minority groups tend to have lower social status, for instance through having jobs lowest on the social hierarchy, and low-income jobs. This contributes to the minority group belonging in a lower socio economic group compared to the general population (Morrison & Bennett, 2006). Despite some differing findings, there is a general consensus that belonging to an

30

ethnic minority affects health status in a negative direction, and that this is related to factors associated with socioeconomic status.

2.4.3. Minority status and health services

Immigrants or minority groups may also, due to language skills, have poorer access to health services compared to the majority population. This can be because they tend to cluster in geographic parts of a society which are associated with a poorer health services. Also, economic stress might be a limiting factor. Another explaining factor is that many ethnic minorities are not accustomed to the level of professional health service found in the modern and technological Europe and therefore do not request these services (Morrison & Bennett, 2006).

2.4.4. Acculturation and health

Many studies have investigated mental health amongst immigrants and ethnic minorities, and it has been said that there is no consensus as to whether this group has an increased risk of developing mental illness or not (Bancila & Mittelmark, 2007). A study by Fandrem, Sam, and Roland (2009) investigated how socio-demographic factors like ethnicity, gender and urbanisation affect mental health amongst adolescents in Norway, compared to adolescent immigrants. The study showed significant differences in symptoms of depression amongst ethnic Norwegian adolescents, and adolescent immigrants; immigrant adolescents presented with higher levels of depression than their Norwegian counterparts. Moreover, the study also proved differences in gender when it came to depression, but this occurred after a certain age. Immigrant girls scored highest on symptoms on depression, whereas Norwegian boys had fewest symptoms. However, the article stresses that girls tend to be more open regarding emotional problems, and that this could have affected the gender-related result. Moreover urbanisation was also stressed as a protector for developing depression. This may relate to urban areas being more approving towards being different, compared to rural areas. An interesting trend is that depressive symptoms in girls are closely linked to the degree of urbanisation. This means, girls living in urban areas, or a city, have lower risks of developing depressive symptoms. When it comes to boys however, the opposite it true; there is an increased risk of depressive symptoms when living in a city (Fandrem, et al., 2009)

2.4.5. Social capital and health

Social support from friends and family has proven to positively affect mental health and psychological acculturation (Deci, La Guardia, Moller, Scheiner, & Ryan, 2006). A study by Oppedal, Røysamb & Sam (2004) revealed that social support from classmates and teachers is an important factor in preventing reduced mental health in children and youth with ethnic minority status. Through social support and social networks individuals will achieve enhanced knowledge about the host society, which in turn can make the acculturation process easier. The article argues that immigrant youth also need knowledge about his or her own cultural heritage, as this is important when it comes to developing a good self-esteem and identity. A positive correlation has been proven between maintaining ethnic identity and self-esteem.

Moreover, a meta analysis of existing theory and research regarding ethnic identity, integration and well-being done by Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vebber (2001) found that maintaining one's own cultural heritage when also identifying with the new host society, provided an integrated identity, also referred to as bicultural identity. Having a bicultural identity was correlated with positive psychological outcomes for immigrants. This is probably due to being adaptable and therefore avoiding strains related to acculturation.

When studying elderly immigrants in Israel aged 50 and above, Amit and Litwin (2010) found that the healthier immigrants were, and the more engaged they were in social activities, the higher their level of subjective well-being was. This is also congruent with earlier research. However, their analysis did not provide information as to whether or not the social activities were of a bonding or bridging nature. The same study also revealed positive correlations with language proficiency and quality of life and life satisfaction, which is in line with earlier research. Further more, ethnic origin did not seem to affect the level of well-being in their sample, except for immigrants coming from the former Soviet Union reporting of lower levels of subjective well-being.

2.4.6. Acculturation, social capital and subjective well-being

Social integration has generally been linked with improving well-being amongst ethnic minorities (Angel & Angel, 1992; Jibeen & Khalid, 2010). A study of Korean Immigrants in

the Midwest (Yoon, Goh, & Lee, 2008) investigated whether social connectedness, both within the majority society and ethnic communities mediated the relationship between acculturation and subjective well-being. Social connectedness as a mediator between acculturation and subjective well-being did not reach statistical significance; however, it tended to mediate the relationship partially. The study did however support previous research in acculturation as a strong determinant to subjective well-being. This indicates that there are factors other than social connectedness that explain this relationship. Furthermore, when investigating the relationship between enculturation (how well the immigrants maintains his or her cultural origin), and subjective well-being, social connectedness in the ethnic minority fully mediated this relationship (Yoon, et al., 2008).

2.4.7. What predicts good integration?

To sum up theory and empirical findings, acculturation can be a many-faceted process. Integration, meaning that the individual maintains his or her own cultural identity parallel to adapting to a new society, has been put forward as the acculturation strategy that will promote the best possible outcome for the individual's well-being. However, if the integration strategy is to be successfully adapted, the individual is in need of social capital consisting of both social networks, and an engaged civic society. Being integrated thus means that the individual feels accepted in the new society, and is socially functioning.

2.4.8. Research questions and hypothesis

Theory and empirical findings suggests that ethnic minorities as a group are challenged regarding mental health because of the acculturation process. Studies within the field of psychology emphasize social capital as an important protector of mental health, and of social well-being and functioning. This study will investigate how individuals from ethnic minority groups score on outcomes related to social well-being.

The thesis also acknowledges acculturation as a benefit for individuals. Being acculturated may represent a rich life for ethnic minorities, and can be seen as a resource and an asset for mental health.

Thus, this thesis wishes to investigate how demographic variables will affect social well-being amongst ethnic minorities in Central Europe, with social well-being conceptualised as feeling of being socially integrated and as level of civic engagement.

Research question 1

How is the feeling of being socially integrated predicted by the following factors among ethnic minorities in Central Europe?

- Age
- Gender
- Domicile
- Born in country
- Parents born in country
- Language
- Sufficiency of income

Research question 2

How is civic engagement predicted by the following factors among ethnic minorities in Central Europe?

- Age
- Gender
- Domicile
- Born in country
- Parents born in country
- Language
- Sufficiency of income

3. METHOD

3.1.   Design

To answer the research questions, the thesis uses a quantitative method design. The data was provided by the European Social Survey (ESS). The ESS project gathers data biannually, and the thesis used data from the third round in 2006.

The main analysis in the thesis is logistic regression. Logistic regression allows one to develop models for predicting categorical outcomes (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

In studies concerning social well-being one could also argue for using a qualitative approach. Ideally, one could combine both qualitative and quantitative methods. However, due to the timeframe and size of thesis, as well as the quality of the ESS data, a quantitative approach was chosen.

3.2.   Data

3.2.1. Introducing the European Social Survey

The European Social Survey (ESS) is an academically-driven project that gathers information from more than 30 countries every second year. The data is made freely available via internet, for non-profit research. The European Social Survey has gathered information in all together four different rounds, the first one being in 2002. In the third round in 2006, a model called "Personal and Social Well-being Module" was developed. Data for the third round was collected in 2005/2006, and finally released in September 2007. A total of 25 countries were included in round 3. The data counted a total of 43 000 cases, and 515 variables (ESS, 2006).

The ESS project was started in recognition that most of the research done in social science in Europe was not of a comparative nature. There was at the time, a wealth of research, but none that could stringently capture differences or similarities across nations. The main purpose of the project was to capture changing values and beliefs in Europe, and produce data that would open up for research both within and across nations (Huppert, et al., 2006).

The ESS provides data through surveys and claims to enhance both continuity and change by using both a core module in each round, in addition to rotating modules. The core module that

is repeated in each round consists of different questions regarding twelve broad topics (political systems, ethnicity, health etc). The rotating module changes each round, and is chosen and designed by leading academic specialists.

The ESS project is jointly funded by the European Commission and the European Science Foundations. Together they cover costs regarding central design and coordination. Furthermore, national academic research councils in each participating country fund the fieldwork and the coordination at the national level.

3.2.2. ESS data quality

The ESS provides data of high quality, which can be supported by the Descartes prize they received in 2005. The Descartes Prize has never before been awarded to a social science project. The ESS has put a lot of effort into ensuring high data quality, and has adopted rigorous procedures during all stages of the project; sampling, development of questionnaires, fieldwork etc (Jowell, Roberts, Fitzgerald, & Gillian, 2007).

Scales and questionnaires across countries have been scrutinized to enhance both validity and reliability in order to keep a high methodological standard. Scales that were developed for ESS were also evaluated concerning scalability and internal consistency. Other methodological issues like how to compare scales and questions over time and countries were also addressed. Furthermore, the questionnaires were translated from English to other languages for the aim of a large-scale pilot test in two different countries. After the pilot test was carried out, questionnaires and scales were thoroughly assessed with regard to quality and validity. Problematic questions were sent back to the drawing panel, and further developed based on evaluations from the pilot (Jowell, et al., 2007).

All the participating countries had to follow strict and rigid procedures regarding sampling and data collection. ESS required representative samples from the target population, which was defined as "15 years or older who are resident within private households, regardless of nationality and citizenship" (ESS, 2005).
 Furthermore, the ESS project aimed at a high response rate of minimum 70%. Also, for the nations to join in, the sample had to be at least 1500 respondents.

There is a body of research that shows that contacting the respondents several times at different times of the day and at different week days over a period of time, will reduce the non-response rate. Therefore, ESS developed guidelines that led the units to contact the respondents four times, and both at night, weekends and over a two week period.

The ESS core questionnaire is developed in English, and then translated into the language of the different countries. The translation process is overseen by the respective National Coordinators, to make sure that the questionnaires are equivalent after the translating process. Also the questionnaire was translated into minority languages in countries where this was the first language for 5 % or more of the population.

3.2.3. Data collection

Using a survey as data collection implies that answers from a few are to be considered the answers of many. Thus, it is important to make sure that the sample fully reflects the whole of the population. This is especially valid concerning data sampling that is cross-national. When choosing sampling strategy in the ESS project, the main goal is comparability. However, ESS states that sample design may be flexible, and the methods for sampling can differ between the countries, without it reducing the quality of the sample procedure. If flaws occur in the sampling process of specific countries, design weights are developed to correct for this.

In ESS, participants were interviewed face-to-face in their own homes. The interview was conducted mostly by people with previous skills in surveys. In the present sample the mean interview length was 70 minutes (69.77).

3.3.   Sample

3.3.1. Inclusion and exclusion criteria

The sample was selected with the aim of trying to investigate the research question as best as possible, but without reducing the sample number too much. The original idea was to include respondents from only one country, preferably Norway due to the researcher's interests, but

this however produced a sample too small for sound statistical analysis. Even combining the available Scandinavian countries, representing social-democratic welfare regimes, produced an insufficient sample size. Six different countries were included to represent Central Europe; Netherlands, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, France and Belgium. These countries were chosen on the criteria that they all had similar welfare-regimes, being representatives of the conservative welfare regime type as described by Esping-Andersen (1996). Only respondents that stated they belonged to an ethnic minority were included in the sample (Figure 3 in the appendix).

Before the dataset was reduced to only containing those belonging to an ethnic minority, the sample was of a total 12798 respondents. The average response rate from the six different countries was 56.05%.

Country	Number	Response rate
Austria	2405	64 %
Belgium	1798	61 %
France	1986	46 %
Germany	2916	54.5%
Netherland	1889	59.8%
Switzerland	1804	51.5%

3.3.2. Weighting data

When gathering information from many different countries there are some challenges to attend to. To be able to compare data from different countries, one needs to make sure that the data is comparable. Sampling designs will to some degree vary between the different countries, and this is both impractical and impossible to avoid. However, it is not necessarily a shortcoming as long as the sampling design has some properties so that the researcher can take his or her precautions.

Some of the participating countries in the ESS used sample designs that did not represent the same chance for all individuals in the population to be selected. This can lead to an over- or

under-representation of people with certain characteristics. However, by using design weights one is able to correct for the challenges represented by different probabilities of selection.

Using population weight provides the researcher with an opportunity to correct for the fact that most participating countries in the ESS have similar sample sizes even though their population size may vary a great deal. This means that without weighting, combining two or more countries can represent a risk of over-representing smaller countries at the cost of larger ones. The population size weight makes it possible to make sure that each country is represented in proportion to its population size.

The data in this thesis was weighted both in regard to sample design and population size, since it is comparing data from several countries, and with reference to the average values of these countries.

3.3.3. Checking for sample inconsistency

Three of the respondents had not answered the question on year of birth. These respondents were included in the analysis, given the small number. The selection process ended with a final number of 543 respondents (after weighting the data, the sample size increased to 669 respondents). 128 were from the Netherlands, 126 from Germany, 109 from Switzerland, 71 from Austria, 66 from France and 43 from Belgium. The respondents consisted of 263 males (48, 4%) and 280 women (51.6%). The youngest participant was 15 years old, the oldest 93.

3.4.   Measures

To be able to investigate the research question, the study was in need for measures on social well-being. To capture the variable on social well-being as broadly as possible, two different measures were developed; feeling of being socially integrated and civic engagement. Items that reflected the concepts were combined into feeling of being socially integrated scale, and civic engagement scale. These scales were created to measure the concepts with more nuance, as well as to ease the calculation in statistics.

3.4.1. Scale construction

In both scales, items were first selected on theoretical background. The "Personal and Social Well-being Module" from ESS and the related documentation was taken into consideration, as it gave a good example as to which items to include to most correctly measuring feeling of being socially integrated and civic engagement.

All the items were next explored by using factor analyses (Principal Components Analysis). The items covering the latent construct of interest were next tested for reliability. Cronbach's alpha should ideally be above 0.7 (Pallant, 2007). One of the scales came close to a value of 0.7; however others came underneath this value. Scales that did not reach 0.7 values contained few items, and that is a commonly known problem (Polit & Beck, 2008)

3.4.2. Feeling of being socially integrated

10 items in the questionnaire reflected social feeling according to the "Personal and Social Well-being Module". Some of the areas covered by the items were community support, respectful treatment, fair treatment and social reciprocity. The 10 items were subjected to principal component analysis using SPSS version 18. Eigenvalues, scree plot and parallel analysis provided a notion of four components. To aid the interpretation of these four components, varimax rotation was performed. The rotated solution revealed a relative simple structure, with all four components showing a number of strong loadings (table 1 in appendix). However, some of the variables loaded on more than one component. The different four components were scrutinized by theory, and it was concluded that they seemed to pertain to the following areas; *family, local attachment, depression,* and *feeling of being socially integrated.*

Due to the hypothesis of the thesis, questions that loaded on the components reflecting depression, family and local attachment were deleted from the scale. A second factor analysis was then executed, containing only the four items listed below:

- Feel that people in your local area help one another.
- Feel that people treat you with respect.

- Feel that you get the recognition you deserve for what you do.
- Feel close to people in my local area.

Prior to the principal component analysis the data was checked for suitability for factor analysis. The correlation matrix showed some coefficients of .3 and above. The Kaiser-Meyer-Oklin value was .65. This should ideally be above .6 (Kaiser, 1970). Furthermore, Bartlett's Test of Sphericity revealed significant value, stating that factor analysis was appropriate in this data (Bartlett, 1954). The principal component analysis identified one component with eigenvalues exceeding 1, explaining 49.5% of the variance. The scree plot presented with a break after the second component, suggesting retaining or extracting just one component. This was further supported by the results of a Parallel Analysis, which showed one components with eigenvalues exceeding the corresponding criterion values for a randomly generated data matrix of the same size (4 variables x 669 respondents).

The four questions were computed into a new variable called feeling of being socially integrated. All three first questions were given response alternative between 00- not at all, to 06 – a great deal. The last question, feel close to people in local area, was given response alternatives between 1- agree strongly, to 6 – disagree strongly. Because the variable was reversed, it was recoded before being included in the new scale.

A reliability analysis gave a Cronbach's alpha at .65, and this was accepted. Originally, a Cronbach's alpha should exceed .7, but in scales with few questions Cronbach's alpha below this value can be accepted (Pallant, 2007). Items correlations, Cronbach's alpha, and Factor loadings on the feeling of being socially integrated scale can be assessed in table 2 in the appendix.

Next, the scale was recoded into a dichotomous variable. The mean of the total score was calculated, and this made the cut point for low or high feeling of being socially integrated. The scores ranged from 3 – 23. All the respondents with scores within 3-14 were coded with 0, indicating a low feeling of being socially integrated, and respondents with scores from 15 – 23 were coded 1, meaning high feeling of being socially integrated. It was also tested if dividing the scale up and below the median score would be more appropriate, but this was not chosen due to the fact that most of the respondents scored relatively high on feeling of being

socially integrated. Thus, it was considered better to use the mean score, seeing that it would distribute the respondents better in the high- and low- feeling of being socially integrated group.

There was some missing data in the four different questions which constituted the feeling of being socially integrated scale. A total of 37 respondents were missing in the scale, representing a percentage of 5.5%.

3.4.3. Civic engagement

The "Personal and Social Well-being Module" was used as a starting point when deciding which items to include in the scale. The four items listed up in the module reflected categories like volunteering, caring for others, social engagement and altruism. At first, all four items were explored in a principal factor analysis using SPSS 18. The principal factor analysis revealed two components with eigenvalues over 1, explaining 46.2% and 71.4% of the variance respectively. However, both scree plot test and parallel analysis supported a one-component-solution. The rotated solution revealed that one component showed strong loadings in three of the items, and all loading to only one component. The last item loaded on the other component, and was thus deleted from the scale.

Thus, a new principal component analysis with the remaining questions listed below was run (table 3).

- Involved in work for voluntary or charitable organisations, how often past 12 months?
- Help or attend activities organised in local area, how often past 12 months?

The scale was not fitted for a principal component analysis due to a Kaiser-Meyer-Oklin value below the recommended value .6 (.5). However, the Bartlett's test of Sphericity was statistically significant. Furthermore, the PCA revealed, as expected, one component with eigenvalues above 1. The component explained 73.9% of the variance. A one-component solution was also supported by the scree plot and parallel analysis.

42

Reliability analysis presented with a Cronbach's alpha .64 and was accepted due to the fact that the scale consisted of only two items, and thus Cronbach's alpha is expected to be lower than .7. Items correlations and Factor loadings on the civic engagement Scale can be assessed in table 4 in appendix.

The questions were given response alternative 01 – at least once a week, to 06 – never. The variables used in the scale were recoded so that high scores indicated high civic engagement. The total score for the scale was then summarized for civic engagement, with lowest score 2 and highest score 12. The scale was then divided into two, to make a dichotomous dependent variable. It was decided to use the mean score as a cut off point, to avoid too different numbers of respondents in each group. The values from 2 to 3 were given the value 0, indicating low civic engagement. The values from 4 to 12 were given the value 1, indicating a high civic engagement. The skewed distribution of the variable represented a problem when it came to dichotomizing the civic engagement scale into meaningful groups representing actual high and low engagement (Fig 5, appendix). Dividing the variable differently could have produced cleaner categories. One option could have been to use the lower and higher tertiles of scores; however this would have reduced sample size. This issue was discussed with the supervisor, and it was eventually decided to stay with the mean level as a cut score.

There were only 5 missing answers in the civic engagement scale, which constituted a percentage of 0.8. Nothing was done to replace them seeing that it is a small number, and the aim is to keep the analysis as clean as possible.

3.4.4. Age

The ESS dataset had provided information about when the respondents were born, and also calculated the age. To simplify the analysis, the respondents were divided into 3 different age groups by recoding into a different variable. As mentioned earlier, the respondents varied in age from 15 years old to 93. With background in previous research and literature, the age groups were divided into three categories; 15-25 years old, representing the youngest respondents. The middle age group varied in age from 26–45, and the oldest group was from 46 years and older. The youngest age group was given the value 0, and the middle group was given the value of 1, and the oldest 2. There were no missing values in the age group variable.

3.4.5. Gender

The ESS data provided information about the gender of the respondents. The variable was recoded, and males were given the value 1, and female the value 0. There was no missing data in the gender variable.

3.4.6. Domicile

The ESS provides information about the domicile of the respondents. The information is given on the basis of a question "which phrase on this card best describes the area where you live?" The response alternatives were 1 = a big city, 2 = the suburbs or outskirts of a big city, 3 = a town or small city, 4 = a country village or 5 = a farm or home in the countryside. The distribution of respondents on the original variable can be seen in table 5 in the appendix. The variable was recoded and the alternatives were computed into three categories; country, town or city. This was done to reduce the number of categories. Country was given the value of 0, and contains the two alternatives a country village and a farm or home in the countryside. Town were kept as the original category, and given the value of 1.The last response alternative was named city, and included the previous alternative a big city and the suburbs or outskirts of a big city. This response alternative was given the value of 2. There was no missing data in this variable.

3.4.7. Born in country

Based on previous research, whether or not the respondents were born in country was chosen as an independent variable. This information was provided by the question in the ESS data, "were you born in Germany/Belgium/Switzerland etc", for each country separately. This variable was made into a dummy variable, coding the respondents who had answered yes to the questions with 1, and the others with 0. All the 543 respondents answered this question.

3.4.8. Parents born in country

The ESS had gathered information about whether or not the respondent's mother or father was born in country. By computing these two different questions, a new variable was made.

44

The response alternative was given a value from 0 – 2. Value 0 contained those with none of their parents being born in country. Value 1 indicated that one of the parents was born in country, and value 2 indicated that both parents were born in country. There was only 1 missing value in "father born in country". This constitutes a percentage of 0.2.

3.4.9. Language

Regarding previous research, language has been shown to predict how one integrates in a new society. Therefore the thesis tried to include a variable concerning this. One of the questions in the ESS questionnaire was "language most often spoken at home". To make this variable useful in this sample, it was manipulated into a new variable called "speak new language at home". This variable had to be manipulated in each of the countries separately. For example, the respondents in Germany had listed up many different languages. Only the German language was then given the value 1, indicating that the respondents spoke the language of their new country. All the others languages were given the value of 0. The same procedure was then carried out in each of the countries. Then the variables were computed, and all the countries were merged into one data file. There were 10 missing in the language-variable, a percentage of 1.4.

3.4.10.   Sufficiency of income

To measure socioeconomic status, items covering education, occupation and income were considered. As part of the sample is very young, education and occupation was considered less appropriate for the sample than household income. One of the questions in the ESS is "feeling about household's income nowadays", with response categories from 1 living comfortably on present income, to 4 – finding it very difficult on present income. The variable was coded negatively, meaning that high score indicated low socioeconomic status. The variable was thus recoded into a positive direction, and renamed "sufficiency of income". Furthermore, the variable was made into a dichotomous variable. The first category consisted of all the respondents who had answered 1 or 2, and were given the value of 0. This category was called *"insufficient income"*. The second category was called *"sufficient income",* and was given the value of 1. All the respondents who had answered 3 or 4 fell into this category. 4 of the respondents were missing, 0.6%. The distribution of respondents on the original variable can be found in table 6 in the appendix.

This question only reflects the subjective aspect of income, or perception of sufficiency of income. However, using a measure such as this of perceived financial stress makes it more feasible to combine samples from various countries, as one avoids the problem of currency discrepancy and different costs of living in the various countries. By using a subjective measure on income one provides information about the relative economic status; that is how the respondents perceive their income in comparison with others. An attempt was also made to construct a socioeconomic status scale combining education, occupation and income, but factor analysis showed that these were three different items. Thus, only the variable measuring sufficiency of income was used.

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3.5.   *Data analysis*

The data analysis was carried out using SPSS version 18. Sample selection was carried out as described in chapter. 4.3.1. All analyses were run with a combined design and population weight, as recommended in the ESS guidelines for analysis. The following procedure listed below was carried out:

1. All the data was screened for missing values. None of the variables had large missing numbers. The total feeling of being socially integrated scale had the highest number of missing values, 37. This made a total of 5.5%. This was not seen as disturbingly high, and there was no action taken to replace the missing values. The choice of not replacing missing answers was due to the goal of keeping the analysis as clean as possible.
2. Items were reversed and recoded where it was found necessary.
3. Scales were constructed where it was found relevant
4. The variables used in analysis were screened for outliers.
5. Items were reversed and recoded where it was found necessary.
6. The data was explored through descriptive statistics, using frequency distributions, graphs, mean score, skewness, kurtosis, range, and standard deviation.
7. Correlations between the variables were assessed by using chi-square test for the categorical variables.

8. Significant variables from the bivariate analyses were included in the logistic regression model, starting with the one variable that was assumed to predict the outcome the most. Also factors that did not correlate with the dependent variable were eventually included in the regression model, as the sample size allowed for this, to see if these affected the other variables. .

9. Attention was also given to the odds ratio, and not just the significance of the variable. This is due to the fact that odds ratio is less sensitive to the sample size compared to the significance value.

3.6.   Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations are of great importance when carrying out research on human subjects. Thus, the Declaration of Helsinki have compiled guidelines aiming to ensure that research participants are being respected regarding three main ethical aspects; respect for the participant's autonomy, informed consent, and respect for the individual's integrity. The European Social Survey has applied strict ethical principles, and issues regarding informed consent and respect for autonomy have been attained to all throughout the sampling process and the collection of data.

When focusing on a research hypothesis concerning ethnic minorities and how they are integrated in local community, one may contribute to stigmatize at a group level. Ethnic minorities may bee seen as a particularly vulnerable group, given that they are the minor group in a society, and often tend to belong to the lower social hierarchy (Morrison & Bennett, 2006). As a researcher it is important not to discuss or refer to the group in a devaluing, racist or insensitive way, that will maintain the notion of ethnic minorities as a discriminated group (Angel & Angel, 1992).

As mentioned in the theory chapter, there are critical aspects that need to be considered when comparing minority groups as a homogenous group. This thesis does not address questions like ethnical origin, religious beliefs, how religious participants are, etc. This may present a risk of oversimplifying the results, and one has to be cautious with generalizing the findings.

4. RESULTS

4.1.   Descriptive

4.1.1. Feeling of being socially integrated

There were 37 respondents missing on the feeling of being socially integrated scale, a percentage of 5.5%. This led to a total number of 632 valid cases. 50.4 % reported a high feeling of being socially integrated while 49.6% reported a low feeling of being socially integrated (table 7).

Before the feeling of being socially integrated scale was made into a dichotomous variable, normality was assessed. The scale presented with a mean score 14.40, and was normally distributed as can be seen in figure 4 in the appendix. There were no extreme values, indicated by a trimmed mean of 14.41, which is very close to the mean.

4.1.2. Civic engagement

366 respondents fell into the low civic engagement category, a percentage of 54.7. 298 respondents, 44.5%, fell into the high civic engagement. This provided a total of 664 respondents, meaning that there were only 5 missing for this variable. This is a percentage of .8 (table 8).

Before the civic engagement scale was computed into a dichotomous variable, normality and descriptive were assessed. The total civic engagement presented with a mean value of 4.28. The scores ranged from 2-12. No extreme values were found, indicated by a trimmed mean of 4.00. In contrast to the feeling of being socially integrated scale, the distribution of respondents was quite skewed in a positive direction. The major part of the respondents was clustered at the left side of the graph, visualized in figure 5.

4.1.3. Age

The age of the respondents in the sample ranged from 15 to 92 years old. Most of the respondents were in the age group 26-45 (46.8 %). 36.8 % were in the age group of 46-93, and the youngest age group, 15-25, consisted of 16.3% (table 9). The mean age was 41. Chi-square test for independence was run to see if any of the other predictor variables correlated with age. Age was statistically significant with being born in country, indicating that the majority of those who were born in country belonged to the youngest age group ($X^2 =$ 20.00, p = .000). Furthermore, 'parents born in country' was statistically significant to age, revealing that respondents in the youngest age group had the highest percentage of none of the parents born in country, and respondents in the highest age group contained the highest percentage of those who had both their parents born in country ($X^2 = 12.00$, p = .011). Age was statistically significantly correlated to speaking the language of the new country, with the oldest age group containing most respondents who spoke the new language, followed by the youngest age group ($X^2 = 13.50$, p = .001). Crosstabs revealed that the middle age group had most respondents who stated their income to be sufficient, followed by the youngest age group. This was statically significant ($X^2 = 7.88$, p = .019).

4.1.4. Gender

The sample consisted of 354 women (52.9%), and 315 men (47.1%). In the youngest age group, there were slightly more men than women, 57 compared to 52. In the age group 26-45 there were 173 female and 140 men. In the oldest age group, 46-93 there were 118 men and 128 female. The sex was known for all of the respondents (table 10).
Gender was statistically significantly correlated to being born in the new country, with males tending to be in larger part born in the new country compared to females ($X^2 = 7.10$, p = .008). Furthermore, more males than females had both their parents born in the new country ($X^2 = 6.33$, p = .042). When running crosstabs on gender and sufficiency of income, males tended to perceive their income to be sufficient compared to females. This was statistically significant ($X^2 = 4.20$, P = .040).

4.1.5. Domicile

The major part of the respondents lived in what they characterised as a city (41.5%). For the other two categories, 39.1 % lived in a town, and the rest 19.4 % lived in what they described as the countryside (table 11). Domicile was statistically significant with being born in the new country (X^2 = 22.80, p = .000). Of those living in a city, the minority was born in the country (26.6%). The same trend could be seen in those living in a town; however the trend was slightly more modest. Of those living in the countryside, respondents who were born in country and not born in country were equal groups (50.4% compared to 49.6%). Also, crosstabs revealed respondents living in the countryside more often had both their parents born in country, and fewest amongst those living in a city had both their parents born in country. This was statistically significant (X^2 = 70.30, p = .000). Also, sufficiency of income was correlated with domicile status. A larger part of respondents in the countryside perceived their income to be sufficient, compared to those living in a city (X^2 = 7.73, p = .021).

4.1.6. Born in country

As can be seen in table 12; a greater part of the sample (64.3%) of the respondents answered no to the question "were you born in [country]"? As already mentioned, being born in the new country was found to be statistically significant with age, gender and domicile. Moreover, the major part of those stating they were not born in the new country also had none of their parents born in country (89.3). 59.8% of the respondents stating they were born in the country have both of their parents born in country also. These results were statistically significant (X^2 = 293.72, p = .000).

The chi-square test also confirmed a relationship between speaking the new language and being born in the country (X^2 = 16.87, p = .000). 90.6% of respondents born in the new country spoke the new language, compared to 77.5% of those not born in the country.

4.1.7. Parents born in country

The majority of the respondents stated that none of their parents were born in the new country (69.5%). Only 7.8% had one of their parents born in the country, whereas 22.7% had both of their parents born in country. There was only one missing in this variable, constituting a percentage of .2. The variable measuring 'parents born in country' was statistically correlated

with age, gender, domicile, and born in country. More over, 97.9% of the respondents with both parents born in country spoke the new language, compared to 75.8% of those with none of their parents born in the new country ($X^2 = 42.65$, p = .000). Sufficiency of income was also found to be statistically significantly correlated with parents being born in the country; 82.9% of those having both their parents born in the country perceived their income to be sufficient. In comparison, 64.6% of those with none of their parents born in country felt the same way about income ($X^2 = 20.59$, p = .000).

4.1.8. Language

A total of 542 respondents spoke the language of their new country; this made a percentage of 81.0. 118 respondents did not speak the new language at home, a percentage of 17.9. There were 10 missing in this variable, a percentage of 1.4. Chi square test of independence revealed a significant relationship of language with age, born in country, and parents born in country, which is already explained in when presenting the respectively variables.

4.1.9. Sufficiency of income

The largest number of the sample reported that they felt their income to be sufficient (68.2%). There were only 4 missing in this variable (.6%). The sample represented a skewness of -.783, indicating a clustering of scores at the high end (right-hand side of a graph). In a skewed distributions, the peak is off centre, and one tail is longer than the other (Polit & Beck, 2008). This variable was statistically significantly correlated to age, being male, domicile and parents born in country.

4.2.   Bivariate analysis between single predictors and dependent variables

4.2.1. Age

The relationship between age and feeling of being socially integrated and civic engagement was assessed through chi-square test of independence. Tables 16 and 17 reveal the results of correlations for the age group variable. For the feeling of being socially integrated outcome,

age was positively related to feeling of being socially integrated with a significant level at .the 001 level. ($X^2 = 21.87$, p = .000. This indicated that higher age was associated with higher levels of feeling of being socially integrated. Age was also related to civic engagement, but with a slightly weaker significant-level ($X^2 = 7.90$, p = .019). Also in the civic engagement outcome, higher level of age tended to provide higher levels of civic engagement.

4.2.2. Gender

The relationship between gender and feeling of being socially integrated and civic engagement was assessed by the use of chi-square test for independence. When looking roughly at the crosstabs, first impression was that females tended to represent the major part of those reporting of high feeling of being socially integrated. However, this relationship was not statistically significant ($X^2 = 3.46$, p = .063). Regarding gender and civic engagement, there was no statistical significance ($X^2 = .71$, p = .190). However, according to the cross tabulations, there was a slight trend opposite to that from feeling of being socially integrated, with males tending to be slightly more represented in the high civic engagement. But as mentioned, this trend was quite modest.

4.2.3. Domicile

Chi-square test for independence was used to asses the relationship between domicile and feeling of being socially integrated and functioning (table 16 and 17). When first looking at feeling of being socially integrated, this was negatively correlated to domicile, meaning that the more "urban" areas the respondents lived in, the lower they scored in feeling about being socially integrated. This was statistically significant ($X^2 = 9.38$, p = .009). The same trend was also supported when assessing the relationship between civic engagement and domicile, and also this was statistically significant ($X^2 = 15.78$, p = .000).

4.2.4. Born in country

When testing the relationship between being born in the new country and feeling of being socially integrated, no statistical significance was found ($X^2 = 1.92$, p = .166). However, being born in the country was positively correlated with civic engagement; indicating that those

born in the new country had a higher level of civic engagement. This was statistically significant (X^2 = 10.26, p = .001).

4.2.5. Parents born in country

A chi-square test for independence was used to asses the relationship between feeling of being socially integrated and parents being born in the new country. 63% percent of those who had both their parents born in country reported a high level of feeling of being socially integrated. In comparison, 45.6% of those with none of their parents born in country reported a high level of feeling of being socially integrated. This was also statistically significant (X^2 = 14.18, p = .001). The same trend was found when testing the relationship between parents born in country and civic engagement, and this was statistically significant at a 0.001 level (X^2 = 23.37, p = .000).

4.2.6. Speak new language

The relationship between feeling of being socially integrated and speaking the new language was assed through chi-square test of independence. Of the respondents who spoke the new language, 54% reported of a high feeling of being socially integrated. In comparison, 32.1% of the respondents who did not speak the new language reported of a high feeling of being socially integrated. This association was statistically significant (X^2 = 16.36, p = .000). However, no association between civic engagement and speaking the new language was found (X^2 = .001, p = .981).

4.2.7. Sufficiency of income

The correlation between feeling of being socially integrated and sufficiency of income was assessed through the chi-square test. The more satisfied respondents were with household's income, the higher level of feeling of being socially integrated they reported. This was statistically significant at a .001 level (X^2 = 11.23, p = .001). However, sufficiency of income was not statistically significantly related to feeling of being socially integrated (X^2 = 2.01, p = .156).

## 4.3.	Logistic regression

4.3.1. Feeling of being socially integrated model

The thesis used direct logistic regression to explore the impact of a number of factors on how the respondents scored on feeling of being socially integrated. The feeling of being socially integrated model consisted of seven independent variables; age, sex, domicile, whether or not they were born in country, or if their parents were born in country, language and sufficiency of income. The full model including all the seven variables was statistic significant $X^2 =$ 68.54, p = <.001. This means that the model was successfully able to distinguish between respondents who stated having a high feeling of being socially integrated, and those who reported a low feeling of being socially integrated. Further more, analysis showed that a full model could explain between 10.5% (Cox and Snell R square) and 14.0% (Nagelkerke R squared) of the variance in feeling of being socially integrated. The model was able to correctly classify 64.4% of the cases. As shown in table 18, five of the independent variables were statistically significant, which means that they made a unique contribution to the model. These variables were age, sex, domicile, speaking the new language and sufficiency of income. The strongest predictor of reporting high feeling of being socially integrated was age, recording an odds ration of 3.10 times more likely for respondents in the highest age group to report high feeling of being socially integrated than those who were aged 15-25. Furthermore, speaking the language presented with an odds ratio of 2.75. This indicated that those speaking the new language had 2.75 higher odds of having high feeling of being socially integrated compared to those who did not speak the language. Sufficiency of income was the variable with the third highest odds ratio, 1.93, meaning that respondents who perceived their income to be sufficient had 1.93 higher odds of scoring high on feeling of being socially integrated compared to those who perceived their income to be insufficient. The model can be assessed in appendix (table 18).

4.3.2. Civic engagement model

Logistic regression was used to test the predictive ability on the civic engagement outcome. The civic engagement model contained the same variables as the feeling of being socially integrated model; age group, sex, domicile, born in country, parents born in country, language and sufficiency of income. The full model was statistically significant $X^2 = 44.23$, p = <.001. The full model explained between 6.6% (Cox and Snell R square) and 8.8% (Nagelkerke R

squared) of variance. Furthermore, the model was able to correctly classify 61.5 % of the cases. Only two of the variables turned out to be statistically significant in the civic engagement model; domicile and parents born in country. Having both their parents born in country, provided an odds ratio of 1.86. This means that individuals with both parents born in country, had a 1.86 higher chance of a high civic engagement compared to those with none of the parents born in country. As to domicile, living in a town presented with an odds ratio of .65. This means that compared to the reference category (living in a city), respondents living in a town had a .65 less chance of a high civic engagement.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1.   Results discussion

5.1.1. Summary of results

Research question 1

The thesis investigated how seven different variables predicted the level of feeling of being socially integrated amongst ethnic minorities in Central Europe. The seven variables were age, gender, domicile, being born in country, having parents born in country, speaking the new language at home, and sufficiency of income.

The thesis found that the odds of having a high level of feeling of being socially integrated were significantly influenced by five of these demographic variables. Higher level in age presented with an increased odds ratio of higher levels in feeling of being socially integrated. Respondents between 46-93 years had statistically significant increased odds of higher levels of feeling of being socially integrated. The age affect was not affected when the other variables were included in the analysis. Furthermore, speaking the new language at home presented with increased odds of feeling of being socially integrated. The language effect was still significant after controlling for sufficiency of income. Sufficiency of income was found to be positively associated with higher levels of feeling of being socially integrated, presenting an odds ratio of 1.93. The effect of sufficiency of income was stable, and the odds ratio did not change when controlling for the other predictor variables. Regarding gender,

being female was significantly associated with having higher levels of feeling of being socially integrated, and presented with an odds ratio of 1.66. The gender effect was stable all through the analysis, but was slightly strengthened when sufficiency of income was added to the regression analysis. The thesis revealed that respondents living in rural areas had higher odds of presenting with a high level of feeling of being socially integrated. The significant value and odds ratio however was slightly weakened when the variables 'born in country' and 'parents born in country' were added in the analysis. The model explained between 10.5 and 14.0 percentage of the variance.

Research question 2

Descriptive analysis revealed a relative low mean score on the civic engagement scale, assessed before the scale was made into a dichotomous variable. This finding was expected, and is in line with previous research on ethnic minorities and participation in community activity and organisations.

Further, when testing the same demographic variables on the civic engagement outcome, the results were quite different. The model explained between 6.6 and 8.8 percentage of the variance, and only two of the variables in the model were statistically correlated with civic engagement. Respondents with both their parents born in country had higher odds of higher levels in civic engagement, presenting with an odds ratio of 1.86. The odds ratio increased when adding the language variable to the equation. However, when sufficiency of income was added as well, the odds ratio returned to approximately the same level. Furthermore, the analyses revealed that respondents living in what they characterized as a town had .65 odds ratio of a high level of civic engagement. Living in the countryside was statistically significantly correlated with higher levels of civic engagement, presenting with an odds ratio of 1.6. However, the effect of living in the 'countryside' disappeared when adding 'born in country' into the equation.

5.1.2. Why are higher levels of age related to higher levels of feeling of being socially integrated?

This study found that higher levels of age were significantly correlated with higher levels of feeling of being socially integrated. Respondents in the oldest age group (46-93) had 3.10 higher odds of high levels of feeling of being socially integrated compared to respondents in

the age group 15-25. When looking into empirical findings regarding age and well-being in general, the findings are inconsistent (Horley & Lavery, 1995). The first empirical findings suggested that younger people tended to be happier compared to elderly people (Wilson, 1967). However, later findings reveal that life satisfaction often increases, or at least does not drop, with age. One explanation may be that elderly people today are healthier and more active compared to previous generations (Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999). Lancee (2010) suggests that subjective well-being seems to decrease proportionally with increasing age. As one can see, there are inconsistent findings. The type of well-being that is measured (life satisfaction, happiness) needs to be considered when interpreting the different results.

Keyes (1998) argues that findings in subjective well-being, happiness, and mental health in regard to age, suggests that social well-being as well, should be influenced by age. He found that in four dimensions of social well-being, levels of well-being increased with age.

It seems reasonable that older ethnic minorities report of higher levels of feeling of being socially integrated. Taking acculturation theory into account, making a new life and establishing social network can be a challenging and long term process. When interpreting the age effect in this study, one should pay attention to other variables that are included. This thesis does not include information of how long the respondents have stayed in the new country. One could assume that controlling for a variable measuring the length of stay, would eliminate the age effect, or at least reduce it.

A study measuring subjective quality of life found that migrating at older age, was negatively associated with subjective quality of life. The same study did not find any significant correlations between number of years lived in country, and subjective quality of life (Foroughi, Misajon, & Cummins, 2001). However, these studies are not directly comparable, seeing that subjective quality of life and social well-being are not precisely the same constructs, although related. A reasonable assumption is that individuals that have stayed in the new host country for several years will have a larger network and a life that is more integrated and embedded in the new country's society, compared to those who recently arrived. This can be seen in light of acculturation theory, where selecting integration as the acculturation strategy, is associated with higher levels of well-being. Furthermore, ethnic minorities with integrated lives are more likely to participate in social activities that do not only involve ethnic minorities, but also the majority residents. Thus, one could postulate that having stayed in the country for several years might provide ethnic minorities with both

bonding and bridging social capital, which in turn will benefit the immigrant with higher levels of social well-being.

To sum up, this study lends support to several researchers suggesting that well-being in general, and social well-being in specific, increases with age. For ethnic minorities, this is an expected finding, seeing that acculturation is a long term process.

5.1.3. Why can the same age affect not be seen in the civic engagement model?

The model testing how the same demographic variables were associated with civic engagement did not provide the same age effect as in the feeling of being socially integrated analysis. Although feeling of being socially integrated and civic engagement are both measures of social well-being, the two concepts refer to different aspects of social well-being. Feeling of being socially integrated is about being the receiver of what society and its individuals have to offer, and a sense of belonging. Civic engagement, on the other hand, is more about pro-social behaviours, and reflects caring, volunteering, social participation and altruism (Huppert, et al., 2006).

Keeping this in mind, it seems reasonable to suggest that pro-social behaviour requires a certain active behaviour. This can in turn be affected by the physical health of the individual. Younger people tend to be more active than older people, generally speaking. The reduced activity level in older age might be due to several factors; losing spouses, getting ill or diseased, experiencing reduced capacity as a result of old age (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004). However, these changes do not normally occur until the age of 80, particulary in modern societies. Considering the fact that civic engagement in this study is measured by participation in activities and voluntary work, one might suggest that older people are less likely to participate in this, because of physical restrictions. However, it is not very likely that this argument will explain much, seeing that it would only be true for a small part of the sample.

Helliwell and Putnam (2004) stress that when controlling for physical health, it is common to find a u-shaped linkage between age and happiness, with the middle aged being the least happy. However, when health is left out of the equation, the U-shape pattern changes, and the

low point appears later in life. Thus, one could criticise this thesis for excluding the health aspect.

On the other hand, a study among equally healthy respondents revealed the same age effect – older people were more happy or satisfied with their lives (Diener, et al., 1999). Another important aspect is that civic engagement may be restrained by many mediating factors, which are not included in this study. Although individuals feel integrated in their new society, and report high levels of feeling of being socially integrated, there may be practical obstacles that limit social participation. Child care responsibility and lack of time may to some degree capture this, and explain the poor explanatory power of the civic engagement model. This is not only relevant for the variable measuring age, but for other variables predicting civic engagement as well.

As a conclusion, one could suggest that any increased integration due to increasing age might show itself more in feeling of being socially integrated than in civic engagement. However, as suggested above, information about subjective health would help clarify the results.

5.1.4. Why does being female present with higher odds of higher levels of feeling of being socially integrated?

The thesis found that gender was statistically significantly associated with feeling of being socially integrated, with females presenting with a 1.66 higher odds of higher levels of feeling of being socially integrated. Unfortunately, literature does not cover the relationship between social well-being and gender as to the author's knowledge. However, in regard to subjective well-being and gender there are some empirical findings. This thesis lends support to a study by Helliwell and Putnam (2004), which provided evidence for the same trend in Scandinavia, Asia and North America. Women reported higher levels of life satisfaction than men, although the differences were only modest. However, the reverse was true, with larger differences, in the Soviet Union. Helliwell and Putnam concluded that there are many and complex factors that contribute to these differences and that gender has no straightforward effect on subjective well-being. However, it is important to keep in mind that Helliwell and Putnam's study reflects subjective well-being. Although subjective well-being and social well-being are two different concepts, it is reasonable to expect the same gender effect to

appear in social well-being. Furthermore, some studies have argued that social support and social network may play a more important role for women than men (Fandrem, et al., 2009). This could mean that gender differences can be expected to be even greater in social well-being than in subjective well-being.

The finding that females feels more socially integrated than men may come as a surprise, considering the fact that men tend to have higher status jobs, higher income, and more power and authority compared to women. This can be said to be true for almost every society in the world, although for modern western countries, the trend is slowly starting to decrease. However, recent studies on income and subjective well-being provide evidence that money and wealth are not as important to well-being as first assumed (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004). This can be thought of in regard to the hedonic adjustment affect discussed in the theory chapter; although an individual experiences positive changes in his or her surroundings, like an increase in salary, rise in career, or getting married, it will not have a permanent effect on the individual's well-being (Inglehart, 2002). Inglehart also states that well-being differs a great deal cross-culturally, but that within a culture, gender differences are modest. A study of both European countries and the World Value Survey, revealed quite similar results in men and women's level of happiness. However, Ireland and Japan presented abnormal results, with women reporting higher levels of happiness than men. The study concluded that women in these two countries were historically quite deprived, and had undergone quite a remarkable change to the better throughout the decade prior to the survey, and that this might account for them being happier than men (Inglehart, 2002). However, the six countries studied in this thesis are all modern countries in Central Europe, and the data collection happened as late as 2006. Thus, the mechanism of status improvement as found in the study on Ireland and Japan is unlikely to explain the gender differences in this study.

Another aspect regarding immigrant women in specific is ethnicity and religion. It can be reasonable to expect that some of the respondents come from non-western countries. Since Islam is a dominating religion in these countries, women might be thought of as a group that was discriminated in their origin country. Thus one could argue that immigrant women will experience a rise in status when arriving in Central Europe, due to protective rights like birth rights, motherhood leave etc. This rise in status might strengthen the feeling of social connectedness and social acceptance in the new country, and thus levels of feeling of being

socially integrated. However, this is just an assumption, and no conclusion can be drawn, since the study lacks information about religion or ethnicity.

When taking acculturation theory into consideration, one could expect that men would score higher on feeling of being socially integrated than women. Recent studies in acculturation have found that females tend to have more psychological acculturation problems compared to males (Sam & Berry, 1995) . One explanation for this might be the lack of social support when first arriving in a new country. However, most of the studies arguing that female are a more challenged group, measure well-being as level of depression. Since this study lack a measurement of negative emotions when measuring feeling of being socially integrated, the results may differ from earlier empirical findings in acculturation and gender.

As a conclusion, this study reveals interesting gender differences in feeling of being socially integrated. Although little, or perhaps nothing at all, is known about social well-being and gender, research on subjective well-being are to some degree consistent with this finding. Inglehart (2002) postulated that throughout history, research on gender differences in well-being have missed out on important findings, and that gender-related differences in well-being are difficult to reveal. This study suggests social support, as well as an increase in status and rights, to explain why women do better than men in respect of feeling of being socially integrated.

5.1.5. Why is gender insignificant in the civic engagement model?

When testing how gender affected civic engagement, there were no statistically significant differences, as opposed to in the feeling of being socially integrated model. Based on the fact that civic engagement is measured by participation in community organisations or activities, this is a rather interesting finding. Empirical research reveals inequalities in participation in voluntary organisations. A study by Enjolras and Wollebæk (2010) revealed that immigrants are underrepresented in all kinds of voluntary organisations, and that immigrant women are the least active. This is true for voluntary sports organisations, housing cooperatives, as well as political organisations etc. Even though female participation in organisational life has increased over the last decade (from 1996 to 2006 in this particular study), immigrant men are still more highly represented in organisations than immigrant women (Enjolras & Wollebæk, 2010).

There may be several reasons as to why immigrant women are underrepresented in voluntary organisations. Immigrant women tend to have poorer language skills compared to immigrant men (Stodolska, 1998). This can partly be explained by the fact that they often are obliged to stay at home, taking care of children and house-keeping. This is in contrast to men, who more often are fulltime employed, and thus have an advantage in regard to language proficiency. However, when running cross tabulations in this study, no association was found between language skills and gender. But even though there are no gender differences in language skills, women may lack the time and energy to participate in voluntary organisations in their leisure time because of other constraints. A qualitative study of immigrant women in Canada found that a varied set of factors may constrain social activities amongst immigrant women. Inadequate language skills, day care availability, and a lack of overall orientation of society in the new country, were found to have a severe effect on post-arrival isolation. The degree of participation in community was negatively affected by these constraints. Moreover, this lack of community involvement was found to affect the women's overall well-being (Rublee & Shaw, 1991). This study reflects the acculturation theory, where having a bicultural identity and maintaining one's own culture is an important contribution to well-being. Moreover, the finding stresses the importance of social capital for the individual to achieve well-being (Berry, 1997; Phinney, et al., 2001; Stodolska, 1998). To be able to gain increase in social well-being, immigrant women needs to have access to areas where social capital and social trust is built. Taking part in activities that bridge together immigrant women with women from the majority, would help them gain such an access. Based on the previous mentioned study revealing several factors that constrain immigrant women from community activities, one could expect women to do worse in regard to social functioning than men.

Interpreting the lack of gender differences in civic engagement in this study, could go in two different directions as the author sees it. One explanation is the use of organisational participation as measurement of civic engagement. Based on empirical evidence on women's low participation in organisations, one could perhaps postulate that females would still be doing better compared to men if civic engagement was measured with different items. The other explanation is that in Central Europe, female immigrants are actually equal in regard to civic engagement as men. However, this conclusion might risk an oversimplification of the results.

As a conclusion, one could say that by including participation in organisations in the civic engagement outcome, females are presented with a disadvantage. As a result of this, the study might cause incorrect results, where gender difference is concealed. However, no conclusion about this can be drawn.

5.1.6. Why is living the degree of urbanisation associated with social well-being?

This study found that living in rural areas was significantly associated with having higher levels of feeling of being socially integrated. Respondents living in rural areas had 1.6 higher odds of feeling socially integrated compared to respondents who were living in urban areas. In the civic engagement model, the significant result was related to respondents living in a town, which was negatively associated with civic engagement; respondents living in a town scored lower compared to those living in a city.

No studies on the relationship between social well-being and urbanisation were found. However, Wichstrom, Skogen and Oia (1996) conducted a study of young Norwegians, testing conduct problems in both rural and urban areas. The result was that conduct problems were twice as frequently represented in urban areas. However, the effect of urbanization did not rise until a certain density in the urban areas, and there were no linear effects of the density. The study also underscored different reasons why conduct problems were an increased problem in cities; lower socio-economic status, higher divorce rates, looser social connections or networks, lack of participation in community activities or voluntary organisations, antisocial peers etc. Although conduct problems do not capture the same phenomena as social well-being, one could suggest that individuals with low levels of conduct problems will score higher on social well-being compared with those with a high level of conduct problems.

Other studies on urbanisation and happiness have also found a somewhat similar relationship, where people living in villages tend to be happier compared to those living in cities (Hudson, 2006). When investigating what previous studies have found about the effect of urbanisation on subjective well-being there are some inconclusive findings. Most of the empirical research holds forward rural areas as being most conducive to mental health and subjective well-being, and that living in cities is a risk factor for poorer mental health. However, some findings are

inconsistent with this, and do not provide statistically significant effects of rural living on mental health. Dolan, Peasgood & White (2008) does however stress that some of the studies on urbanisation and well-being control for income. Since income is likely to be lower in rural areas, this may provide a deceptive picture of rural well-being. In this study, the effect of living in rural areas is slightly moderated when controlling for income in the feeling of being socially integrated model (Odds ratio fell from 1.9 to 1.6).

In light of acculturation theory, the finding in this study does raise a few questions. Berry (1997) and Phinney (2001) stress the importance of having an ethnic identity, or choosing integration as an acculturation strategy. This means that in addition to accumulating skills and knowledge about the majority or host culture, individuals have to maintain their own cultural identity and heritage as well. If ethnic minorities should be able to maintain their own culture, participating in ethnic organisations could be one way of doing it. Cities or urban areas may offer more ethnic organisations compared to rural areas, which may not have any at all. This membership could provide ethnic minorities with bonding social capital, where maintaining one's own cultural origin is encouraged. Furthermore, these organisations may serve as bonding social capital to ethnic minorities. Another aspect that suggests that living in a city can promote well-being and mental health is that city dwellers to a larger degree are used to a multicultural society, and internationalization may develop more in cities. Due to the larger diversity of city populations, being different might be more accepted than in a village.

So why is living in rural areas associated with higher levels of feeling of being socially integrated? When looking at theory, social capital is a major contributor to both social well-being and acculturation. Living in a rural area might create a more transparent environment, where it can be relatively easy to discover whether some individuals do fall outside of the social networks. Thus it is easier to feel integrated in a smaller society, because of closer ties. One could also argue that being engaged in a smaller society will reduce the physical distance between ethnic minorities and employers. This could in turn result in a higher level of employment amongst ethnic minorities. Employment is an important contributor to well-being, as it provides the individuals with higher status, income, social networks, and language proficiency (Ager & Strang, 2008). Thus, one could postulate that living in rural areas might provide easier access to employment, which in turn will provide the individual with both social bonds and social links. Social bonds because the individual gets access to social

networks outside ethnic communities, and social links because the individual gets access to structures within the state as a result of employment.

However, this finding is only true for feeling of being socially integrated. Living rural areas was not associated with higher levels of civic engagement. This could be because the options for associational activities are richer in more urban areas, levelling out the benefit of being engaged in a smaller society.

However, these rich opportunities might also present some challenges. When looking into what characterises urban areas, theory stresses that cities often provide high levels of individual pluralism, and mobility. In short, there are many opportunities in the city. It might be said that city life may cause ambivalence and anxiety, caused by a modern society. The major part of studies on depression and urbanisation hold that living in an inner-city neighbourhood places a disproportionate number of ethnic minorities at a greater risk of emotional problems. This is congruent with the finding in this study, with feeling of being socially integrated better in rural areas. However, there have been some contradictory results in research. A study in Taiwan found lower rates of depressive symptoms in both native and immigrant urban young women compared to women in rural or suburban communities (Cheng, 1988). Further, Fandrem et al. (2009) suggests that for immigrant girls, living in a city can serve as a protective factor for mental health. They enhances the relative high concentration of social work services to be one explanation for this; the more available these services are for girls, the more girls seem to profit from this kind of social support. However, there is limited empirical evidence for this.

To sum up, rural areas can be said to provide better social networks and to be more inclusive. This might be an important explanation as to why ethnic minorities living in rural areas report higher levels of feeling of being socially integrated. Regarding civic engagement, this thesis found that living in a town in associated with lower levels of civic engagement. This thesis suggests that the rich offer of activities levels out the benefit of being engaged in a smaller society as an explanation for this.

5.1.7. Language and feeling of being socially integrated and civic engagement

This thesis found that respondents who speak the language of the new country, report higher levels of feeling of being socially integrated. This result was expected, and is in line with previous research regarding acculturation theory. The thesis could not find any research on social well-being and language. However, Amit & Litwin (2010) conducted a study of subjective well-being of immigrants aged 50 and older in Israel. The study found that language skills play an important role in subjective well-being. When testing predictors of mental illness and depression amongst ethnic minorities, language has repeatedly been found to be a salient factor (Ding et al., 2011; Yu, et al., 2003; Yu, Huang, Schwalberg, Overpeck, & Kogan, 2002). The same effect can be expected to be found in social well-being, and perhaps even more, seeing that social well-being refers to the social context. For ethnic minorities to be able to interact with the host majority, they need to be able to communicate with the majority residents.

The importance of language skills can be seen in light of acculturation theory. Choosing integration as acculturation strategy forces the immigrant to acquire knowledge about the new host country, including language skills. Furthermore, improved language skills will enable the immigrant to make new bonds and network with the host community, and increase the chances of joining the labour market, which in turn will provide the immigrant with access to social ties and social networks. Thus, one could say that language proficiency will move ethnic minorities out of isolation, and into society, where social capital and social trust is built.

This thesis does not investigate how well the respondents master the new language, merely the fact that they speak the language at home. However, a reasonable assumption can be made that those speaking the language at home will to a larger extent master the language compared to those not speaking it at home.

Language was however insignificant in the civic engagement model. This is a rather surprising result. As mentioned earlier, studies on constraints for immigrants have enhanced language barriers as one of the reasons for immigrant's low participation in community activities (Enjolras & Wollebæk, 2010; Rublee & Shaw, 1991; Stodolska, 1998). Based on

this, it seems reasonable to suggest that language plays an important role regarding civic engagement as well.

The lack of significance in the language variable might be due the fact that other variables capture some of the language effect. Having both parents born in country was statistically significantly related to civic engagement, with an odds ratio of 1.86. Cross tabulations revealed that 97.7 % of the respondents with both their parents born in country spoke the new language. The relationship between language and parents born in country might conceal some of the language effect on civic engagement; however no conclusion can be drawn. Furthermore, another explanation for the lack of association between language and civic engagement might be that ethnic minorities take part in ethnic organisations or activities, where they are able to speak their origin language.

As a conclusion, this study found that language plays an important role in feeling of being socially integrated. Although little is known about social well-being and language skills, research on subjective well-being is in line with this finding. However, language did not affect civic engagement. This was a rather surprising result, but may partly be explained by the fact that the language effect is concealed in the effect of having both the parents born in country, and that ethnic minorities participate in ethnic organisation where language proficiency is not required.

5.1.8. Why does the variable 'born in country' not affect feeling of being socially integrated and civic engagement?

Being born in the new country did not reach statistical levels in neither of the models in this thesis. This was a rather surprising result. Being born in a country implies that respondents will have participated in the community school, learned the language, and possibly taken part in social activities that will provide bridging capital. These are all factors that are associated with well-being amongst ethnic minorities (Berry, 1997; Oppedal, et al., 2004; Phinney, et al., 2001).

However, this finding is in line with previous empirical findings from ESS data. Safi (2010) investigated differences in life satisfaction between first generation and second generation immigrants in 13 European countries. Safi found that although second generation immigrants are born, raised and socialized in the new host country, they seem to be at least as dissatisfied

with their situation as the first generation. Perhaps one explanation would be that first generation immigrants were the ones who decided to leave their original country. This may have been due to factors like war, refugee situations, and lack of employment, political or religious prosecution. Thus they may see fleeing to another country as the only alternative. And although their new life in the host country can be thought of as unfair and at risk of discrimination, the alternative (staying in their home country) might be seen as far worse. However, this is an experience which their children do not necessarily share. Although they might know their parents' reasons for leaving, they have not experienced war or difficult economic times personally. Thus, they may react more to living in a country were they feel they are being discriminated against.

5.1.9. Income and social well-being

This study found that sufficiency of income was positively associated with feeling of being socially integrated, with a 1.93 higher chance of feeling of being socially integrated for those who felt their income to be sufficient. This finding is in line with the known and quite strong effect of money on well-being (Diener & Seligman, 2004; Helliwell & Putnam, 2004; Huppert, et al., 2006). Although the income per capita has quadrupled in the past 50 years, the total levels of subjective well-being have remained relative stabile (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004). Furthermore, Helliwell and Putnam stresses that; "Money can buy you happiness, but not much, and above a modest threshold, more money does not mean more happiness" (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004, p. 1440). This quote illustrates that it is not necessarily the income itself that matters, but maybe more the aspect of comparing oneself to others.

In regard to social well-being, no empirical evidence for income was found. However, acculturation theory and economists claim that successful integrations is reached if immigrants can reach the same level in their salary as native inhabitants with the same characteristics. However, Amit and Litwin (2010) underscores that achieving comparable income to native citizens is a long term process. This process is in turn enhanced by the number of years lived in the new country, and age upon arrival. Based on this, it would be reasonable to expect that the longer ethnic minorities have stayed in the country, the better their economy will be, and thus, the higher levels of feeling of being socially integrated they will report.

Studies provide information that the gap in salary between ethnic minorities and native born will be reduced proportionally with the time spent in country (Abbott & Beach, 1993; Chiswick, 1978). At the same time, studies have also revealed that some ethnic minorities are not able to reduce this gap, no matter how long they stay in the country (Baker & Benjamin, 1994). This can also be phenomena that parents pass along to their children. Moreover, it is most likely linked to language skills. Many factors have been found to affect how well ethnic minorities do in the labour market. Recently, research has paid attention to the difference in economic assimilation regarding the origin country of ethnic minorities. A study in Norway showed that ethnic minorities from OECD countries performed better in the economic aspect, compared to ethnic minorities from non-OECD countries (Longva & Raaum, 2003). Other factors of importance regarding economic assimilation in immigration are age at arrival, language skills, human capital etc (Hayfron, 2006).

The positive relationship between income and feeling of being socially integrated in this study can be thought of as a result of several factors. Obviously, one important effect of perceiving the income to be sufficient is the practical implications of having a good economy. This will allow ethnic minorities to provide for necessary materials in their life. One could also postulate that ethnic minorities who perceives their income to sufficient will feel more integrated than those who do not. The income variable in this study measures relative income, and the respondents will to a large degree evaluate the sufficiency of their income compared to what they see in their surroundings.

Individual's who report their income to be insufficient, can be expected to feel socially excluded as a result of poor income. Empirical findings have suggested that no matter how you measure health, and what kind of socio-economic indicator you use, the finding is the same; those who are worse socio-economically have worse health (Marmot & Wilkinson, 2006). In regard to income or economy, there is an exclusion from normal social consumption, where individuals are deprived of the opportunity to participate in everyday life. This can be thought of as relative poverty, where the threshold for poverty is in regard to what is required to live a decent life compared to other individuals in a society.

Another explanation can be that ethnic minorities were driven to immigration by the notion of economic wealth in a new country. Poor economy may be one of the reasons for why respondents left their origin country. Thus, perceiving the income to be good might provide the respondents with a higher level of feeling of being socially integrated, seeing that this was

69

an important aim. However, no conclusions can be drawn as to this, seeing that this study does not provide information as to why respondents immigrated.

To sum up, income was proven as an important predictor of feeling of being socially integrated in this study. This finding was expected, and be explained by many factors. Income has been stressed as an important factor in well-being research in general. Regarding social well-being, poverty can provide ethnic minorities with higher risks of social exclusion.

5.1.10.   How come income is only significant in the feeling of being socially integrated model?

In the civic engagement model, income did not reach statistical level. Given the strong effect income had on feeling of being socially integrated, and following the argument about social exclusion, this was an unexpected finding. Community activities in most European countries are well-organised, and requires membership, and in some cases, costs. Income and occupational status can influence the expenditure on leisure activities, but also the accessibility of transportation, availability and distribution of free time (Stodolska, 1998). If respondents perceive their income to be insufficient, one could postulate that this would affect the individual's ability to participate in organisations, which in turn would affect their civic engagement level. Children or adolescents might be excluded from sport organisations for example, due to high membership costs and expenditures related to equipment.

On the other hand, civic engagement might be upheld despite poor economy, but this might perhaps especially be true for certain low-cost activities. It is however difficult to give a nuanced picture of this, seeing that the thesis does not divide between activities that costs money and not. This can be said to be a weakness in the ESS data, and in this study. Another issue that needs to be addressed is that minorities are in general underrepresented in voluntary organisations and community activities. They may compensate for this by being more active in non-organised activities, like random games in the street, meeting with family or friends within the same ethnic group. This type of civic engagement is not captured in this study.

To sum up the relationship between income and social well-being in ethnic minorities, one could say that this is a complex relationship. Although income affects feeling of being socially integrated amongst the respondents, which is in line with empirical findings on well-

being, it has no effect on civic engagement. This is quite unexpected, since one could suggest that ethnic minorities with higher income are more integrated in the host society. Following this, ethnic minorities that are successfully integrated, would be expected to be more active in voluntary organisations. This does however not turn out to be the case in this study.

5.1.11. Using voluntary work as a measure of civic engagement in ethnic minorities

As mentioned previously, empirical findings on civic engagement and minority groups reveal a pattern that minority groups living in Norway are less involved in organisations (Enjolras & Wollebæk, 2010; Ødegård, 2010). As an example, 14% of ethnic minorities have membership in sports organisations, compared to 28% of the majority. The same relationship holds for political parties and labour unions. The only exception is religious organisations, where 30% of ethnic minorities participate, compared to only 7% of the majority. However, the trend is clear. Minorities are underrepresented in community activities and voluntary work. This would most likely represent a pattern that is also true for the central European countries that are included in this study (Enjolras & Wollebæk, 2010).

One explanation for this is that migrating to a new country will occupy time and energy for ethnic minorities. Furthermore, migration will represent a loss of social capital, as well as loss of identity. It takes time to acquire skills and knowledge about the new culture, and to map out what the new country or society has to offer when it comes to organised activities.

Another factor explaining why ethnic minorities are less active in voluntary organisations may be cultural differences. Some activities that are popular within the majority populations may be considered to be of less interest by ethnic minorities. For example, dancing might be a popular activity in the majority population in France, but ethnic minorities might consider this activity to be less socially acceptable, either because it is regarded as being in direct conflict with the cultural or ethnic value system, or that the activity itself appears as ridiculous or strange (Stodolska, 1998).

Furthermore, ethnic minorities may not be used to a society where everything is so organised and formalised. If their children want to play football or other kinds of sports, they cannot just

do it spontaneously. They have to join a football team, sign a membership, and the parents are expected to participate in different kinds of voluntary efforts, like baking cakes, driving to and from games, selling lotteries etc.

Ødegård (2010) stresses the difference between membership in an organisation and voluntary work. Compared to membership in an organisation, voluntary work can be regarded as an activity with low entry barriers, meaning that participating does not require any kind of formal affiliation. Besides, voluntary work for parents may often be linked to leisure activities where their children are participating. However, this reveals a quite distinct pattern. The more formal the participation in any kind of organisations is, the less number of ethnic minorities participate. It would appear that ethnic minorities are more unlikely to participate in more formal membership, like voluntary leadership positions etc, compared to the majority. This pattern is also present within athletic organisations, where ethnic minorities are underrepresented as both coaches and representatives (Enjolras & Wollebæk, 2010).

To sum up, there are major differences in minority and majority citizens' membership patterns. Ethnic minorities are much less active in organisations and voluntary work. Although minority adolescence is more active than older minority groups, they copy their parent's participation behaviour to a large degree. Furthermore, research has proven that when the formal affiliation in an organisation is low, ethnic minorities are more likely to participate.

5.1.12.   Minority organisation

Ødegård (2010) stresses that there have been differing opinions about minority organisations. There is no question that these organisations are positive for immigrant's well-being. In light of acculturation theory, immigrants are under a lot of stress when first arriving to a new country. Social capital may be a very important factor that reduces the level of stress. However, not everyone has access to social capital when arriving in the new country, and even so, it can be hard to find the time and energy to invest in social capital. Thus, ethnic minority organisations may be a very important contribution for immigrants to make social network and connections. These organisations can offer a place were ethnic minorities can meet individuals who have experienced the same situation as them, and that have a personal experience and knowledge about how to make it in a new country. In other words, and to use

Putnam's terminology, these organisations ca be thought of as promoters for bonding social capital within ethnic minorities.

Furthermore, organisations, irrespective of whether they are minority or majority organisations, will serve as a school of democracy. Individuals get to express their opinions and values internal in the organisations, which in turn creates internal democracy. Then it is up to each different organisation to give these opinions weight and value by the fact that the organisations communicates there opinions further as political pressures against government nationally. If opinions of the members are passed along, then these organisations may also serve as a bridging and particularly linking social capital.

From a community perspective one could say the ethnic minority organisations will encourage to internal democracy, and that it is good for individuals to meet over common engagement, seeing that this will provide ethnic minorities with social capital of bonding nature. However, from an integration perspective, ethnic minorities' organisations can be said to lend support to a segregation strategy (Lancee, 2010). Studies has pointed to the fact that minority organisations are at risk of being closed and introverted, and lacks the ability to reach out to networks and organisations in the majority society (Ødegård, 2010). To sum up, minority organsiations can be said to provide ethnic minorities with strong bonding social capital, but not necessarily a bridging or linking social capital.

5.1.13.   Lack of predictability of civic engagement model

The civic engagement model was only able to explain between 6.6 and 8.0 percentage of the variance. Variables like age, gender, language and income that played an important role in predicting feeling of being socially integrated were not associated with civic engagement. In other words, there are other and unknown factors that account for the levels of civic engagement as measured in this study. The degree of discrimination experienced might to some degree predict civic engagement. Stodolska (1998) stresses that ethnic minorities that experience discrimination in their everyday life, are less likely to participate in public areas where they might meet member of the host society. It would be interesting to see if including a variable measuring perceived discrimination would capture the civic engagement aspect.

The variable that contributed the most in the civic engagement model was 'both parents born in country'. Based on this, one could postulate that having parents that are born in country will provide immigrant children with a higher degree of participation in organisations. This is an interesting finding, seeing that having both your parents born in the host country does not provide higher levels or feeling of being socially integrated. However, this could be due to the fact that parents need to be able to follow up their children in activities that are as formal as in western society. Thus, it is a reasonable assumption that this capacity is higher in parents born in country.

5.2. Methodological issues

5.2.1. Cross-sectional study

The design of the study is cross-sectional. Thus, it does not provide a possibility to draw conclusions about causality. If causality would have been the goal, then it would have been necessary to have at least three waves of data in structural equations. However, assessing causality was not the main purpose of this study. This study is more of an explorative nature, and aims to investigate the relationship between demographic variables and social well-being. Furthermore, due to the scope of this thesis, information about mediation and moderation relationships has not been assessed.

5.2.2. Comparing different countries

The participants in this study live in six different countries. When combining different nations into one sample, there are some issues that need to be addressed. One of the challenges is the difficulties when comparing nations that vary in respect of social structure, political context, welfare regimes and so on. The six countries that were selected for this study were not picked randomly, but rather because of their similarities in welfare regimes and culture. However, it is reasonable to assume that participants from different countries will be affected by characteristics in their country, for instance immigrant laws, immigration history, the size of immigration populations, etc. Thus, participants in the sample coming from the same country will be expected to be more similar than across countries. This constitutes a situation of nesting. Ideally the study would run analysis both within each country individually, and as

one sample, or by the use of multilevel analysis. However, this was not feasible, partly due to small sample sizes. The decision to combine respondents from different countries into one sample can however be defended, seeing that the ESS has made a large effort into making the data comparable cross-nationally (Jowell, et al., 2007).

Research has revealed differences in life satisfaction across countries, and this finding is well-documented in literature (Safi, 2010). Mean levels of feeling of being socially integrated and civic engagement outcomes in this study was thus measured within each country. The results showed some differences on the two outcomes. Comparing mean levels of 'feeling of being socially integrated revealed Switzerland as the country with highest mean score. Following were Belgium, Germany, France, Austria, and Netherland, in that order. The finding that ethnic minorities in Switzerland report of highest well-being is in thread with earlier research on minorities and ESS data. Safi (2010) found that people are the most satisfied with their lives in Sweden and Switzerland, and the least satisfied in Portugal and France.

5.2.3. Considerations in regard to choices of analysis

This thesis used chi square test and logistic regression as statistical techniques. Chi square test for independence was used to explore the relationship between two categorical variables when presenting the data. Chi square tests are non-parametric techniques that do not share the same stringent assumptions as parametric tests. However, the sample has to be sufficient, and the lowest expected frequency in any cell should be above 5 (Pallant, 2007). These assumptions were met in the analysis in this study.

Logistic regression was used to asses the predictive ability of the independent variables on social well-being. In the following, assumptions for logistic regression will briefly be discussed.

As with most techniques in statistics, regression analysis requires a certain sample size. The sample size depends on several issues. The main issue is that the sample size must be seen in regard to the number of independent variables. Other issues that are considered are the desired power, alpha level and expected sample sizes. An often used rule to calculate sample size is N > 50 + 80 x number of predictor variables. If the independent variable has three categories, one is appointed as reference category, and B coefficients are calculated for the two others (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). In this study there are seven variables, and three of them have

three categories. Thus, the total number of B coefficients in this study is 10. The sample size required is thus 50 + (80 x 10) = 130. This means that the requirement of sample size is met in this study, which has a sample of 543.

Logistic regression does not have normality distribution as an assumption, but the technique is sensitive to high intercorrelations amongst the predictor variables, multicollinearity. The ideal is that the predictor variables are strongly correlated with the outcome, but not with each other. Spearman rho test was used to asses the muticollinearity. Born in country was strongly correlated with parents born in country (.58), but other than that, there were none or weak correlation between the predictor variables. A correlation of this size is acceptable in logistic regression.

Finally, logistic regression is sensitive to outliers. No outliers were identified when inspecting the residuals. Thus, this assumption was met in the study.

5.2.4. Comments on models

The models on feeling of being socially integrated explained between 10.5 % and 14.0 % of the variance. This is a rather low explanatory power. However, some underlines the fact that logistic regression does not have R square like in multiple regressions, and thus one should be careful about making inferences from this number.

The civic engagement model did only explain between 6.6 % and 8.8 %. This is also rather low, and may indicate that this model is not a good model for predicting civic engagement. This is also supported by the lack of significance of several of the independent variables (only two variables proved significant). It is important to keep this in mind when interpreting the results from the civic engagement model.

5.2.5. Comments on variables

Although this study tried to employ many different variables working as a precursor to feeling of being socially integrated and civic engagement, some variables still had to be left out of the equation due to small sample size. This chapter will briefly list some of the variables that could have strengthened the study.

First, a limit to this study is that is provides no information as to the ethnicity of the participants. The study treats all participants as one group, and does not pay attention to the

fact that ethnic minorities coming from different countries and religions may react and feel differently in the acculturation process, and thus report different social well-being. Religion as a predictor variable was actually included at one stage, but as it was not statistically significant, it was eventually left out from the analysis due to the need to limit number of variables.

The decision to exclude ethnicity as a variable was partly due to practical difficulties in constructing the variable. One suggestion would have been to divide the sample into non-western and western immigrant. However, Amit & Litwin (2010) found that when testing subjective well-being of immigrants in Europe, ethnicity was less important for how immigrants experienced their subjective well-being compared with other socioeconomic factors like economy, social capital, and health status.

Second, the thesis does not provide information about how integration politics affect subjective well-being. Writing this study in the field of health promotion, welcomes a broad approach to determinants of social well-being. Thus, it would be interesting to examine how political structure and legislation would affect the social well-being of participants. Although the ESS data provide a nuanced set of variables that could cover this topic, this would be a very complex study, and could not be done within the scope of a master thesis. Furthermore, studies have shown weak associations between integrations politics and ethnic identity. Some studies have proven that local conditions, personal conditions and activity setting like school and neighbourhood have a great impact on identity and psychological adjustment, more than national politics. These local conditions can be irrelevant of the official national integration politics (Huppert, 2005).

5.2.6. Recommendations for future research

Given that the civic engagement model explained so little, future research should investigate other variables as precursors to civic engagement. A model that includes variables measuring the subjective experience of discrimination and how it affects ethnic minorities and their participation would be most welcome. Future research on ethnic minorities and social well-being should also focus on civil societies and how they welcome new residents. It would be of great interest to test if societies that are characterized by high levels of social capital are associated with civic engagement amongst ethnic minorities. Furthermore, the relationship between social well-being amongst ethnic minorities and attitudes towards immigration in a

77

society would be an important contribution to comprehend what must be characterised as a complex relationship.

5.2.7. Practical implications

Findings in this study revealed that the integration of ethnic minorities can be measured by their report of social well-being. This is an important issue, seeing that most of previous research on ethnic minority and integration to a large extent focused on objective measures like labour market, economy etc. This study suggests that the feeling of social well-being experienced by ethnic minorities varies with gender, domicile status, language skills and income. Thus, stakeholders will have to acknowledge that these issues need to be addressed when planning intervention programs aimed to promote mental health and social well-being amongst ethnic minorities, as well as trying to include ethnic minorities in activities and organisations in the local community.

Societies in receiving countries should try to steer towards a middle course where they both encourage cultural retention and promote adjustment to the larger society. An important step in finding this balance would be to look into the subjective experiences and perceptions of ethnic minorities. However, different ethnic minority groups will vary in respect of goals, values and how they construct their own values, so it can not be assumed that the same approach will be equally beneficial to all groups. This underscores the importance of giving ethnic minorites the opportunity to make their own decisions and choices regarding the acculturation process.

6. CONCLUSION

This study investigated ethnic minorities in Central Europe, and focused on what predicted feeling of being socially integrated and civic engagement. The main finding of the study is that demographic variables to some degree predict social well-being. However, feeling of being socially integrated and civic engagement are two different aspects that are not predicted by the same variables. In the feeling of being socially integrated model, five of the demographic variables was significantly associated with feeling of being socially integrated, the strongest being age. In the civic engagement model however, only two variables were

significant. This underscores the difficult relationship regarding acculturation, social capital and social well-being. There may be other factors in ethnic minorities' surrounding that promotes and prohibits civic engagement, and this thesis suggests perceived discrimination as an important obstacle.

An important conclusion is that assessing important predictors of social well-being is a challenging task, and perhaps especially in regard to the eudemonic aspect of civic engagement. One might suggest that when measuring social phenomena like this, combining both a qualitative and quantitative method would be an important contribution to provide a wider understanding of the complex relationship between ethnic minorities and social well-being.

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Appendix

Figure 3

Flowchart of sample inclusion

ESS round 3
N = 43.000

The six different countries were
merged into one datafile

Central Europe:

Austria	=2405
Belgium	=1798
France	=1986
Germany	=1798
Netherland	=1889
Switzerland	=1804
N	=12798

Item selected:

Blgetmg = 1

Belonging to minority
ethnic group in country
N= 543
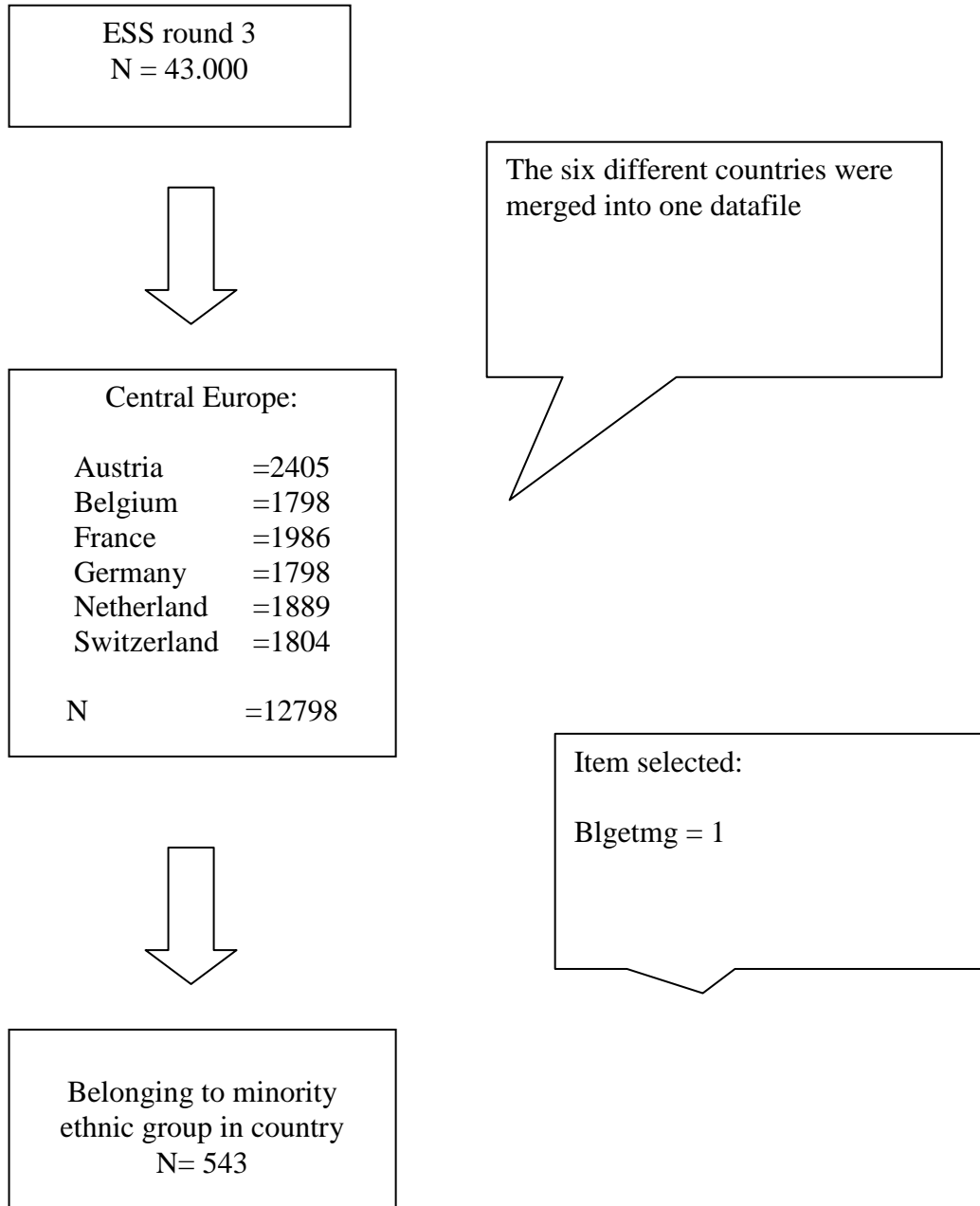
Figure 4

Normality distribution of total feeling of being socially integrated

Mean =14.4
Std. Dev. =3.7
N =632.28457012
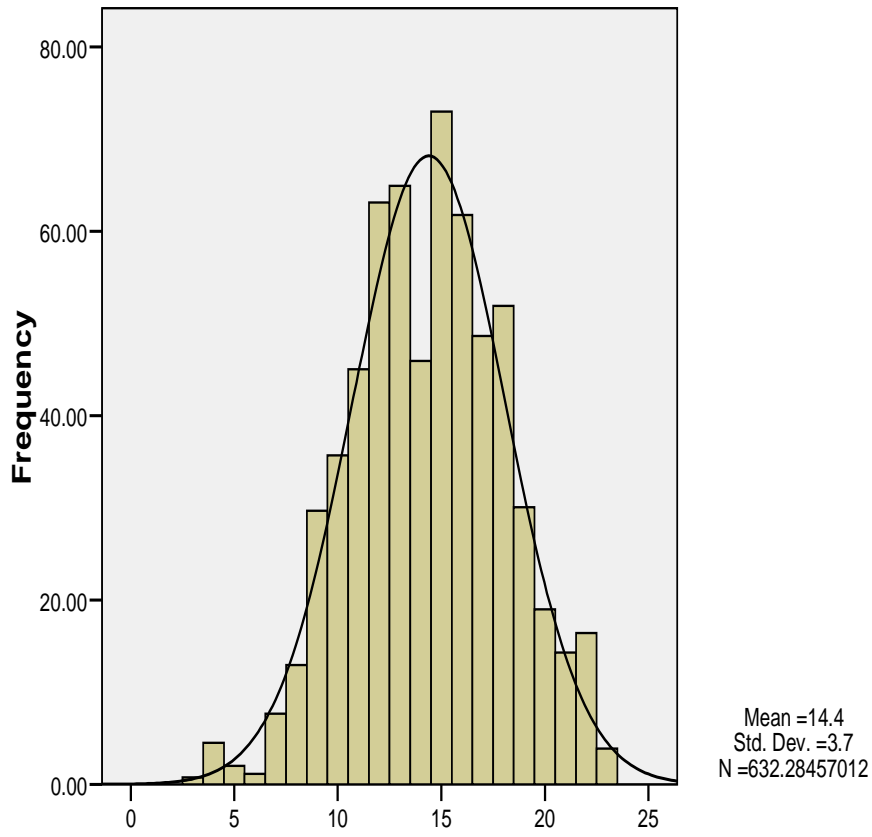
Figure 5

Normality distribution of total civic engagement

Mean =4.28
Std. Dev. =2.818
N =663.54832868
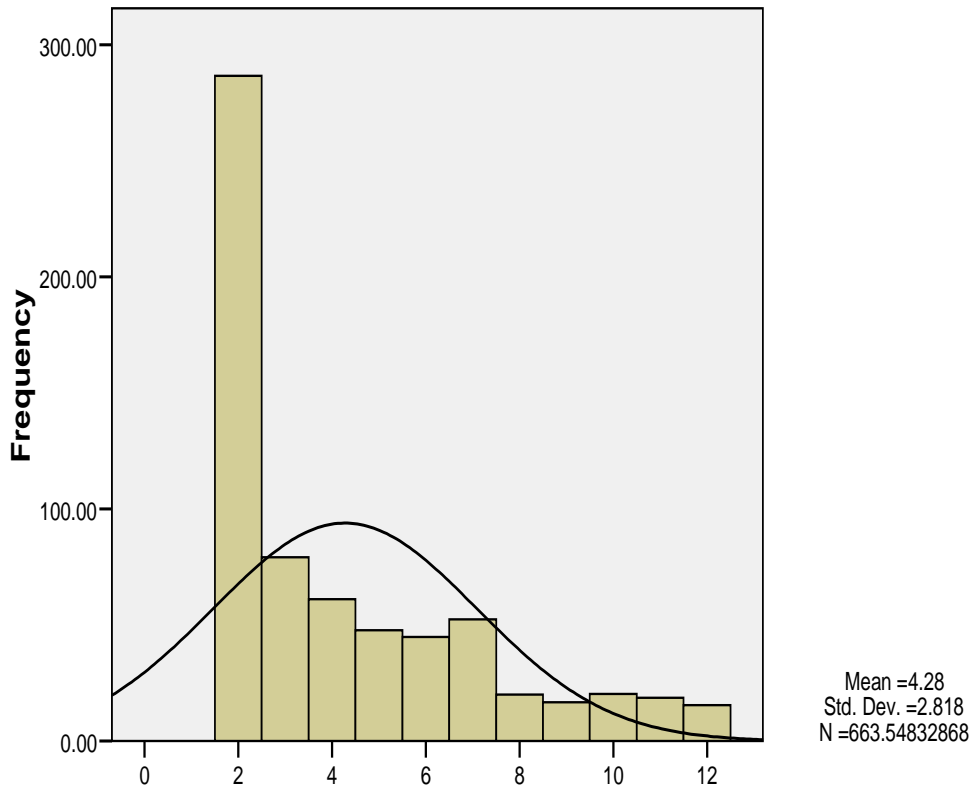
Table 1

Feeling of being socially integrated - Factor loading in the varimax rotation

Items	1	2	3	4
			Component	
Feel people treat you unfair	.752			
Feel people treat you with respect	.722		.370	
Feel you get the recognition you deserve for what you do	.659			
There are people in my life that really care about me	-.500			
How much time spent with immediate family is stressful		.933		
How much time spent with immediate family is enjoyable		.944		
Feel close to people in local area			.812	
Feel people in local area help one another			.806	
Hard to be hopeful about the future of the world				.824
For most people in [country] life is getting worse				.810

Table 2

Items correlations, Cronbach's alpha, and Factor loadings on Feeling of Being Socially Integrated Scale

Items	Inter-item correlations			Item-total correlation	Cronbach's alpha if item deleted	Factor loading
	2	**3**	**4**			
1. Feel close to people in local area	.24	.20	.37	.37	.62	.77
2. Feel that people treat you with respect		.51	.33	.52	.52	.72
3. Feel that you get the recognition you deserve for what you do			.25	.43	.57	.70
4. Feel people in local area help one another				.42	.59	.62
Cronbach's alpha = .65						

Table 3

Civic Engagement - Factor loading in the varimax rotation

Items	Component	
	1	**2**
Involved in work for voluntary or charitable organisations, how often past 12 months?	.808	
Help or attend activities organised in local area, how often past 12 months?	.796	
Help others not counting for family//work/voluntary organisations, how often past 12 months?	.749	
If I help someone, I expect some help in return		.995

Table 4

Items correlations, Cronbach's alpha, and Factor loadings on Civic Engagement Scale

Items	Inter-item correlations	Item-total correlation	Cronbach's alpha if item deleted	Factor loading
	2.			
1. Involved in work for voluntary or charitable organisations, how often past 12 months?	.48	.48		.86
2. Help or attend activities organised in the local area, how often past 12 months?				.86
Cronbach's alpha = .64				

Table 5

Which phrase on this card best describes the area where you live?

Domicile	Frequencies	Valid percent
A big city	200	29.9
Suburbs or outskirts of big city	78	11.7
Town or small city	262	39.1
Country village	124	18.5
Farm or home in countryside	6	.9
Subtotal	**669**	**100**
Missing	0	0
Total	**669**	**100**

Table 6

Feeling about household's income nowadays

Domicile	Frequencies	Percent	Valid percent
Very difficult on present income	57	8.5	8.5
Difficult on present income	155	23.2	23.3
Coping on present income	330	49.3	49.6
Living comfortably on present income	124	18.5	18.6
Total	**666**	**99.4**	**100**
Missing	0	0	0
Dont know	4	.6	
Total	**669**	100	100

Table 7

Frequency distribution of Feeling of Being Socially Integrated

Feeling of being socially integrated	Sample n = 632	
	Frequencies	Percentage
Low	313	49.6
High	319	50.4
Total	632	100

Table 8

Frequency distribution of Civic Engagement

Civic engagement	Sample n = 664	
	Frequencies	Percentage
Low	366	55.1
High	298	44.9
Total	664	100

Table 9

Frequency distribution of Age

Age	Sample n = 664	
	Frequencies	Percentage
15-25	109	16.3
26-45	313	46.8
46-93	247	36.8
Sum	669	100

Table 10

Frequency distribution of Gender

Gender	Frequencies	Percentage
Sample = 669		
Male	315	47.1
Female	354	52.9
Total	669	100

Table 11

Frequency distribution of Domicile

Domicile	Frequencies	Percentage
Sample = 669		
City	278	41.5
Town	262	39.1
Countryside	129	19.4
Sum	669	100

Table 12

Frequency distribution of Born in Country

	Sample = 660	
Born in country	Frequencies	Percentage
No	430	64.3
Yes	230	35.7
Total	660	100

Table 13

Frequency distribution of Parents Born in Country

	Sample = 667	
Parents born in country	Frequencies	Percentage
None of the parents	464	69.5
One of the parents	52	7.8
Both parents	151	22.7
Sum	667	100

Table 14

Frequency distributions of Language

	Sample = 660	
Speak new language	Frequencies	Percentage
No	118	17.9
Yes	542	82.1
Total	660	100

Table 15

Frequency distribution of Sufficiency of Income

Sample = 665		
Sufficiency of income	Frequencies	Percentage
Insufficient income	212	31.8
Sufficient income	453	68.2
Total	665	100

Table 16

Bivariate Associations of Predictor Variables with Feeling of being socially integrated

	Sample		
	n	Chi-square	df
Independent Variables			
Age	632	21.87 ***	2
Sex	632	3.46	1
Domicile	632	9.38 **	2
Born in country	632	1.92	1
Parents born in country	631	14.18 ***	2
Speak new language	622	16.36 ***	1
Sufficiency of income	628	11.23 ***	1

*** = correlation is significant at the 0.001 level

** = correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

* = correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

Table 17

Bivariate Associations of Predictor Variables with Civic engagement

	Sample		
	n	Chi-square	df
Independent Variables			
Age	663	7.90 *	2
Sex	663	1.71	1
Domicile	663	15.78 ***	2
Born in country	663	10.26 ***	1
Parents born in country	662	23.38 ***	2
Speak new language	653	.001	1
Sufficiency of Income	659	2.01	1

*** = correlation is significant at the 0.001 level

** = correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

* = correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

Table 18

Logistic Regression Model with Feeling of being socially integrated as the Outcome Variable

Coefficients	Model 1. Sample n = 628					
	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Odds ratio
Age						
Ref: 15-25			23.457	2	.000	
26-45	.368	.258	2.035	1	.154	1.445
46-93	1.133	.270	17.579	1	.000	3.105
Sex						
Female	-.509	.174	8.578	1	.003	1.663
Domicile						
Ref: City			4.485	2	.106	
Town	.039	.192	.041	1	.839	1.040
Countryside	.497	.247	4.069	1	.044	1.644
Born in country						
Yes	-.033	.251	.018	1	.894	.967
Parents born in country						
Ref: None of them			.678	2	.712	
One of them	.111	.322	.118	1	.731	1.117
Both of them	.236	.298	.629	1	.428	1.266
Language						
Speak new language	.775	.241	10.334	1	.001	2.170
Sufficiency of income						
Sufficient income	.658	.193	11.608	1	.001	1.932

Ref. Reference Category

Model 1 was statistically significant $X^2 = 68.54$, p = <.001. The model explained between 10.5% (Cox and Snell R square) and 14.0% (Nagelkerke R squared) of variance, and 64.4 of the cases were correctly classified.

Table 19

Logistic Regression Model with Civic engagement as the Outcome Variable

Coefficients	Model 2. Sample n =	649				Odds ratio
	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	
Age						
Ref: 15-25			12.375	2	.002	
26-45	-.422	.249	2.862	1	.091	.656
46-93	.221	.256	.748	1	.387	1.247
Sex						
Female	-.034	.165	.041	1	.839	.967
Domicile						
Ref: City			10.137	2	.006	
Town	-.436	.187	5.428	1	.020	.647
Countryside	.244	.230	1.120	1	.290	1.276
Born in country						
Yes	.107	.240	.197	1	.657	1.113
Parents born in country						
Ref: None of them			8.926	2	.012	
One of them	-.560	.336	2.769	1	.096	.571
Both of them	.619	.286	4.668	1	.031	1.856
Language						
Speak new language	-.199	.222	.807	1	.369	.820
Sufficiency of income						
Sufficient income	.118	.180	.426	1	.514	1.125

Ref. Referense Category

Model 2 was statistically significant $X^2 = 44.23$, p = <.001. The model explained between 6.6% (Cox and Snell R square) and 8.8% (Nagelkerke R squared) of variance, and 61.5 of the cases were correctly classified.