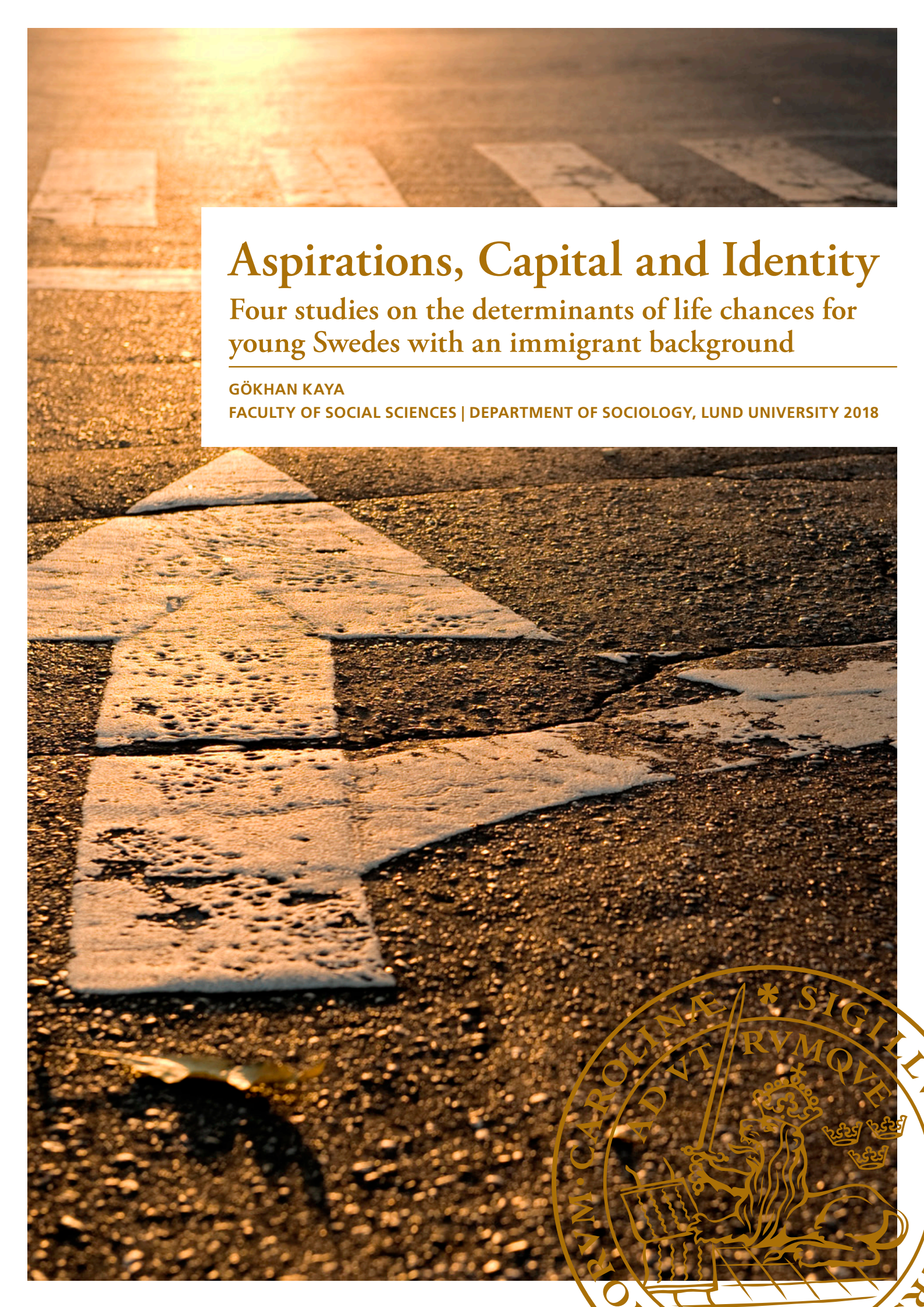




Aspirations, Capital and Identity

Four studies on the determinants of life chances for young Swedes with an immigrant background

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Gökhan Kaya



LUND
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Abstract The dissertation examines the determinants of life chances among young people with immigrant background in Sweden. The dissertation includes four research papers, each examining a specific research question on a determinant of life chances. The studies are based on datasets from two surveys: the Social Capital and Labour Market Integration survey, and a longitudinal study of ten schools in Malmö. Study I examines aspired pathways, asking whether young people want to continue directly to university from secondary education or if they mix in other plans. The results show that young people with an immigrant background aspire less to experimentation and prefer direct transition. The results have two facets: Young people with immigrant origin are determined to be successful. On the other hand, opting for less experimentation may deprive them of an opportunity to explore their self and life outside university, which may be an important source for informal resources. Study II investigates access to social capital among mixed-union children, and its distribution across trans-national and social sources. The results diverge from previous studies that argue that social integration of children of mixed unions lies between that of the children of immigrants and children of two Swedish-born parents, or are similar to children of Swedish-born parents. The results suggest that social capital depends on the migration background of the foreign-born parent, which influences whether children from mixed unions have greater or lesser access to social capital, and whether this access is through few or many sources. Study III examines involvement in diverse cultural activities, so-called omnivorousness. It is often argued that omnivores are tolerant of, and inclusive to, the stigmatised other. The idea is tested by examining if individuals involved in diverse forms of cultural activities bridge disconnected ethnic groups. The results are not in line with this hypothesis, suggesting that previous studies are far too ready to associate progressive "positive" attributes with omnivores, and do not fully capture what people actually do in their social relations. Study IV examines if young people who view themselves as <i>invandrare</i> ("immigrant") are additionally disadvantaged compared to other young people of immigrant origin. The results show a greater association with depression and unemployment risk among people with explicit immigrant identity. Yet, people of immigrant origin with no explicit identity have even greater disadvantage. Thus, an explicit sense of self, even a stigmatised one, protects people from falling into the most disadvantaged positions. Taken together, the four studies provide new insights on the life chances of young Swedes with an immigrant background, and they underscore the fact that social integration has to be understood as a complex process.		
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To Isilay,

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List of Papers

- I. Kaya, G. & Barmark, M. Traditional versus Experimental Pathways to a University: Educational Aspirations among Young Swedes with and without an Immigration Background (Revised and Resubmitted to *Journal of Youth Studies*).
- II. Kaya, G., Edling, C. & Rydgren, J. The Social Capital of Children from Mixed Unions (Under review *Social Science Research*).
- III. Kaya, G. Cultural Omnivores: a Bridge or a Wall between Ethnically Different Worlds? Evidence from Young People in Sweden (Manuscript).
- IV. Kaya, G. Immigrant Identity, Social Exclusion and Subjective Well-Being: An Explorative Study of Young People in Sweden (Under review *Social Indicators Research*).

Introduction

Aim and Contributions

The early twenties is a period of utmost importance in the lives of young people. It is a time when they confront a series of major changes: leaving the family nest, standing on their own feet, and making serious decisions about school and work. Amidst such profound changes, it becomes hard to perceive the near future, making this a period full of uncertainties. For young people with immigrant background, this time is still more insecure because of the additional difficulties they face in education, employment, and everyday life. They may find themselves in undesirable situations, such as job applications being refused because of their background rather than being evaluated for their actual skills, ideas, and personalities. To be able to resist and overcome these added difficulties, young people with immigrant background need additional resources. Accessing these resources and viewing themselves as respected members of society makes it possible for them to attain better life chances.

In this dissertation, I will examine the determinants of the life chances of young people with immigrant backgrounds. Our understanding of the determinants of life chances¹ is dominated by studies on human capital formation which refer to lists of skills and credentials, e.g. years of education, cognitive skills and work experience. In fact, human capital is a vital determinant of better life chances and the development of skills and credentials is a valuable asset in a knowledge society. Skills and credentials cover a broad terrain, from making the best decisions, to nourishing babies during pregnancy, to improving the quality of public debate. Studies have highlighted the differences in the educational

¹ The term “life chance” (*Lebenschancen* in German) is an old and most important concept in sociology. Max Weber (1978, p. 302) coined the term, defining it as the “shared typical probability of procuring goods, gaining a position in life, and finding inner satisfaction”. However, the use of the concept is not always clear. Previous studies have used it in reference to a variety of outcomes including educational achievement (Ritzman & Tomaskovic-Devey, 1991), labour market outcomes such as employment, income, and social assistance (Hermansen, 2017; Massey, Gross, & Eggers, 1991), and being able to take vacation abroad at least once a year (Anikin, Lezhnina, Mareeva, & Tikhonova, 2017). This broad spectrum is useful to understand if people with similar backgrounds are generally able to gain access to valuable or scarce outcomes (Breen, 2009; Giddens, 1973).

qualifications and employment status of young people with and without immigrant background (Alba, Sloan, & Sperling, 2011; Heath, Rethon, & Kilpi, 2008; Hermansen, 2017; van Tubergen, 2006). However, focusing merely on educational and employment credentials predominantly sheds light on formal processes: what is on paper, such as a degree, certificates and skills. In reality, informal relations – who you know or what you know – are no less important in finding a decent job or getting a degree from a prestigious university. Studying life chances primarily in terms of human capital formation also pays little attention to an individual's subjective views on self and his or her place in society, and limits our understanding of how young people view their chances of reaching a respected and advantaged position.

The general contribution of this dissertation is to study the determinants of life chances which research on human capital formation has neglected. To do so, I examine other key forms of capital. First, I study social capital, which refers to resources (e.g. influence, assistance, and information) that individuals may access through their networks (Bourdieu, 1986; N. Lin, 2002; Portes, 2000). Accessing resourceful people in their networks is more likely to advantage people in fulfilling their desired life chances. Second, I examine participation in diverse cultural activities, or cultural omnivorousness. This is a form of cultural capital because a small segment of society, whose members are more influential and in higher socioeconomic positions, is over-represented in activities considered highbrow, e.g. visiting art galleries (Warde, Wright, & Gayo-Cal, 2007). Cultural capital enhances people's knowhow about effectively navigating social life (e.g. becoming familiar with manners and habits, and problem-solving) on the journey to access better life chances. In addition, involvement in diverse cultural activities makes people active participants in cultural life who feel at home in various contexts and develop new social ties. Both social and cultural capital improves life chances when skills, certifications and work experience are not by themselves sufficient to get by in society. When people apply for vacant positions, "who you know" and "tricks from insiders" may advantage some candidates over those who lack similar resources. While I do not argue that social and cultural capital can open all the doors to better life chances for young people with immigrant background, they can potentially make a significant difference.

A subjective understanding of life chances is formed by aspirations and identity. Aspiration refers to plans, i.e. where a person wants to see herself in the future, and how she envisages the possibility that future might materialise (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Dumais, 2002). Studying aspirations gives us insights on how individuals view their potential success in society, which may or may not reflect their actual success. Identities refer here to an individual's affiliation with ethnic and racial categories (e.g. immigrant, Muslim, Swedish, Kurdish). Individuals often tend to affiliate with categories where they find a sense of worth and respect

(Tajfel, 2010). The stronger the affiliation with a specific category, the more likely that individuals within that category share a similar outlook toward life. As identity is salient, people often relate their chances of reaching advantaged positions with “us versus them” thinking – finding a decent job is easier for “them” than for “us”; “they” are successful because of “their” discipline or work ethic, etc. Identity may also emerge from or in reaction to an individual’s actual or perceived life chances, e.g. unequal treatment in the labour market, negative stereotypes, or living in immigrant-dense neighbourhoods (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Yancey, Ericksen, & Juliani, 1976). Aspirations and identity determine an individual’s own understanding of life chances in both direct and indirect ways. Studying aspirations and identity provides a richer understanding of an individual’s view of the possibility of becoming an equal and respected member of society.

Research Questions

This dissertation makes a specific contribution on each of the determinants of life chances for young people with immigrant background. In each of four studies, I examine one research question related to the research problems around each determinant of life chances, namely aspirations, capital and identity.

The research questions are as follows:

1. To what extent do young people with immigrant background aspire to continue to university? Do they aspire to continue to university directly or along with other plans e.g. traveling and work?
2. To what extent do young people with mixed union parents access social capital?
3. Do people who pursue a variety of cultural activities (cultural omnivores) bridge ethnically disconnected (i.e. “immigrant” versus Swedish) networks?
4. Are young people who define themselves with the stigmatising label *invandrare* (immigrant) additionally disadvantaged relative to others of immigrant origin, i.e. who hold either an explicit ethnic/national identity or immigrants who have no explicit identity?

Because the determinants of life chances for young people with immigrant background depend on the conditions they encounter in the host country, I will begin by providing the study context and then return to the research questions in greater depth.

The Swedish Context

This study focuses on young people of immigrant origin living in Sweden. Accordingly, I will briefly contextualise what “being an immigrant” means in Sweden along three macro-level parameters: demographics, migration politics and social representation in everyday life in media and politics.

Many Swedes emigrated to the United States before and during the twentieth century, while at the end of the century immigrants moved to Sweden from different corners of the world. Finns, Greeks, Yugoslavians and Turks came to fulfil labour demand, mostly at the lower rungs of the labour market. This was followed by a rise in family reunification which led to an increase in the immigrant population. Later still, some groups, predominantly Iranians, Kurds and Chileans, left their home countries due to unrest, such as ethnic conflict, regime change and military coups, and settled in Sweden. After the 1990s, they were joined by people escaping ethnic conflict and wars in the Balkan countries. Most recently, there has been an influx of Syrians due to war in their home country. As a result of these immigration trends, Sweden’s foreign-born population has reached 18 percent of the total population, and children with at least one parent born abroad constitute 12 percent of the population (SCB, 2015). That means one in three people in Sweden have an immigrant background, representing origins from over 135 different countries (SCB, 2015). The majority of these – 74 percent – are below thirty years of age. Immigrants as a social category comprise an extremely diverse group that displays significant variation across urban-rural origins, migration trajectory, social classes, ethnicities and religions.

Rather than a comprehensive account, I will provide snapshots of key migration policies. During the 1970s, the Swedish government implemented an ambitious series of policies following the principles of “equality, freedom of choice and partnership” (Borevi, 2014; Government Bill, 1975/76:26.). People of immigrant origin were considered as workers who benefited from equal rights in order to maintain full employment and economic growth (Sainsbury, 2006). They voted in local elections, were entitled to mother-tongue lessons in public schools, and received state support to form ethnic organisations. In the 1980s a series of proposals, government bills and public debates began to focus on the integration of immigrants as individuals rather than as collective actors, with the intent of avoiding segregation (Borevi, 2013). In the 1990s, after the fall of Soviet socialism, major economic crises facilitated neoliberal policies which prioritised market interests over the welfare regime (Jessop, 1993; Schierup, Hansen, & Castles, 2006). Studies in Sweden report that increasing ethnic segmentation in the labour market, part-time work and job flexibility increased economic inequalities (Behtoui, Boréus, Neergaard, & Yazdanpanah, 2017; Schierup et al., 2006; Slavnic & Urban, 2008).

Between 1996 and 2016, governments introduced new restrictions including financial support requirements for family unification (Bech, Borevi, & Mouritsen, 2017). During the same period, European countries applied so-called civic integration policies including introductory courses in the history and culture of the receiving country. While one of its Nordic neighbours, Denmark, became a flagship of such civic policies, Sweden itself did not introduce them as a full package (Bech et al., 2017). However, in 2008, the Centre Alliance government introduced a new law which abolished labour market tests and left decisions about immigration to individual employers. As a result, new immigrants who arrived after the law came into force are overrepresented in already immigrant-dense occupations such as the hotel and restaurant businesses, rather than filling shortages of skilled workers such as doctors and nurses (Emilsson, Magnusson, Törngren, & Bevelander, 2014). Last but not least, nearly 163,000 asylum seekers arrived in Sweden in 2015. Like other EU countries, Sweden implemented strict border controls and faced major challenges in managing the immigration process. In his review essay, Sandberg (2017) states that Sweden was faced with unanticipated consequences from this influx: an upsurge in undocumented immigrants, entrenchment of migration policies that gave more power to employers, shortage of skilled workers and reductions in international development assistance budgets in order to finance the management of newly-arrived migrants. Relatively speaking, migration policies in Sweden provide more social and cultural rights to immigrants than those in the rest of Europe. At the same time, Sweden experiences major policy challenges, ambiguities and controversies in integrating immigrants into mainstream society, along with managing budgets and responding to the country's demographic and economic needs in the future.

When it comes to social representation, “immigrants” are often a cognitively distinct category in Sweden. For the media and social services alike, people of immigrant origin, particularly from non-Western countries, are more likely to be subject to negative stereotypes. For example, the *invandrare* label is often used to connote the inferior, less developed and non-modern (Bredström, 2003; Herz & Johansson, 2012; Torres, 2006). Such people are subject to stigma in the most mundane ways. For example, they are often believed to dress badly, speak loudly in public transportation, and to be unpunctual. In highly formal environments, as in the juridical, immigrants are less likely to have their voices heard (Elsrud, Lalander, & Staaf, 2017). Studies report that people of non-Western origin are often perceived as the least favourable potential partners for unions (Törngren, 2011) and as neighbours (Aldén, Hammarstedt, & Neuman, 2015).

The “immigrant” versus “Swedish” distinction occurs in parallel with segregation, particularly residential segregation. Over the decades, residential areas in large metropolitan areas, particularly, have changed from mixed to immigrant-dense

neighbourhoods. In a study of population registers, Edling (2015) finds 38 metropolitan areas with an average immigrant population of 73 percent. In the same areas, almost half of people (45 percent) do not have jobs, and 25 percent of young people are not in education, employment or training. Other research shows that living in migrant-dense neighbourhoods is often associated with a higher risk of poverty (E. Andersson & Malmberg, 2018; Gustafsson, Katz, & Österberg, 2017) and health risks (Chaix, Rosvall, & Merlo, 2007). Studies show that residential segregation is not only an unanticipated consequence of ambitious housing programmes in the 1960s–1970s, the influx of socioeconomically disadvantaged immigrants has led to the avoidance of the areas by the majority (Bråmås, 2006) and caused better-off residents to move to other neighbourhoods (Aldén et al., 2015). Segregation exacerbates social exclusion by separating and maintaining the distance between people with different ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds, and is one of the major reasons for the categorical distinction between “immigrant” and “Swedish” in people’s minds.

Previous Studies

In this section, I provide a brief overview of earlier studies on the determinants of life chances and key evidence from the Swedish context.

Studies repeatedly report an educational achievement gap between children of immigrants and Swedish-born parents. In the national examinations conducted in the ninth grade, mathematics results show particularly large differences between Swedish-born children and those who were born abroad (Lundahl & Lindblad, 2018). OECD (2016) statistics also show large gaps in reading ability, science and mathematics, with differences of around 10 percentage points between second-generation immigrants and natives, and almost 20 percentage points between first-generation immigrant children and native-born children. While their educational achievement lags, immigrant children have higher educational aspirations. In their nationwide study, Jonsson and Rudolphi (2011) show that students of immigrant origin choose academic programmes more often than native-born children, even though they fail more often. Behtoui (2017) argues that parents’ higher expectations of success for their children is one of the key factors pushing students of immigrant origin to aim high in education. In her study on educational attainment, Urban (2012) finds that immigrant children achieve higher than expected given parental socioeconomic background and that children of lower-income yet higher-educated parents continue to university to avoid perceived discrimination in the labour market. While previous studies have documented differences in educational outcomes between young people with and without immigrant background, there is a need for research to learn more about what makes people aim high even when they achieve less.

Studies also demonstrate that social capital improves the life chances of young people of immigrant origin. In their studies of Iranian and Yugoslavian immigrants in Sweden, Hällsten, Edling, and Rydgren (2016) show that two forms of social capital (having few unemployed friend and access to an occupational network) explain the 60–70 percentage point difference in unemployment risk between natives and immigrants. In his study of young people graduated from vocational secondary school and university, Behtoui (2008) shows that accessing greater social capital increase wages. Other studies find that social capital correlates with lower rates of depression among young people (Miething, Rostila, & Rydgren, 2017). However, while most studies make important contributions on the *effects* of social capital, less is known about *access* to social capital.

Many studies of the role of identity on life chances examine ethnic identities specifically. The idea that the stronger the identification of ethnic background the lesser the chance of success in society has persisted over time. Studies in Sweden specifically suggest that ethnic identity is not in itself an obstacle to educational attainment and employment (Nekby & Rödin, 2010; Nekby, Rödin, & Özcan, 2009). Virta, Sam, and Westin (2004) find the highest levels of adaptation among adolescents of Turkish origin in Norway and Sweden occur amongst those who affiliate themselves with Turkish identity. Ethnic identity protects against depression, particularly when it enables people to access greater social capital (Miething et al., 2017). While previous studies examine the salience of ethnic identity to the degree of social psychological adjustment to the host society, existing research often views immigrant identity as the explicit ethnic and racial identities of people of immigrant origin. To the best of my knowledge, there are no studies that examine the extent to which people with immigrant identity access social opportunities or reflect on their own place in society in a way that is similar to, or differs from, other people of immigrant origin.

Research Papers

In this section, I introduce four empirical studies that focus on the determinants of life chances. In this dissertation, I study young people aged between 18 and 23.

The first study examines aspirations among young people of immigrant origin at the end of upper secondary education (aged 17–18 years). Because young people begin to diverge into different paths at this stage, it is important to study their aspirations to examine where they hope to see themselves in the near future and how they improvise means of reaching their desired destinations. The second and third studies study social capital and cultural capital. These forms of capital empower young people to cope with difficulties that might arise as they navigate

different domains of life, particularly higher education and work. The final study is on identity, and examines how young people view themselves and their place in society.

The four research papers that constitute this dissertation use two separate survey datasets. The first dataset, used in study I, comes from a longitudinal study of ten schools in Malmö. The second dataset, used in studies II-IV, comes from a cohort panel survey of social capital and labour market integration of 19 and 23 years old Swedes with and without an immigrant background. Both datasets are discussed in more detail in the methods section.

Study I: Traditional versus Experimental Pathways to University: Educational Aspirations among Young Swedes with and without an Immigrant Background

In study I, I examine two types of educational aspirations among final-year upper-secondary school students: i) the aspiration to continue to university directly (traditional pathways); and ii) the aspiration to continue to university along with other plans, including travelling and work (experimental pathways).

I expected to find differences in aspirations among young people with and without migration background due to three reasons. First, second-generation immigrants are more likely to aspire to experimental pathways than first-generation immigrants as they are more exposed to the host country-specific culture than the latter. Second, people of immigrant origin have higher aspirations mostly due to their background: immigrant parents and their children often view higher education as a means of achieving social mobility (Kao & Tienda, 1998, 2005). Third, young people of immigrant origin may be determined to enter university to reduce the likelihood of unequal treatment in the labour market (Goyette & Xie, 1999; Sue & Okazaki, 1990).

I found that it is much more common among youth with immigrant background to plan for traditional pathways compared to those of Swedish origin who often tend to take experimental paths to university. Intriguingly, the results show that young people of immigrant origin who were born in Sweden (second-generation immigrants) are more similar to first-generation immigrants than to Swedes in this matter. This difference persists when controlling for factors related to school performance and parental socioeconomic background. The fact that first- and second-generation immigrants differ only slightly with respect to their planned educational pathways indicates that time spent in Sweden is of less importance. If we accept the results, albeit tentatively, we see that exposure to Swedish culture does not add much to explaining the differences found between groups.

The results suggest that immigrant optimism and adverse conditions combine to push young people of immigrant origin to plan to attend university directly and rapidly after completing secondary school. This is due to their desire for success,

combined with adverse conditions which may strengthen the belief that directly continuing to university will counteract the discrimination they expect in the labour market (Goyette & Xie, 1999; Kao & Tienda, 1998). This may deprive them of an opportunity to explore the self and life outside university during the formative period of life.

Study II: Accessing Social Capital among Children of Mixed Union Parents

Mixed unions have been seen as a “litmus test” for integration (Alba & Nee, 2003), an engine of social change (Kalmijn, 1998) and an incubator of new lifestyles (Collet, 2012). Many studies argue that children of mixed unions are viewed as similar to the children of native-born parents with respect to the social aspect of integration (Kalmijn, 2015, 2010; Rodríguez-García, 2015). Social capital is the key indicator of social integration. While studies have tended to compare the social capital of children of native-born parents to that of children of immigrant parents (Behtoui, 2017; Nannestad, Svendsen, & Svendsen, 2008; van Tubergen & Volker, 2014), we lack similar studies of mixed-union children. Such studies are important because they allow us to examine if a mixed-union background makes people more advantaged or not.

The study explores the distribution of social capital across geographical and social sources. This is rarely done, but is crucial for explaining where social capital comes from. This insight is useful, particularly for children of mixed unions as they often bridge between ethnically segregated parties. In this study, I examine two sources of social capital: close and strong social ties (e.g. family/kinship), and distant and weak social ties (e.g. acquaintances) (Granovetter, 1973). I also examine access to ties within and beyond national borders (Rodríguez-García, 2015; Vertovec, 1999). This leads to two research questions. How do children of mixed unions access social capital compared to children of native-born parents and children of two foreign-born parents? To what extent do children of mixed unions access social capital in terms of social sources on one hand, and trans-national on the other?

Study II shows that the social capital of children of mixed unions does not fit a general pattern. Children from Yugoslavian-Swedish unions access similar social capital to children of two Swedish-born parents, whereas children from Iranian-Swedish unions access greater social capital. As children of mixed unions do not access social capital uniformly, the results imply that a mixed-union background is not necessarily an (dis)advantage for social capital. These results contrast with studies arguing that mixed unions are a litmus test for social integration (Alba & Nee, 2003). If that had been the case, this study would have shown that mixed-union children access social capital similar to the children of two Swedish-born children.

Instead, the migration background of foreign-born parents influences whether mixed-union children have greater or less access to social capital and whether this is through few or multiple sources. As such, children from Yugoslavian-Swedish unions are more likely to suffer exclusion from family-based social capital whereas the same source of social capital puts Iranian-Swedish children ahead of children of Swedish-born parents. These results are in line with studies (Collet, 2012) that highlight the importance of “thicker description” of mixedness (here referring to the mixed-union context) on life chances.

Study III: Cultural Omnivores: A Bridge or a Wall between Ethnically Different Worlds? Evidence from Young People in Sweden

Cultural omnivores are people who are involved in both lowbrow and highbrow cultural activities (Peterson & Kern, 1996). Previous studies have argued that omnivores have many positive characteristics: they are more tolerant of ethnically and racially different people (Bryson, 1996), and are more cooperative and integrative (van Eijck & Lievens, 2008). Bryson (1996) argues that cultural omnivorousness is a form of multicultural capital which makes interaction between ethnically and racially different people possible. Following these arguments, I expect that omnivores are more likely to be part of networks connecting people who belong to different groups.

On the other hand, studies have also argued that there are limitations to the idea that omnivores are open, suggesting instead that they can be rather exclusive. For instance, omnivores are disproportionately represented in activities pursued by the middle class (Warde & Gayo-Cal, 2009; Warde et al., 2007), while some are loyal to typical products that cultural organisations, such as film societies or restaurant chains, provide, rather than blending them or inventing new ones (Goldberg et al., 2016). Based on this debate, I investigate ethnic network diversity among cultural omnivores by asking whether cultural omnivorousness bridges between people with ethnically different origins (network brokerage), or if, in fact, they are more likely to be part of closed relations among ethnically similar people (network closure).

My research reveals the limitations of the multicultural capital hypothesis. Many studies support their argument based on attitudes towards ethnically and racially different groups, such as tolerance, worldliness and openmindedness (Bryson, 1996; Chan, 2013; van Eijck, 2001). While these attitudes are useful as indicators of cognitive processes (e.g. beliefs and emotions), they are inadequate to capture the structural aspect of social integration. Indeed, the results of my study do not show a strong association between omnivorousness and ethnic brokerage.

One result, however, is an exception to this general finding. Young Swedes with higher-educated parents, who are involved in both highbrow and lowbrow

activities, are more likely to be brokers between ethnic categories. There are two possible explanations for this finding. First, the results show that young Swedes' social networks are more homogenous than those of immigrants (Mollenhorst, Edling, & Rydgren, 2014). When young people are surrounded by ethnically similar others, contact with ethnically different people becomes a source of novelty. In other words, involvement in different cultural opportunities (cultural omnivorousness) helps native-born Swedes encounter ethnically different people who bring novelty to their cultural repertoire. Young people of immigrant origin, on the other hand, are already exposed to diverse ethnic groups in their networks, and so do not experience them as a source of novelty. Second, these young people, particularly those born in Sweden, may be more advantaged regarding involvement in culturally diverse activities. Studies suggest that they have "dual references" and can access the culture of both their parents' country of origin, and their own country of residence (Carter, 2006; Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016; Kao & Tienda, 1998), which may provide them with sufficient novelty. Thus, this result may simply be a by-product of the asymmetrical opportunities accessed by young Swedes with and without immigrant background.

Study IV: Exploring Subjective Well-being and Social Exclusion among People with Immigrant Identity in Sweden

As mentioned above, *invandrare* is often used in a stigmatising way. Following Link and Phelan (2001), I view stigma as a cognitive process (i.e. negative stereotypes attached to certain labels) that co-occurs with social exclusion (that is, separation, discrimination, and status loss).

The following research question guides my investigation: Are young people who define themselves by the stigmatising label *invandrare* additionally disadvantaged relative to others of immigrant origin, i.e. who hold explicit ethnic/national identities, as well as immigrants who have no explicit identity? I explore this question through two sets of social indicators on disadvantage, namely subjective well-being and social exclusion, including access to social capital.

The study yields two results. On one hand, it finds that people with immigrant identity experience greater disadvantages (e.g. higher risk of depression and unemployment) than those with explicit ethnic/national identities, who comprise 75 percent of those of immigrant origin. On the other hand, having *any* identity prevents people with an immigrant identity from falling into the most disadvantaged position. Indeed, those without an explicit sense of self, i.e., having no explicit identity, have the lowest subjective well-being and access the least amount of social capital.

This suggests that stigmatisation and self-identification work in tandem to create (dis)advantage. When people of immigrant background consider themselves as

immigrants, stigmatisation may harm their efforts to become equal members of society. But having any identity at all reduces the negative consequences of stigmatisation. Compared to people with no explicit identity, people with immigrant identity maintain self-confidence and access a certain amount of social capital, which is above that accessed by native-born Swedes. As a result, people with immigrant identity show signs of resisting adverse conditions, suggesting that stigmatisation and its negative consequences fails to create a vicious circle, in which stigma harm the sense of self-worth, in turn making it impossible to address the damage caused.



Aspirations, Capital and Identity

I have introduced the key research elements, research questions, context, aims and contributions of this study. In this chapter, I discuss the three concepts that make up the theoretical core of my analyses of the determinants of life-chances, namely aspirations, capital and identity. This discussion is intended to provide general background rather than forming a comprehensive literature review.

Aspirations

Aspirations are subjective determinants of life chances and refer, at their simplest, to plans (Morgan, 1998; Portes, Vickstrom, Haller, & Aparicio, 2013). However, aspirations do not necessarily entail a deliberate or detailed analysis of the future. When people plan their future, they tend to improvise and to figure out how best to navigate institutions such as school and the workplace (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Dumais, 2002). Studying aspirations gives us an understanding of an individual's view of her future opportunities or constraints: what is possible and what is impossible; which doors are closed, which are not. When young people reflect on their life chances, they project or imagine their future selves. This projection of the future self is an important aspect of human agency (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998; Frye, 2012; Hitlin & Johnson, 2015). Being an active agent improves the ability of young people to respond to and develop strategies against barriers and present conditions. This is particularly important for young people of immigrant origin who often perceive or experience adverse conditions such as discrimination, negative stereotypes, status loss and exclusion or marginalisation in the labour market.

Studies on educational aspirations date back to the 1960s. The status attainment model, or Wisconsin model (Sewell, Haller, & Portes, 1969), was the first systematic theory on educational aspiration. It states that young people who aim high are more likely to succeed than those with lower educational aspirations. According to this theory, aspirations do not simply derive from inner qualities (e.g. ambitious, focus, sharpness), but emerge from social context. The aspirations of parents, teachers, and peers determine one's educational aspirations. In this theory, educational aspirations are a causal mechanism in school success.

On the other hand, studies also challenge the implicit assumptions of the status attainment theory, i.e. that students are free agents and schools are meritocratic systems (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Kerckhoff, 1976). Kerckhoff (1976) proposes that education shapes opportunities by classifying, ranking and allocating students to different tracks. This allocation process shapes the opportunities and constraints behind success or failure in school. In contrast to the status attainment model, Kerckhoff (1976) suggests that aspirations do not play a key role in school success.

Previous research in ethnic and migration studies also downplays the role of aspirations as a causal mechanism of school success. While there are some studies in the literature that do not support this result (Teney, Devleeshouwer, & Hanquinet, 2013), many show a paradoxical relationship between aspirations and achievement, finding that young people with immigrant origin tend to have higher educational aspirations than native-born children (Kao & Tienda, 2005; Raleigh & Kao, 2010; Salikutluk, 2013; Strand & Winston, 2008; Suárez-Orozco, Rhodes, & Milburn, 2009). Jonsson and Rudolphi (2011) come to a similar conclusion in the Swedish context, analysing population registers. The literature thus suggest that educational aspirations require special attention, and that low and high educational aspirations are not merely accounted for by school success. For this reason, I particularly focus on educational aspirations in study I.

However, I realise that studies on educational aspirations often share similar assumptions on how young people navigate education. During the 1980s, studies on educational aspirations implicitly or explicitly followed Mare's educational transition model, which suggests that young people progress in education in a linear, step-by-step process (Mare, 1980). That is, young people are assumed to follow a traditional pathway along a direct line between upper-secondary education and university (Milesi, 2010). Since the 1990s, however, studies of actual pathways (transitions) have shown that the path to a university degree can be much less linear than assumed, and suggest that Mare's model needs updating. For instance, young people often delay entry to university, shift between school programmes, or re-enter education after a certain age (Milesi, 2010; Rindfuss, Swicegood, & Rosenfeld, 1987; Shanahan, 2000). So far, studies on educational aspirations have not used these insights on educational transitions to examine aspirations beyond the traditional pathway. We know very little about how young people who share the aspiration of a university education differ in how they picture their near future, the extent to which they see themselves as taking a "traditional" (direct) pathway to university, and the extent to which they intend to do other things before or in parallel with their university studies.

In doing so, I argue that contextual factors, e.g. institutions and widely-shared meanings, have an impact on aspirations. Across different countries, these

contextual factors lead to strikingly different experiences during the transition from adolescence to adulthood (Billari & Wilson, 2001; Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011). Young people access a variety of opportunities that are provided by institutions across countries (Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011). At the same time, what is accepted as a norm about progression through the educational system in one country is not the same as in another country. In the United States, for example, early entry and completion of university are rewarded in the labour market (see Elman and O’Rand (2007)). In Germany, educational systems classify students into tracks at an earlier age than many other European countries: these shape where they end up in later years. In Italy, young people usually live longer periods of time with their parents to sustain the financial investment in higher education.

When considering contextual factors, experimentation appear to be more prevalent in Nordic countries than other Western countries such as Italy, Germany and the United States (see Cook and Furstenberg (2002)). In Sweden, the state sponsors generous student loans and housing benefits for low-income groups that enable young people who have not yet entered the labour market to become financially independent and less reliant on the family. Many young Swedes, therefore, leave the family nest in their early twenties or before, which is “earliest-early” in Europe (Billari, 2004). At the same time, there is no strict age limit for university education in Sweden. As such, it is common for young people to take some time off from education to travel abroad before, as well as during, their university career (Frändberg & Vilhelmson, 2011). Young people are also encouraged to explore individual plans. Changing study programmes during university is very common, as well as studying and working at the same time.

In study I, I distinguish between two major pathways: the traditional and the experimental. As stated above, the former refers to a direct transition from upper secondary school to university, whilst the latter refers to a path where higher education is combined with, or preceded by, other things, such as work and travel. Study I thus looks at aspired educational pathways, rather than the actual route or transition from one level of education to another. I examine the research question: to what extent do people with and without immigrant background differ in their aspired pathways? To study this question, I discuss three possible explanations: i) exposure to a country-specific culture; ii) immigrant optimism; and iii) adverse conditions.

Given that the degree of exposure to the culture of experimentation determines to what extent young people plan a traditional or an experimental path to university, we would expect to find a difference between first and second-generation immigrants in this respect. Those who have lived their whole lives in Sweden should, if the argument holds, be more inclined to an experimental path than those who have spent part of their childhood in their parents’ country of origin.

Alternatively, studies suggest that immigrant parents and their children – whether born in Sweden or abroad – share positive attitudes toward education (Kao & Tienda, 1998, 2005). This may be because immigrants are selective groups: those who move to another country may have higher expectations about their life chances (immigrant optimism) and view tertiary education as a vehicle for upward social mobility (Heath et al., 2008). To do well in school is also an important cultural component in some immigrant groups, such as Chinese and Mexican immigrants in the United States (Hardway & Fuligni, 2006). Based on this hypothesis, I expect that young people of immigrant origin have strong timing norms, i.e. they may expect to get an educational degree without any delays. Some have already lost school time because of immigration, and are less tolerant of additional delays in their education. In other words, they are more likely to rush into entering and exiting university.

Studies also examine the role of adverse conditions on aspirations. One theoretical version of adverse conditions is oppositional culture theory which finds that in the United States young people may have low or high educational aspirations depending on ethnic and racial history (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Mickelson, 1990). For example, “voluntary minorities” (e.g. Asians) have higher educational aspirations than whites, whereas “involuntary minorities” (e.g. African Americans) have lower aspirations than the white majority. According to the oppositional culture theory this is because they have oppositional views on studying in white schools and succeeding (that is, also in opposition to dominant culture). The perspective argues that ethnic and racial status per se is sufficient explanation for low versus high aspirations.

This argument has sparked substantial debate in the literature. In the United States, some studies have rejected the oppositional culture theory (Downey, Ainsworth, & Qian, 2009). Outside the United States, studies do not support the theory’s classification of immigrants as voluntary versus involuntary (e.g. immigrants from former colonies in the Netherlands versus labour immigrants) (see (van Tubergen & van Gaans, 2016)). In my opinion, this classification leads to a narrow view of aspirations. For example, some refugees who move to Sweden and other Western countries do not fit this picture. For refugees, the necessity of escaping conflicts is mixed with expectations of better life chances in the new country. For this reason, the oppositional culture theory has limited applicability in the Swedish context.

If oppositional culture theory is not a useful perspective, then how do we look at the role of adverse conditions on aspirations? Studies suggest that young people opt to stay longer in school when they anticipate adverse conditions in the future (Brinbaum & Cebolla-Boado, 2007; Goyette & Xie, 1999; Sue & Okazaki, 1990). This is often because the cost of facing unequal treatment in the labour market is higher than that of spending more time in education. Many studies argue that

discrimination is the major adverse factor in the labour market. On the other hand, people view their life chances differently if they perceive or experience unequal treatment in the labour market (Teney et al., 2013). Some may aim high to counterbalance stereotypical images, e.g. the idea that immigrants are more disadvantaged and less educated. Others may feel anxious about their educational credentials or see their parents and relatives experience status loss, i.e. not being able to obtain equal credentials to the education earned in the home country. Status loss among parents, depriving them of economic and social returns from education, may lead some young people to prioritise higher education. Still others may give up expectations from education and instead prioritise economic returns, e.g. through self-employment. Thus, multiple mechanisms may operate in the link between adverse conditions and aspirations.

Forms of Capital

In this section, I will discuss two forms of non-economic capital: social and cultural. First, however, I will briefly introduce the term “capital”.

I follow Pierre Bourdieu’s definition of capital (1986). In his own terms, capital refers to “accumulated labour (in its materialized form or its ‘incorporated,’ embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 46). This definition retains some elements of Marx’s view of capital while others disappear. It follows Marx’s basic view that capital is a scarce and valuable resource that only people in advantaged positions can access more of. However, political economic analysis of capital accumulation, as such the antagonistic relation between labour and capitalists, disappears (Calhoun, 1993). This divergence from Marx may arise from the influence of human capital theory developed by Shultz and Becker in the 1960s. According to this theory, skills, qualifications, and experiences gathered through education, training, and work enable individuals to add more to their life than purchasing power. Human capital also empowers workers to negotiate with their bosses for their labour, and to influence the organisation and management of the work process. The influence of human capital theory is profound in Coleman’s definition of capital. Coleman (1988) argues that social capital helps a market to function by easing the flow of information and assistance. In the following section, I will examine two forms of capital: accessing resources through social networks (social capital), and involvement in diverse cultural activities (cultural capital).

Accessing Resources through Social Networks

I use social capital to mean resources (e.g. assistance, information, and influence) in social networks (Bourdieu, 1986; N. Lin, 2002; Portes, 2000). Alternative definitions also cover generalised trust, active social life (Putnam, 2007) and social control in small communities (Coleman, 1988). Why then do I not use these alternative definitions?

In study II, I use Nan Lin's theory of social capital, which is a combination of social resource theory, and network theory. Although I draw upon this theory, I do not argue that it is the only or the best form of social capital theory. Certainly, some alternative views suffer from logical problems. For example, some studies have defined social capital as a property of large units (e.g. governments, regions). Robert Putnam (2007) defines social capital as the civic properties of nations and regions. This definition suffers from circular thinking (see Portes, 2000). In this definition, social capital is both a cause and an effect, e.g. civic cities have civic organisations and it is hard to distinguish what creates social capital and how social capital affects an outcome. Other alternative definitions do not capture a broader view of social structure. In his definition Coleman (1988) focuses on strong ties, i.e. people are part of immediate social circles (e.g. teachers-parents-students). This narrows our view of the social structure. Granovetter (1973) introduces the idea that weak ties open up novel insights and influences beyond immediate social circles. Likewise, later studies find that brokering between cohesive units that otherwise lack connecting ties (known as structural holes) is a form of social capital (Burt, 2009). Following Granovetter, Nan Lin provides a broader view of social structure by studying social capital that can be generated as resources from both strong and weak ties in the social network. In study II, this definition of social capital allows me to examine the extent to which individuals generate resources (information, assistance, influence) from a variety of sources including family and kin (strong ties) and acquaintances (weak ties).

Lin's social capital theory is based on three propositions: i) strength of position; ii) strength of resources; and iii) strength of ties. The first proposition relates to an individual's and their family's position in the socioeconomic hierarchy. Figure 1, below, depicts the use of social capital in a hierarchical social structure. E refers to the socioeconomic position of the ego. C and D refer to the alter, i.e. the ego's social ties, including acquaintances and family members. C* and D* are the destinations that young people can reach with the help of their contacts, C and D. According to his first proposition, the individual's initial position determines access to social capital. People in higher socioeconomic positions access greater social capital than those in lower socioeconomic positions. Not all people are lucky enough to be born with parents who are already embedded in a rich network

of connections (e.g. the children of professors, medical specialists or financial managers).

According to his second proposition, the resources at the top are scarce, less reachable, and more influential for life chances than those at lower positions (N. Lin, 1999). Through C and D, the ego can reach new socioeconomic positions, C* and D* respectively. N. Lin (2002) uses a pyramid analogy to describe the unequal distribution of social resources (see Figure 1). In this figure, C is more influential on the life chances of ego than D, being located at a higher socioeconomic position. With the help of C, the ego can reach position C*, which is less than or equal to the actual position of C. For illustrative purposes, I give only one example of where C* could be located; for instance, C* could be located near C.

The strength of the tie in Lin's third proposition comes from two ideas in social network theory. The first is homophily, the idea that birds of a feather flock together. In the figure below, if E moves up in the pyramid, she or he is more likely to find similar others in her/his social circle. Due to homophily, if E moves up substantially, he or she is more likely to connect with C. The second idea is Granovetter (1973) strength of weak ties theory. According to this, resources are more likely to be novel and influential when they are generated outside immediate social circles. In other words, a weak tie is in fact stronger as it allows one to move upwards in the pyramid.

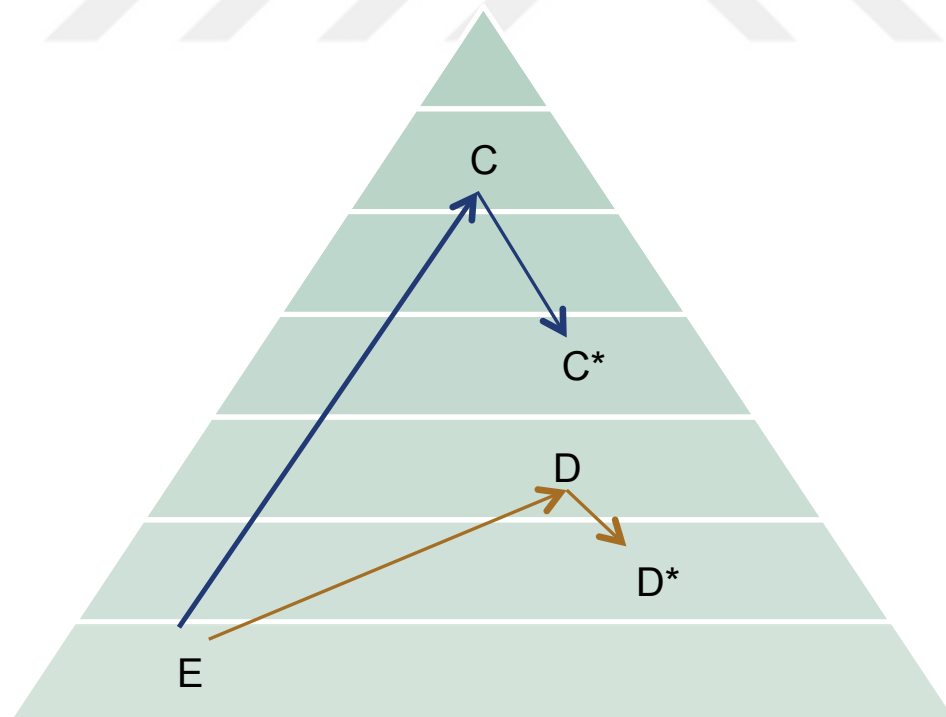


Figure 1 The Use of Social Resources in a Hierarchical Social Structure

Source: N. Lin, Ensel, and Vaughn (1981, p. p.396)

Note: E= State of the Ego, C, D=Status of the contact, C*, D* =Status of the destination

Lin's nuanced perspective is a significant contribution to social capital theory. In addition to its theoretical complexity, this approach also uses and measures social capital in precise terms. Social capital has three dimensions, namely sources (who provide the resources), the receiver (who benefits from social capital), and resources (assistance, information, influence) (see similar usage in (Garip, 2008; N. Lin, 2002; Portes, 2000)). In my research, I have used a similar approach by referring to sources (family, kin, acquaintances, transnational ties, ties in Sweden), receivers (children of mixed unions, two foreign-born parents and native-born parents) and resources (influences, assistances and information from different positions in the socioeconomic hierarchy).

Lin's theory distinguishes between access to and return from social capital.² To examine the influence of social capital, we need to know first where it comes from, that is, how people develop social capital. Accessing social capital does not guarantee that it will have a positive impact on life chances. To explore the return of social capital, it is necessary to examine how it is mobilised, that is, how contacts and the resources they provide are used. Smith (2008) examines this in a study of African Americans in the United States. She finds that African Americans in poor neighbourhoods could access other African Americans in middle-class positions. However, to avoid risking their own reputation at work the middle-class contacts would refuse to provide the help requested. As Smith's research shows, caution is needed when interpreting research on access to social capital.

Both expressive action – sharing emotions, sense of worth, and feeling valued – and instrumental action are part of Lin's theory. However, the empirical analysis conducted by Lin and his followers mostly focuses on instrumental action. The theory is applied to a lesser extent to expressive action. I often find that Lin's social capital is used more in the status attainment process than social psychological processes such as identity, stereotypes, and affective relations. This is often because Lin emphasises that individuals invest in their relations to expect returns. His theory assumes purposive action and downplays the origin of tie formation beyond individual intentions or goals.

In fact, accessing social capital may also be beyond an individual's instrumental goals. In his study among mothers of children at the same childcare centres in the United States, Small (2009) shows that new ties emerge as organisations (here, childcare centres) play the role of a broker. Mothers primarily go to childcare centres to get services for their children, and an unintended consequence of this purposive act is the formation of connections to new people (Small, 2009).

² The two processes are similar to potentiality in Bourdieu's definition of social capital. Bourdieu (1986, p. 51) defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition".

Similarly, social capital may emerge through mundane activities such as smoking and chatting during breaks at work. Larger structures also shape access to social capital. Wilson (2012) influential study argues that deindustrialisation, and positive discrimination have encouraged middle-class African Americans to leave inner cities. The working-class African Americans who remain become increasingly isolated.

Other forms of social capital include brokerage and closure, which I examine in study III. These relate to structural positions that create advantages. Brokerage bridges disjoint networks that have competing views or contradictory norms (Burt, 2001; Stovel & Shaw, 2012). As Stovel and Shaw (2012, p. 140) write, “without such acts of brokerage, we would all live much narrower and in many respects, more impoverished lives”. In closed networks, or closure, advantage comes from established trust and cooperation among actors (Burt, 2001). While brokerage is the most open form of network and encourages diverse and unusual ideas, closure maintains the status quo, and reinforces current beliefs and norms. If a person displays a belief or behaviour that does not align well with those held within a closed network, she or he is more likely to face sanction (Burt, 2005). These contrasts between the two forms of social capital are complementary.

Empirical studies of social capital often highlight that it enables people to be more advantaged and to achieve their desires. When people interact with resourceful people at higher socioeconomic positions, social capital is expected to have positive returns. We can list various examples of social capital’s positive effects, from reducing the symptoms of depression (Bassett & Moore, 2013) to decreasing the risk of unemployment (Hällsten et al., 2016) and doing well in school (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Social capital is a valuable asset particularly for those who need more in life, such as members of lower income groups, residents of disadvantaged areas and victims of stigmatisation. This makes social capital an essential resource for young people of immigrant origin who need additional resources to cope with difficulties in the labour market and everyday life.

To study social capital as a determinant of life chances, we also need to consider its downsides. Portes (2014) lists conditions when it becomes a disadvantage. High social capital may restrict freedom, exclude outsiders and endorse harmful norms. According to the ethnic enclave hypothesis, working in ethnic minority businesses promotes togetherness and mutual benefits between co-ethnic employees and employers, but these tightly-knit ethnic relations are not necessarily win-win situations (Sanders & Nee, 1987; Waldinger, 1993). Employers gain more income in return for their human capital in ethnic enclaves than similar employers in the mainstream labour market where rights and job security are more regulated. For ethnic minority employees, on the other hand, income return in exchange for human capital in enclave businesses is lower than

for people in similar jobs in the mainstream labour market (Sanders & Nee, 1987). Another example is of remittances. Studies also find that migration networks can exert social pressure to send remittances to the homeland (Chort, Gubert, & Senne, 2012; Lindley, 2009). Social capital may prevent people from accessing better life chances.

In study II, I study access to social capital as a necessary step to understand how it influences life chances. Particularly, I study the social capital of children of mixed-union parents. “Mixed union” refers to marriages or partnerships in which one parent is born in a foreign country and the other in Sweden. One viewpoint is that children of mixed unions are similar to children of native-born parents when it comes to social integration. Studies often view mixed-union children as advantaged, accessing more opportunities than children from two foreign-born parents, as they typically do not participate in strong ethnic affiliations (Alba, 1990). In his study in the Netherlands, Kalmijn (2010) argues that children of mixed unions are accepted as members of the ethnic majority because their parents live in less segregated neighbourhoods and have more contacts with the majority. This argument implies that children of mixed unions access social capital like children of native-born parents. Another argument is that mixed-union parents and their children may be subject to stigmatisation due to physical appearance, foreign-sounding names, or general prejudice leading to rejection, exclusion, and disapproval (Kalmijn, 2015; Rodríguez-García, 2015; Song, 2009). Stigma creates difficulties for mixed-union children in joining ethnically homogenous networks where endogamy may be a norm. A second viewpoint is that the social integration of children of mixed unions is somewhere between that of the children of immigrant parents and the children of native-born parents. Following this insight, we might expect mixed-union children to access less social capital than children with native-born parents but more than children of two foreign-born parents.

In my view, these two expectations are complementary. That is, mixed-union children access greater opportunities to form new ties because of their fluency in the native language, familiarity with host country education, and exposure to a diverse culture at home, compared to children of two foreign-born parents. At the same time, they may not feel like full members of society particularly when a parent comes from a background that is subjected to negative stereotypes. Studies provide a general explanation of social integration and often focus on social networks with the ethnic majority. In study II, I offer a more comprehensive view of social capital, examining multiple sources, including strong social ties (e.g. family/kinship) distant and weak social ties (e.g. acquaintances) (Granovetter, 1973) as well as ties within and beyond national borders (Rodríguez-García, 2015; Vertovec, 1999). Multiple sources of social capital particularly reflect the mixed-union context. As mixed unions cut across affiliations, such as ethnic background,

country of origin, and religion, children from these unions may be part of multiple social circles.

Involvement in Diverse Cultural Activities

In this section, I examine involvement in diverse forms of cultural activity at the individual level. I begin with a brief overview of key studies in the literature.

Before the 1990s, a distinction between lowbrow and highbrow culture dominated cultural sociology. Lowbrow refers to hedonic engagement – seeking pleasure or fun – while highbrow refers to aesthetic appreciation (van Eijck, 2001). Contemporary examples of lowbrow culture may include, for example, Netflix binge-watching, and reading popular crime series, while highbrow culture may mean an interest in certain art movements, or listening to classical music from a specific era. What is lowbrow versus highbrow is not, however, self-evident, but is “legitimised” by people in influential positions (Bourdieu, 1984). After the 1990s, the thesis of cultural omnivorousness gained prominence. This argues that omnivores replace cultural snobs (i.e. those who restrict their activities to highbrow activities) over time (Peterson & Kern, 1996). A quick look at citation reports from the Web of Science (2017), the number of studies on this subject has risen thirteen-fold over the last decade.

In his study of classical music organisations in Boston, Dimaggio (1987) examines the emergence of the highbrow-lowbrow distinction over time. He finds that it was fuzzy before the nineteenth century and emerged at the turn of the twentieth century when the so-called Boston Brahmins (an urban elite) established organisations to differentiate “art” from “entertainment”. In her comparative study on the upper middle classes in France and the United States, Lamont (1992) suggests that taste (cultural preference) is more autonomous in France than the United States due to the former’s centralised education system, intellectual subculture, and ethnic homogeneity. According to Lamont (1992), the middle class in the United States do not use “taste” to draw a clear line between classes, instead they define cultural distinctions through moral signals such as honesty and work ethic. Finally, Peterson and Kern (1996) argue that highbrows are not snobs, but are eclectic. They argue that omnivorousness rose after the 1980s as a result of educational expansion, increasing ethnic/racial tolerance, geographical mobility, and a flourishing market in art production.

How does involvement in diverse forms of cultural activity matter for the life chances of young people of immigrant origin? Involvement in highbrow activities is a form of cultural capital because a small segment of society consisting of those in higher socioeconomic and influential positions are overrepresented in highbrow culture, which makes it a scarce and prestigious resource. Most studies which

compare cultural omnivores and cultural snobs have found that the omnivores actually attend theatre, opera and museums more than cultural snobs (Lopez-Gonzalez, Aravena, & Hummer, 2005; López-Sintas & Katz-Gerro, 2005). As cultural omnivores are more involved in highbrow culture, omnivorousness can be considered a form of cultural capital (Warde et al., 2007).³ Previous studies suggest that involvement in highbrow activities has a direct influence on life chances. Studies report that it is often positively associated with school achievement, educational attainment and partner selection (DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio and Mohr, 1985). As omnivorousness is a form of cultural capital, we can argue that it may have similar influences on life chances as involvement in highbrow activities.

In addition to its direct influences, cultural capital has more indirect yet no less important influences on life chances. Cultural capital empowers people to cope with barriers; it acts as an aura consisting of certain signals and manners that may provide an advantage in informal situations. In her studies of ethnic minorities in the United States, Rivera (2015) finds that the interviews and CV screening processes have a positive bias towards candidates who give certain signals (such as “knowledgeable”, “resourceful”, “worldly”). Cultural capital empowers people of immigrant origin during periods of insecurity⁴ such as whilst seeking employment, entering new social circles and starting a new job. Participating in cultural activities enriches “know-how” about cultural codes, i.e. what is “normal”, what is “valued”, “what helps people get ahead”. At the same time, participating in diverse cultural activities including low and highbrow cultural activities enhances a sense of belonging. Active involvement in cultural life makes people feel more at home. Last but not least, involvement in cultural activities can expand the chances of forming new ties. Shared interests or focuses bring people together (Feld, 1981; Lizardo, 2006).

In study III, I investigate the associations between ethnic diversity in social networks and cultural diversity at an individual level (cultural omnivorousness). Previous studies have attached great value to omnivores as progressive agents in society, claiming that they opt for environmentally-friendly products, are liberal

³ While omnivorousness is one form of cultural capital, in study III, I did not examine all aspects of cultural capital. In addition to involvement in highbrow culture, there exist other aspects of cultural capital, namely embodied (or incorporated) and institutionalised (Bourdieu, 1984; Michele Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Lareau & Weininger, 2003). The former relates to practices (attitudes, preferences and behaviours) acquired through socialisation, such as growing up in an environment full of books. The latter relates to resources, such as degrees and diplomas. Because all aspects of cultural capital are not discussed in study III, I do not use the term in the study.

⁴ When I highlight the role of cultural capital during an uncertain period of life, I take inspiration from the argument of culture as a toolkit (Swidler, 1986). Broadly speaking, culture (e.g. habits, skills, strategies) determines actions during an uncertain period of time. Individuals use culture in creative ways, such as inventing new strategies to overcome difficulties.

on immigrants' rights, and strengthen institutions and development (Chan, 2013; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007). Studies often assume "omnivores" are a group of people with distinct identity or traits, such as being skilled in interactions with outside groups (Bryson, 1996; van Eijck & Lievens, 2008). For this reason, Bryson (1996) suggests that omnivorousness is a form of multicultural capital. If cultural omnivorousness is multicultural capital, we expect that omnivores are more likely to be part of network brokerage, connecting people who are otherwise disconnected. Although studies often highlight the links between "openness" and omnivorousness, others argue that omnivores also exclude outsiders. They find that omnivores are represented disproportionately in middle-class activities (Warde & Gayo-Cal, 2009; Warde et al., 2007). In study III, I examine whether omnivores bridge ethnically dissimilar groups (network brokerage) or build walls enclosing ethnically similar people (network closure).⁵

There is another way of thinking about the association between brokerage/closure and omnivorousness. According to Stovel and Shaw (2012), brokerage is more influential on behaviours and preferences when actors belong to different categories (e.g. different ethnic origins). This is because disconnected parties tend to have greater biases against out-groups and greater cohesive relations with in-group members (Stovel & Shaw, 2012). For this reason, individuals who participate in cross-ethnic brokerage are more likely to be involved in cultural activities. In contrast, closed networks within the same category reinforce the contrast between insiders and outsiders. A closed network within the same category flattens variety in cultural consumption and crystallises similar behaviours (Fuhse, 2012). This strengthens a sense of belonging among members. In contrast to brokerage *between* categories, closure *within* categories reflects exclusivity of cultural activities. In other words, it is expected that brokerage and closure are associated with omnivorousness in a different way: the former expands the cultural repertoire, the latter narrows it down.

Identity

Identity is arguably one of the most complex concepts in sociology. Its popularity as an object of study accelerated after a sequence of historic events in the last decades of the twentieth century such as the Chernobyl disaster, the fall of the

⁵ It is not always clear if omnivorousness refers to involvement in diverse activities, or a greater volume of activities. To avoid this, I follow the insight of Warde and Gayo-Cal (2009); Warde et al. (2007) omnivorousness is not characterised as singular and integrated cultural consumption. Rather, it has two components: volume (breadth of cultural involvement) and composition (involvement in both highbrow or legitimate and lowbrow culture).

Berlin Wall and dissolution of state socialism. With these historic changes happening alongside economic crises, new theories on identity emerged among critics of modernity. Some sociologists highlight identity as increasingly individualised instead of relating to social class. Giddens (1991), for example, emphasises that increased lifestyle options help people explore unique approaches to self-actualisation (e.g. reading self-help guides and going to a variety of therapies). Key thinkers like Bauman (2000) argue that maintaining a durable sense of self is increasingly impossible in the fluidity of modernity. Jenkins (2004) argues that critiques of modernity emphasise differences more than similarities in sense of self. Amidst this increasing interest, identity turns out to be a nebulous concept that can bear a variety of meanings, including groupness, self-understanding, political interests and more (see Brubaker and Cooper (2000)).

At the micro level, identity is a soft concept in social psychology. It may encompass roles and relations (employee/employer, mother/father), categories (ethnic and racial categories) and personal idiosyncrasies (football fan, operagoer) (Owens, Robinson, & Smith-Lovin, 2010; Thoits & Virshup, 1997). For practitioners in politics and the media, the concept trips off the tongue and is frequently used in a reified way. It becomes a nametag carried on the chest from cradle to grave: “immigrant”, “Muslim”, and many others. If identity is such a difficult and complex concept, why study it?

In study IV, I use social identity theory as a generic explanation for different types of self-identification including ethnic categories and stigmatised labels. This helps to provide a simple explanation for inter-group process. Identity refers to being a member of categories. Known as minimal group paradigms, this theory has emerged from lab experiments. Tajfel (2010) randomly distributed artificial “red” and “blue” tags amongst participants. These were sufficient to influence individuals’ behaviours against people from different categories. This points towards “accentuation effects” – people tend to exaggerate the similarity of objects within a category and the differences between objects in different categories (Abrams and Hogg, 2004; Hogg, 2006). This simple idea is often used to explain phenomena like ethnic conflict, discrimination and group favouritism.

In social identity theory,⁶ category membership shapes how people view who is in and who is out. Through one’s categorical membership one strives to be a part of the collective and identify with a positive self, e.g. honour, dignity, pride and even

⁶ While I use social identity theory as a generic process, it is limited in examining the role of social structure, or the position an individual occupies in the socioeconomic hierarchy and social networks. Identity theory (also known as structural or sociological identity theory) studies the salience of roles regarding the changing characteristics of social networks (Burke & Stets, 1999). In recent decades, researchers have begun to combine identity theory and social identity theory to study the role of category and social network contexts on individual behaviour (see for example Mcfarland and Pals (2005)).

superiority (Tajfel, 2010). According to social identity theory, self-identification goes back and forth between twin processes: what “we” think about “them”, and what “they” think about “us” (Hogg, 2006; Jenkins, 2004; Tajfel, 2010). Identity is therefore a dynamic process involving two opposing paths.

In study IV, I view identity as an intermediate factor, one influenced by social structure and that influences subjective outcomes like attitudes, beliefs and desires. Identity is a subjective understanding of life chances. As social identity theory puts it, identity gives a certain outlook towards life based on us/them distinctions. It is also important to ask to what extent life chances manifest in identity saliences, i.e. the relative strength of certain categories in the self.

Earlier studies have suggested that identity becomes more or less salient depending on differing life chances. For example, Waters (1994) suggests that ethnic identity is a “choice” in which some ethnic and racial groups have more identity possibilities, whereas for others it has limited possibilities or is not even an option. If we apply the perspective in Swedish context, for example, children from a British-Swedish union living in Sweden may opt to maintain British identity. People may have positive attitudes towards the British for their sense of humour or attractive accent based on their favourite BBC dramas. For those children where one parent comes, for instance, from a Middle Eastern country, the options may be more limited.

Likewise, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) argue that ethnic identity is “made in” a certain country (in their study context, they argue it is made in the United States). They suggest that ethnic identity is a reactive identity. That is, when people confront adverse conditions, their ethnicity is a defence strategy which helps them to build solidarity with co-ethnics (see Portes and Rumbaut (2001)). As these studies suggest, identity is not simply a cause or a push factor for life chances; rather, it may emerge from, or in reaction to, unequal life chances. Taken together, these studies show that identity may determine life chances in different ways, including through indirect and co-occurring ways (for example, a feedback loop).

In study IV, I use insights from the studies discussed above to compare and contrast different identity types: no (explicit) identity, ethnic identity and immigrant identity. The study is particularly focused on immigrant identity. In many European countries, the label immigrant denotes “the other”. Previous studies have examined the social construction process, that is, how negative attributes are constructed in official documents, speeches, and dialogue in media, politics and the public sector. As such, “immigrant” often refers to a threat to society: violent and living in poor socioeconomic conditions (see, for example, (Finney & Simpson, 2009; Gruner, 2010; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009)). Sweden is no exception. In Swedish, the term *invandrare* (immigrant) is often used to mean “non-Swedish” in everyday life. It has negative connotations, suggesting someone

who is loud, lazy, less modern and prone to crime (Bredström, 2003; Herz & Johansson, 2012; Torres, 2006). Looking at this general stigma, I examine the following research question: are people with immigrant identity (self-identifying as “immigrant”) additionally disadvantaged compared to other people of immigrant origin with different identities?

To examine the consequences of stigmatisation, I follow the insights of Link and Phelan (2001) on stigma to help focus on certain properties of social structure where social identity theory has limitations. Their broader perspective opens up questions beyond the social construction of immigrant identity. Stigma is more than a cognitive process. To understand immigrant identity, they focus on the use of stigmatising labels to identify oneself, e.g. immigrant, Muslim, Kurd, and more. Link and Phelan (2001) list four dimensions of stigma: labelling, separation, status loss, and discrimination. The dimensions are not the cause or effect of each other, rather they co-occur. When a greater number of dimensions occur at the same time, people suffer from stigma to a greater degree. That is, if people with certain identities live also a separate and unequal life, in addition to experiencing rejections when applying for jobs, they suffer from greater stigma than people with the same identity who exhibit fewer dimensions of stigma. This insight allows us to compare people with an explicitly “immigrant” identity compared to those of immigrant origin who share the same ethnic identity but not the explicit sense of self. All may suffer from stigma, yet some suffer more. Using certain social indicators, like social capital, unemployment, and subjective well-being, I explore if people with immigrant identity are more disadvantaged than those without. In other words, the question is whether internalising the “immigrant” label leads to more stigma.

Research Design

Sampling and Survey Methodology

The studies in this thesis are based on two data sources. Both datasets use a survey methodology, which has been the major data collection technique in quantitative sociology over the decades. It focuses on both internal validity – to hit the target of what we measure – and external validity – the ability to generalise the results.

Survey of Ten Upper Secondary Schools in Malmö⁷

The dataset for study I comes from the second wave of a longitudinal survey in ten upper secondary schools in Malmö. Students were interviewed between 2011 and 2013. Strategic sampling was used to select the sample. Since the total number of schools was relatively small and since the schools differ considerably in terms of the programmes they offer, as well as the size and social composition of the student body, a strategic sampling method was considered to be the best way to obtain a representative sample. Looking at the representation of students relative to the general population in Malmö, I checked that students of immigrant origin in natural and social science programmes in upper secondary education in Malmö for the educational year 2013–2014 are, respectively, 54 percent and 37 percent (Skolverket., 2017). In the sample, the proportions are 57 percent and 40 percent respectively. This shows a possible bias which, however, is not large enough to cause serious problems in the models.

The total number of students registered at the selected schools (1,169) constituted 32 percent of the total number of students registered at all secondary schools in Malmö that year (3,647). Of the students still registered at one of the selected schools, 708 pupils participated in the second survey. In order to make the categories more distinct in study I, I focus on students of either non-Western or Swedish origin (i.e. respondents who are themselves born in these countries or have parents who are). We thus excluded 23 respondents of Western European and North American origin. The reason for this is that this is a small group of countries

⁷ The project “An educational dilemma: school achievement and multicultural incorporation” (2010–2013) was funded by the Swedish Research Council and organised by Mats Trondman.

and several of them (especially the other Nordic countries) resemble Sweden with regard to the culture of experimentation. For example, in the United Kingdom, the “gap year phenomenon” leads to young people often taking a year off from their studies to focus on their personal development (King, 2011). We also expect this category of immigrants to experience less unequal treatment in the labour market (“adverse conditions”) and that the migrant optimism hypothesis does not apply to them to the same extent as other immigrant groups. This brings the sample size down to 685 students. The majority of students with a migration background remaining in the sample are born in, or have parents who are born in, the Middle Eastern countries (e.g. Iraq, Lebanon, Turkey), the Balkan countries (Bosnia, Kosovo and Serbia), east or southeast Asia (e.g. Vietnam) and South American countries (e.g. Chile).

*Social Capital and Labour Market Integration*⁸

This dataset was used for studies II, III and IV. The sample is based on three different groups of Swedes, all born in 1990:

- a) All individuals with at least one parent born in Iran;
- b) Fifty percent of all individuals with at least one parent born in former Yugoslavia; and
- c) A simple random sample of 2,500 individuals with two Swedish-born parents.

Young Swedes with parents from Iran and Yugoslavia are mostly long-term residents in Sweden. Those in the former group mostly came to the country during the 1970s and 1980s, before and during the Islamic Revolution in Iran. This group is more likely to comprise middle-class and secular individuals who lived in urban areas in Iran. Yugoslavians, on the other hand, arrived in two waves of migration. The first group came to Sweden as labour migrants during the 1960s and 1970s, and are mostly from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. The second wave comprises refugees who fled traumatic experiences in the Balkan wars during the 1990s. Finally, the third part of the sample, comprising young people with two Swedish-born parents, is essential to compare and contrast their life chances with those of people with immigrant backgrounds.

These three groups were surveyed and interviewed over the telephone by Statistics Sweden twice; once in 2009 when the respondents were 19 years old, and then in

⁸ The *Social Capital and Labour Market Integration* survey is managed by Christofer Edling and Jens Rydgren. The first wave was funded by a grant to Edling by the Swedish Council for Working Life and Social Research (FAS 2007-0806). The second wave was funded by a grant to Rydgren from the European Research Council (ERC 263422). Both waves were approved by the regional ethical review board in Stockholm.

2013 when the respondents were 23. A survey sample of 5,695 individuals was selected for interview by telephone between October and December 2009. The response rate was 51.6 percent in the first wave (Total: 2,943; n=632 for Iranians, 928 for Yugoslavians, 1,382 for Swedes) and 38.5 per cent in the second wave (Total: 2,244; n=501 for Iranians, 675 for Yugoslavians, 1,068 for Swedes). A non-response analysis was done for the first sample and reveals that immigrant background; low education level (individuals' own and parents'), low grades and living in large cities were associated with a lower response rate. The most common reason for non-response, at 37.6 percent, was because respondents were not at home. Only 8.1 percent refused to participate. Response rates in Sweden have dropped in recent years mainly due to the growing popularity of prepaid mobile phones, which makes the initial contact more difficult.

As the sample is designed for a theory-driven data analysis, the database includes questions which are often not available in general social surveys. The same survey is unique in studying social networks and social capital. Few national surveys exist for studying both social networks/social capital and questions about behaviours, attitudes of individual actors and their connections (e.g. friends, acquaintances). Surveys like the *General Social Survey* in the United States, the *Survey of the Social Networks of the Dutch*, and the *Swedish Social Capital and Labour Market Integration* survey provide instruments for measuring social networks and social capital. In addition, the same survey data is calibrated with population registers. The corresponding samples from population registers provide the most reliable information about the sociodemographic background of individuals. By using reliable sociodemographic information, current survey data allow us to analyse questions relevant to the scope of this dissertation.

These advantages have opened an opportunity to study rare cases. For example, study II examines a blind spot in the literature: the social capital of mixed-union children. When I compared the size and gender composition of mixed unions for specific age groups in the sample with population registers, I found the percentage of mixed unions in the sample and the population matches perfectly.

Like other cohort studies, the data design does not include an objective of making generalisations beyond the cohort. This may narrow interpretations across the studies. For example, study IV found that young people who explicitly identify as immigrants suffer from stigma and experience higher rates of depression and unemployment than most young people of immigrant origin. The results may underestimate the harmful effect of stigma on the general population. When young people get older and enter the labour market, they may have first-hand experience of adverse conditions. For instance, young people may feel more "immigrant" when they face stigmatisation and discrimination in the labour market (see study IV). Many young people with immigrant backgrounds may find themselves in

situations which suggest to them that Sweden is not their home or that they are different, or even the other.

Similar situations can also be found studying different immigrant groups. Regarding the extreme diversity of so-called “immigrants” in Sweden. In practice, it is hard to collect data on social networks and social capital for all immigrant groups, nor do I think it is necessary. My interpretation is limited to certain immigrant groups because the sample focuses on two specific groups in Sweden. Both of these have long experiences in Sweden and generally come from different social backgrounds: Iranians are generally from the middle class, while former Yugoslavians are often represented in working-class occupations. This contrast may help us to grasp some degree of diversity among people of immigrant origin in Sweden, but may not reflect the experiences of recently arrived immigrants such as Syrians and Somalis. Nevertheless, lack of data does not prevent us from suggesting certain implications about people with different immigrant origins (see discussion in study IV).

Name Generator and Position Generator Methodology

Name Generator Methodology

I make use of the name generator methodology for study III. The general purpose of the methodology is to examine personal (or egocentric) networks. In using this instrument, the focal actor (ego) is asked the following question in order to create a list of friends (alters): *Who are the five persons whom you meet and hang around with most often in your leisure time?*. The answers are anonymised, i.e. we ask for only the first names or nicknames of friends. Follow-up questions elicit more information on alters’ attributes, including sociodemographic background (age, gender, country of origin), and characteristics. One question elicits the existence of a relationship between alters: “do they know each other?” with yes and no answers permitted. A follow-up question asks, “how well do they know each other?” with three response categories: not so well, fairly well, very well. If individuals answer “no” to the first question or “not-so-well” on the second question, they are coded as an open triad, indicating brokerage. If individuals answer, “yes” on the first question and “fairly well” or “very well” on the second question, they are coded as a closed triad, indicating closure. Regarding ethnic diversity, I focus on the most open network (cross-ethnic brokerage), and the most closed (closure within ethnically similar groups). More details are provided in study III.

The name generator methodology is used to describe personal network structures. By using the methodology, I got a chance to classify triads allowing us to understand varying ways of social interaction at the micro level. As mentioned

above, studying brokerage and closure are two ends of this spectrum. One represents the most open network characteristic and the other the most closed network characteristic. The name generator is flexible enough to go deeper in friendship networks. In study III, rather than focusing only on network structures, I reclassify two network structures by using ethnic backgrounds of actors. While it is a computationally demanding task, it gives us the chance to grasp the asymmetry in social relations. As demonstrated in Table 2 in study III, young people with immigrant origin are part of ethnically heterogeneous networks while networks of young people with native-born parents are much more homogenous. And only 15 percent of young people aged 23 are part of cross-ethnic brokerage. These findings allow us to understand the diversity of young people's personal networks.

Also, in study IV, name generator methodology helps us to explore social aspects of identity. Young people explore, define and develop their sense of self as they interact with others. The name generator allows me to identify not only who the friends are, but also the employment status of friends. In other words, the name generator helps me to go deeper into social exclusion rather than relying only on the individual's own unemployment. At a micro level, an unemployed friend may negatively influence an individual's own chance to succeed in the labour market, or it may lessen the psychological suffering from the stigma of "unemployed" to know that one is not alone. Although I did not identify lists of mechanisms about unemployed friends, I use the name generator to grasp social exclusion among identity types. This information matters particularly in the early twenties when young people begin to explore job opportunities and who they are.

Position Generator Methodology

N. Lin and Dumin (1986) devised the position generator methodology to measure social capital. This methodology is used in the *Swedish Social Capital and Labour Market Integration* survey and asks if a respondent knows people from a list of forty different occupations representing the full range of socioeconomic occupational statuses according to the Swedish SEI-code (SCB, 2015). The position generator is increasingly popular in the social capital literature (Hällsten, Edling, & Rydgren, 2015; N. Lin & Erickson, 2008; van Tubergen, 2014). In study II, I use this instrument to examine the social capital of the children of mixed-union parents. In study IV, I also use social capital as one of the indicators to measure advantage.

The position generator has several advantages. It is a simple and concrete instrument that precisely measures the three dimensions of social capital: sources (family, kin, acquaintances, transnational ties, ties in Sweden), and receivers (young people from mixed unions, immigrant parents and Swedish-born parents) and resources (influences, assistance and information from different occupational

positions in the socioeconomic hierarchy). The position generator is also content-free. One can use it to investigate the role of social capital in general for a variety of research questions, e.g. finding a job, school performance and maintaining health and a good diet.⁹ The instrument is also practical, and has a high response rate, efficiency (it does not take much time to collect data) and is unbiased to strong ties (Verhaeghe & Li, 2015). These properties are particularly desirable for researchers who aim to apply social capital theory to different outcomes.

The position generator has limitations, as well. The instrument concerns universal claims, that is, one that works well across the world. This hides specific contexts. For example, it is limited when it comes to gender dynamics in the labour market. Few studies go further on gendered social capital via the position generator methodology. For example, Erickson (2003) measures social capital separately for men and women in her research in Canada. In Sweden, as in many other industrialised countries, occupations are not gender-neutral. Some are female-dominated, some are male-dominated, others are neutral (Hultin, 2003). In this dissertation, I find a similar pattern with the occupations used in the position generator methodology: the gender composition of occupations is grouped across class (these results are available upon request).¹⁰ The nature of gender and sex segregation in a labour market may vary depending on the country context. To go

⁹ The content-free nature of the position generator has pros and cons. As mentioned, it enables the position generator to be used for general purposes. Its alternatives, such as the resource generator, capture specifics of different domains (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005). Accordingly, social capital in one domain does not have similar meanings and practice in another domain. In many cases, the resource generator is a reasonable option. In the labour market, for instance, social capital may operate quickly. Giving job referrals does not take much time. In the health domain, sources and receivers may interact on a regular basis (e.g. frequent telephone calls, monitoring health reports). In education, relations may be more authoritative. If one needs quick and dirty tips for their children's education, a teacher or academic may give rule-like suggestions, offering a list of dos and don'ts. However, this does not eliminate the value of the position generator. In their study comparing different measures of social capital – resource generator, position generator and name generator – Van Der Gaag, Snijders, and Flap (2008) find that the first and second are correlated, but the second and third are not. In other words, measuring social capital with resource generator and position generator provide similar results.

¹⁰ This limitation of the position generator can open up further research questions. We know less about the role of this macro-process (sex segregation in the labour market) on generating social capital, and its return to life chances for women and men across different age groups. In Lin's social capital theory, homophily operates across socioeconomic dimensions. It may also occur across gender lines. For example, a man or woman may interact more with other women or men who work in occupations with different sex compositions. The variety of social interactions between the gender of the receiver and sex segregation of the sources may provide information, norms or beliefs about the labour market that reinforce gender inequality. As such, young women may receive biased or distorted information about possible choices, such as the school programmes one may or should choose, or which occupation is the "best" option. Further discussion is beyond the scope of this text, however I suggest that further research on this topic can greatly expand our understanding of access, mobilisation, and return of social capital.

deeper into the specific domains in a certain country, one can use the resource generator as an alternative measure.

It is common practice to use occupational prestige scores to measure social capital. This may be hard to interpret. To measure something, we need a simple measure which can tell us concrete stories. I prefer to use the number of occupations (or network size) for several reasons.¹¹ Studies find that the number of occupations provides more reliable results than the prestige scores (Verhaeghe & Li, 2015). Although the prestige score shows diversity and hierarchy in the labour market, it does not take account of social stratification. Class-based social capital¹² classifies occupations with similar class positions. To do so, I survey the number of occupations in the top position to find out influential and powerful resources (Bourdieu, 1986). Using class-based measures and network size makes interpretation easier than using prestige scores.

Modelling

Throughout this dissertation, I used nonlinear regression models like poisson, multinomial and logistic regressions. Each model is part of a unified approach, a generalised linear model (GLM), first introduced by Nelder and Wedderburn (1972).

GLM is used for exponential family distributions, i.e. an outcome variable can be transformable by taking its exponents. I describe the formal structure of GLM by using a binary response variable.

The general formula for regression equations is:

$$Y = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4.$$

The mean of expected value of the response is:

$$E(y) = \beta_1 1 + \beta_2 x_2 + \beta_3 x_3 + \dots + \beta_k x_k, \eta = \beta_1 1 + \beta_2 x_2 + \beta_3 x_3 + \dots + \beta_k x_k.$$

This represents the linear combinations of explanatory variables. When we create a binary model by using ordinary least square estimation, the fitted values can yield values below zero and above 1, which violates the expected range of values for binary outcomes.

¹¹ As with cultural capital, I have created two measures: the quality and quantity aspects of capital. Both are count measures (number of occupations). The quantity aspect refers to the number of occupations one can access in general (aka extensity). Quality refers to the number of occupations at the top of the labour market (aka reachability).

¹² I have adapted class-based social capital measure from Verhaeghe and Li (2015); Verhaeghe, Li, and Van de Putte (2013).

In the standard linear model $E(y) = \eta$; in GLM, we use link functions $g(\cdot)$ between η and $E(y)$, that is $g(E(y)) = \eta$. For the standard linear model, the link function is identity function $g(y) = y$. When the response variable is binary $E(y) = P(y = 1)$, $E(y) = g^{-1}(\eta)$. By using link functions, the model transforms fitted values into the linear form. In this case, the link function is logit ($g(x) = \log x/(1 - x)$).

To estimate the response variable, we plug the values inverse of the logit and get:

$$E(y) = P(y = 1) = \frac{e^{\eta}}{1 + e^{\eta}}.$$

If we do one more operation, we get the logistic function:

$$\frac{e^{\beta_1 + \beta_2 x_2 + \beta_3 x_3 + \dots + \beta_k x_k}}{1 + e^{\beta_1 + \beta_2 x_2 + \beta_3 x_3 + \dots + \beta_k x_k}}.$$

As the shape of function is an S-shaped curve, it helps to get the fitted values between 0 and 1.

By using maximum likelihood estimation, GLM does not need to meet strong assumption of ordinary least square estimates (OLS). OLS assumptions come from Gauss-Markov theory: i) linear relationship between outcome variable and each explanatory variable; ii) residuals are independent and normally distributed with mean zero and constant variance; and iii) lack of correlation between variables and disturbances. If these assumptions are met, OLS produces unbiased and efficient estimates.

In social science, these assumptions are often difficult to satisfy. The violation of normality of error (ii) is not a problem because for a larger sample size it approximates to normal distribution (according to the central limit theorem). The real problem lies in the linearity assumption (i). For limited dependent variables, e.g. truncated, count, highly skewed distributions, it is difficult to meet the criteria. Furthermore, OLS is a descriptive method. It is nothing more than drawing a line on a scatter plot. One can draw this line minimising the square error, such as using different distance measures. When it comes to the assumptions, they are not always scientifically desirable. For example, one can get an unbiased estimate for a regression coefficient, yet the same estimate may be unreliable if it is not consistent.

Maximum likelihood estimation (MLE) has certain attractive asymptotic properties.¹³ For example, when the distribution of dependent variables is wrong

¹³ MLE is based on theory of inferences. The term “likelihood function” is a relative measure of uncertainty. That is, each model has a certain likelihood function, and there is no one true model. Rather, estimates in a certain model specification may be preferable depending on fitness and parsimony. The estimates in MLE are the “highest relative likelihood having generated the data we observed”.

or unknown, some MLE may still provide robust inferences. As the estimates are consistent, they are concentrated around certain values, making them more reliable. MLE does not need a certain sampling plan, making it possible to combine datasets, collected at different times and by different researchers (King, 1998). Estimates are asymptotically normal, which makes them useful for hypothesis testing. By using likelihood ratio, Wald test and precision methods in MLE, one can assess how good the estimate is (Gill, 2000; King, 1998).

I have experimented with different modelling techniques throughout this dissertation. Some have worked, others failed. One failure, in particular, was instrumental in helping me to move forward in the research process. In study III, I used latent class models to find the omnivore-univore distinction by using eight polychromatic dependent variables. In the application, problems arose in selecting the number of clusters. To choose the number of clusters, the rule of thumb is to select the cluster for which both the Akaike information criterion (AIC) and the Bayesian information criterion (BIC) are smaller.

It is important to know where this rule of thumb comes from. AIC and BIC are information criteria which penalise different likelihood estimations.

$$AIC = G^2 - 2df \quad [1]$$

$$BIC = G^2 - df * [\ln N] \quad [2]$$

where the likelihood ratio chi-square test, G^2 , is given by

$$G^2 = 2 \sum_{ijkl} F_{ijkl} \cdot \ln \left(\frac{F_{ijkl}}{f_{ijkl}} \right) \quad [3]$$

The selection criteria do not have the same target models (Burnham & Anderson, 2004). Two information criteria may suffer from different types of misclassification errors for using different penalty functions. AIC is more likely to choose unnecessarily complex models even when the model is simple. In other words, AIC may overfit when the model gets a little more complex. When the model is complex, BIC tends to choose overly simplistic models. This is why BIC may underfit (see the simulation study in (T. H. Lin & Dayton, 1997)). When I compared AIC and BIC for non-nested models, AIC and BIC did not show a clear pattern. As Table 1 suggests, the AIC decreases steadily, and BIC goes up and down.

Table 1 Goodness of fit statistics for the selection of the model for the latent class analysis in study III

Number of clusters	AIC	BIC	Chi-Square
1	19585.104	19641.49	1478.036
2	18995.810	19181.88	1239.173
3	18805.116	19120.88	504.7238
4	18734.604	19180.06	435.5311

I then had two options: either to work further on modelling (e.g. choosing different information criteria which may perform better for the properties of the model, or calculating misclassification ratios (e.g. (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007)), or simply to try something new. I realised that some applications of latent class analysis (LCA) aim to find omnivorousness as a singular category, and I too was doing this. Instead, I moved towards a simpler and more theory-driven index construction for omnivorousness, for quality (composition) and quantity (volume) (see Warde & Gayo-Cal, 2009; Warde et al., 2007). The process was educational and enabled me to re-examine my assumptions.

In study I, I have also benefited from qualitative comparative analysis (QCA).¹⁴ At the outset, I did not have a particular idea about experimentations. This came later when thinking over configurations.¹⁵ After reading Ragin's (2008) work, I created configurations, like truth tables, in QCA. For three conditions, there are 2^3 configurations¹⁶ which are intersections of sets from variables. When creating configurations, I began thinking about refining the concept of aspirations based on the context. That is, young people do not only aspire to reach university directly, some also have multiple plans that may be due to experimentation in the early twenties. Before reaching these stages, I conducted several preliminary analyses omitted from the final paper, including more QCA.¹⁷ QCA helped me to refine the concept from context and generate new questions.

¹⁴ The approach was developed by Charles Ragin and is often used in comparative-historical studies and political sociology. Most studies focus on small-*n*. The number of studies using large-*n* has increased in the past decade (Longest & Thoits, 2012; Stephen, 2014).

¹⁵ The use of methods like GLM often dictates certain ways of thinking, with independent individuals and variables. If one wants to examine dependences among cases, a two-way interaction is often used. QCA allows us to study complex configurations and intersections of cases.

¹⁶ The configurations are crisp sets (exist or not exist) rather than fuzzy cases with degrees of membership (continuous measure).

¹⁷ A truth table is simply a list of configurations (logical combinations of causal conditions) and associated outcomes (Ragin, 2008). The idea of a truth table is based on "equifinality", i.e. the combination of causes that can create the same outcome. Using Boolean minimisation as a numeric technique, QCA (two versions: crisp set and fuzzy set theory) eliminate certain configurations to get causal recipes, including the most parsimonious, intermediate and more complex solutions.

Conclusion

The underlying assumption of this dissertation is that in comparison to their peers with native-born parents, most young people of immigrant origin in Sweden strive against adverse conditions to a greater or lesser degree.

The results of study I show that young people of immigrant origin often have higher educational aspirations even when educational performance lags behind that of natives. This is in line with previous studies (Goldsmith, 2004; Jonsson & Rudolphi, 2011; Kao & Tienda, 2005; Salikutluk, 2016). These young people aim high in education and wish to enter professional occupations (e.g. doctor, engineer), suggesting that they are determined to succeed, contribute to society, and become competent in the key skills needed in the knowledge economy. However, as some studies point out, psychological problems arise when high aspirations are not accompanied by high educational achievement (Miething et al., 2017): distress, frustration and status anxiety (Reynolds & Baird, 2010). The study also shows that young people of immigrant origin forgo experimentation while aiming high and have no tolerance for delaying their entry to university. On the one hand this could turn out to be a strategic move to get a head start in adult life, but on the other hand this may deprive them of some of the joys and freedoms of being young. While some young people may end up drifting and feeling lost, for most experimentation is one of the key ways to cultivate skills and self-exploration at this age (Arnett, 2000, 2006).

In Sweden, employment opportunities for people with only compulsory education or less are among the lowest in the OECD (alongside with Norway and Switzerland) (OECD., 2016). Competition is also high among highly-educated people during periods of unemployment. Many unemployed young people have to take up jobs requiring lower levels of education compared to their actual qualifications (Åberg, 2001). Studies suggest that informal methods of finding a job – knowing influential people in the immediate social circle or acquaintances – play no less a role than formal methods of finding a job, e.g. submitting a curriculum vitae (Behtoui, 2008; Ekström, 2001; Korpi, 2001; Okeke, 2001). In addition to knowing influential people, the extent to which people engage in informal relations matter. As such, mutual interests, e.g. running marathons or travelling, may create emotional ties, which in turn stimulate a positive evaluation of a job application (Rivera, 2015). It may not be the person with the highest

degree at the lowest possible age who gets the job, but the person who has been volunteering in a refugee camp or running marathons – not because these experiences are relevant for the work in question, but because they send signals about the personality that align with societal ideals about independence, creativity and self-exploration. Thus, young people with “only” an academic degree may be disadvantaged in the informal aspects of the recruitment process.

At the same time, most young people of immigrant origin access social capital at least as much as young people with Swedish-born parents. Study II suggests that children of two immigrant parents, whether of Yugoslavian or Iranian background, access greater social capital than children of Swedish-born parents even when they come from the same socioeconomic background. This is counterintuitive; indeed, most studies claim the opposite (e.g. (Li, Savage, & Warde, 2008)), however, I am not the first to make this claim (see (A. Andersson, Edling, & Rydgren, 2017; Verhaeghe, Van der Bracht, & Van de Putte, 2015)). The social capital of young people with two immigrant parents is higher than that of young people with Swedish-born parents because they can access ethnically homogenous social capital. Young people with two immigrant parents access more in-family, kin-based social capital as well as greater social capital through transnational ties. Therefore, as young people of immigrant origin are determined to succeed and are not deficient in social capital, both study I and study IV contradict stereotypical beliefs that young people of immigrant origin are, for example, “unwilling to integrate” and “necessarily disadvantaged”.

However, study II also suggests that generating social capital is not always a smooth process. Children of Yugoslavian-Swedish unions access a similar volume of social capital as young people with two Swedish-born parents but the lowest family-based social capital. Children of mixed unions suffer from loss of ethnic capital, possibly due to sanctions applied by family members and extended kin networks (see Cheng and Powell (2007)). Mixed-union children may be no longer seen to be like “them” and risk exclusion from family gatherings or the support of extended family networks. Family networks are crucial to provide emotional support and share experiences on how to cope with problems. The same group compensates for exclusion from family-based ties by accessing greater resources via transnational ties. As the example of mixed unions suggests, the dynamics around generating social capital via different sources can vary.

Study IV suggests that having an identity, even a stigmatised one, prevents people from falling into the most disadvantaged positions. The study finds that the most disadvantaged group in terms of social capital comprises those who do not have an explicit sense of self. The results support previous research which show that viewing oneself as part of an in-group of stigmatised others does not necessarily make people passive victims unless they view themselves through the lens of

negative stereotypes (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Major & O'Brien, 2005; Verkuyten, 2004). Study IV indicates that young people with immigrant identity do not internalise all the negative attributes linked with the label, despite the negative image of *invandrare* in Sweden. In fact, young people with immigrant identity maintain a certain level of self-confidence and access social capital no less than native-born children. In other words, people who view themselves as immigrants are neither isolated nor helpless. However, these results only depict “average” people with immigrant identity. Because the study is exploratory and based on quantitative evidence, it cannot provide evidence on how young people with immigrant identity give meaning to “immigrant” and respond to “being an immigrant” in Sweden. Some may subscribe to an immigrant identity to express opposition to the negative attributes ascribed to them, and seek to replace them with positive ones (e.g. creative, warm); others may view “being an immigrant” as a temporary status that will disappear when they move to favourable conditions. In general terms, however, it is clear that the immigrant identity does not prevent people from resisting adverse conditions including discrimination, status loss, labour market exclusion and marginalisation.

Indeed, having an explicit identity, even as part of the stigmatised other, protects people’s sense of worth and empowers them to cope with potential problems. Nevertheless, this does not sufficiently prevent young people with immigrant identity from experiencing certain disadvantages. They remain at high risk of unemployment, twice that of their native-born counterparts. This disadvantage is mostly created by stigma, along with parental socio economic disadvantage. Among young people of similar socioeconomic background, those with immigrant identity have lower subjective well-being (around 75 percent) than those of immigrant origin. While the current study does not make causal claims, the results support previous studies on the negative consequences of stigma on subjective well-being (Kamberi et al., 2015; Verkuyten, 2008). “Being an immigrant” takes a toll on health (e.g. greater risk of depression) among people who explicitly view themselves as “immigrants” compared to others of immigrant origin.

Three of the four studies in the dissertation cover young people with parents born in former Yugoslavia and Iran. Studying these two groups already shows the diversity of people of immigrant origin. Iranians are often represented in the middle class, Yugoslavians in the working class. Like other groups, e.g. Turkish, these two groups began to arrive in Sweden at least three decades ago but for different reasons and at slightly different times. Compared to recent immigrants, having lived a longer period in Sweden may have helped Iranians and Yugoslavians to develop or adapt strategies against stigma and discrimination. As the studies are based on certain immigrant groups with distinct immigration histories, the results are not generalisable to all immigrants in Sweden.

Nevertheless, by studying the determinants of life chances among earlier groups of immigrants, it is possible to gain some understanding of the factors that affect the life chances of newly arrived refugees and economic migrants. Those who moved to Sweden from Eastern European countries find fewer employment chances even when they have the same levels of education as natives. The situation is even worse for those of non-Western origin as they often find themselves in a marginal position in the labour market (Bevelander & Irastorza, 2014). This is partly because a sizeable share of the non-Western immigrant population is less educated than Swedes. For example, 39 percent of Syrians have primary education or less. Hence, they either end up working in low-skilled, low-paid jobs, or remain unemployed. This is why human capital formation is crucial for this group (see more in the recent review Sandberg (2017)). To survive economically, meet basic needs, and feel respected within society, these groups need state support to improve their education and working skills.

This is because human capital formation is an essential yet insufficient solution. As argued in this dissertation, accessing greater social and cultural capital helps immigrants cope with the negative image of being an immigrant, which co-occurs with unequal treatment such as exclusion and rejection in the labour market. As many immigrants of non-Western origin are in marginal positions in the labour market, they are also less likely to generate sufficient social capital in Sweden, which is a scarce resource that is mostly accessed by people in higher socioeconomic positions (Bourdieu, 1986; N. Lin, 2002; Portes, 2000). As a result, transnational ties and ethnic networks become crucial in giving support and assistance. The same groups are more likely to suffer from the stigma of being immigrants, particularly those with visible markers such as skin colour or religious symbols. Additionally, many leave behind home countries where human tragedies continue, like Syria. Generally speaking, the refugees who feel marginalised at home and in the destination country are the ones who experience the most stress (Berry, 1997, 2005; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Rumbaut, 1994). To cope with this stress and reduce stigma, having an explicit and salient identity helps them to maintain self-esteem and feel part of social circles. Therefore, newly-arrived immigrants, particularly those of non-Western origin, are less likely to break the vicious cycle of disadvantage. From the labour market perspective, limited human capital is the core of this problem, but it is not the whole solution. In addition, the greater risk of suffering from stigma and limited social capital makes it more difficult to overcome disadvantages.

The findings of study II and study III both underline the limitations of one-size-fits-all approaches in social integration. Conventional assimilation focuses on social integration as a one-way street: convergence into the native-born over time, or melting down into a similarity (Alba & Foner, 2015; Gordon, 1964; Park, 1928). Social integration is a complex issue.

As mentioned above, study II does not support the idea that mixed unions presuppose social integration. I have examined social integration as a multidirectional process rather than a unilinear process. Being part of multiple social circles allows us to understand access to social capital among young people of immigrant origin. Some children from mixed unions may end up more advantaged than native-born children while others are deprived of the same resources. Young people from mixed unions access social capital differently, depending on the country of origin of the foreign-born parent. The migration background of the foreign-born parent influences whether children from mixed unions have greater or lesser access to social capital, and whether this access is through few or many sources. Fitting all mixed-union children into the same model may hide who accesses greater or lesser resources. Thus, “thicker descriptions” of the mixed union context are required. It is because mixed unions are formed within a constellation of ethnic, religious and language differences that makes them difficult to express as a homogenous category (see similar emphasis in (Collet, 2015; Rodríguez-García, 2006). As Tolstoy writes, “All happy families are alike; each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way.” All mixed unions are alike as ethnically dissimilar parties overcome potential barriers, such as family/kinship pressure, and each mixed union experiences mixedness in its own way.

Likewise, study III shows the limitations of another sweeping generalisation about cultural omnivores. It does not support the hypothesis that omnivorousness is a form of cultural capital. Arriving at a different result from prior research underscores the complexity of social integration. Some sociologists completely discard the role of attitudes, and suggest we prioritise actions and behaviours (Jerolmack & Khan, 2014). I partly agree with the idea. I think attitudes capture the social cognition process, i.e. what one believes about ethnic hierarchies. I also agree with focusing on an action frame – what do people actually do? What are the motives behind those actions? The term “tolerance”, for example, is problematic in the sense that it is neither a neutral nor an equal term. The majority often tolerates “the other” or “outsiders”. One may be tolerant and simultaneously exclude people from other ethnic backgrounds. An example comes from ethnically mixed schools in London. Reay et al. (2007) and her colleagues have examined why some middle-class parents send their children to ethnically mixed schools and found that parents are instrumental in cultivating cosmopolitanism among their offspring while enjoying the privileges of being white. In other words, one may be “tolerant”, yet maintain and legitimise exclusive relations.

These four studies also open up new avenues for research which may further enrich our understanding of how people of immigrant origin “get by” within host societies. More research is needed to keep track of educational aspirations over time. As young people of immigrant origin have higher educational aspirations,

our first question is: are aspirations stable over time? High aspirations may decline when young people have first-hand experience of adverse conditions, such as rejection of job applications due to a foreign-sounding name, accent, or dress style. The lowering of educational aspirations due to such reasons is termed “lost talent” (Hanson, 1994). Some studies in Sweden reported that young people of immigrant origin end up at lower positions in the labour market than they would had they not been of immigrant origin (e.g. Westin (2003)). While studies describe processes like school dropout, less is known on who the potential “lost talents” among young people of immigrant origin are. For this reason, keeping track of educational aspirations with longitudinal studies allows us to ask a second question: when young people experience sharp decline from high to low aspirations, what happens to their subjective well-being? In these situations, I would expect feelings of frustration and deprivation, and even a decrease in well-being.

One could go further and link these questions to certain “hot topics”. As such, a third question might be: do young people find themselves marginalised due to the sharp decline in aspirations? An extreme manifestation of this is described by Gambetta and Hertog (2016) who found that engineers in Middle Eastern countries, who did well in mathematics and science, are more represented in terror organisations. One of the reasons is that these engineers feel more deprivation: they do not reach the status that they believe they can reach. More questions and speculations are possible about keeping track of aspirations over time, and the consequences of their sharp decline. Further research is needed to answer these questions.

Study IV on immigrant identity opens up another set of questions for future research. The survey design has its limits in digging down to processes of self-identification and stigmatisation. Previous studies using survey methods often examine self-identification through an exhaustive list of social categories which gives less room for people to define themselves. In using survey methods in study IV, I deliberately moved towards the other direction, using a non-response analysis which allowed me to investigate a less-studied research subject: people with no explicit identity. Study IV shows that such people are at the greatest risk of depression and access the lowest social capital among people of immigrant origin. The results help us ask further questions: Under which conditions do people not identify themselves with existing social categories? Do people with no explicit sense of self suffer exclusion from both in-group members (people of immigrant origin) and out-group members (the ethnic majority)? Do they experience confusion about their sense of self, which may occur due to developmental processes during late adolescence? Once again, future research may pick up one of these questions for further investigation.

The results of this dissertation have implications for policy. Study IV suggests that using a single label “immigrant” for an extremely diverse group with negative attributes is a social problem. When people internalise the stigmatising label “immigrant” as a part of self, their well-being and sense of worth are harmed, which makes them more disadvantaged than other people of immigrant origin. While the same group of people shows signs of resistance against adverse conditions, the results show that the extent to which people are classified and ranked as fuzzy categories, like immigrant versus Swede, makes life more difficult for Swedes of immigrant origin. Radical right-wing parties in Western countries often racialise such people through frames such as “immigrants harm our values”, or “immigrants are less willing to integrate”. Arguing against these frames by using the word “immigrant”, intentionally or unintentionally as a homogenous and unchanging social category, legitimises the credibility of their arguments. To struggle against anti-immigrant sentiments, deliberate strategies are needed to restore the image of immigrants, and employ sensitive language and communication in everyday life, including at school, in the labour market and in media.

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Paper I. Traditional versus Experimental Pathways to University: Educational Aspirations among Young Swedes with and without an Immigrant Background

Abstract

In this paper, we investigate the different ways in which young people with and without an immigrant background, who have in common that they aspire for a higher education, picture their nearest future. We distinguish between two major pathways to a university education: a traditional pathway (direct transition from upper-secondary school to university), and an experimental pathway (where university plans are mixed with other plans, such as work and travel). Data comes from a school survey of 685 final-year students in ten upper-secondary schools in Malmö, the third biggest metropolitan area in Sweden. We find that it is much more common among youth with an immigrant background to plan for a traditional pathway, compared to youth of Swedish background who instead are more inclined to plan for experimentation. This difference remains when controlling for factors related to school performance and parental socioeconomic background.

Keywords: educational aspirations, experimentation, immigrants, traditional pathways

Introduction

Studies on educational aspirations date back to the 1960s. These have repeatedly reported that young people with an immigrant background have higher educational aspirations than their native-born counterparts, in spite of their generally lower level of school performance (Downey, Ainsworth, & Qian, 2009; Jonsson & Rudolphi, 2011; Kao & Tienda, 1998; Mickelson, 1990). These studies often share the assumption that young people aspire to continue to university along what Milesi (2010) has called a “traditional pathway”, which refers to a direct move from upper-secondary education to university in a step-by-step progress in education. Studies on educational transitions have however showed that the path to a university degree is frequently much less linear than assumed in these models. Young people often delay entry to university, shift between school programmes, or re-enter education after a certain age (Milesi, 2010; Rindfuss, Swicegood, & Rosenfeld, 1987; Shanahan, 2000). So far, studies on educational aspirations have not used these insights from the literature on educational transitions to examine aspirations beyond the traditional pathway. Thus, we know very little about how young people who share the aspiration of a university education potentially differ in how they picture their near future, to what extent they see themselves taking a traditional (direct) pathway to university, and to what extent they intend to do other things before or in parallel with their university studies.

The aim of the current study is therefore to examine potential differences amongst young people who have in common that they have a university education in mind. We distinguish between two major pathways, namely a traditional and an experimental pathway. The former refers, as stated above, to a direct transition from upper-secondary school to university, whilst the latter refers to a path where higher education is combined with, or preceded by, other activities such as work and travel. In this paper, we examine what young people who are still in secondary school see themselves doing within the next two years. We are thus looking at *aspired* educational pathways, rather than the *actual* route or transition from one level of education to another.

When looking at these differences in aspirations, we will focus on differences between young people with and without an immigrant background. We argue that there are several reasons to expect differences to exist.

Experimentation in Sweden

Within the field of developmental psychology, “experimentation” is often conceived of as a general characteristic of the transition from adolescence to

adulthood. In his theory on emergent adulthood, Arnett (2000) argues that experimentation generally takes place in the early and mid-twenties. In this period of life, young people explore their self, experience frequent changes in their life situation and are surrounded by rising uncertainties. This period in life has been prolonged as young people postpone entry into adulthood (e.g. parenthood) (Arnett, 2000). While Arnett (2000) as a developmental psychologist, has emphasised expected similarities between young people (at least across Europe and the United States), sociologists have instead focused on the extent to which contextual factors such as institutions and culture lead to strikingly different experiences in the transition from adolescence to adulthood (Billari & Wilson, 2001; Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011).

In their comparative study on the role of institutions (i.e. family, educational systems, labour market and state) for youth transition, Cook and Furstenberg (2002) argue that youth transition in Sweden and the Nordic countries, much more than in other European countries and the United States, is characterised by a culture of experimentation. In Sweden, institutions actively support young people's autonomy. The state provides generous student loans and housing benefits for low-income groups that enable young people who haven't yet entered the labour market to become financially independent, reducing their reliance on family. Many young people in Sweden and in other Nordic countries therefore leave the family nest in the early twenties or even before, which is "earliest-early" in Europe (Billari, 2004).¹⁸ Thus, these opportunities allow young people to make more autonomous decisions about, among other things, their educational pathways.

In addition to higher education, work and overseas travel are two major areas through which young people explore themselves in Sweden. It is common for young people to take time off from education to travel abroad before, as well as during, university education (Frändberg & Vilhelmson, 2011). Similarly, many young people go in and out of different jobs during their twenties, a phenomenon that has been referred to as "job shopping" (Johnson, 1978). It is also common for young people to take a break in their education, before or during university, to get some work experience. A consequence of being "experimental" in these respects is thus that entry to, and exit from, university is delayed.¹⁹

¹⁸ The average age of leaving the family nest is 20.3 years in Sweden, compared to 22.0 in the Netherlands, 22.7 in Ireland and 22.5 in Germany (Leopold, 2012).

¹⁹ According to OECD (2015) standardised statistics, the average age of entry to university is 23.9 years in Sweden. The corresponding age in the Netherlands is 19.7, in the UK 21.4, in Italy 20.4 and in Germany 21.4. The average ages of exit from university follow similar patterns: young Swedes are older when they graduate compared to students in other countries. In Sweden, the average age at graduation is 28.3 years, in the UK it is 23.5, in the Netherlands 23.6, and in Germany 25.5.

It should be noted that there is a class aspect to this culture of experimentation. Although not mentioned by Cook and Furstenberg (2002), other studies have showed that middle-class parents more often adopt a set of behaviours that encourage young people to follow their own way (self-directedness) and to be more resourceful, i.e. to enjoy diverse interests and leisure activities (Reay, 2000; Vincent, Ball, & Kemp, 2004). In addition, economic resources restrict the extent to which experimentation is possible. To be able to travel, for instance, a young person needs economic support from their family or a job which enables them to save up money for themselves.

Being an immigrant in Sweden

Generally speaking, immigrants are self-selective groups in the sense that people often immigrate to create a better future for themselves and their children. Kao and Tienda (1998) formulated the “immigrant optimism hypothesis”, referring to the fact that immigrant parents and their children generally have very positive attitudes towards higher education and are optimistic about the possibilities of advancement. Immigrant parents often view education as a vehicle for upward mobility (Heath, Rethon, & Kilpi, 2008) and at least in some contexts (such as Chinese and Mexican immigrants in the United States) “educational success” is something parents expect of their children, and that the children feel obliged to achieve (Hardway & Fuligni, 2006). A large body of research supports the immigrant optimism hypothesis, showing that first and second-generation immigrants have higher educational aspirations than native youth (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016; Hirschman, 2001). We can also see that these aspirations, at least in Sweden, manifest in higher university enrolment among young people with an immigrant background (Skolverket., 2012). It also shows that the determination to achieve a higher education persists even though they generally have lower grades in school (Mickelson, 1990; Raleigh & Kao, 2010; Salikutluk, 2016)²⁰. In line with this argument, we may also expect young people with an immigrant background to plan for a traditional rather than experimental pathway to university more often than those of Swedish origin. With a strong focus on the attainment of a university degree it seems likely that anything that delays or distracts the young person from this goal may be considered a waste of time.

In addition, we know that the post-school period is especially insecure for children of immigrants. Young people with an immigrant background are more often faced

²⁰ It is important to note that these studies come from different country contexts (the United Kingdom, Germany and the United States) with different immigration histories. Caution is thus required when applying the results from one context to another.

with adverse conditions, particularly in the labour market. Previous studies in Sweden highlight that such young people, particularly those with a non-Western background, more often face discrimination in the labour market (Åslund & Skans, 2010). For example, key actors in gatekeeper positions have been found to discriminate against applications with foreign-sounding names (Nekby, Vilhelmsson, & Özcan, 2008). More generally, people of immigrant origin run a higher risk of stigmatisation, i.e. they are more often faced with negative stereotypes, such as being inferior, less developed and non-modern (Bredström, 2003; Herz & Johansson, 2012; Torres, 2006).

It is not unlikely that such adverse conditions, rejection, exclusion and disapproval, prevent young people from exploring their selves and, more concretely, prevent them from delaying entry to, and exit from, university. The effect may be direct – e.g. lowering the chances of getting the job needed to finance a longer trip or allowing for a break in studies – or indirect – e.g. reducing a confidence and trust in the future that may be needed for a more playful and experimental attitude to life, work and education.

Another reason to anticipate a difference in the degree to which youth with and without an immigrant background plan for an experimental path to university, is the degree to which they are exposed to, and thereby influenced by, a “culture of experimentation”. Many young people have “dual references”: cultural influences from both their, or their parents’, country of origin, and from the country where they now live (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016; Kao & Tienda, 1998). While in Sweden they are exposed to a culture of experimentation, they are also under the influence of the values, norms and ways of life in the country of origin. Since the immigrant population in Sweden is highly diverse when it comes to country of origin, these cultural influences can be expected to vary greatly. Nonetheless, we can assume that most young people influenced by some culture other than the Swedish are influenced in a less experimental direction than those that have an exclusively Swedish background.

Given that the degree of exposure to the culture of experimentation determines the extent to which young people plan for a traditional or an experimental path to university, we would also expect to find differences between first and second-generation immigrants. Those who have lived their whole life in Sweden should, if the argument holds, be more inclined to plan for an experimental path to university than those who have spent part of their childhood in their parents’ country of origin. On the other hand, one should also bear in mind that the “adverse conditions” that young people of immigrant origin face seem to make little distinction between first and second-generation immigrants.

To the extent that second-generation immigrants anticipate adverse conditions in the near future, it may affect their aspirations. For instance, if they foresee that

they will have difficulty finding a job to save money for travel, they may consider a direct transition to university to be their only (or at least best) option. If so, we should subsequently expect only minor (if any) differences between first and second-generation immigrants when it comes to aspired educational pathways.

Finally, gender may play a role with regard to experimentation and, more specifically, the relationship between immigrant background and aspired educational pathways. While it is not the main focus of this study, we will refrain from stating any clear hypothesis about the role of gender in relation to aspired pathways, but include it in the analysis in order to avoid omitted variable bias.

Research questions

Based on these arguments we set out to examine the following questions:

- Do young people of immigrant origin, more often than those of Swedish origin, plan for a traditional pathway to a higher education? Correspondingly, do young people of Swedish origin, more often than those with an immigrant background, plan for an experimental pathway to higher education?
- Do second-generation immigrants, to a higher extent than first-generation immigrants, plan for an experimental pathway to a higher education?
- If we find such differences, to what extent are they related to socioeconomic background, gender and school grades?

Method

Participants and Procedure

This paper is based on data collected as part of a larger research project involving upper-secondary schools in Malmö, Sweden's third-largest city.²¹

The population of Malmö reached 314,000 in 2014. The city has experienced major economic and population changes since the 1970s. The world's biggest shipbuilding yard, located in Malmö, was shut down in 1986 and the city experienced a significant population decline. From the 1990s onward, the city has received a large flow of immigrants, mostly with Middle Eastern and African backgrounds. According to SCB (2016), one out of three people in Malmö has a foreign background, almost 10 percent higher than the two other metropolitan areas in Sweden, Gothenburg and Stockholm.

In spring 2011, a survey was administered to all first-year upper-secondary students in a strategic sample of eleven schools. Since the total number of schools was relatively small and since the schools differ greatly in terms of their programmes as well as the size and social composition of the student body, a strategic sampling method was considered to be the best way to attain a representative sample. The sample was thus constructed to contain as wide a range of schools, programmes and students as possible. The total number of students registered at the selected schools (1,169) constituted 32 percent of the total number of students registered at any of the secondary schools in Malmö that year (3,647).

A second survey was carried out among the same cohort two years later, in spring 2013, when the students were in their final year of upper-secondary school. Of the students still registered, 708 participated in the second survey, corresponding to a response rate of 70 percent. This paper is based on data collected in the second survey. In order to make the categories more distinct we decided to only analyse students of either non-Western or Swedish origin (i.e. respondents who are themselves born in these countries or have parents who are). We thus excluded 23 respondents of Western European and North American origin. The reason for this

²¹ The research project, "An educational dilemma: school achievement and multicultural incorporation", was funded by the Swedish Research Council. Malmö was selected as it is the Swedish city with the largest proportion of students and parents born outside Sweden. It is also the region where educational achievement is among the lowest in the country. The survey was filled out in the classroom during school hours, either on paper or online. It contained questions on acculturation, aspirations, identity and subjective well-being. Since many of the questions were sensitive, and the respondents young, the study had to be approved by the Ethical Board. The information was decharacterised prior to analysis. This makes it a suitable case for studying ethnic segregation within the Swedish context.

is that this is a small group of countries and many (especially the other Nordic countries) resemble Sweden with regard to the culture of experimentation. For example, the United Kingdom has a gap year phenomenon in which young people often take a year off from their studies to focus on their personal development (King, 2011). We also expect this category of immigrants to experience less discrimination (adverse conditions) and that the immigrant optimism hypothesis does not apply to them to the same extent as other immigrant groups. This reduces the sample size to 685 students. The majority of students with an immigrant background remaining in the sample are born in, or have parents who are born in, Middle Eastern countries (e.g. Iraq, Lebanon, Turkey), Balkan countries (e.g. Bosnia, Kosovo and Serbia), East/ Southeast Asia (e.g. Vietnam) and South American countries (e.g. Chile).

Measures

Educational pathways. In the survey, the students were asked whether they were planning, within the next two years, to: i) continue on to university ii) find a job iii) travel abroad, iv) get engaged or married, v) stay at home and take it easy. Each was a separate question with two possible answers: yes or no. It was possible to mark any number of alternatives and they were subsequently coded yes/ no. To continue university (55 percent), to get a job (30 percent) and to travel (44 percent) were the most frequently mentioned alternatives and all students in the sample marked at least one of these. The remaining options were entered by 8 percent (getting married) and 13 percent (stay at home) respectively. We focused on the first three alternatives (university, work and travel) since they were considered well aligned with the idea of traditional versus experimental pathways. After 12 years in school, getting a job or travelling (or a combination of both) are common ways for young people to explore themselves and the surrounding world, to get a sense of independence, meet new people and learn new things. From these three items, we constructed a dependent variable consisting of three categories: “plan to continue to university only” (educational aspirations oriented with traditional pathway), “plan to continue to university and work/ travel” (experimental pathway), and “do not plan to continue to university” (See Table 1).

Since we did not perceive the remaining two alternatives (getting married and staying at home), in combination with university studies, as indicating experimentation, they did not influence whether a respondent was categorised as experimental or traditional. We did not include the alternative “stay at home and take it easy” since we find it more likely to indicate either disengagement with (Collin, 2008; Lesley, Lucas, Femida, & Ram, 2011) or, in combination with “university studies”, full focus on education. Likewise, we do not find that getting engaged or married indicate experimentation, at least not to a higher extent than

other forms of romantic relationships that are much more common at this age. This is especially true in Sweden where people get married late and cohabitation without marrying is common (see SCB, 2016). Respondents who marked only “university studies” (neither find a job nor travel abroad) together with either “get married/ engaged” or “stay at home and take it easy” are thus categorised as “traditional”.

Table 1 Descriptive details of dependent variable

Aspired Educational Pathways	n	Percentage
<i>1. Experimental Pathway</i>		
University + Find a job + Travel abroad	79	11.53
University + Find a job	11	1.61
University + Travel abroad	109	15.91
<i>2. Traditional Pathway</i>		
University (only)	181	26.42
<i>3. Do not plan to go to university</i>		
	305	44.53
Total	685	100

Of the students who plan an experimental pathway, 95 percent include travel in their plans for the next two years. Of these, 40 percent plan to go to university and travel only, and 55 percent plan all three activities: studies, work and travel. Only 5 percent (eleven students) plan to combine studies with work only. We don’t know how many of these eleven students plan to study full-time at university while working part-time, and it can be questioned whether such respondents should be categorised as experimental at all. However, as part-time jobs are common among students in Sweden,²² we would expect this number to be much higher if the respondents had interpreted “find a job” in this way. Our cautious interpretation of the low number of respondents in this category is thus that they are primarily thinking of full-time jobs. If some are in fact traditional in the sense that they plan to study full-time directly whilst working part-time, they constitute such a small part of the sample that they don’t have a major influence on the results.

Immigrant background. We use a strict definition of “second-generation immigrants” which refers to native-born children with two foreign-born parents

²² According to our calculations based on the European Social Survey (2016), one out of three students (33.61) aged 18–24 years have a part-time job (i.e. work less than 30 hours in a week).

(Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). It can be discussed whether it is appropriate to label this category (n=171) “immigrants” since they are born in Sweden but we decided to stick to this terminology since it is widely established and applied by e.g. Statistics Sweden. Young people born abroad, no matter where the parents are born, are referred to as first-generation immigrants (n=133). The third category, assigned as a reference category in the analysis, consists of children with at least one parent born in Sweden (n=381). We will use the terms “of immigrant origin” or “immigrant background” when referring to both first and second-generation immigrants.

Gender refers to whether the respondent identifies as male or female.

Employed parent(s) is a dummy variable indicating whether at least one of the parents has a full-time job or not. In Sweden, the unemployment risk is twice as high among non-Western immigrants compared to Swedes (Arai & Vilhelmsson, 2004). This means that more immigrant parents depend on employment benefits. In that sense, the measure is a proxy for economic differences among parents.²³

Highly educated parent(s) is a dummy variable showing whether at least one parent has a university education.

School grade is the average grade from three courses, namely the first-level mathematics, social science and Swedish courses. These grades were included in the study since all students take these courses, no matter which programme they are enrolled in.²⁴ Grades are given on a four-point scale from failed (1) to excellent (4). As mentioned earlier, previous studies have established a link between aspirations and achievement that is often considered paradoxical, since children of immigrants generally aspire more while achieving less (Downey et al., 2009; Salikutluk, 2016). We therefore include the variable in the analysis to find out whether it is similarly involved in the relationship between immigrant background and aspirations with regard to traditional versus experimental pathways.

²³ We have additional empirical support for the accuracy of the proxy variable. The first wave of this study includes a measure of how young people see their socioeconomic status. When we compare perceived socioeconomic status among students with unemployed versus employed parents, we find that among young people with two unemployed parents, 39 percent consider their socioeconomic situation to be “good”. The corresponding rate for students with one employed parent is 53 percent, and for students with two employed parents 56 percent. For this reason, we consider the dummy variable on parental employment (“at least one parent employed” vs. “both parents unemployed”) to be an acceptable proxy for socioeconomic background.

²⁴ It is important to note that the grades are reported by the students themselves in the survey; the variable is not based on register data. These grades are not to be interpreted as perfect indicators of actual school performance. There are national tests that all pupils sit, but schools do not have to use the results when grading students. This has resulted in grades that are generally (although this varies between schools and courses) higher than the corresponding test results (Skolverket., 2017). The grades are, however, a good indicator of a student’s chances of being accepted to a university programme.

Results

We begin by reporting descriptive statistics for the three groups: “first-generation immigrants” (respondents born abroad), “second-generation immigrants” (respondents born in Sweden with two foreign-born parents) and “Swedes/natives” (respondents born in Sweden with two Swedish-born parents). The former two groups collectively comprise respondents with an immigrant background.

Table 2 shows how young people, with and without immigrant origin, imagine the period after upper-secondary school. The results include aspirations in three domains: work, education and leisure (travel). Young people of immigrant origin, regardless of whether they are born in Sweden or abroad, have higher educational aspirations than those of Swedish origin. i.e. they more often plan to continue to university (68 and 60 percent respectively, compared to 49 percent of Swedish youth). Young people of Swedish origin, on the other hand, are more likely to see themselves working after high school (38 percent compared to 18 and 20 percent of those with an immigrant background) and/or travelling (54 percent compared to 32 percent of those with an immigrant background).

Turning then to aspired educational pathways, we find, as expected, that young people with and without immigrant origin differ in their plans. Only 15 percent of youngsters of Swedish origin plan to continue to university directly; the corresponding rate for first-generation immigrants is 43 percent, and for second-generation immigrants 39 percent. In contrast, the proportion of Swedes planning to take an experimental pathway to university is 34 percent, compared to 23 and 25 percent respectively for second and first-generation immigrants.

Table 2 shows major differences in school grades and parental socioeconomic background. We find that the grades of the children of immigrants lag behind the grades of students with native-born parents. While there are significant differences in parental education (16 percentage points between natives and second-generation immigrants), there is a huge gap when it comes to parental employment: 63 percent of those with native-born parents have two parents who work full-time, compared to only 28 percent of first-generation immigrants.

To summarise the results so far, we find major differences between young people with and without immigrant background when it comes to educational pathways. We do not, however, see major differences between first and second-generation immigrants. The background of the parents (Swedish or non-Swedish) thus seems to be more important than the amount of time the young person and their family has spent in Sweden. However, the fact that there are also major differences in the socioeconomic and educational backgrounds of the parents makes controlling for such factors essential before drawing any conclusions about the importance of immigrant background. Since we found such differences in parental

socioeconomic background and school grades, this may explain any remaining differences between the three groups with regard to aspired educational pathways. In the following section, we will examine these questions further, using multinomial logistic regression.

Table 2 Descriptive statistics by immigrant background (%)

	First Generation (n=133)	Second Generation (n=171)	Native (n=381)
<i>Aspirations in general</i>			
Go to university	68	60	49
Find a job	18	20	38
Travel abroad	32	32	54
<i>Aspired educational pathway*</i>			
Experimental	25	23	34
Traditional	43	38	15
No university plans	32	40	51
<i>Family context</i>			
Parent(s) employed	28	40	63
Highly educated parent(s)	52	46	62
<i>Gender and school performance</i>			
Female	53	52	53
School grades (1-4)	2,69	2,61	2,91

Table 3 demonstrates a multinomial logistic regression model. The model examines whether the differences between the three groups with regard to aspired educational pathways remain when taking into consideration differences in school performance, gender and parental socioeconomic background. We choose a multinomial model since the outcome variable consists of three categories (traditional, experimental and no university plans). This means we get three models where each pairwise combination of categories (pathways) is presented. The relative risk ratio (RRR) then gives us the effect of each independent variable. Its interpretation is equivalent to that of the odds ratio (Long & Freese, 2006, p. 391).

Table 3 Multinomial logistic regression estimating educational aspirations, by using relative risk ratios (RRR=exp(β)).

	Traditional vs Experimental		Experimental vs No university		Traditional vs No university	
	RRR	SE	RRR	SE	RRR	SE
First generation	3.38***	.991	1.75*	.498	5.91***	1.688
Second generation	3.63***	1.02	1.13	.283	4.10 ***	1.045
Swedes (ref.)						
Highly educated parent(s)	1.09	.247	1.45	.291	1.58*	.331
Parent(s) employed	.67	.153	1.28	.256	.87	.184
Female	.56**	.121	1.81**	.354	1.01	.203
School grades	1.00	.16	2.25***	.309	2.27 ***	.368
N	685		685		685	
R2	.0983		.0983		.0983	

We will focus on the first model in Table 3: “Traditional vs Experimental”. The main conclusion that can be drawn from this table is that the differences remain when all other variables are controlled for. The probability for a first-generation immigrant to plan a traditional pathway to university is 3.38 times higher than the probability for a native Swede, and for second-generation immigrants compared to natives is 3.63. The results thus confirm our expectations and previous results, showing that young people with an immigrant background are more likely than those with a Swedish background to aspire to a traditional pathway. However, we don’t find any indication that second-generation immigrants are more experimental than the first generation – on the contrary they turn out to be (marginally) more traditional than first-generation immigrants, when controlling for other variables.

Of the other variables, only gender is significant: female students are more likely than their male counterparts to plan for experimentation.²⁵ Parental education and employment does not have a significant influence on whether students picture themselves taking a traditional or experimental path to university.

²⁵ We also checked for possible interaction effects between immigrant background and gender, and found that while gender difference is larger among respondents of Swedish origin than among respondents with an immigrant background, but not significantly so.

It is, however, evident from the other two models that school grades are important predictors for whether students aspire to go to university, irrespective of pathway. That is, students with higher grades are significantly more likely to plan to go to university than those with lower grades. Likewise, children of highly educated parent(s) are significantly more likely to plan for a traditional pathway to university, compared to not planning to go to university at all.²⁶ These results are in line with previous research, and may be explained by the fact that highly educated parents are generally more involved in the schooling of their children and provide them with a home environment (with access to literature etc.) that encourages them to continue to university (see Lareau (1987)).

Discussion

As noted previously, this study takes its point of departure from studies on educational aspirations which predominantly look at whether young people aspire to a university education depending on socioeconomic and ethnic background. Less attention has been given to the fact, established by numerous studies on educational transitions, that many young people take a much more winding path to a university degree (Milesi, 2010; Rindfuss et al., 1987; Shanahan, 2000). We therefore know little about the extent to which these paths, as manifested in actual behaviour, are part of the aspirations of young people, and how educational aspirations are entangled with other aspirations in life such as exploration in multiple domains. Moreover, little is known about differences in aspirations on educational pathways between different socioeconomic and ethnic groups.

In this paper, we have focused on young people in Sweden who aspire to continue to higher education. We have distinguished between traditional and experimental pathways to higher education and found major differences depending on whether or not young people have an immigrant background. Those with an immigrant

²⁶ We checked robustness of the results in two ways. First, we ran the same model on a smaller but more homogenous subsample. The majority (74 percent) of respondents with an immigrant background had parents born in Middle Eastern countries (including Turkey). When repeating the analysis on this subsample we obtained similar results. The relative risk ratios for traditional versus experimental pathways are then 3.35 for first-generation immigrants and 3.36 for second-generation immigrants (reference category being “native Swedes”). Second, we repeated the analysis with a dependent variable consisting of five (instead of three) categories: 1) university + job (n=11), 2) university + job + travel, (n==81), 3) university + travel, (n=112) 4) only university (n=187), and 5) do not plan to continue university (n==305) (see Table 1). We found that the results remain largely the same when parental socioeconomic background, school grades and gender are kept constant. The relative risk ratio ranges between 2.52 and 6.05 in the different models. All results are statistically significant except the model where “university + job” is used as a reference category, which is due to the low number of respondents in this category (n=11).

background are more likely than those with entirely Swedish backgrounds to plan to continue to university directly. Among those with immigrant backgrounds, we did not find substantial differences between young people who are born in Sweden (second generation) and those who have themselves immigrated (first generation). This finding is in line with previous studies that have found similar patterns with regard to the educational aspirations of these groups. Children of immigrants are generally similar in these respects; for example, regardless of where they are born they are more likely to choose academic programmes over vocational ones than children of Swedes (Jonsson & Rudolphi, 2011).

The fact that the planned educational pathways of first and second-generation immigrants differ little indicates that the time spent in Sweden is of less importance than immigrant background itself. If we (albeit tentatively) accept that the results indicate that exposure to Swedish (i.e. experimental) culture does not fully explain the differences between the groups, then the alternative explanations are those relating to the adverse conditions people of immigrant origin encounter in the labour market, and immigrant optimism. While the immigrant optimism hypothesis suggests that first and second-generation immigrants share a determination for educational success, its premises are similar to those of arguments relating to degree of exposure to culture. It is often claimed that second-generation immigrants have an advantage since they are fluent in the native language and familiar with the educational and labour market systems (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016). From this viewpoint, we would expect second-generation immigrants to make more informed decisions, based on more realistic ideas about their future life chances in a particular country context.

What does this mean in relation to educational pathways? If “realistic” means being aware of adverse conditions awaiting them, it seems a reasonable strategy to plan for the fastest and least risky route to employment and economic security, i.e. taking a traditional pathway to a university education. Unfortunately we do not have any indicators on, for example, experiences or expectations of future discrimination in the labour market, and therefore we are not able to estimate the influence of such perceptions on aspired educational pathways. However, at least one more study supports the idea that a traditional pathway to a university degree can, for some people, be an attempt to counteract expected discrimination in the labour market: Goyette and Xie (1999) showed how marginalised groups in the United States continue to university in order to meet market credentials and thereby avoid or overcome adverse conditions.

One may also generally assume that the lower the threshold (e.g. entry requirements) and cost (e.g. university fees), the more likely that higher education is the best option available for people with few other options. In Sweden, tuition is free and relatively advantageous student loans are available to cover the costs of

living. For this reason, the association between socioeconomic background and educational attainment is weaker in Sweden than in many other European countries (Breen, 2005). It is thus not strange if young people who expect to face adverse conditions in the labour market, and/or lack the financial means to travel abroad, plan for a direct path to a university degree.

Could there be anything problematic about the fact that youth with an immigrant background more often plan for a traditional, rather than experimental, path to university? There is no simple answer to this question and it depends to some extent on the mechanisms involved – if the differences are primarily understood as resulting from differences in preferences, or from an adaptation to unequal life chances. More generally, however, both pathways potentially have positive as well as negative outcomes in later life. Experimentation may result in better thought through educational choices and a more successful and rewarding career, but can also be considered a waste of time and future income if it simply means that the exit from university is delayed. A period of experimentation may be joyful and rewarding for some, but delaying important decisions, such as applying to university, may lead to ambivalence and indecision for others. Since instability and exploration goes hand in hand in the early twenties, feelings of being lost and confused are common (Arnett, 2000) and maximum freedom to explore oneself may not always be the best cure.

The fact that young people with an immigrant background are less likely to plan for an experimental path, trial and error in a job market, or self-exploration, can be interpreted as meaning that they are more determined than their Swedish peers – determined to achieve higher social status, to contribute to society or simply to avoid unemployment.

On the other hand, it may not be the person with the highest degree at the lowest possible age that gets the sought-after job, but the one who has volunteered in a refugee camp or climbed Mount Everest – not because those experiences are relevant to the work in question but because they send signals about personality that align with general ideals about independence, creativity and determination. A study in the United States showed that mutual interests between the employer and jobseeker may create emotional ties, which in turn stimulate a positive evaluation of a job application (Rivera, 2015). Studies have suggested that informal methods, such as knowing influential people, are as important as formal methods, such as submitting a CV to publicly advertised positions, when trying to find a job (Behtoui, 2008; Ekström, 2001; Korpi & Levin, 2001). In line with these studies is one showing that in Sweden, an educational degree is not interpreted to the same extent as in many other countries (e.g. the Netherlands) as a clear sign of the job seeker's productivity (Breen, 2005).

In sum, although formal education is undoubtedly very important for the employment chances of an individual, other factors may be as important. As the job market becomes increasingly competitive for highly educated people (Bygren, Duvander, & Hultin, 2013), extras may also gain in importance. For this reason, it young people with only an academic degree may be at a disadvantage with regard to the informal side of recruitment. In other words, there may be a risk associated with not adhering to the culture of experimentation. On the other hand, it is possible that young people aspiring to a traditional pathway in fact manage to engage in experimentation during their studies, or that a focus on achieving a university degree is simply the most viable strategy, at least for this group. For now, we may conclude that there appear to be major differences in the ways in which university-aspiring youngsters, with and without an immigrant background, picture their nearest future. The consequences of this are yet to be explored but considering the adverse conditions awaiting many young people with an immigrant background, it is important to gain deeper understanding of the motives behind, and the consequences of, differences in aspirations.

There are some limitations associated with this study that are important to note. One major limitation is the sample size. A larger sample would provide opportunities for a more thorough investigation of, for example, ethnic differences within a heterogeneous group referred to here as simply “of immigrant origin”. The reader should also be reminded that this study was conducted in a metropolitan area with a high proportion of immigrants, and greater segregation than most other places. The results should be generalised with caution. Another limitation of the study is the rather crude measure of “experimental pathway”. A more fine-tuned instrument, in which the scope and order of the plans were measured, would provide more nuanced information about the aspired educational pathways of young people. In order to fully capture the elements of experimentation in plans to combine university studies with work or travel, we will also need to complement such indicators on actual plans with indicators on related values, attitudes and motives.

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Paper II. The Social Capital of Children from Mixed Unions

Abstract

We investigate social capital among mixed-union children and explore its distribution across geographical and social sources. Data comes from a Swedish cohort survey of young people with at least one parent born in Iran or the former Yugoslavia. The results show that children from Iranian-Swedish unions access greater social capital compared to children with two Swedish-born parents. In contrast, no difference in social capital is found between children from Yugoslavian-Swedish unions and native-born parents. The differences in social capital are not explained by parental socioeconomic background. While children from mixed unions differ in family-based social capital, they are similar in social capital from sources outside immediate family circles and transnational ties. The migration background of the foreign-born parent influences whether children from mixed unions have greater or lesser access to social capital, and whether this access is through few or many sources.

Keywords: Mixed unions; social capital; social integration

Introduction

A mixed union is a partnership (cohabitation or marriage) where one partner/spouse is native born and the other has an immigrant background. It has been suggested that such unions overcome cultural and social barriers (e.g. marital norms) and challenge ethnic boundaries (determining who belongs and who does not belong to the group). With this focus on their potentially transgressive character, scholars have variously viewed mixed unions as a litmus test for integration (Alba & Nee, 2003), as an engine of social change (Kalmijn, 1998) and as an incubator of new lifestyles (Collet, 2012). These studies have tended to focus on the formation of mixed unions. On the other hand, the number of studies on the social integration of children of mixed unions lags behind those of the formation of mixed unions (see Schwartz (2013)). Social integration is a process by which an individual is incorporated into a host society as an equal citizen able to exercise basic civil, political and social rights (Marshall, 1950). This definition is aligned with Nan Lin's (2002) definition of social capital as the use and mobilisation of social connections to progress in life or achieve a goal. In this study, we seek to focus on the children of mixed unions in terms of the social capital they generate.

One might hypothesise that, compared to the children of two immigrant parents, children of mixed unions are more advantaged in integrating into the host society (Alba & Foner, 2015; Kalmijn, 2010, 2015; Stephan & Stephan, 1991), and that they have roughly the same kinds of social opportunities as children of native-born parents. In fact, the empirical evidence that might document this equality of opportunity is inadequate. Studies show that children of mixed unions may actually be excluded from the labour market to a greater degree than children of minority families (Safi, 2008) and are more likely to drop out of school (Furtado, 2009). A second hypothesis postulates that children of mixed unions face the same prejudice and stigmatisation as children of immigrants (Cheng & Powell, 2007; Rodríguez-García, 2015; Song, 2009). What is more, children of mixed unions, in so far as they have both ethnic majority and ethnic minority parents, may draw upon social capital both within and beyond national borders (the immigrant parent's network in their country of origin) (Rodríguez-García, 2006; Vertovec, 1999). We know much less as to whether children of mixed unions consolidate social capital from multiple sources or whether they rely on fewer sources because of stigmatisation. By "multiple sources", we mean a greater number of social (family/ kin and acquaintances) and geographical (in Sweden, parental country of origin and third countries) sources. While studies have tended to compare the social capital of the children of native-born parents versus children of immigrant parents (Behtoui, 2017; Nannestad, Svendsen, & Svendsen, 2008; van Tubergen & Volker, 2014), we lack similar studies of mixed-union children. Such studies are important because they allow us to examine if a mixed-union background makes

people more advantaged or not. To help close this gap in the research, this study addresses two questions relevant to mixed-union children compared to the children of two Swedish-born parents on one hand, or of immigrants on the other: 1) What kinds of social capital do children of mixed unions access? and 2) To what extent do children of mixed unions access social capital from multiple sources?

The context of majority-minority relations influences the formation and consequences of mixed unions. Here we examine two types of mixed unions in contemporary Sweden, specifically those between a native-born Swede and an Iranian, and between a native-born Swede and a partner from the former Yugoslavia. Studies have shown that for native-born Swedes, people from non-Western countries (i.e. outside Western Europe and North America) are viewed as categorically subordinate to Swedes, while such differences perceived between Swedes and those from Western countries (e.g. Britons, Finns and Germans) are small and mostly depend on individual-level factors such as education and language skills (Grand & Szulkin, 2002). In Sweden, however, those with non-Western backgrounds are extremely heterogeneous, and usually are not identified or categorised into distinct ethnic minorities. Rather they are grouped under the stigmatised label *invandrare*, “immigrant”.

Mixed-union parents and social capital

Positionality is a key factor in social capital theory (Burt, 2005; Lin, 2002). It refers to the idea that similarity in position breeds similarity in access to resources. People in higher socioeconomic strata have greater access to resources (e.g. information about job openings), which helps them get ahead. An individual's position can either be inherited from their parents (ascribed) or attained by the individual themselves (achieved). For young people, ascribed characteristics are more important than achieved characteristics. As people grow older and direct family influence fades, achieved characteristics gain in importance. However, it is reasonable to assume that there is both a direct and an indirect link between ascribed and achieved social positions. In youth and early adulthood, parental socioeconomic position is the key ascribed character for mixed-union children because it is a particularly important driver of access to social capital.

People with a university education, whether from the minority or the majority population, more often form unions with out-group members, (Kalmijn, 1998; Qian & Lichter, 2001; Schwartz, 2013). One reason proposed is that a university education broadens people's minds and weakens restrictive marital norms (Muttarak & Heath, 2010). Mate selection is influenced not only by individual choice but also by structural factors. Macro-characteristics, such as the in-group

population, geographical dispersion, and heterogeneity of ethnic groups, also influence union formation (Blau & Schwartz, 1984; Kalmijn, 1998; Lieberman & Waters, 1988). Mixed union formation does not always take place among those with similar educational backgrounds. According to Merton (1941) and Davis (1941), mixed unions between people who are educationally dissimilar can offer an educated minority an opportunity to maximise gains with the less-educated majority, or vice versa. However, empirical evidence is mixed and recent studies have not reached a consensus (Qian & Lichter, 2007; Rosenfeld, 2005).

The tendency to interact with in-group members more than out-group members, i.e., homophily, also determines access to social capital (Lin, 2002). The homophily principle suggests that shared sentiments (e.g. affection, respect and liking for each other), interaction (participating in similar activities) and similar social resources reinforce each other. Mixed unions challenge ethnic boundaries, which implies that children from mixed unions become in-group members with native-born children, which in turn facilitates tendencies to friendship between the two groups (Alba & Nee, 2009; Gordon, 1964; Qian & Lichter, 2001). As children from mixed unions have the advantage of speaking the native language fluently and of being socialised into the norms and structures of the majority society, they join the same friendship circles as children of native-born parents. On the other hand, mixed-union parents and their children may also be subject to rejection, exclusion and disapproval (Kalmijn, 2015; Rodríguez-García, 2015; Song, 2009). In such cases, children of two native-born parents and those from mixed unions may interact less with each other, and therefore are less likely develop social ties.

In the Swedish context, there is evidence that people with immigrant origins are exposed to stigmatisation and discrimination. As mentioned previously, people of immigrant origin, particularly those with non-Western origins, are often stigmatised as *invandrare*, considered inferior, less developed and non-modern (Bredström, 2003; Herz & Johansson, 2012) (Torres, 2006). A recent study showed that Swedes have a hierarchy of preferences for potential partners in union formation. Scandinavians place first in this hierarchy, while people of Middle Eastern and African origin come in last in terms of potential partners (Törngren, 2011). This hierarchy also manifests itself in segregated union formation. Dribe and Lundh (2011) report that most marriages (60-70 percent) among immigrants from Middle Eastern and the African countries in Sweden with the same ethnic origin. We hypothesise that the social capital of children from mixed unions lies somewhere between the social capital of children of Swedish-born parents and that of children with two immigrant parents.

Sources of social capital

Unpacking social capital allows us to understand the extent to which children from mixed unions may distil occupational networks from multiple sources. We make two distinctions related to the geographical and social aspects of social capital. First, we distinguish between sources of social capital based on strong (family) or weak (acquaintances) ties. Second, we distinguish between sources of social capital that are in the host country (Sweden) or abroad. Family and kin are among the “third parties” that, in addition to religious institutions and the state, influence the process of union formation (Kalmijn, 1998; Schwartz, 2013). Some families may monitor and regulate union formation. If forming unions with in-group members is the norm then mixed unions, by definition, breach the norm. A mixed union with a partner considered to be distant or an outsider is likely to face sanctions such as exclusion from extended family networks or tension with family members. Some studies report that such sanctions also extend to the children. Children from mixed unions may thus be excluded from extended family/ kin networks, depriving them of warm and supportive relations across generations (Cheng & Powell, 2007). Children with two immigrant parents are less likely to experience such a weakening of ties with family and kin. We hypothesise that children from mixed unions have less access to family-based social capital than children with two immigrant parents.

The second dimension is the extent to which children from mixed unions can access social capital beyond or within national borders. Previous studies use “transnationalism” to indicate social, cultural and political relations beyond the borders of the country of residence (Faist, 2010; Rodríguez-García, 2006; Vertovec, 1999). Individuals with a foreign-born parent maintain their ties with the parent’s country of origin through activities such as cultural festivals, hometown association events or political activities (Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999; Vertovec, 1999). In fact, mixed unions are themselves transnational as the two spouses or partners bring together a diverse range of backgrounds. Rodríguez-García, Lubbers, Solana, and de Miguel-Luken (2015) argue that some mixed-union parents strategically negotiate the affiliation between multiple localities and “leave the door open” for children in terms of the possibility of moving to the foreign-born parent’s country of origin or another country. In contrast, children of native-born parents are less likely to access social capital beyond national borders. For this reason, we hypothesise that children from mixed unions have greater access to social capital abroad than children of native-born parents.

Migration background of non-Swedish parents in mixed unions

Migrants have diverse backgrounds, and it is clear from official statistics that their success in Sweden greatly depends on the country of origin (Behtoui, 2004; Nekby, 2002). Immigrant workers move to Sweden for job prospects and, until recently, most entered blue-collar and unskilled labour. Refugees are much more heterogeneous as a group. Many have experienced traumatic events (e.g. ethnic cleansing in the home country and civil war) and come from all kinds of socioeconomic backgrounds. Others are political refugees and, as intellectuals, are more likely to have a middle-class background. The migration background of the parents clearly informs the life-chances of their children and is an important part of the ascribed social capital of the latter.

The sources and volume of social capital vary greatly depending on migration background. While diaspora ties provide access to social capital in third countries as well as frequent meeting opportunities (e.g. cultural events, home-country or philanthropic associations), other types of ties may result in isolation. For example, close-knit immigrant groups are more likely to have stronger group norms and may exercise sanctions such as isolation against those in violation. Extreme cases exist, in which forming a union with an ethnically different group is considered as violating family honour, and women in particular may be ostracised for a period of time or for life. Therefore, we hypothesise that access to social capital among children from mixed unions varies according to the migration background of the foreign-born parent.

Before moving onto data and methods, let us identify the three hypotheses that we aim to test:

H1: Social capital of children from mixed-union parents lies somewhere between that of children of two native-born parents and children with two foreign-born parents.

H2a: Children from mixed unions have less access to family-based social capital than children with two foreign-born parents.

H2b: Children from mixed unions have greater access to social capital abroad than children with two native-born parents.

H3: Access to social capital among children from mixed unions is dependent on the migration background of the foreign-born parent.

Data and method

We use data from the Swedish panel survey on social capital and labour market integration. The sample frame is based on three strata of the Swedish 1990 birth cohort ($n=5,695$) and includes individuals with at least one parent born in Iran, 50 percent of the population with at least one parent born in Yugoslavia, and a random sample of 2,500 individuals with two Swedish-born parents. The groups were surveyed and interviewed over the telephone by Statistics Sweden twice; once in 2009 when the respondents were 19 years old, and then in 2013 when the respondents were 23. The response rate was 51.6 percent in the first wave ($n=632$ Iranians/ 928 Yugoslavians/ 1,382 Swedes) and 38.5 percent in the second wave ($n=501$ Iranians/ 675 Yugoslavians/ 1,068 Swedes). The non-response analysis reveals that immigration background, low education level (individuals' own and parents'), low grades and living in large cities was associated with a lower response rate. There might still be bias due to unobserved factors such as social integration or language skills differing across groups, but we are confident that the main results of this study are not the result of a low response rate or bias.

The survey data was linked to population registers that included demographic information on parental socioeconomic and union status, and provided a wide range of information on social networks, social capital, and social indicators. Both the name generator and the position generator methodology were used to query social capital. For this paper, the position generator is the most appropriate instrument (Lin and Dumin 1986). This work does not make use of the panel structure of the data. Both waves were analysed because they pose different questions about the sources of social capital and that difference allows us to test all of our hypotheses. We examine two types of mixed unions, namely Iranian-Swedish (IS) and Yugoslavian-Swedish (YS), comparing them to three assortative unions in which both parents were born in Iran (II), former Yugoslavia (YY), or Sweden (SS).

Iranians and Yugoslavians have different migration histories in Sweden, which may influence the type and extent of their resources in the new country. Yugoslavians are either immigrant workers who moved to Sweden in the 1960s and 1970s, or refugees (mainly Bosnian, Kosovan) who arrived in the 1990s. Yugoslavians are overrepresented in the working-class segments of Swedish society. Iranians are mostly political refugees who moved to Sweden during the 1980s or 1990s; some were opponents of the Islamic revolution, others wished to preserve their secular middle-class lifestyle, yet others joined their family members during the Iraq-Iran war (Darvishpour, 1999; Graham & Khostavi, 1997; Kelly, 2013). Studies underline that Iranians consider themselves a “diaspora”

(Darvishpour, 1999; Graham & Khostavi, 1997; Kelly, 2013). The sample profile of mixed unions is representative of the population. When we examine Swedish register data, we find the same percentage of mixed unions –19 percent – for both Iranians and Yugoslavians.

Our key variable is access to social capital, and we are interested in measuring both the volume and the source of social capital. Our most important independent variable is the type of parental union. In addition, we introduce a few more independent variables primarily to control for socioeconomic position.

Social capital: We measure social capital with the so-called position generator (Hällsten, Edling, & Rydgren, 2015; Lin & Erickson, 2008; van Tubergen & Volker, 2014), which asks respondents if they know someone in a specific occupation. The survey repeats this question for 40 occupations that represent the full range of socioeconomic occupational status according to the Swedish SEI-code (SCB, 2015). We use two count variables as indicators of social capital. Extensity refers to the number of occupations that an individual has access to, and reachability refers to the number of upper-service-class contacts that an individual has access to. The former represents the quantity, and the latter the quality of social capital (see Table 1). The count measures are more reliable than the range of occupational prestige or the highest prestige score of the accessible occupations (see Verhaeghe, Li, and Van de Putte (2013)). They are also easier to interpret than occupational prestige scores.

Sources of social capital: As a follow-up to the questions about occupations (above), respondents were asked about the nature of their relationship to the person in the given occupation. Because of the survey design, we cannot contract the same measures across both samples. In the first wave of the survey (at age 19) respondents were asked if the relationship to the person with a given occupation is one of acquaintanceship or family (including nuclear family and relatives/ kin). In the second wave (at age 23), respondents were asked if the person with the given occupation lives in Sweden, divides their time between Sweden and abroad, or lives abroad.

Mixed unions: The union variable includes three categories of respondents born in Sweden. The first category refers to children of immigrants (aka, second-generation immigrants): those born in Sweden to foreign-born parents (II or YY). The second category includes children from mixed unions (IS or YS). This is our focal category. The third category refers to those with two Swedish-born parents (SS). We exclude those respondents who were themselves born abroad.

Parental level of education: Both the mother's and the father's education are measured in four categories: did not complete high school; finished high school; having at least two years of post-high-school education including university; and

postgraduate education (master's or Ph.D.). We include these as dummy variables using those who did not complete high school as the reference group (see Table 1).

Parental employment: Mother's and father's employment status is measured as 1 if employed, and 0 if not (see Table 1).

Analytical strategy

Data analysis is in two parts. The first part examines the extent to which children from mixed unions access social capital compared to children of immigrants and children of two Swedish-born parents. In the second part, we repeat the same comparison with different dependent variables. i.e. social and geographical sources of social capital.

In the first part, we use Poisson regression with robust standard errors when extensity and reachability as the dependent variables. We follow the established practice in econometrics (Winkelmann, 2008), suggesting that robust standard errors provide consistent and unbiased estimates under violation (e.g. over-dispersion, under-dispersion, or bi-modality). To test hypothesis H1, we estimate the odds ratio for two measures of social indicators, i.e. extensity and reachability. The models include mixed unions, gender, parental education and parental employment. Missingness only occurs in the parental level of education. For both samples, the missing rate is around four percent in the father's education and seven percent in the mother's. In order to use the largest possible observations, we carry out imputation by using the MI package in STATA (version 14). After pooling 25 imputed datasets, we did not find any differences in estimation between the results before and after multiple imputations.

In the second part, we use logistic regression models for the social (family, kin and acquaintances) and geographical (Sweden, country of origin and third countries) sources of social capital. As Table 1 shows, the mean for reachability is, in general, 2.11 in sample 1 (age 19), and 2.54 in sample 2 (age 23). Having examined the same statistics for different sources, the mean of reachability via family and acquaintances is, respectively, 1.03 and 1.27. The same statistic for sources in Sweden, Sweden and abroad, and abroad, respectively, are 2.04, 0.22 and 0.23. The mean for reachability for four out of five sources is around or less than 1. This is because half of the respondents do not access the reachability measure of social capital. For this reason, we use logistic regression models in the second part. We plot predicative probabilities of accessing reachability for each source. These show if one accesses higher rank occupations in each source or not. The same probability is calculated for each category of mixed union variables, including children of immigrants, children of mixed unions and children of two

Swedish-born parents. The results are producing using the margins command in STATA (version 14). The same models allow us to test H2a and H2b.

Results

The presentation of results begins with the extensity and reachability of social capital and then moves to the distribution of social capital across sources. In the following, all respondents are born in Sweden. “YY” indicates that two parents were born in the former Yugoslavia, while “II” indicates that two parents were born in Iran, and “SS” indicates that the two parents were born in Sweden. “IS” indicates that one of the respondent’s parents was born in Iran and the other in Sweden; “YS” is similar to “IS”, but indicates one parent born in the former Yugoslavia and the other parent born in Sweden.

Table 1 shows that young people have more access to social capital when they get older. Compared to 19 year olds, 23 year olds have greater access to extensity and reachability. This may be explained by the fact that a larger number of young people have found a job or left the family nest during the four-year period between surveys. Parental education and employment statistics are similar in the two samples. Around 35 percent of mothers and fathers have at least two years of higher education and 28–30 percent of parents have no job.

Table 2 demonstrates two important results. First, the social capital of children with immigrant parents is not less than that of children with two Swedish-born parents. On the contrary, YY and II access the highest social capital, while SS access the least. Second, there is a difference between IS/ YS and SS in terms of reachability but not extensity. Compared to SS, IS has higher reachability whereas there is no such difference between YS and SS.

Table 1 Descriptive statistics

Sample 1 (age 19) (n=2944)	Mean	Sd	Min	Max
Social capital				
Extensity	13.51	6.32	0	37
Reachability	2.11	1.9	0	9
Mother's education				
Did not complete high school	.16	.368	0	1
Finished high school	.50	.500	0	1
At least 2 years of post-high school	.34	.472	0	1
Postgraduate	.01	.079	0	1
Father's education				
Did not complete high school	.16	.370	0	1
Finished high school	.51	.499	0	1
At least 2 years of post-high school	.30	.459	0	1
Postgraduate	.02	.137	0	1
Employed mother	.73	.450	0	1
Employed father	.73	.450	0	1
Sample 2 (age 23) (n=2244)				
Social capital				
Extensity	15.45	7.05	0	37
Reachability	2.54	2.06	0	9
Mother's education				
Did not complete high school	.170	.376	0	1
Finished high school	.48	.499	0	1
At least 2 years of post-high school	.34	.475	0	1
Postgraduate	.01	.085	0	1
Father's education				
Did not complete high school	.16	.369	0	1
Finished high school	.50	.500	0	1
At least 2 years of post-high school	.31	.464	0	1
Postgraduate	.02	.148	0	1
Employed mother	.72	.450	0	1
Employed father	.70	.460	0	1

Notes: i) The total also includes children born abroad. We only made a comparison among children born in Sweden.
ii) Values are before multiple imputations.

Table 2 Poisson regression predicting the association between social capital and mixed unions without controls (odds ratios)

	First sample (age 19)				Second sample (age 23)			
	Yugoslavian		Iranian		Yugoslavian		Iranian	
	Extens.	Reach.	Extens.	Reach.	Extens.	Reach.	Extens.	Reach.
Children of immigrants	1.127	1.102	1.089**	1.660***	1.106*	1.147*	1.137***	1.627**
	.043	.092	.030	.074	.044	.082	.032	.073
Children from mixed-unions	1.043	.945	1.090*	1.422***	.983	.91	1.030	1.419**
	.041	.074	.044	.097	.048	.08	.052	.104
Female	.997	1.032	1.029	1.042	.980	1.016	.955*	1.011
	.019	.0406	.021	0.040	.021	.041	.021	.039

* p < 0.05. ** p < 0.01. *** p < 0.001.

What happens to these results when we take parental socioeconomic background into consideration? Poisson regression models confirm the results (see Table 3). Respondents with one parent from Iran (IS) diverge from both SS and YS. IS respondents have higher reachability than SS respondents. The results also suggest that parental socioeconomic background, particularly parental education, has a stronger impact on social capital. When children come from similar levels of parental education, the difference in social capital between children from mixed unions and children of two Swedish-born parents decreases. If we compare the numbers in Table 2 and Table 3, we can identify the results. When controlled for parental socioeconomic background, the odds ratios for reachability of IS decline from 1.42 to 1.33 at age 19, and from 1.41 to 1.30 at age 23. At both time points, the role of mixed-union parents on reachability remains statistically significant compared to group SS. These results contradict the first hypothesis, H1. Children from mixed unions are not generally positioned between children of immigrant and Swedish-born parents. Children from the two types of mixed unions differ in access to social capital. IS respondents are positioned in the middle, whereas YS respondents have similar access to social capital as SS respondents.

By using Poisson regression models, we estimate two indicators of social capital, namely extensity and reachability, showing major differences in reachability between children from mixed unions, children from two immigrant parents, and children from two Swedish-born parents. In the rest of the results, we only focus on reachability because no difference is found in extensity. By using logistic regression models, we estimate predictive margins (mean, and standard deviation) that show the probability of accessing social capital through different sources when holding control variables at their mean. A higher probability means a greater likelihood of accessing social capital for a given source. Figure 1 demonstrates predictive margins with 90 percent confidence intervals. The five plots show predictive margins for accessing social capital across two social (family/ kin and acquaintances) and three geographical (Sweden, parental country of origin and third countries) sources, we added five plots demonstrating predictive margins accessing social capital. In each plot, we compare average predictive margins and confidence intervals among five groups, two are the offspring of mixed unions (YS and IS), two of immigrants (YY and II), and one of Swedish-born parents (SS). We begin with discussing the results on family-based social capital and end with social capital accessed abroad.

Table 3 Poisson regression predicting the association between social capital and mixed unions with controls (odds ratios)

	First sample (age 19)				Second sample (age 23)			
	Yugoslavian		Iranian		Yugoslavian		Iranian	
	Exten.	Reach.	Exten.	Reach.	Exten.	Reach.	Exten.	Reach.
Children of immigrants	1.17***	1.29**	1.08**	1.58***	1.13**	1.35***	1.11***	1.54***
	.05	.11	.03	.07	.05	.1	.03	0.07
Children from mixed-unions	1.06	1.01	1.08	1.33***	.99	.99	1.01	1.30***
	.04	.08	.05	.09	.05	.1	.05	.1
Female	.99	1	1.03	1.02	.97	.98	.95	.98
	.02	.04	.02	.04	.02	.04	.02	.04
Mother's education								
Finished high school	1.07	1.33***	1.05	1.12	1.09	1.34***	.09	1.15
	.03	.09	.04	.09	.04	.10	.04	.09
At least two year post-high school	1.10	1.73***	1.07*	1.44***	1.08	1.59***	.09	1.34***
	.04	.13	.05	.11	.04	.12	.04	.11
Postgraduate	1.09	2.26***	1.10	1.63**	1.08	2.17***	1.06	1.68***
	.10	.48	.11	.27	.16	.36	.11	.24
Father's education								
Finished high school	1.00	1.03	1.00	1.04	1.05	1.11	1.04	1.09
	.02	.06	.03	.07	.04	.07	.04	.08
At least two year post-high school	1.09	1.42***	1.07	1.37***	1.11**	1.49***	1.09	1.42***
	.04	.09	.04	.09	.04	.11	.04	.10
Postgraduate	1.15	1.97***	1.12	1.80***	1.13	1.82***	1.03	1.66***
	.10	.21	.09	.20	.09	.20	.9	.20
Mother's employment								
	.99	.94	1.00	.99	1.03	1.06	1.03	1.03
	.02	.04	.03	.05	.03	.05	.03	.05
Father's employment								
	1.00	1.04	1.00	.98	.97	.98	.93**	.89*
	.05	.05	.03	.05	.03	.05	.03	.04

* p < 0.05. ** p < 0.01. *** p < 0.001.

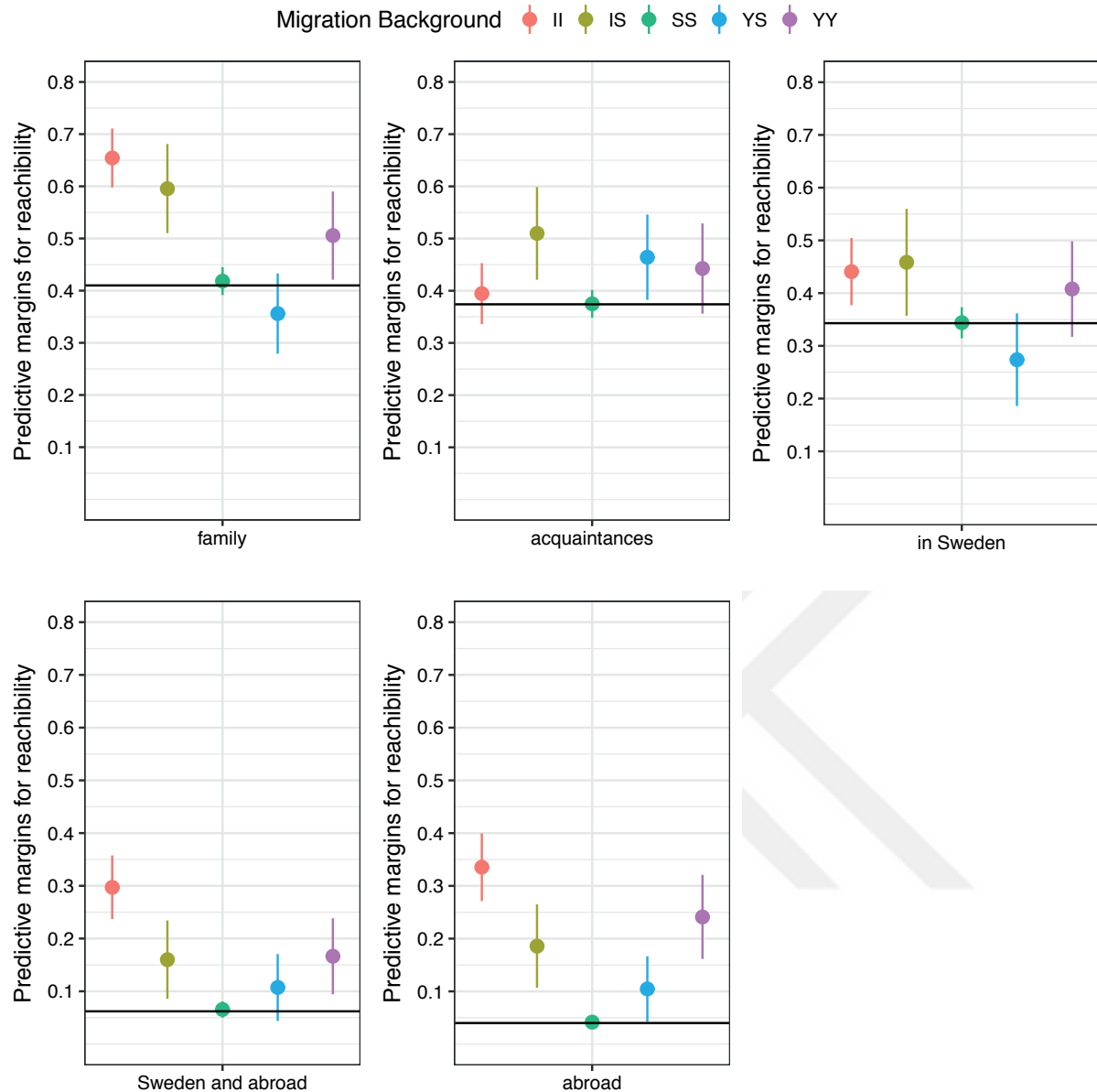


Figure 1 The predictive margins for social capital (reachability) given the sources of social capital (II=Iranian, SS= Swedish, YY= Yugoslavian, YS= Yugoslavian-Swedish, IS =Iranian-Swedish); horizontal lines refer to Swedish (children of two Swedish-born parents) strata

Note: Predictive margins are calculated by logistic regression models. Each model estimates reachability for social and geographical sources of social capital given parental education and employment status, gender of respondents hold at their averages. Children born abroad (i.e. first-generation immigrants) were included in the data analysis, but not in the results, because the aim is to compare children from mixed unions and children born in Sweden. The maximum value of predicted probability is around 0.7, which determines the scale of the figure. Caution is needed when interpreting the results. Predicted probabilities for two sources of social capital do not have to be equal to 1. Each plot is constructed using different models.

The first plot in Figure 1 shows predictive margins of accessing social capital through family ties. The results suggest striking differences between IS and YS. Almost all groups access greater family-based social capital than the baseline. The exception is children of YS, who access social capital below baseline. The results have mixed-implications for hypothesis H2a. The difference between YY and YS is statistically significant, however the difference is not very large (confidence intervals slightly overlap), suggesting a failure to reject H2a. However, confidence intervals for IS and II largely overlap, suggesting rejection of H2a. The results indicate that accessing family-based social capital depends on the context of the mixed union, and reveals that the exclusionary role of third parties, e.g. extended family and/or the ethnic community, is more likely to present among YS than IS.

The confidence intervals for accessing social capital through acquaintances overlap somewhat. However, while the result is not statistically significant, there is an interesting pattern here. Looking at the first two plots, the average predictive margins for IS and YS are higher for acquaintances than for family. The opposite is the case for YY and II. Mixed unions, particularly IS, access slightly greater social capital through acquaintances than II. This means that children from mixed unions tend to access social capital via people who are not within their immediate social circle. Children from mixed unions, particularly IS, are more likely to be part of ethnically dissimilar groups, such as immigrants with other ethnic backgrounds.

Looking at the results for geographical sources of social capital, once again, children from mixed unions differ in accessing social capital in Sweden. YS is below the baseline; IS is above the baseline. Compared to second-generation immigrants, the confidence intervals overlap for IS and II. IS and II are indifferent in generating social capital in Sweden. The corresponding difference between YS and YY is 0.15. This difference is important but does not have a robust effect size due to slightly overlapping confidence intervals.

So far, the results for the first three sources of social capital show noticeable differences between YS and YY, but not between IS and II. In the last two plots, this pattern changes. The differences in social capital through transnational ties increase between IS and II. The last plot shows a clear pattern: social capital generated from transnational ties for children from mixed unions, both IS and YS, lies somewhere between children of immigrants on one hand and two Swedish-born parents on the other. Children of mixed unions access greater transnational social capital than children of two Swedish-born parents. For this reason, H2b is not rejected.

The results also fail to reject the final hypothesis, H3. As mentioned earlier, Iranians generally access the greatest social capital, including family-based and transnational social capital. The advantaged conditions of being Iranian may also

create advantages for IS. Iranians in Sweden are a middle-class diaspora. This opens up new connections in higher-ranking positions. For instance, a family member may be introduced to other Iranians in higher-status professions. This may, in turn, also strengthen the ties with extended family/ kin and co-ethnics in Sweden.

If we turn from the interpretation of results for specific sources to more general results, we identify several interesting points. First, geographical and social sources of social capital are not mutually exclusive. It is not possible to analyse intersections among the sources, as the sources of social capital are derived from a different sample. Looking at the relations between plots, we can see that plotting family-based social capital and social capital in Sweden shows similar patterns for YY, YS and SS. Due to this similarity, we can argue that loss of ethnic capital among YS may be the reason why they access the lowest social capital within Sweden. However, looking at the transnational social capital for YS, loss of ethnic capital does not imply its complete disappearance. In the models above, we find that YS access similar levels of social capital as SS. YS are more likely to be excluded from family-based social capital in Sweden, or ethnic ties in Sweden, but maintain their links with co-ethnics in the home country or co-ethnics in third countries. In other words, while YS are disadvantaged in accessing social capital via extended family and kin in Sweden, they may compensate for this disadvantage through transnational ties. For IS, however, the results are the opposite. While IS and II show similarities in family-based social capital and social capital in Sweden, there is an increased difference from each other in transnational social capital. This might explain why II respondents access greater social capital than IS in the models above. The results mean that children from mixed unions may distil resources from the Iranian diaspora, but their capacity is not the same as that of second-generation immigrants.

Across the five sources of social capital, children from IS unions access greater social capital than baseline in all cases, whereas for children from YS this is greater than baseline in only two cases. YS access less social capital than the baseline for two sources of social capital. IS access social capital through multiple sources. YS on the other hand, do not differ from YY or SS in access to social capital. YS thus belong to more narrow social circles. In the first part of the results, we found that children from mixed unions do not have a fixed position. That is, IS are more advantaged than SS whereas YS are no different from SS. The results also suggest strong context dependence in access to social capital. IS access the greatest social capital through acquaintances, while YS access the lowest social capital both through family ties and ties in Sweden. For social capital through transnational sources, YS lie somewhere between children of immigrants and children of two Swedish-born parents.

Discussion and conclusions

The study has two objectives: i) to investigate access to social capital among mixed-union children; and ii) to explore the distribution of social capital across geographical and social sources. The social capital of mixed-union children does not fit a specific pattern. Children from YS unions do not differ in access to social capital compared to children of two Swedish-born parents. Children from IS unions access greater social capital than the other two groups. Moreover, children of immigrants access greater social capital than either children of mixed unions or children of two Swedish-born parents. The results diverge from previous studies that argue that social integration of children from mixed unions are either somewhere between children of immigrants and children of two Swedish-born parents, or are similar to children of native-born parents (Kalmijn, 2010, 2015; Rodríguez-García, 2015). The results do not support the idea that children of two Swedish-born parents are the most advantaged in accessing social capital and second-generation immigrants are the least advantaged. In fact, this study finds the order to be the reverse. This is mostly because second-generation immigrants and mixed-union children access greater ethnic social capital, i.e. social capital accessed through family, kin and transnational ties. Thus, unpacking the sources of social capital expands our understanding of access to social capital among children from mixed unions.

Family-based social capital distributes differently among children from mixed unions depending on the country of origin of the immigrant parent. Children from YS unions access the lowest family-based social capital, which might be evidence of exclusion from family networks. This is in line with the argument that family and extended family members apply sanctions to mixed-union parents and their children (Cheng & Powell, 2007; Kalmijn, 2010). The situation is different for children from IS unions. Although these children access lower family-based social capital than children of immigrants, this does not result in a sharp decline. Family-based networks remain the major source of social capital among children from IS unions. Moreover, Iranians in Sweden are more likely to be surrounded by higher-educated immigrants. While Yugoslavians are overrepresented among the working class in Sweden, Iranians are overrepresented in the middle class. The higher educated are often more tolerant and open to dissimilar others (Bryson, 1996; Muttarak & Heath, 2010). Higher education in family/ kinship networks may lessen the consequences of conflict, tension or disagreements between third parties and mixed unions.

Although some suffer from exclusion from family and kinship networks, children from mixed unions maintain transnational ties and access significant amounts of social capital through acquaintances. Children from mixed unions access greater social capital through transnational ties than children of two Swedish-born parents.

Once again, this is a matter of degree. Children from IS unions access more resources through transnational ties than children from YS unions. In contrast to Yugoslavians, Iranians belong to a global intellectual diaspora. Looking at social capital through acquaintances, the children from mixed unions access social capital no less than children of immigrants and more than children of two Swedish-born parents. This may be due to having more opportunities for meeting (Kalmijn, 2010), being socialised into both the ethnic majority and minority (Stephan & Stephan, 1991), being less ethnocentric in their social relations (Alba & Nee, 2009; Qian, 2005), or investing more efforts to replace lost family/ kinship networks (Cheng & Powell, 2007). Therefore, children from mixed unions access less ethnic capital and more social capital outside their close networks than children of immigrants.

Accessing social capital from multiple sources is in line with the multi-directionality of integration (Rodríguez-García et al., 2015). When children from YS unions access social capital through transnational ties or through acquaintances, they compensate for their weak access through family and kinship. Accessing social capital beyond family/ kin prevents them from being more disadvantaged than the children of two Swedish-born parents. For Iranian-Swedish unions, each source creates its own advantage. The results diverge from previous research that children of immigrants are not different from children of two Swedish-born parents with respect to the social aspects of integration (Kalmijn, 2010, 2015; Rodríguez-García, 2015). Studies often find that children from mixed unions interact more often with children of two Swedish-born parents compared to children of immigrants. However, access to the ethnic majority does not guarantee greater social capital. For example, being connected to a middle-class Iranian is likely to open up more job opportunities than being connected to a working-class Swede. In particular, studies suggested that informal methods of finding a job – knowing influential people – play no less of a role than formal methods (Behtoui, 2008; Ekström, 2001; Korpi, 2001; Okeke, 2001). Hence, social capital accessed through diverse sources is more likely to help children from mixed backgrounds fare better in Sweden.

This study has two larger implications. First, previous studies have shown that greater cultural distance between parties destabilises mixed unions (Dribe & Lundh, 2012). The distance is often assessed through country-based values (see survival-self-expression and traditional-secular in Inglehart (1997)). If we examine this hypothesis of value differences, the World Values Survey indicates that Iranians are culturally more distant from Swedes than Yugoslavians. Likewise, Iranian-Swedish unions have a greater gap in cultural values than YS unions. Our results suggest that children from IS unions are more advantaged than the children of YS parents. Thus, the middle-class background of Iranians in Sweden appears to counter the cultural differences based on ethnicity, compared to the

predominantly working-class Yugoslavians. This is an issue to be resolved by future studies. Second, due to the context of mixed unions, i.e. who forms a union with whom, children from mixed unions access social capital in different ways. Thus, “thicker descriptions” of mixed-union contexts is required. Because mixed unions are formed with ethnic, religion and language differences, they cannot be moulded homogenously (see similar emphasis in Collet (2015); Rodríguez-García (2006)).

This study has a number of limitations. The sample is based on a rather young cohort. The social capital of older cohorts probably changes with their educational and employment status. For this reason, we cannot generalise the results to all age groups. In general, studies on mixed unions are based on demographic surveys or population registers that mostly lack instruments for measuring social capital. This study aims to close this gap. However, the small sample size does not allow for investigations into the relative role of the origin of the mother and the father in mixed unions.

To sum up, mixed unions are not necessarily to the children’s (dis)advantage. Unpacking social capital through multiple sources offers insight into how people with similar ascriptive characteristics end up accessing different social capital. The access to social capital of the children from mixed unions depends on a constellation of sources, where the migration background and context of the foreign-born parent seem particularly important.

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Paper III. Cultural Omnivores: a Bridge or a Wall between Ethnically Different Worlds? Evidence from Young People in Sweden

Abstract

The aim of this study is to examine the extent to which cultural omnivores associate with different forms of network diversity, namely brokerage and closure. The study explores ethnic diversity in the network characteristics. Applying generalised linear models to the Swedish Social Capital and Labour Market Integration survey (n=2,244), the study covers 23 year olds in Sweden with parents born in three different countries: former Yugoslavia, Iran, and Sweden. The results are threefold. First, involvement in a greater volume of cultural activities does not associate with brokering across different ethnic categories. Second, Swedes who connect non-Swedes and Swedes are more likely to be involved in both highbrow and lowbrow activities. This result depends on parental socioeconomic background. The results imply that cultural omnivorousness is limited as a form of multicultural capital.

Keywords: Brokerage, Cultural Omnivorousness, Closure and Sweden.

Introduction

The omnivorousness thesis is one of the most debated subjects in cultural sociology. It states that people in higher socioeconomic positions do not shun what is popular; rather, they engage in a variety of cultural activities, both those considered highbrow and those held to be lowbrow. According to citation reports from Web of Science (2017), the number of studies on this topic has risen thirteen times over the last decade. These were initially conducted in a few Western countries like the United States and France, and later tested in different country contexts, including Finland (Purhonen, Gronow, & Rahkonen, 2010), Flanders (Stichele & Laermans, 2006), Russia (Zavisca, 2005), South Korea (Yoon, Kim, & Eom, 2011) and Turkey (Rankin & Ergin, 2017). As the thesis became prevalent, debates around it grew. The implications of the omnivorousness thesis for Bourdieu's studies in cultural sociology are widely debated (Lizardo & Skiles, 2016), as are problems around conceptualisation, measurement (Karademir Hazir & Warde, 2016) and comparison in different settings (Richard A Peterson, 2005).

This study investigates the associations between ethnic diversity in social networks and cultural diversity at an individual level (omnivorousness). Previous studies suggest that people in higher socioeconomic positions are involved in diverse cultural activities as their own networks are diverse (Dimaggio, 1987). We might also expect the reverse, as the relationship between cultural and network domains are co-constitutive rather than causally determined by one or the other (Lizardo, 2006a; Pachucki & Breiger, 2010; Schultz & Breiger, 2010; Vaisey & Lizardo, 2010). In recent decades, studies have translated the concept of "being open to all" cultural activities to an identity and a personality trait when interacting with ethnically dissimilar groups. Bryson (1996) argues that involvement in diverse cultural activities is a form of multicultural capital, which is unevenly distributed by education, and goes together with supporting greater rights for ethnic/ racial minorities (van Eijck & Lievens, 2008). On the other hand, studies also suggest that omnivores are not indiscriminate (Warde & Gayo-Cal, 2009; Warde, Wright, & Gayo-Cal, 2007), and indeed actively differentiate themselves from lower-educated and ethnic minorities (Bryson, 1996). The following question guides the research: does cultural omnivorousness bridge between people with different ethnic backgrounds, or are such people more likely to be part of closed relations between ethnically similar people?

Following the insights of Warde and Gayo-Cal (2009) and Warde et al. (2007), omnivorousness is not characterised as singular and integrated cultural consumption. Rather, it has two components: volume (that is, breadth of cultural involvement) and composition (that is, involving both highbrow or legitimate and lowbrow culture). The study examines the most open (inclusive) and the most closed (exclusive) social network characteristics. The former connects

disconnected parties and is thus a form of network brokerage, which refers to an openness to ethnically different groups. Its opposite is network closure which refers to people with similar ethnic backgrounds who fence themselves off from different others. Thus, this study explores ethnic and socioeconomic brokerage and closure, based on omnivorousness by volume and omnivorousness by composition.

Omnivorousness Thesis

After the 1990s, hierarchy in cultural consumption was questioned by several studies. In his study of classic music organisations in Boston, Dimaggio (1987) examined the emergence of the highbrow-lowbrow distinction over time. He states that the distinction was fuzzy before the nineteenth century, and emerged at the turn of the twentieth century when urban elites – known as Brahmins – who established organisations to differentiate “art” from “entertainment”. In her comparative study of the upper middle classes, Lamont (1992) argues that taste is more autonomous in France than the United States due to the former’s centralised education system, intellectual subculture and ethnic homogeneity. She finds (1992) that in the United States taste is not a clear distinction that is used by the middle class to differentiate itself from people of a different class; instead similar cultural distinctions are mixed with moral signals, such as honesty and work ethics. Finally, Peterson and Kern (1996) argue that highbrow people are not snobs (who do not participate in low or middlebrow activities). Rather, they are eclectic: cultural omnivores, who “at least appreciate all”, and thus replace exclusive snobs. They argue that the rise of the omnivore after the 1980s is due to educational expansion, a flourishing market in art production, geographical mobility and increasing tolerance of others.

Network Diversity and Cultural Diversity

Breiger (2010) writes that networks and cultures co-constitute rather than merely determine one another. While social networks structure culture, culture structures social networks. Following this viewpoint, I do not make a causal argument about the direction of associations between network characteristics and cultural omnivorousness; rather the focus of this study is based on associations (or correlations). The quality (composition) and quantity (volume) of cultural omnivorousness is expected to be associated with network brokerage and closure.

Brokerage is the minimum unit of network diversity. It is reasonable to assume that the diversity of people's social interactions is indicative of their context of cultural consumption. The greater the diversity in social networks, the more individuals integrate into different social circles (Dimaggio, 1987; Marsden, 1987). Brokerage and closure are complementary network processes: brokerage bridges disjointed networks with competing views or contradictory norms (Burt, 2001; Stovel & Shaw, 2012). As Stovel and Shaw (2012, p. 140) put it, "without such acts of brokerage, we would all live much narrower and in many respects, more impoverished lives". Brokerage introduces novelty in cultural consumption, including both low- and high-status cultural activities. Furthermore, the greater the volume of cultural consumption, the more time it takes, preventing people from forming dense ties with dissimilar others (Mark, 1998). Dimaggio (1987) finds that individuals with a breadth of cultural consumption often have diverse networks with few dense ties. Therefore, brokerage and greater volume of cultural consumption co-occur, that is, the propensity to be in brokerage increases with the volume of cultural consumption and vice versa.

In contrast, closed networks, aka closure, maintain and strengthen existing habits, beliefs and norms. The dynamics of closed networks rely on similarity and trust. Closed networks employ sanctions and punishments for those who break from general conventions or seek novelty outside of existing relations. As Burt (2005) states, closure promotes the status quo. Closed networks also provide support and advantage. In his study on school setting, for example, Coleman (1988) found that closed networks impose a constraint on young people to follow certain school behaviours such as studying harder or abstaining from school truancy. At the same time, Lizardo (2006a) argues that highbrow culture is exclusive and shows more solidarity than lowbrow culture. The former facilitates strong ties (e.g. tightly-knit relations with similar others); the latter facilitates weak ties (loosely-knit relations with different others). For this reason, it is expected that omnivorous composition, involving both highbrow and lowbrow aspects, is more likely to co-occur with closed networks.

The association between brokerage and closure as two forms of network diversity on one hand, and the quality/ quantity aspect of cultural omnivorousness on the other, is expected to be stronger depending on the actors' categorical membership (e.g. ethnic). According to Stovel and Shaw (2012), brokerage is more influential on behaviour and preferences when actors belong to different categories. This is because disconnected parties tend to have greater biases towards out-groups and greater cohesive relations with in-group members (Stovel & Shaw, 2012). Cross-category brokerage then increases the volume of cultural consumption. In closed networks within the same category, the contrast between insiders and outsiders is reinforced. Closed networks within the same category are like a "catnet" (category and network) which flattens variety in cultural consumption and crystallises

similar behaviours (Fuhse, 2012). This strengthens a sense of belonging and groupness among members. In contrast to brokerage between categories, closure within the same category reflects exclusivity of cultural consumption. Same-category closure, then, is more associated with the composition of cultural omnivorousness.

From this reasoning, I formulate two generic hypotheses:

H1: Brokerage across different categories is more likely to be positively associated with omnivorousness by volume (OV).

H2: Closure within categories is more likely to be positively associated with omnivorousness by composition (OC).

Using these hypotheses, I will explore the ethnic characteristics of network diversity. Ethnicity is a cognitive process resulting in the construction of salient categorical distinctions between people (Brubaker, Loveman, & Stamatov, 2004). Ethnicity becomes more detrimental in the association between network diversity and cultural diversity due to hierarchies within a particular country context. In Sweden, for example, “Swedish” and “non-Swedish” are cognitively distinct categories. People of immigrant origin (particularly those of Middle Eastern or African backgrounds) are subject to negative stereotypes (such as traditional, patriarchal, and lazy) (Bredström, 2003; Torres, 2006). Due to these bright ethnic distinctions, cross-ethnic brokerage is expected to be associated with omnivorousness by volume; same-ethnic closure is expected to be associated with omnivorousness by composition.

Previous studies have suggested that cultural omnivores have a certain character, and a sense of self and their assets, which eases social integration between ethnic categories. Bryson (1996) suggests that multicultural capital is unevenly distributed across education. She argues that people who listen to a breadth of musical genres are more tolerant of different tastes including those of low-income and racial minorities, and are more likely to be politically tolerant. That is, omnivores are in favour of more liberties for stigmatised groups (e.g. atheists, communists, homosexuals) and racial attitudes (e.g. sending kids to black majority schools, busing together). van Eijck and Lievens (2008) find that people who combine different types of cultural activities – popular, folk and highbrow – have favourable attitudes towards social integration. They are less likely to be utilitarian individualist (seeking benefits to themselves rather than others) or to seek isolation. While Bryson (1996) highlights the volume of omnivores and van Eijck and Lievens (2008) the composition of omnivores, I expect omnivores in general to be more likely to exhibit curious or caring attitudes which lead them to develop ties with ethnically dissimilar groups.

Data

This study is based on the second wave of the Swedish panel survey Social Capital and Labour Market Integration: A Cohort Study. For this wave, a stratified sample of 5,652 individuals was selected for interview by telephone between October and December 2013. The sample consists of three different groups of Swedes who were all born in 1990: (a) all individuals with at least one parent born in Iran, (b) 50 percent of all individuals with at least one parent born in former Yugoslavia, and (c) a random sample of 2,500 individuals whose parents were both born in Sweden. With an overall response rate of 39.7 percent, the number of respondents for each of these groups was 675 Yugoslavians, 501 Iranians, and 1,068 native-born Swedes (response rates for these three groups were respectively 34.8 percent, 39.3 percent and 43.7 percent).

The survey collected a wide range of information including cultural preferences, social psychological indicators and social networks. The survey data was linked to a population register maintained by Statistics Sweden. All demographic data, including parental ethnic background, parental social class and school information are based on the population register.

Measurement

The activities below are used to measure two forms of cultural consumption: omnivorousness by volume and by composition. The variables are as follows:

- Going to the movies;
- Reading literary classics;
- Playing computer games (PC or console);
- Going to museums (including art museums);
- Going to the theatre;
- Going to libraries (*statsbibliotek*; in Sweden these host reading clubs, author meetings and public lectures);
- Going to concerts; and
- Watching sport events (football, ice hockey and other team sports).

All questions measure frequency of attendance at the given activity. The possible responses are: i) never or seldom, ii) several times a year, iii) once a month, and iv) at least once a week. As Peterson (2005) states, omnivorousness refers to the number of different cultural activities, rather than the amount of time spent on the

activities. At the same time, the statistical distribution of cultural activities such as going to museums and the theatre is highly skewed. This is why I have created new dummy variables for each activity, including whether or not people participate. By using dummy variables, I have created two measures of omnivorousness.

Omnivorousness by volume (OV) indicates breadth of cultural consumption. The count measure includes the sum of eight different activities. As shown in Table 1, OV ranges from 0 to 8 with a mean of 3.34 and standard deviation (1.569).

Omnivorousness by composition (OC) indicates if people join both highbrow (legitimate) and lowbrow (popular) culture. What is legitimate and popular is not always self-evident. Following Warde and Gayo-Cal (2009, p. p. 135), legitimacy refers to the exclusivity of cultural consumption, that is, cultural activities that are disproportionally represented amongst people with higher education.

There are two steps to measure OC. The first is to determine which activities are legitimate, using the ratio of people with university degrees over people without the university degree. Table 1 below shows the ratio for specific cultural activities. Those in bold are legitimate, with a ratio close to 2. The remainder are popular, with ratios close to or equal to 1. These ratios were also calculated with respect to parental education and the results (available upon request) are the same.

The second step is to determine who engages in both legitimate and popular activities. To do so, I created a count measure showing how many legitimate activities one can possibly join, and a dummy variable showing if one joins at least one legitimate activity. Using this, I identified all people who joined at least one legitimate activity and also joined at least one popular activity. Sixteen people indicated that they only joined legitimate activities but not popular activities and were removed from the analysis. This very low rate of snobs (less than one percent) is unsurprising because the study focuses on young people aged 23.

The Pearson correlation coefficients between OV and OC are statistically significant ($r=0.4866$), and do not dramatically differ among the three ethnic groups ($r= 0.4526$ for Yugoslavs; 0.5148 for Iranians; 0.4928 for Swedes). In other words, there is a moderate correlation between OC and OV. The differences among the three coefficients are probably due to socioeconomic differences (see Table 1).

Table 1 Activities with and without university degree

	University Educated (%)	Not University Educated (%)	Ratio
Literary classics	4.13	1.33	3.11
Library	46.64	18.55	2.51
Museum	16.7	8.9	1.88
Theatre	8.35	4.91	1.7
Cinema	70.93	60.9	1.16
Concert	27	25	1.08
Sport event	92	83	1.108
Computer games	52	54	0.96

Independent variables

Open triads refer to whether one's friends know each other or not. Following the measurement of brokerage (proportion of open triads) for egocentric networks (Mollenhorst, Edling, & Rydgren, 2014), I use name generator and name interpreter questions. The name generator asks the respondent (ego): "who are the five persons whom you meet and hang around with most often in your leisure time?" If the ego names five alters, there are ten possible triadic relationships. For each named person (alter), follow-up questions probe firstly the characteristics of the ego's relationship to the alter, and secondly the relationship between each pair of alters. One question elicits the existence of a relationship between alters: "do they know each other?" with yes and no answers permitted. A follow-up question asks, "how well do they know each other?" with three response categories: not so well, fairly well, very well. If individuals answer "no" to the first question or "not-so-well" on the second question, they are coded as an open triad, indicating brokerage. If individuals answer, "yes" on the first question and "fairly well" or "very well" on the second question, they are coded as a closed triad, indicating closure. I construct a count variable indicating the number of open triads and calculate the number of close triads by subtracting a number of open triads from total triads. Network closure is used as a reference group to identify the role of brokerage.

Cross-ethnic brokerage refers to the number of open triads in which the respondents' friends have a different ethnicity (foreign-born parents versus Sweden-born parents).

Same-ethnic closure refers to the number of closed triads in which the respondents' friends have the same ethnicity (both have Swedish-born parents, or non-Swedish-born parents).

In total, two variables are about brokering between categories, and two variables are about closing within categories (see Table 2, below). Because most measures are highly skewed, I dichotomise all to make the comparison consistent.

Control Variables

Network size: The number of friends is simply the number of alters derived from the name generator methodology. Young people with more friends are more likely to be brokers than those who have one or few close friends. The average number of friends is 3.19 with standard deviation 1.48. People with larger network sizes are more likely to have brokerage than those with smaller network sizes.

Gender refers to male versus female. Previous studies have shown that women are more involved in highbrow activities than men (Bihagen & Katz-Gerro, 2000; Christin, 2012; Kane, 2004; Lizardo, 2006b).

Parental education refers to the parents' highest level of education. The variable is coded with six categories: 1: no education, 2: basic education, 3: upper secondary education, 4: at least two years higher education, 5: tertiary education, 6: postgraduate education. Parental education is a proxy for socioeconomic background which is the primary factor in cultural consumption (DiMaggio, 1982; Warde et al., 2007).

Analytical Strategy

I will use a two-step data analysis. In the first stage, I will test two hypotheses, focusing on bivariate associations between network characteristics (brokerage and closure) and forms of cultural consumption, for three ethnic groups. There are two reasons for this. First, the role of ethnic brokerage – connecting disconnected ethnic friends – may change when the respondents are from different ethnic groups. Second, testing similar associations for different ethnic groups allows me to conduct a robustness check on the results. In total, I produce twelve correlations based on simple regression models. I use Poisson logistic regressions when the dependent variable is OV and logistic regression when the dependent variable is OC. I assume bivariate simple regression behaves like correlation measures. The results change slightly when we change dependent and independent variables (available upon request).

In the second stage, I will focus on further specification tests. The results may change when we add further control variables. I will control for parental socioeconomic background and network size only for associations that are found

statistically significant. Parental background is a major variable in examining cultural consumption, while network size is a control measure as brokerage is more likely with larger networks. With regard to educational closure, the results may change if the ego has a different level of education. In such cases I will compare the results.

Results

Descriptive Results

I begin with the following question: to what extent do OV and OC vary among the three ethnic groups? I find that Iranians are placed at the highest position among three groups, Yugoslavians lowest. Swedes lie between the two but are only slightly different from Iranians. The order is similar for both OV and OC (see Table 1).

The results for the ethnic characteristics of networks suggest that Swedes are less likely to be part of ethnic brokerage and more likely to be part of ethnic closure. The majority of Swedes (0.74) are part of ethnically closed networks, that is, Swedes who connect two other Swedes who know each other. The result for non-Swedes who connect other non-Swedes who know each other is 0.39 and 0.33 for Iranians and Yugoslavians, respectively (see Table 1). One out of ten Swedes connect Swedes and non-Swedes who do not know each other; whereas the same number is two times higher for children of Yugoslavian and Iranian origin (see Table 1). Thus, young people of immigrant origin are more likely to span ethnic boundaries than those not of immigrant origin.

Table 2 Descriptive Statistics Mean (Standard Deviations)

Variables	Swedes	Iranians	Yugoslavians	Total	Min-Max
Cultural consumption					
OV	3.36 (1.524)	3.45 (1.594)	3.23 (1.616)	3.34 (1.569)	0-8
OC	.10 (.31)	.13 (.336)	.09 (.284)	.11 (.307)	0-1
Network characteristics					
Cross-ethnic brokerage	.10 (.298)	.20 (.401)	.21 (.410)	.15 (.363)	0-1
Same-ethnic closure	.74 (.451)	.39 (.487)	.33 (.471)	.54 (.498)	0-1
Parental education					
Basic	.03 (.16)	.13 (.331)	.14 (.350)	.08 (.277)	0-1
Upper secondary	.46 (.50)	.33 (.467)	.51 (.50)	.46 (.500)	0-1
Post secondary	.21 (.41)	.18 (.387)	.21 (.407)	.21 (.400)	0-1
Tertiary	.30 (.46)	.34 (.475)	.13 (.336)	.26 (.440)	0-1
N	1068	501	675	2244	

Bivariate Analysis

Now, I turn to the major question of the paper: are people who consume a variety of cultural products more likely to broker between ethnically different groups? Or, are they part of closed networks within ethnically similar groups? Figure 1 shows twelve possible correlations.

These figures include respondents' ethnic backgrounds, providing evidence to evaluate the hypothesis on ethnic brokerage/ closure and OV/ OC. Figures 1 shows that no relationship exists between ethnic brokerage and OV. Against my expectation, the results do not support the hypothesis that brokering across ethnic categories is associated with a greater volume of cultural consumption. The results are similar for the relationship between ethnic brokerage and OC except for Swedes. Furthermore, ethnic closure is associated neither with OV nor with OC. The results are similar for the three ethnic groups. The negative association between OC and ethnic closure is also noteworthy. When people connect ethnically similar people, they are less likely to be involved in either highbrow or lowbrow cultural activities.

In my examination of twelve bivariate relations among ethnic brokerage/ closure and two forms of cultural consumption, only one correlation seems to be statistically significant. Swedes who connect Swedes and non-Swedes, who are otherwise not connected, are more likely to consume (odds ratio: 2.0) highbrow

cultural activities than Swedes who do not make such connections. However, the result is not robust because the confidence interval is large and close to 1.

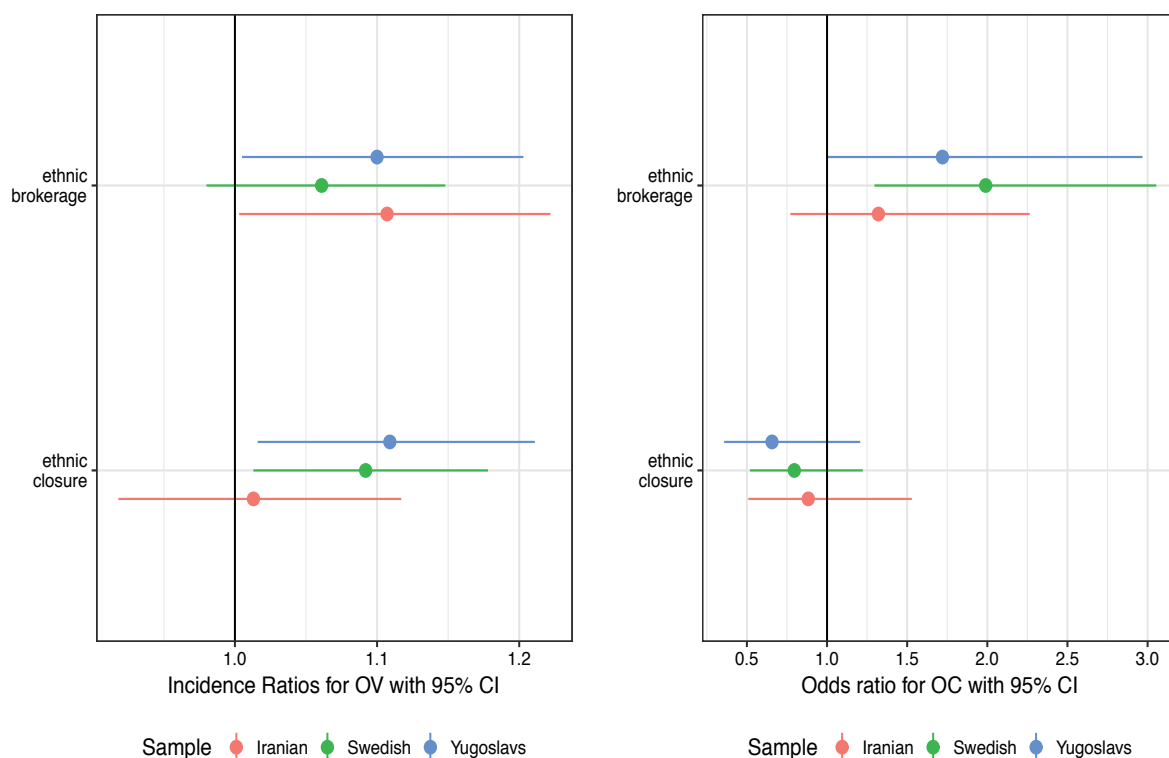


Figure 1 Regression Models Predicting Volume (OV) and Composition of Cultural Consumption (OC) by Two Measures of Network Diversity for Three Groups: Iranians, Yugoslavians and Swedes

Multivariate Analysis

The second stage of the data analysis is multivariate analysis to examine whether the findings of the bivariate analysis are spurious. An interesting result is that Swedes who connect non-Swedes and Swedes are more likely to consume highbrow activities. Table 3 shows that such a relationship disappears when I include parental socioeconomic background. This means, people who connect ethnically different groups engage in higher cultural consumption when it meets two conditions: i) when they are of the ethnic majority; and ii) when they come from the higher socioeconomic background.

Table 3 Predicting Logistic Regression of OC by Ethnic Brokerage and Control Variables (Swedish sample only)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Ethnic brokerage	.06** (.020)	.06** (.021)	.03** (.019)
Female	.075*** (.019)	.075*** (.019)	.074*** (.019)
Network size		-.00 (.007)	
Parental education			
Upper secondary			.01 (.036)
Post-secondary			.08* (.04)
Tertiary			.15*** .04
Pseudo-R2	.0356	.0356	.0974
N	1068	1068	1068

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Discussion

The analysis suggests that cross-ethnic brokerage is not associated with breadth of cultural activities. Only that members of the ethnic majority who tend to be involved in both highbrow and lowbrow cultural activities are more likely to be involved in ethnic brokerage, which is, however, conditional on parental socioeconomic background.

Previous studies have argued that cultural omnivorousness is an asset (capital), giving a sense of self or supporting personality traits for social integration (Bryson, 1996; Emmison, 2003; Snowball, Jamal, & Willis, 2010; van Eijck & Lievens, 2008). It is often found that omnivores are more concerned with the well-being of ethnic and racial minorities (van Eijck & Lievens, 2008), open to ethnically and socioeconomically different worlds (Chan, 2013; Richard A. Peterson & Kern, 1996), and politically tolerant of civil liberties for racialised and stigmatised groups (Bryson 1996). If omnivores are associated with openness and tolerance, this multicultural capital, to use Bryson's (1996) term, may manifest in social relations. Although I do not make causal claims, I expect that

omnivorousness is more likely to be associated with easing social interactions between ethnically different worlds. Involvement in a variety of cultural opportunities helps people to enter environments where they can meet ethnically different individuals, or develop traits that help them directly connect with ethnically different others. As they connect with disconnected parties, they are more likely to act as brokers between disconnected ethnic parties. This is also more likely to happen among young people who explore their sense of self, go in and out of different meeting opportunities (Arnett, 2006). However, I did not find positive associations between omnivorousness and brokering between ethnically different groups. The results imply that previous research associates too many positive attributes with omnivorousness.

This leads us to ask a further question: If omnivorousness is arguably a positive asset, or creates a sense of self for social integration, why does it not bridge ethnically different worlds? Although attitudes describe cognitive processes, such as beliefs about ethnic hierarchies and stereotypes, they are limited in terms of capturing how people actually engage in social relations. For example, studies argue that cosmopolitan “openness” is often manifested in “easy” behaviours (e.g. travel, enjoying different cuisines and music) rather than “difficult” ones (e.g. hospitality to strangers, prioritising human rights over nationalism) (Skrbis & Woodward, 2007). In their studies in the Netherlands, van Eijck and Lievens (2008) make a similar argument about cultural omnivores. They argue that omnivores are neither discontented with social problems nor do they view themselves as original or breakers of norms. In other words, they are less likely to initiate or lead efforts to solve social problems. Contrary to what one might assume, Goldberg, Hannan, and Kovács (2016) find that omnivores actually strengthen the status quo in cultural production as some are loyal to typical products that cultural organisations, such as film societies or restaurant chains, provide, rather than blending them or inventing new ones. One can maintain exclusive ethnic boundaries while being tolerant to ethnic others. An example comes from ethnically mixed schools in London. Reay et al. (2007) examine why some middle-class parents send their children to ethnically mixed schools and found that parents are instrumental in cultivating cosmopolitanism among their children while enjoying the privileges of being white. Therefore, I argue that previous studies are far too ready to associate progressive “positive” attributes with omnivores, and do not fully capture what people actually do in their social relations.

A limitation of this study is that the results are based on a single age group. At this age, young people are less likely to be snobs and more likely to be omnivores. Thus, the results might well be quite different for older groups, as their interest is focused on smaller sets of cultural activities. I also do not have data on the ethnic nature of cultural activities, which limits the opportunity to explore whether

people with similar ethnic backgrounds consume ethnically similar cultural products.

One result does not fit this picture. Young Swedes with higher-educated parents, who are involved in both highbrow and lowbrow activities, are more likely to be brokers between ethnic categories. I argue that this is the by-product of the asymmetric opportunities that young people with and without immigrant origin access. That is, young Swedes' social networks are more homogenous than immigrants. When young people are surrounded by ethnically similar others, a source of novelty in their cultural repertoire comes from contacts with ethnically different people. In other words, being involved in different cultural opportunities help people to come into contact with ethnically different people who may bring novelty to their repertoire. The opposite is less likely, as people of immigrant origin are exposed to diverse ethnic groups in their networks. Another reason may be young people with immigrant "dual references", namely the culture of the parents' country of origin and of the country of current residence (Carter, 2006; Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016; Kao & Tienda, 1998). As young people of immigrant origin have both national and transnational ties, this is a source of novelty in the cultural repertoire that they may not experience in their contacts with the ethnic majority. This insight on asymmetrical opportunities between young people with and without immigrant origin may be rendered more complex if one accounts for parental socioeconomic conditions and the ethnic character of cultural repertoires.

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Paper IV. Immigrant Identity, Social Exclusion and Subjective Well-Being: An Explorative Study of Young People in Sweden

Abstract

The term “immigrant” is construed as “the Other” across many countries. The aim of the study is to investigate whether people with an immigrant identity, (those who specifically identify themselves as being immigrants), suffer more from social stigma than other people of immigrant origin. The study compares and contrasts young Swedes with a background in the former Yugoslavia and Iran who identify as immigrants with peers who subscribe to an ethnic identity or no explicit identity. The analysis is based on a survey sample (n=2,244) covering individuals of Yugoslavian origin, Iranian origin and native-born Swedes with native-born parents. The study explores two sets of social indicators, social exclusion and subjective well-being. The results show that people with an immigrant identity experience greater disadvantages (e.g. higher risk of unemployment and depression) than those with an ethnic identity. The people with an immigrant identity show signs of resistance against stigma. People who claim to have no explicit identity are the most disadvantaged. The results imply that “immigrant” is a stigmatising label that impedes social integration.

Keywords: Immigrant identity, disadvantage, social exclusion, stigma, subjective well-being

Introduction

Nation-states and subnational units often construct their own ideological and geographical unity by constructing “the Other”, e.g. Roma people, Jews, Indians and minority groups. In many countries, the most notable form of the Other is the immigrant. The immigrant has been constructed as the Other over time in and across Europe and overlaps with successive categories such as the nomad, the labourer, the uprooted victim, the hybrid cosmopolitan and the Muslim (Silverstein, 2005). Sweden is no exception. In Swedish, the term translates as *invandrare*, and is often used to denote “non-Swedish” in everyday life. It has negative connotations, and is associated with being loud, lazy, less modern and prone to crime (Bredström, 2003; Herz & Johansson, 2012; Torres, 2006). In this study, I explore the extent to which people with an immigrant identity, i.e. those who self-identify as *invandrare* or “immigrant”, suffer from stigma in Sweden.

Previous studies on immigrant identity have examined the social construction of “immigrant” in public, media and political discourse across European countries. Immigrants are often singled out as “poor people” residing in “problematic areas” (Gruner, 2010), a “burden on the welfare state” (Finney & Simpson, 2009), prone to family violence and honour killing (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009), and the exotic Other (Silverstein, 2005). Across the Atlantic, research examines particular contexts in the United States that influence the construction of the immigrant, such as its racial history and migration dynamics (see Deaux (2006); Massey and Sánchez (2010); Waters (1994)). Immigrant identity is often viewed as constituted by the explicit ethnic and racial identities of people of immigrant origin. For this reason, less is known about whether or not those with an immigrant identity experience more stigma than others of immigrant origin but without that explicit immigrant identity. To the best of my knowledge, there are no studies that examine the extent to which people with immigrant identity access opportunities or reflect on their place in society that is similar to or different from other people of immigrant origin.

The study draws upon two theoretical ideas. First, the concept of “stigma” is used both as a cognitive process and social disadvantage. That is, the social construction of negative attributes linked to labels (e.g. immigrant, Muslim, Roma, Jew) co-occurs with social disadvantages (e.g. lower status, exclusion, discrimination). They *reinforce* each other rather than simply *causing* one another (Link & Phelan, 2001). Second, people with an explicit identity are not passive victims of stigma (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998). People feel the need to belong to certain social categories (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) and strive to find a positive self-image (Tajfel, 2010) that may buffer against the stigma. From these two proposals, I form the following research questions: Do immigrants identifying as immigrants experience greater disadvantages than immigrants who hold an

explicit ethnic and national identities, or immigrants who have no explicit identity? Is having some identity sufficient to overcome the adverse conditions that people may experience from having an immigrant background? In terms of measuring disadvantage, the study explores two sets of social indicators: social exclusion and subjective well-being.

Self-identification

People define themselves in a variety of ways and using various labels. Self-identification may involve collectives related to personalities, idiosyncrasies (optimist, generous, mechanical engineer), roles (doctor versus patient, mother versus daughter), and categories (Yugoslavian, tennis player, engineer) (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). The current study focuses solely on social identities based on categorical membership (e.g. Bosnian, immigrant, Serb).

Having an identity is fundamental. Being part of a larger collective is a basic human need (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Walton, Cohen, Cwir, & Spencer, 2012). People experience a positive sense of self when they belong to a social category (Tajfel, 2010) because they feel valued, included and accepted. This also implies that a lack of identity is detrimental to one's sense of self-worth and self-respect, and means missing out on in-group opportunities. It is well known that people develop ties with in-group members more often than with out-group members (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001), and that these ties unlock valuable resources such as information, influence, and norms (Coleman, 1988; Lin, 2002; Portes, 2000). Having an identity is like a shield that protects against adversity. Those who lack it suffer from stigmatisation to a greater degree.

Having an explicit identity does not solely mean an affiliation. It also refers to heritage from parental origin. Having an ethnic identity begins in the parental home, and connects with an individual's past (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Individuals with the same ethnic identity often use similar language that promotes and exchanges emotions, beliefs, myths and stories (Berry, 1997; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). The identification of the self goes back and forth between two processes: first, what "we" think about "them"; and second, what "they" think about "us" (Hogg, 2006; Jenkins, 2004; Tajfel, 2010). People exaggerate in-group similarities and out-group differences to positively distinguish the in-group from the out-group (Tajfel, 2010). In this process, people develop positive stereotypes (desirable characteristics) of in-groups and negative stereotypes (undesirable characteristics) of out-groups. When ethnic identification is salient, people draw boundaries separating themselves from other ethnic categories. Despite being far apart geographically, people in the same ethnic

category may have a similar outlook on life. For example, certain symbols (e.g. flags or national anthems) and rituals or festivals share affective meaning regardless of proximity.

Stigmatisation and disadvantage

All identities, including lack of identity and ethnic/national identities, may be subject to stigma. A stigma or mark is a negative attribute assigned to an individual or group of people. According to Goffman (1963), this may include, for example, disvalued ethnic or religious identities, certain physical characteristics (e.g. obesity, physical disability), and perceived deviations in personal characteristics (e.g. unemployment, teenage pregnancy). Stigmatisation is also a matter of degree – some experience it more deeply than others (Link & Phelan, 2001). Being stigmatised may create additional disadvantages for, or indifference toward, some identities, while others may remain unaffected. I derive three hypotheses based on internalisation, exclusion and resistance which may explain the extent to which people with different identities suffer from disadvantage more than others.

According to Link and Phelan (2001) and Parker and Aggleton (2003), stigma is not limited to cognitive processes (or labelling); that is, discredited attributes are attached to certain labels in people's minds. The labelling goes hand in hand with suffering from disadvantage. When people experience separation, downgraded social status and unequal treatment, they feel the effects of stigmatisation deeply. It makes them more powerless (Link & Phelan, 2001). Both cognitive processes and disadvantage reinforce each other in a feedback loop, rather than one simply causing the other. For example, people with a stigmatised identity, e.g. chronic mental health problems, may avoid using health services due to feeling shame and embarrassment or may receive poor health services. This, in turn, makes it more difficult to overcome exclusion and isolation (Malcolm et al., 1998). Based on this argument, I hypothesise that people who define themselves by the stigmatising label "immigrant" are more likely to be socially excluded and have lower well-being compared to people who define themselves by less stigmatised labels of ethnic belonging.

Early studies have argued that the internalisation of stigma (seeing oneself as possessing undesirable attributes) is detrimental to people's sense of self-worth and personality. Allport (1954) rhetorically asks, "[w]hat would happen to your personality if you heard it said over and over again that you are lazy and had inferior blood?" This is reminiscent of the Thomas theorem: "If a man defines his situation as real, they are real in their consequences". However, Crocker et al.

(1998) and Major and O'Brien (2005) argue that stigmatised people are not helpless. Negative stereotypes do not necessarily harm people's sense of self-worth. In fact, people develop coping strategies to overcome threats against themselves (e.g. by comparing themselves with in-group members) (Crocker et al., 1998), and may feel potential support from their peers. As mentioned above, having an identity protects people against adversity, particularly when people feel strongly that they are a member of certain collectives.

When individuals of immigrant origin experience or perceive similar adverse conditions to their peers, they tend to strongly identify with their ethnic origin (Verkuyten, 2008). People with a stigmatised identity can execute various resistance strategies individually or collectively, including self-management (e.g. finding comfort, avoiding anger, focusing on career goals), silence and confrontation (e.g. speaking out, suing, using violence) (Lamont et al., 2016). However, people who do not subscribe to an explicit identity are less likely to be able to mobilise such resistance strategies. From this, I derive two hypotheses. First, I hypothesise that when people use a stigmatised label to define their identity, it harms their sense of self-worth. Second, I hypothesise that people who identify as immigrants may buffer the stigma as they are still part of a collective, which enables them to resist adversity. Let me review the three sets of hypotheses.

H1. The exclusion hypothesis. Individuals with an immigrant background are at greater risk of social exclusion when they identify themselves with an immigrant label. I will test the hypothesis on three indicators of social exclusion.

Compared to those with an explicit ethnic identity, people with an immigrant background who identify as immigrants:

H1a. are additionally at risk of unemployment,

H1b. are more likely to be surrounded by unemployed peers, and

H1c. have access to less social capital.

H2. The internalisation hypothesis. There are detrimental effects to identifying with a stigmatised label because it damages the sense of self-worth. I will test the hypothesis with indicators of subjective well-being.

Compared to those with an explicit ethnic identity, people with an immigrant background who identify as immigrants:

H2a. are more prone to suffer from depression,

H2b. are less happy,

H2c. are less self-confident, and

H2d. are less optimistic about their future.

H3. The resistance hypothesis. Having an identity allows people to resist adverse conditions of stigma. People without an explicit identity lack resistance mechanisms (e.g. emotional support from similar people, adapting several strategies learned from people with similar experience). This, in turn, goes hand in hand with experiencing additional disadvantage. I will test the hypothesis with the same set of indicators of subjective well-being.

Compared to those without an explicit identity, people with an immigrant background who identify as immigrants:

H3a. are less prone to suffer from depression,

H3b. are more happy,

H3c. are more self-confident, and,

H3d. are more optimistic about their future.

Data and method

I used data from the second wave of the Swedish survey, Social Capital and Labour Market Integration: A Cohort Study. The sample frame is based on three strata of the Swedish 1990 birth cohort ($n=5,695$) and includes individuals with at least one parent born in Iran, 50 percent of the population with at least one parent born in Yugoslavia, and a random sample of 2,500 individuals with two native Swedish parents. The groups were surveyed and interviewed over the telephone by Statistics Sweden twice. The first interview occurred in 2013 when the respondents were 23 years of age. The response rate was 38.5 percent in the wave ($n=501$ Iranians; 675 Yugoslavians; 1,068 Swedes). As Table 2 shows, the survey includes young people born abroad (0.64) and born in Sweden (0.36). The non-response analysis reveals that the immigration background, low education level (the individuals' own and their parents'), low grades and living in large cities were associated with lower response rates. There might be further bias due to unobserved factors such as differing language skills across groups, but I am confident that the main results of this study are not the result of a low response rate or bias.

The survey covers different aspects of self-identification, such as ethnic background and other social identities. The survey is an ideal tool for the current study because of the wide range of information on demographic background, attitudes, and social conditions, including a name generator and a position generator (Lin & Dumin, 1986) to query egocentric networks and social capital.

All of the demographic data including parental ethnic and socioeconomic background are based on population registries.

Measurement

Identity types

Table 1 Survey instruments for ethnic and social identities

	Question Wording	Responses
Ethnic Identity	E1. People use different words to describe what ethnicity they belong to.	Swedish, Immigrant, Serb, Croatian
	What label do you think fits you the best?	Slovenian, Kosovan, Albanian, Macedonian,
	E2: Can you think of any other label that fits you?	Yugoslavian, Iranian, No other fit (only in E2), Other,
		No answer, Don't know.
Social Identity	If you were to describe who you are, what would be [S1/S2/S3] thing to say about yourself?	Certain religion, Certain country of origin, Certain gender, Certain political conviction, Certain sexual orientation,
	S1: the first most important	Certain social class,
	S2: the second most important	Certain music style,
	S3: the third most important	Certain region
		Certain sports team affiliation,
		Don't know.

From the questions in Table 1, I created four identity types:

Immigrant identity: Those who chose “immigrant” in response to either E1 or E2. I combined the answers to produce as many observations as possible.

Ethnic identity: Ethnic identity is used for membership in one’s heritage while national identity is used for membership in the host or new society (Berry, 1997; Phinney et al., 2001). Ethnic identity was coded when the respondents chose

ethnic categories from the former Yugoslavia (e.g. Serb, Bosnian, Kosovan) or Iran (e.g. Iranian, Kurd) from E1 and “no other fit” from E2.

National identity: Those who chose Swedish in E1 and “no other fit” in E2.

No explicit identity: Those who answered neither E1 nor E2, nor any of S1–S3.

Throughout, I focus on the comparison between “immigrant identity” on the one hand, and other people of immigrant origin on the other hand, whether they have “ethnic identity”, “national identity” or “no explicit identity” and disregarding differences across ethnic identity.

Those with immigrant identity comprise about 10 percent of those of immigrant origin while 15 percent have no explicit sense of self. The majority, 75 percent, identify with national (Swedish) or ethnic identities (Iranian, Yugoslavian) (see Table 2).

Social exclusion

Three indicators are used to measure exclusion from the labour market and a disadvantaged social context at an individual level.

Unemployed: Since unemployment is higher among individuals of immigrant origin in Sweden (Vilhelmsson, 2002), it illustrates experiences of exclusion from the labour market. The survey question asks about employment status, with possible answers being “studying”, “employed”, “studying and working”, or “unemployed”. The indicator is a dummy variable if the respondent is unemployed (1) or not (0).

Unemployed friends is a proxy for being part of a disadvantaged social circle. Being surrounded by unemployed friends may limit information on job referrals, and isolate individuals from good job opportunities. Because the number of unemployed friends is highly skewed, it is recoded into a dummy variable. Around 80 percent of respondents do not have unemployed friends (only one person has four unemployed friends and one has five unemployed friends). The dummy variable indicates if any of the close friends are neither working nor studying (1).

Social capital: The measure obtained from the position generator methodology, developed by Lin and Dumin (1986) is widely used in sociological research (Hällsten, Edling, & Rydgren, 2017; Lin & Erickson, 2008; van Tubergen & Volker, 2014). The instrument asks respondents if they know someone in a specific occupation. The survey repeats this question for forty occupations that represent the full range of socioeconomic occupational statuses according to the Swedish SEI-code (SCB, 2015). Previous studies showed that occupations in high-ranking positions had more beneficial outcomes (Lin, Ensel, & Vaughn, 1981).

For this reason, social capital (reachability) is measured by the number of higher-ranking contacts that an individual has access to. Instead of single occupations to measure reachability, a count measure is used to identify high-ranking positions, taken as equivalent to professionals such as doctors, financial managers, engineers, lawyers, accountants, headmasters, dentists, researchers and professional musicians. The measure is easier to interpret than occupational prestige scores. Results from models using count measure for reachability were substantially similar to the models using dichotomous measure, which I use to visually present the results in a consistent way.

Subjective well-being

Subjective well-being has three components: affective, cognitive and emotional well-being (Diener, 1984). Happiness refers to affective dimensions and the feeling of joy. Depression is an emotional aspect of subjective well-being (Amit & Litwin, 2010), as people feel persistent pessimism or inability to experience pleasure. Life satisfaction is often used as a cognitive aspect of subjective well-being (Diener, 1984), however, the survey does not include a question about it. Other questions are used to reflect the cognitive aspect of well-being, i.e. how respondents view their job opportunities and their future in general.

All questions on subjective well-being are right skewed.

Happiness is measured by the survey statement “In general I am happy”. The available responses are: “strongly disagree”, “disagree”, “neither agree nor disagree”, “agree”, and “strongly agree”.

Depression is measured by the question “During the last twelve months have you had any of the following illnesses or ailments (meaning depression)?” Available responses are: “affected a great deal”, “slightly”, and “no”. I dichotomise the answers by combining the first two categories into 1; and “no” into 0.

Self-confidence is measured by the statement “I am quite self-confident”. Available responses are: “strongly disagree”, “disagree”, “neither agree nor disagree”, “agree”, and “strongly agree.”

The following two indicators aim to cover attitudes towards and perception of opportunities.

Job prospects are measured with the question “If you were to look for a job now, what would your chances be of getting a new (permanent) job in six months?”

Good future is measured with the statement: “I will have a good life in the future”. The available responses are: “very good”, “good”, “average”, “slight” and “very

slight”. I dichotomise the variables by combining first two categories into 1 and the remaining three into 0.

Control variables

In order to eliminate other reasons for social exclusion and lower subjective well-being, I included certain control variables. Parental educational background is a proxy for parental socioeconomic background. Individuals with an immigrant background are more likely to be unemployed, depressed and unhappy due to the deprivation and poverty they may experience when they come from a lower socioeconomic background. Parental educational background is measured by two dummy variables on the mother’s and father’s education: whether they have at least a bachelor’s degree (1) or not (0). Stigma and its experience may also be gendered, for example men and women may be associated with different negative attributes, such as criminal versus traditional (Akpinar, 2003; Bredström, 2003). Thus, female is a binary variable (1=female, 0=male) in this study. Last but not least, country of birth is crucial to reflect how an individual experiences adaption to the receiving country, such as acquisition of language and getting through different institutions, such as basic education or preschool care. Country of birth is a binary variable (1=born abroad, 0= born in Sweden). Parents’ country of birth is also a binary variable, showing whether the parent was born in Iran or the former Yugoslavia.

Table 2 Descriptive Statistics

	n	Mean	Sd	Min	Max
<i>Identity Types</i>					
Immigrant identity	1176	.09	.289	0	1
National identity	1176	.42	.486	0	1
Ethnic identity	1176	.33	.472	0	1
No explicit identity	1176	.15	.358	0	1
<i>Social Exclusion</i>					
Unemployed	1176	.11	.322	0	1
Unemployed friends	1176	.19	.396	0	1
Social capital	1176	.84	.363	0	1
<i>Subjective Well-Being</i>					
Depression	1176	.30	.460	0	1
Happiness	1176	.82	.383	0	1
Self-confidence	1176	.73	.445	0	1
Job chances	1176	.61	.487	0	1
Good future	1176	.85	.360	0	1
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Country of birth	1176	.49	.500	0	1
Parents' country of birth	1176	.42	.493	0	1
Female	1176	.48	.500	0	1
<i>Parental socioeconomic background</i>					
Mother's education	1176	.15	.355	0	1
Father's education	1176	.11	.320	0	1

Analytical Strategy

The strategy of this study is to compare immigrants who identify as immigrants with those who hold ethnic/national identities and those who have no explicit identity at all, in terms of social exclusion and well-being. The immigrants and children of immigrants under study are descended from the former Yugoslavia or Iran. I distinguished between ethnic identities; those related to country of origin (i.e. Yugoslavian or Iranian), ethnic identity (including Bosnians, Kosovans and Serbs) and national or majority identity, i.e. a Swedish identity. Thus, I compared four different identity types: immigrant identity (immigrant), Swedish ethnic identity (Swedish), Yugoslavian ethnic identity (e.g. Iranian, Yugoslav, Bosnian,

Serb), and no explicit identity (none). As a baseline for comparing immigrants with different identity types, I included the majority population, in this case operationalised as native-born with two Swedish-born parents. The results allowed me to see to what extent those with an immigrant background differ from those with two Swedish-born parents.

Since all dependent variables are dichotomous, I estimated using a series of logistic regression models. In each model I controlled for three variables: country of birth, gender and parental education. To predict three dependent variables on social exclusion (i.e. unemployed, unemployed friends, and social capital), and five dependent variables on subjective well-being (i.e. job prospects, good future, happy, depression and self-confidence), eight logistic regression models were estimated. In nonlinear models, regression coefficients (relative risk ratios) were not comparable across models with different sets of independent variables (Breen et al. 2013; Mood 2010). I present the results in the form of marginal plots, demonstrating marginal effects and 95 percent confidence intervals. The use of marginal plots has two advantages. It provides a simpler picture of pairwise comparison between identity types. Confidence intervals provide an easy way to visually assess the significance of the differences between the identity types. All estimates were done in STATA, version 14. The full models are provided in the supplementary material.

I tested the three sets of hypotheses as follows. To test the hypothesis about exclusion and internalisation, I compared and contrasted people with an immigrant identity on the one hand and individuals with ethnic and national identities on the other. To test the hypothesis about resistance, I compared and contrasted people with immigrant identity and no explicit identity. Figure 1 includes three social indicators: unemployed, unemployed friends and social capital, allowing a test of the exclusion hypothesis. Figure 2 includes five social indicators: depression, happiness, self-confidence, job chances, and good future, allowing a test of the internalisation and resistance hypotheses.

Results

The results begin with the sociodemographic background of individuals with the identity types discussed above, and are followed by hypothesis testing.

Table 2 contains the sociodemographic background with regards to the baseline group of native-born Swedes with two Swedish-born parents (the majority population). Overall, the results show that parental educational background varies across identities. The variation may be due to the parental country of origin. Iranians are generally overrepresented in higher socioeconomic positions in

Sweden. In contrast, individuals with parents born in the former Yugoslavia are more likely to have a lower socioeconomic background. Most Iranians (72.46 percent) were born in Sweden whereas most Yugoslavians were born abroad (64.44 percent). Since Iranians are more likely to be affiliated with a national identity than Yugoslavians, individuals who identify with a national identity have higher parental education than other identity groups. The share of parents with tertiary education is the lowest among individuals with an immigrant identity. In other words, immigrant identity was the most disadvantaged in the current sample.

Another result about sociodemographic background is in line with the general expectation that individuals with a national identity are more likely to be born in Sweden; whereas those with an ethnic and immigrant identity are more likely to be born abroad. Individuals with a national identity were born into and surrounded by Swedish culture; language, institutions such as preschool centres, comprehensive education, and healthcare. The distribution of gender (female versus male) is around 45–50 percent among individuals with explicit identities. Individuals without an explicit identity seem to be a selective group in terms of gender; most of them are male (58 percent).

Table 3 Subjective Well-being and Social Exclusion among Four Identity Types

	Identity types				
	Immigrant Identity (N=102, 9.12%)	National Identity (N=469, 42.25%)	Ethnic Identity (N=371, 33.42%)	No Explicit Identity (N= 168, 15.14%)	Natives (Baseline) (N=1068)
Female	45	48	51	42	48
Country of birth	72	29	69	52	0
Parents' country of birth	23	47	39	44	0
Parental education					
Mother's education	5	19	13	13	22
Father's education	4	16	10	9	18
Social exclusion					
Unemployed	19	13	9	10	7
Unemployed friends	25	23	15	17	21
Social capital	87	86	91	63	77
<i>Subjective well-being</i>					
Good job prospects	56	69	64	36	67
Good future	87	90	92	54	90
Happy	82	89	88	50	86
Depression	37	25	25	55	22
Self-confidence	74	76	79	49	67

Note: All variables are dichotomies. To compare them with percentages, mean values are multiplied by 100.

Table 3 and the figures that follow reveal results on subjective well-being and social exclusion. This allows us to compare what happens to the results when the control variables (gender, country of birth, parental country of origin, parental education) are included or not included. In total, eight plots were used for hypothesis testing, that is three plots on social exclusion and five plots for subjective well-being. The results illustrated by marginal plots suggest both average characteristics of the correlations and the degree of uncertainty for the estimate. The horizontal line indicates the mean for the native-born majority population as defined above.

Regarding the three indicators of social exclusion, Figure 1.1 and 1.2 suggest that individuals with an immigrant identity have the highest risk of unemployment and of being surrounded by unemployed peers. When the sociodemographic variables are controlled, the differences between immigrant identity and national identity slightly decreases. In Figure 1.1, individuals with an immigrant identity have the highest risk of unemployment: almost one in five people with an immigrant identity are unemployed. Taking into consideration gender, the parental country of birth, education and an individual's country of birth, it is twice as high as for those with an ethnic identity. While Figure 1.1 show declining trends in unemployment from immigrant to national identity, rather than ethnic and no explicit identity, the confidence intervals more or less overlap (the results are not robust, see Table 1, supplementary materials). The differences in the risk of unemployment seem to be conditional on sociodemographic variables, including country of birth, parental education and gender.

Looking at unemployed friends, confidence intervals particularly overlap between individuals with a national and immigrant identity. That is, the number of unemployed friends is similar in individuals with a national identity and an immigrant identity (see Figure 1.2). Individuals with an ethnic identity have the lowest number of unemployed friends if the three control variables are kept constant. The differences in immigrant identity and ethnic identity in Figure 1.2 overlap less than those in Figure 1.1. Those with an immigrant identity have almost twice as many unemployed friends as individuals with an ethnic identity. Despite expectations based on the literature review, those with no explicit identity were not the most disadvantaged regarding unemployment indicators; in fact, they seemed to be in the second-best condition, second only to people identifying with ethnic categories.

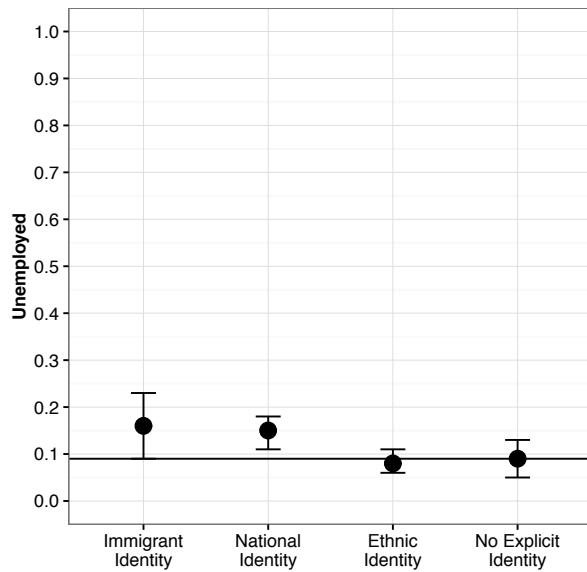


Figure 1.1

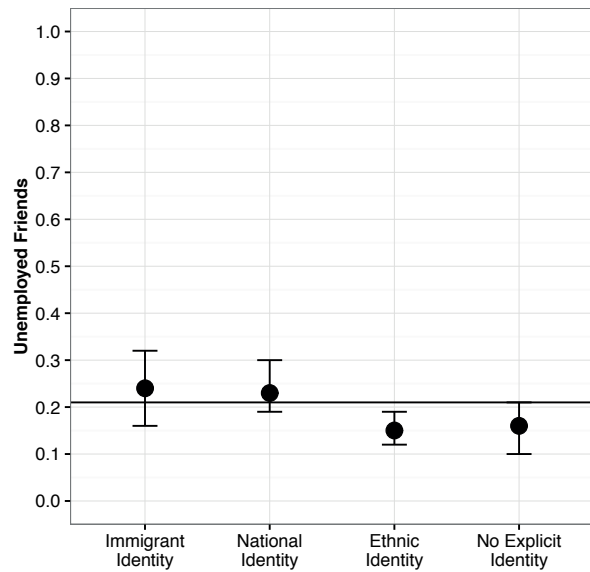


Figure 1.2

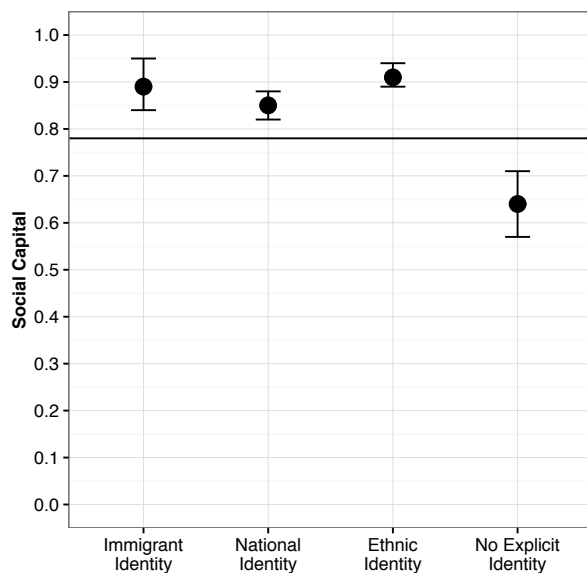


Figure 1.3

Figure 1 Predicted probability of three indicators on social exclusion by identity types (the control variables are gender, country of birth, and parental education). Ninety-five percent confidence intervals; baseline is the native-born majority population.

The distribution of social capital along the four identity types contrasts with the results obtained from Figures 1.1 and 1.2. Confidence intervals for social capital do not overlap between ethnic and national identity. Access to social capital for individuals with an immigrant identity lies between those with a national identity and those with an ethnic identity. In other words, social capital among those with an immigrant identity does not lag behind individuals of immigrant origin who have an explicit ethnic and national identity. What is more, predicted probabilities for social capital among those with an immigrant identity is 0.10 greater than baseline, i.e. young people with native-born parents. The baseline divides people

with an explicit identity and with no identity. There is a striking difference between individuals with no explicit identity and with an immigrant identity. While people with an explicit identity access greater social capital than young people with native-born parents, people without an explicit identity access the lowest social capital; the magnitude of differences in predicted probability between no explicit identity and baseline is around 0.20.

These results are mixed in terms of the social exclusion hypothesis. Individuals with an immigrant identity are more likely to be unemployed and be surrounded by unemployed friends than those with an ethnic identity. The results fail to reject H1a and H1b. However, as immigrant identity and ethnic identity do not show much difference in social capital, the results reject H1c. What do the results mean? Compared to the baseline, native-born children, immigrants, and those with a national identity have in common that they are more likely be excluded from the labour market. Social capital of individuals with an immigrant identity does not lag behind the rest of the individuals with an immigrant background. Due to the same reason, the differences in immigrant and national identity in unemployed friends is not different while the differences in unemployment are slightly larger. The results may suggest being part of a collective, no matter whether it is stigmatised or not, provides some social capital, which is not the case for individuals with no explicit identity. The latter groups are more likely to be isolated.

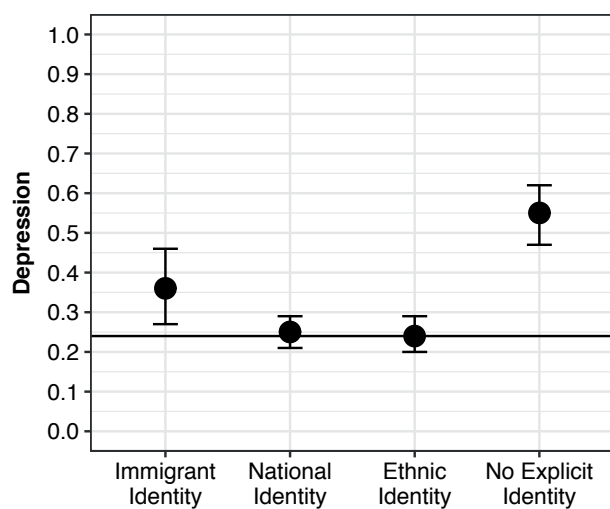


Figure 2.1

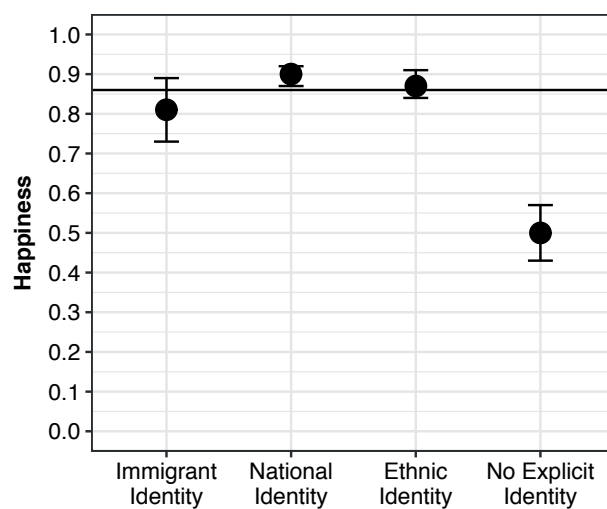


Figure 2.2

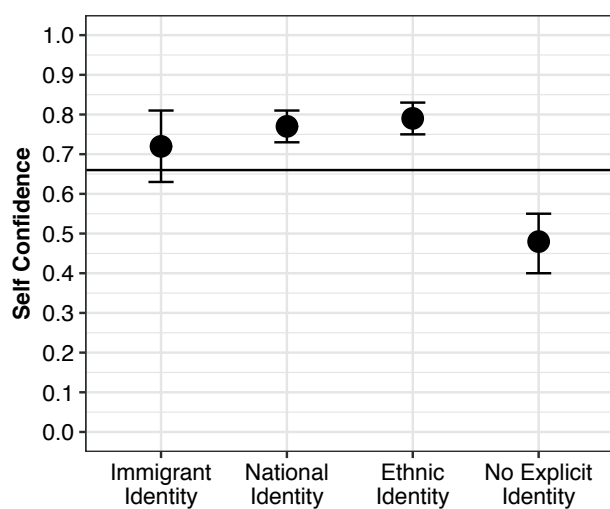


Figure 2.3

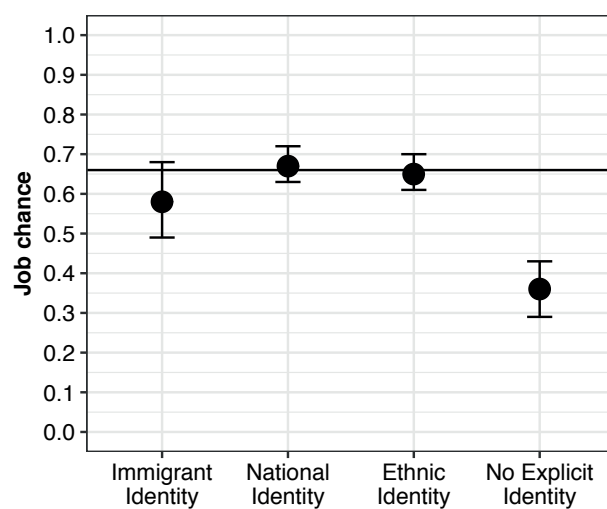


Figure 2.4

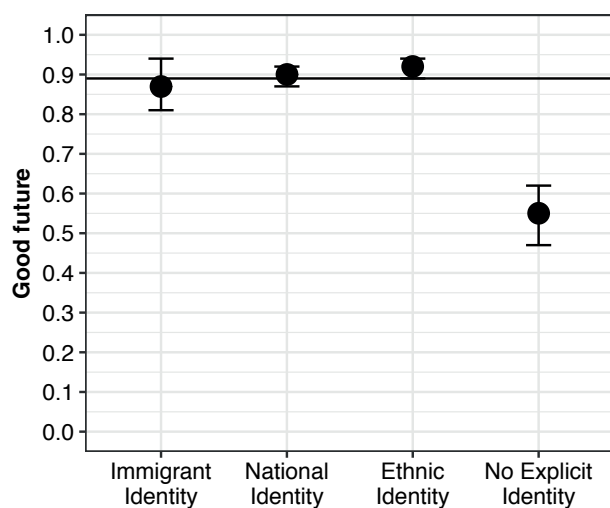


Figure 2.5

Figure 2 Predicted probabilities of five indicators on subjective well-being by identity types (the control variables are gender, country of birth, and parental level of education). Ninety-five percent confidence intervals; baseline is the native-born majority population.

The results in Table 3 and Figure 2 are similar. The five plots in Figure 2 provide clear and consistent results. To interpret the results, it is advisable to first focus on the position of confidence intervals regarding the baseline. The main finding from Figures 2.1–2.5 is that young people with an immigrant identity are somewhere between individuals with an ethnic or national identity on one hand, and individuals with no explicit identity on the other. The confidence intervals in the five figures overlap to a different degree.

In Figures 2.1 and 2.2, confidence intervals do not overlap and suggest that individuals with an immigrant identity suffer the greater risk of depression and unhappiness no matter where they were born, their gender, parental education or parental country of birth. In Figure 1, the differences within individuals with an identity are more noticeable. The predicted probability of depression is almost twice as high among people with an immigrant identity compared to those with ethnic and national identities. In Figure 2, those with an immigrant identity are less happy than individuals with ethnic and national identities. In Figure 2.3, individuals with an immigrant identity feel the least confident, although the difference among the first three identity types is not very pronounced. The interesting result in the first three figures is that individuals with an immigrant identity suffer greater risk of depression and express lower happiness than individuals with native-born children, but the former group expresses greater self-confidence than the latter.

The trends are similar in Figures 2.4 and 2.5. The confidence intervals for individuals with an identity also overlap in these figures. That means individuals with an identity are similar in how they view their job prospects and their future. However, the results are not exactly identical in these two figures. Individuals with an immigrant identity believe they will have fewer job chances than the other two identities; but the three identity types are less different in how they view their futures. Taken together, the results partly reject the internalisation hypothesis as they fail to reject H2a, H2b, but not H2c and H2d.

When it comes to the resistance hypothesis, Figures 2.1–2.5 show that individuals with no explicit identity are the most disadvantaged in subjective well-being. They are most at risk of depression, feel the least confident, are unhappier, and have more pessimistic attitudes towards, and perceptions of, opportunities than individuals with an immigrant identity. The results thus fail to reject the four hypotheses on resistances.

Discussion

These results demonstrate that stigma and identification can work in tandem to shape disadvantage among people with an immigrant background. Previous studies in Europe and the United States have investigated the social construction of “the immigrant” as “the Other” or “the outsider” in the media and political debates. Following the broader use of stigma (Link & Phelan, 2001), the current study finds that people who identify as immigrants experience greater disadvantages than those who subscribe to an explicit ethnic and national identity. Thus, compared to their peers with an ethnic identity, young Swedes with an immigrant background in the former Yugoslavia or Iran, who identify as immigrants, experience stronger labour market exclusion. This is an important result that echoes the finding of Massey and Sánchez (2010), who presented work on immigrant identity in the United States. To simultaneously “feel like an immigrant” and to be excluded from the labour market limits people’s power to resist stigma (Link & Phelan, 2001). Limited resistance against stigma is manifested in various aspects of subjective well-being. For example, stigma takes a toll on health (e.g. greater risk of depression) among people with an immigrant identity. Although this study does not make causal claims, the result supports previous studies on the negative consequences of stigma on subjective well-being (Kamberi, Martinovic, & Verkuyten, 2015; Verkuyten, 2008), and suggests that stigma not only deepens inequalities between immigrant and native Swedes, it reinforces inequalities *within* the immigrant group.

However, simply having an identity prevents people from falling into the most disadvantaged positions. This study shows that people with an immigrant identity have a clearer sense of self than those who claim to have no explicit identity. People with an immigrant identity and those with no explicit identity both live at the peripheries of the culture of origin as well as the host culture. The latter, however, may additionally suffer from confusion about their sense of self. Individuals with no explicit identity have the lowest subjective well-being and access the lowest social capital. This result is in line with studies arguing that some individuals of immigrant origin may feel uncertain about their place in society and experience psychological loss – feeling isolated or with little interest in socialising with people (Berry, 2008). Thus, individuals with no explicit identity are the most disadvantaged among immigrants.

Having an identity is also a means to resist adversity through stronger self-confidence and better access to social capital. The results show that people with an immigrant identity maintain a certain level of self-confidence compared to those with no explicit identity. Expressing self-confidence strengthens the efficacious belief that “I can cope with adversity” (Bandura, 1978), and allows people with an immigrant identity to reframe their situation (Bandura, 1978; Firat, 2017). Instead

of acknowledging adverse conditions as a given, they may reframe them into a common experience among people of immigrant origin (Crocker et al., 1998; Verkuyten, 2008). People with an immigrant identity do not differ in access to social capital compared to people of similar immigrant origins who hold explicit ethnic identities. I interpret this as suggesting that people with an immigrant identity are not isolated and therefore do not lack the social support that enables them to resist stigma. These findings are related to the idea that social capital is generated in interactions with people with commonalities (e.g. ethnic and socioeconomic background) and these help them both get ahead in life and to share emotions and sentiments (Lin, 1999, 2002). There is a caveat to this interpretation, however. The position generator methodology implies that social networks are not only limited to immediate social circles (e.g. family and kin) but also include acquaintances in both national and transnational locations. For different groups, the return from occupationally bounded social capital may not provide equal returns in the labour market. Taking into account the major role of informal ties in the Swedish labour market (Behtoui, 2008), acquaintances in Sweden are likely to play a much more important role than, for instance, family and kinship ties in the country of origin.

Taken together, the results are in line with studies showing that having an ethnic identity buffer against adversities, e.g. by increasing their life satisfaction (Verkuyten, 2008), or reducing their depressive symptoms (Miething, Rostila, & Rydgren, 2017). Similar results are also found for having a stigmatised identity.

The current study is descriptive. Less is known about how individuals with an immigrant background define the term “immigrant”. In contrast to the societal view of the immigrant, people with an immigrant identity internalise the label but not all the negative attributes linked with the label. Some may subscribe to the immigrant identity as a stance of opposition to the negative attributes ascribed to immigrants, replacing them with positive ones (e.g. creative, warm); some may view “being an immigrant” as a temporary status while they seek their core identity. Further research is needed to examine to what extent certain situations (e.g. dating, the job interview process) reinforce or weaken immigrant identity.

Two of the findings are not in line with expectations. First, those who hold an immigrant identity are more self-confident than those that are native-born, although the former group suffers from social exclusion more than the latter. This may be due to methodological reasons. The response to the relevant survey questions may be moderated by cultural biases. For example, the notion of *lagom* (neither too little nor too much, just right) is a norm in Sweden. A parallel, less flattering, norm in Nordic countries more broadly is the so-called Law of Jante: – “Don’t think you’re anyone special or that you’re better than us” (Sandemose, 1933). Due to these cultural norms, Swedes may avoid being seen as either over-

confident or under-confident. Second, people with an immigrant identity do not hold a bleak view of their future. Generally speaking, people of immigrant origin have high aspirations and strive to reach a higher status than their parents (Goldsmith, 2004; Jonsson & Rudolphi, 2011; Kao & Tienda, 2005). This does not offer a full explanation, however, as those with an immigrant identity feel that they have lower job prospects. Answers regarding job prospects are more concrete than general opinions about their futures because questions about job opportunities refer to the near future for the surveyed 23-year-olds. People tend to overestimate their aspirations when probed, they talk in abstract terms such as having a good future (Mickelson, 1990). That may explain why individuals with an immigrant identity view themselves having a generally bright future whereas they perceive limited job chances compared to people with ethnic and national identities.

The study has implications for social integration in the receiving country. Regarding stigmatisation, we should also consider the profile of people who identify as immigrant. The current study covers people with parents born in the former Yugoslavia and Iran, immigrant groups that began to arrive in Sweden at least three decades ago. As people of Yugoslavian and Iranian origin have lived in Sweden longer than many other immigrant groups, they are more likely to have developed strategies against stigma. Previous studies have highlighted some of the integration strategies used by immigrants in Sweden: for instance, immigrants from the Middle East change foreign-sounding names to Swedish names to get access to better life chances (Bursell, 2012), Iranians migrate onwards to third countries (e.g. Canada) where they perceive they will have better opportunities (Kelly, 2013), and some residents of the Stockholm suburbs unite against anti-immigrant sentiments (Schierup, Ålund, & Kings, 2014). People of Yugoslavian and Iranian origin may adopt one of the available strategies or develop their own which may help them to counter and overcome the immigrant stigma. For those who have moved to Sweden in the last decade, it is even more difficult to resist stigmatisation when there are visible markers such as skin colour or religious symbols. These findings matter for recent immigrants because the share of newcomers from Syria, Somalia and other African countries has increased in Sweden. Therefore, I expect that groups that have migrated more recently suffer more deeply from stigma than people of Yugoslavian and Iranian origin.

The study has important limitations. The sample consists of people who are 23 years old. At this age, more than half of the cohort are still not in the labour market (Cook & Furstenberg, 2002). Since these young people have not yet navigated the job market, they are less likely to have had first-hand experience of rejection, refusal, and exclusion. It is reasonable to assume that people with an immigrant identity may experience stigma due to different reasons depending on their stage of life. For example, one Swedish study shows that elderly people of immigrant origin are often considered to be “problem-cases” in the eyes of caregivers

(Torres, 2006). Therefore, the results should be interpreted with caution outside of the studied age group.

In conclusion, people with an immigrant identity experience a greater risk of social exclusion than people of immigrant origin who have an explicit ethnic identity. At the same time, even identifying as an immigrant seems to provide protection from falling into the most disadvantaged positions. Thus, the most adverse conditions correlate with having no explicit identity at all.

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Appendix

Table A1 Average Marginal Effects of Logistic Regression Models on three indicators related to social resources/networks

	(Model 1.1)		(Model 1.2)		(Model 1.3)	
	Unemployed		Unemployed Friends		Social Capital	
	AME	SE	AME	SE	AME	SE
National identity	-.01	.048	-.01	.046	-.04	.033
Ethnic identity	-.08	.045	-.09*	.045	.021	.032
No explicit identity	-.07	.051	-.08	.049	-.26***	.045
Female	-.04*	.019	-.14***	.023	-.02	.020
Country of birth	.05*	.021	- .00	.025	.02	.033
Parent's country of birth	.01	.020	- .00	.025	.06**	.022
Mother's education	-.10*	.04	-.04	.035	.04	.036
Father's education	-.06	.04	-.06	.040	.11*	.047
N	1176		1176		1176	
R2	0.0425		0.0492		0.0881	

Note: *P< 0.05; **P< 0.01, *** P<0.000

Table A2 Average Marginal Effects of Logistic Regression Models on Subjective Well-being (ref. cat. Immigrant Identity)

	(Model 2.1)		(Model 2.2)		(Model 2.3)		(Model 2.4)		(Model 2.5)	
	Depression		Happiness		Self-Confidence		Job Chance		Good Future	
	AME	SE	AME	SE	AME	SE	AME	SE	AME	SE
National identity	-.11*	.053	.09*	.043	.05	.051	.09	.056	.02	.037
Ethnic identity	-.12*	.052	.07	.044	.07	.050	.07	.054	.04	.036
No explicit identity	.18**	.061	-.31***	.055	-.24***	.060	-.22***	.061	-.32***	.051
Female	.08**	.030	.00	.021	-.07**	.024	-.00	.028	.03	.020
Country of birth	.01	.030	.03	.024	.01	.028	-.05	.031	-.01	.022
Parent`s country of birth	.05	.029	-.03	.023	-.04	.028	.01	.030	-.01	.022
Mother`s education	.01	.039	-.05	.030	-.07	.035	-.00	.042	-.01	.029
Father`s education	-.10*	.045	.05	.036	.012	.040	.08	.047	.04	.035
N	1176		1176		1176		1176		1176	
R2	0.0504		0.1137		0.0561		0.0429		0.1167	

Note: *P< 0.05; **P< 0.01, *** P<0.000

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Aspirations, Capital and Identity

This dissertation examines the determinants of life chances through sociological analysis. It studies aspirations or plans, i.e. where an individual wishes to see herself in the future, and how she envisages the possibility that future might materialise. This sheds insights on how individuals view their potential success in society, which may or may not reflect their actual lived success. The resources that emerge from an individual's social networks (social capital) and involvement in diverse cultural activities (cultural capital) can improve life chances when skills, certifications and work experience by themselves are insufficient to get by in society. Last but not least, identity is crucial to life chances in how it reflects an individual's view of the self in terms of various categories (people like "them" and "us"). As with aspirations, studying identity enriches our understanding of an individual's view of the possibility of becoming an equal and respected member of society.

The dissertation comprises four original research papers comparing these determinants for young people with and without an immigrant background in Sweden. Rather than studying "immigrants" as a singular and fixed social attribute, it examines identity groups, mixed unions and certain ethnic categories: Iranians, Yugoslavians and native-born Swedes. Drawing on rich empirical materials, it sheds insights on the complexities of social integration in Sweden. It finds that young people with immigrant background are part of multiple social circles (e.g. transnational ties, ethnic minority groups and natives) rather than simply becoming part of or similar to natives over time. This multidirectional view of social integration allows us to examine the distribution of occupational networks through social and geographical ties and to assess which groups are more advantaged than others. It shows us that young people with an immigrant background are not entirely "disadvantaged", in contrast to the stereotypical view common in media and politics. Even people with explicitly *invandrare* ("immigrant") identity are able to resist adverse conditions because of their ability to maintain self-confidence and access a certain amount of social capital.



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