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# Citizenship, Participation and Belonging in Scandinavia

*Results from a survey among young adults of diverse origins in Norway, Sweden and Denmark*



Marta Bivand Erdal

Davide Bertelli

Mathias Kruse

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Marta Bivand Erdal  
*Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)*

Davide Bertelli  
*Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)*

Mathias Kruse  
*Aarhus University*

Mathias Hatleskog Tjønn  
*Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)*

Arnfinn H. Midtbøen  
*Institute for Social Research, Oslo*

Grete Brochmann  
*University of Oslo*

Pieter Bevelander  
*Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare (MIM), Malmö University*

Per Mouritsen  
*Aarhus University*

Emily Cochran Bech  
*Aarhus University*

Kristian Kriegbaum Jensen  
*Aalborg University*



Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)  
Hausmanns gate 3  
PO Box 9229 Oslo  
NO-0134 Oslo, Norway  
Tel. +47 22 54 77 00  
[www.prio.org](http://www.prio.org)

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ISBN 978-82-343-0047-9 (print)  
978-82-343-0048-6 (online)

Cover design: [www.medicineheads.com](http://www.medicineheads.com)  
Cover photo: Klaus Berdiin Jensen

*The survey was funded by the Research Council of Norway's Welfare, labour, migration program's grant for the 'Governing and Experiencing Citizenship in Multicultural Scandinavia' research project, and co-financed through a supplemental grant from the Integration section, Norwegian Ministry of Education.*

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## Acknowledgements

The research team would like to thank the Statistics bureaus in Denmark, Norway and Sweden for good collaboration and a constructive approach to solving challenges connected to conducting a comparative Scandinavian survey. We are grateful to all the respondents who took the time to contribute to this research by agreeing to and completing the survey questionnaire. We appreciate the flexibility and support of our funders, the Research Council of Norway, and the Integration section, Norwegian Ministry of Education (in 2018, Norwegian Ministry of Justice), which allowed for the co-funding of the Scandinavian effort. Finally, we thank our institutions for their support in overseeing the operation that has been the co-funding, planning, running, and analysis of this survey. A special thanks to Gee Berry, who has helped quality assure the language, and among the authors, to Mathias Kruse who has done most of the work in Stata, and to Davide Bertelli and Mathias Hatleskog Tjønn, who have done most of the work with reporting on the figures and tables in the report.

## I. Introduction

This report presents the results from a Scandinavian survey among young adults on the topics of **citizenship, participation and belonging**. Conducted in 2018, the survey spans the three Scandinavian countries: Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

The purpose of our survey is to **uncover the ways in which inhabitants of Scandinavia experience, perceive and reflect upon the citizenship institution**. While immigration and integration are heated topics in public debate across Scandinavia – as in many other places around the world – and citizenship and naturalisation policies have increasingly come into the limelight, we know very little about how people actually conceive of citizenship and its importance.

The three Scandinavian countries in this survey are frequently compared with one another. On the one hand, they are held up as similar, liberal, Nordic welfare states; on the other hand, they are presented as contrasting poles in their respective positions on immigration and integration policies, with Sweden as the more liberal, Denmark as the most restrictive, and Norway in some kind of middle position. To an extent, such a comparison of the three countries can also be mapped onto their current citizenship legislation and naturalisation policies. When it comes to dual citizenship, Sweden has permitted this for nearly two decades and Denmark has allowed it since 2015, while Norway will bring it into effect on 01.01.2020.

The survey included a total of **7,594 respondents across Denmark, Norway and Sweden**. As we detail in the Methodology section, these were young adults, descendants of immigrants from Iraq, Pakistan, Poland, Somalia, Turkey, Vietnam, and a native majority group in each of the three countries. We also had immigrants from Iraq and Somalia in all three countries, and immigrants from Pakistan, Poland and Turkey in Norway.

This report is structured around the basic questions that our respondents were asked to answer, and we report the **descriptive statistics that emerge from the survey data**. We report on questions such as: Which reasons did respondents who did not naturalise in the Scandinavian countries offer for why not, and how did these patterns differ across the countries? Or, what do young adults in Scandinavia consider might be the ideal rules for naturalisation? And, how do they evaluate the actual naturalisation rules that exist? We also consider questions that more explicitly home in on issues of belonging, such as whether respondents think that they themselves are recognized as someone who belongs as a national, in their respective Scandinavian contexts.

While this report offers the full range of descriptive statistics from our survey, we present further analysis that delves into particular issues and the connections between them in more depth in our **journal articles that draw on this data set**. Current information about these articles can be found on the GOVCIT project webpage: [www.prio.org/govcit](http://www.prio.org/govcit) (this will be updated as and when new publications emerge).

The survey was conducted by the research team of the Research Council of Norway funded research project ‘Governing and Experiencing Citizenship in Multicultural Scandinavia’ (GOVCIT), jointly with the research team of the Rockwool Fonden funded project ASISSI, drawing on funding from both of these projects, and with extra dedicated funding provided by the Norwegian Ministry of Justice. The survey data was collected by the statistics bureaus in the three Scandinavian countries respectively: Statistics Denmark, Statistics Norway and Statistics Sweden.

The survey instrument was developed jointly by the research team of the GOVCIT research project: Marta Bivand Erdal (PRIO), Grete Brochmann (UiO), Arnfinn H. Midtbøen (ISF), Per Mouritsen (AU), Emily

Cochran Bech (AU), Pieter Bevelander (MiM), and Kristian K. Jensen (AU, working on the ASISSI project).

The analysis of the survey data was conducted by the research team jointly but could not have happened without dedicated Research Assistance by Mathias Kruse (AU). This survey summary report has been written much thanks to the efforts first of Mathias Kruse (AU), and subsequently Davide Bertelli (PRIO) and Mathias Hatleskog Tjønn (PRIO), with contributions and quality-assurance from the whole research team.

## 2. Conceptual landscape and terminology

Conducting a survey among young adults in Scandinavia on questions of citizenship, belonging and participation necessitated some attention as to who we wanted to include and, in turn, which terminology we should use in the survey itself, as well as in the subsequent reporting from this survey data.

When conducting the survey, all respondents were given a choice of languages that they could use for responding to the survey, including Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish, as well as English, and the main languages of the immigrant and descendant groups participating.

As part of the survey, participants were prompted to self-define or self-report their own feelings of attachments, and perceptions of recognition. The wording of these questions was developed in a manner that sought to balance clarity with sensitivity to issues of a personal and, for some, potentially challenging nature (e.g. experiences of discrimination or lack of sense of recognition).

In writing this summary report, we discuss similarities and differences in patterns of responses between the three Scandinavian countries, as well as between the different groups participating, differentiating between immigrants, descendants of immigrants, and native majorities. We define these groups in the following ways:

- **Majorities and minorities:** From the outset, we have reflected on ways to avoid reproducing assumed categorical differences between ‘majorities’ and ‘minorities’ as monolithic entities. We seek to do so by showing the variation among different minority subgroups included in our survey. We also seek to do so by pointing not only to differences, but also to similarities between majorities and subgroups of the minorities, at points where this is relevant. However, we will in this report also present figures referring to ‘minority’. In these cases, we have collapsed all subgroups of immigrants and descendants into one category. But where possible, this is followed by a subsequent figure that breaks the results down to each actual subgroup.
- **Native majority:** Our young adult respondents in Denmark, Norway and Sweden who are referred to as the native majority are young adults who have two parents born in Denmark, Norway or Sweden, respectively. For the purposes of survey research, in order to compare between groups that are distinct, rather than overlapping, maintaining such a rigid categorisation serves a methodological purpose. Meanwhile, we acknowledge that the boundaries of the native majority are far more fluid in reality, not least due to the many young people in Scandinavia who have one foreign-born and one native-born parent. We also recognise that there is a need for future research to focus more explicitly on this particular group.
- **Beyond ‘usual suspect’ groups:** In this survey, we have made a deliberate choice to include young adults with migration backgrounds who are white, and who are not white, and who are – or are often assumed to be – Muslim, and those who are not. We have done so based on the assumption of some basic shared similarities between immigrants, who have already or might naturalise (or not) over time, and thus have similar or different reflections on and experiences with the citizenship legislation and policies.
- **Groups and their limitations:** While our report may reiterate a focus on groups and their boundaries, as we report on similarities and differences in response patterns between ‘groups’, we of course acknowledge the inherent limitations to an understanding of the social world as

based on groups that are somehow markedly distinct. Nevertheless, as our data also indicates, attachments may also be expressed in relation to groups, such as nations or national communities, and also to several such groups simultaneously. Therefore, increased understanding of social reality, based on the roles that groups play, is necessary, though it is worth noting that understanding social reality beyond the roles of groups is also necessary.

### 3. Methodology

In 2018, the survey was conducted in Denmark, Norway and Sweden by the national statistics offices of each country: Danmarks Statistik in Denmark (DST), Statistisk sentralbyrå in Norway (SSB), and Statistiska centralbyrån in Sweden (SCB). The survey focused on young adults aged 20 to 37 years<sup>1</sup> who were either native majorities, descendants of immigrants from Iraq, Somalia, Pakistan, Turkey, Vietnam and Poland, or immigrants from Iraq and Somalia. The Norwegian sample contains immigrant participant groups from Pakistan, Turkey, and Poland as well. Participants were prior to the data collection defined as members of the native majority if they were born in the country they were recruited in and had two native-born parents. Participants were defined as descendants of immigrants if they either a) were born in Denmark, Norway or Sweden by parents who immigrated from one of the six non-Scandinavian countries, or b) arrived in this Scandinavian country before the age of 11. Participants were defined as immigrants if they themselves had immigrated to Denmark, Norway or Sweden at the age of 16 or older and had lived at least seven years in the Scandinavian country at the time the survey was conducted. That is, immigrants in the survey were at least 23 years old.<sup>2</sup>

Why these groups? We wanted to include individuals without migrant background (see also Chapter 2), as well as both immigrants and descendants of immigrants. When it came to the selection of groups based on country of origin, we were guided by three concerns: we wanted to include 1) some groups that are relatively sizeable across the three countries; 2) the largest groups in each of the countries; and 3) variation across migrant categories (including older labour migrant groups, key refugee groups, and more recent labour migrants).

Participants in the survey were drawn by random sampling within each subgroup.<sup>3</sup> Answers were collected through two general rounds: a web-based and paper-based round followed by a round using telephone interviews. Those drawn to participate first received an e-mail or SMS with a web-link to the survey or a paper version of the questionnaire.<sup>4</sup> Participants were sent several reminders if they did not initially participate. The survey was administered in the Scandinavian language as a default – Danish, Swedish or Norwegian, depending on the country – but was also available in English as well as in Somali and Arabic in Denmark and in Somali, Arabic, Polish, Turkish and Urdu in Norway (online respondents were able to click to select the language they preferred).

Through other projects, the statistics offices have experienced that the younger population can be difficult to reach, and that some immigrant and descendant groups especially choose not to participate. Translating the questionnaire was one step taken to improve the response rates among these groups. Another step to improve response rates more generally was to conduct a second round of data collection using telephone interviews. In this second round, a subsample of those who had not responded or had only partially completed the survey was contacted by telephone by an interviewer. In Norway, the interviewers who called sampled individuals had language competencies in the language of the person's country of origin as well as the national language, enabling direct interviewing, whereas in Sweden and Denmark, an interpreter could participate if there were language barriers inhibiting participation.

---

<sup>1</sup> In Denmark and Norway, the age span was 20–36 years. In Sweden, the age span was 21 to 37 years.

<sup>2</sup> In general, participants with a native majority background are spread across the entire age span (20–37 years), whereas descendants of immigrants are between 20 and 30 years and immigrants are between 23 and 37 years.

<sup>3</sup> Subgroups are e.g. native majority, 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Iraqis, 1<sup>st</sup> generation Iraqis, 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Poles, etc. In Denmark and Sweden, there are 9 subgroups, whereas there are 12 subgroups in Norway.

<sup>4</sup> In Sweden, an information letter with login information to the web-survey was sent together with a paper version. That is, no e-mails or SMS were sent in Sweden.

Though some participants were unable to complete the survey due to such language barriers, these strategies did increase the response rates to some degree. This interview round oversampled groups that were underrepresented from the first round in order to ensure approximately equally sized subgroups in the final net sample.

Table 1: Gross sample, net sample and response rates in the three countries

	Gross sample	Net sample	Response rate
Norway	7,948	3,843 <sup>5</sup>	48.35%
Denmark	6,751	1,964	29.09%
Sweden	13,190	1,787	13.55%
<b>Total</b>	<b>27,889</b>	<b>7,594</b>	<b>27.23%</b>

In total, 27,889 persons were randomly selected to participate in the survey, of which 7,594 actually answered the survey (see Table 1). The combined response rate is 27.23% in the three countries. Note, however, that there are substantial deviations in the gross samples and hence in the response rate across the three countries. In Sweden, it was necessary to draw a fairly large gross sample. This is because surveys that are distributed by postal mail alone typically suffer from lower response rates than surveys distributed electronically, and it was not possible in Sweden to send the link to the survey via e-mail or SMS. To address this, the gross sample in Sweden (N=13,190) was significantly larger than in Norway (N=7,848) and Denmark (N=6,751). The response rate of 13.55% in Sweden signals the less effective recruitment method. The resulting net sample of 1,787 participants in Sweden is close to the size of the Danish net sample of 1,964 participants. In the following section (Section 4.1), we elaborate on the sample characteristics and the relative sizes of the subgroups in each country.

In some types of questions, respondents were asked to choose between specific categories, whereas other types of questions asked respondents to answer on a scale (e.g. from 1 to 7 or 0 to 10). Below, we present the data differently depending on the type of question. In the former case, we present the entire distribution within each group, i.e. we show the group responses in each category (in relative terms). In the latter case, we present group means and their confidence interval.

---

<sup>5</sup> In the official document from SSB in Norway, the net sample is 4,031. This number is based on a definition of the native majority group as ‘all young adults residing in Norway’. In order to ensure sufficient difference between the groups, we adopted a definition of ‘minorities’ consisting of immigrants, or of descendants of immigrants with two foreign-born parents (as described in text), while the ‘native majorities’ were defined for the purposes of our study as those who have two native-born parents. As a result, 188 respondents in the initial SSB sample were not included in our sample of native majorities in Norway. These are never objective and fixed criteria, as we discuss in Chapter 2. However, this was the streamlined operationalization across the three Scandinavian contexts in this study set-up.

## 4. Background information

This chapter presents the basic characteristics of the sample (Section 4.1), including the size and the countries of origin of the respondents across Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Sections 4.2 and 4.3 provide information on the various aspects of respondents' citizenship status and naturalisation. The last section of the chapter, 4.4, presents an overview of the religious affiliations of minority groups in the three countries. Results are shown in percentages.

### 4.1 Sample characteristics

The first section of Chapter 4 presents the characteristics of the sample. The section is divided into two subsections: the first looks at the size of the samples in Norway, Denmark and Norway, while the second looks at the subgroups' composition in the three countries.

#### 4.1.1. Sample size

Figure 1 shows the total number of respondents to the survey is 7,594, of which 3,843 in Norway, 1,964 in Denmark and 1,787 in Sweden.

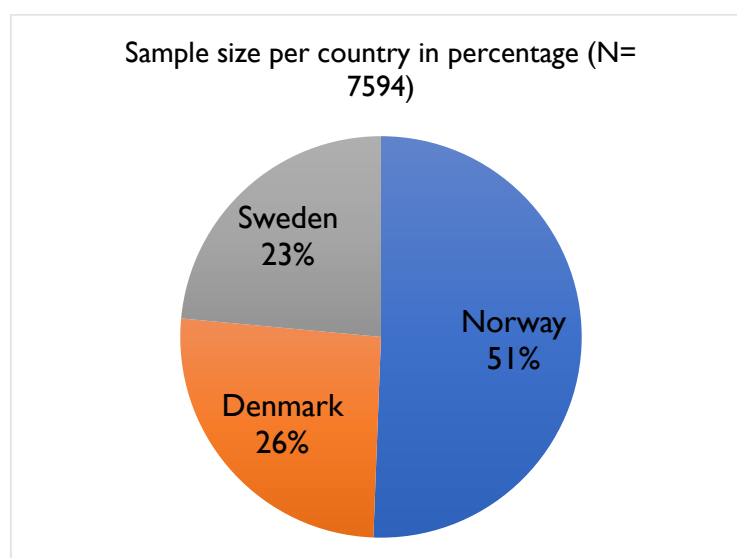


Figure 1

In general, the Norwegian sample is larger than the Danish and the Swedish samples respectively. As a percentage of the total sample, the Norwegian sample constitutes 51%, the Danish sample 26%, and the Swedish sample 23%. This is partly due to the fact that three additional immigrant groups – Turks, Pakistanis and Poles – were included in the Norwegian sample but not in the Swedish or Danish samples. But it is also due to the fact that there are generally more respondents in each subgroup in Norway compared to Denmark and Sweden (see Table 4.1).

#### 4.1.2. Subgroups per country



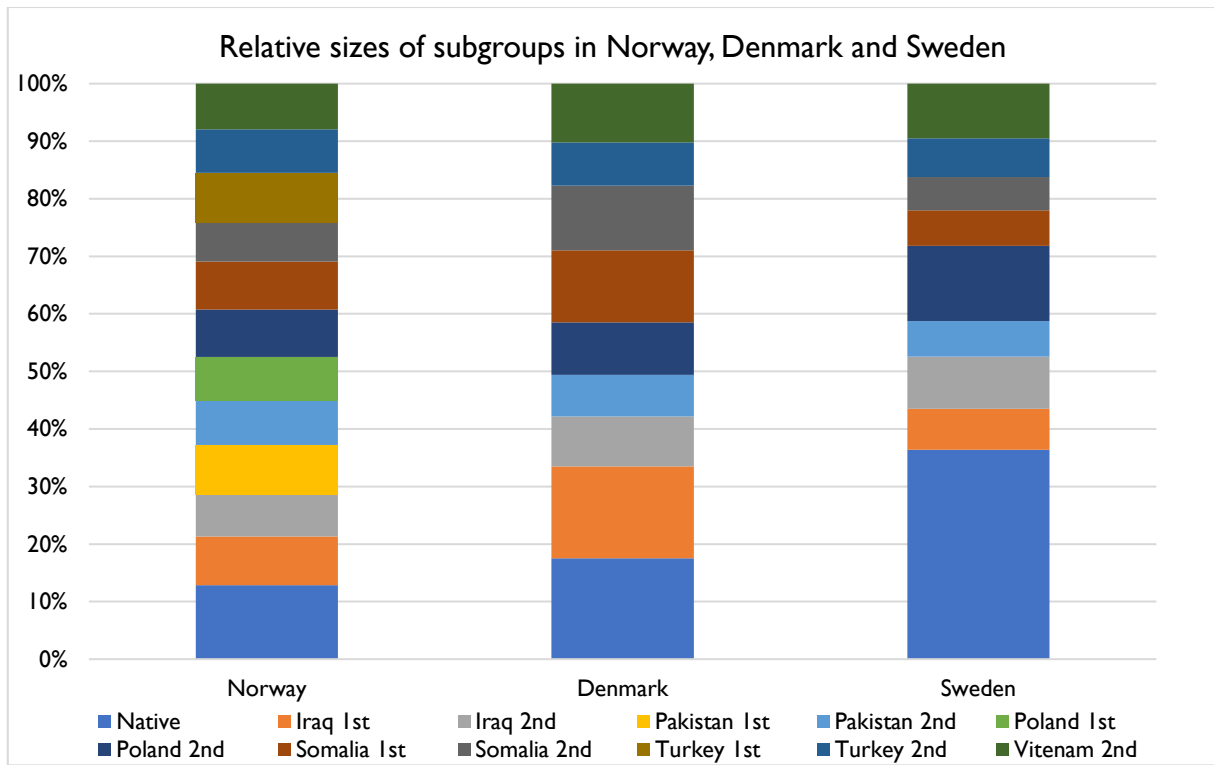


Figure 2

Figure 2 shows the relative sizes of the subgroups in each of the three countries. In the cases of Denmark and especially Sweden, the native respondents occupy a bigger share of the sample than in Norway. Note that in Denmark, the two immigrant groups, Iraqis and Somalis, are better represented than the descendants of immigrants from the same countries. A somewhat opposite pattern is the case in Sweden. In Sweden, descendants of Polish immigrants constitute a relatively large part of the sample compared to the other non-native subgroups. Table 2 shows the exact number of participants in each subgroup in each country.

	Subgroup	Norway	Denmark	Sweden
	Native	493	365	650
2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	Iraq	280	171	162
	Somalia	258	212	103
	Pakistan	297	150	111
	Poland	316	192	233
	Turkey	291	144	120
	Vietnam	304	219	170
1 <sup>st</sup> generation	Iraq	326	297	127
	Somalia	320	214	111
	Pakistan	330		
	Poland	291		
	Turkey	333		

<b>Total</b>	<b>3,839</b>	<b>1,964</b>	<b>1,787</b>
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Table 2

## 4.2. Self-reported citizenship

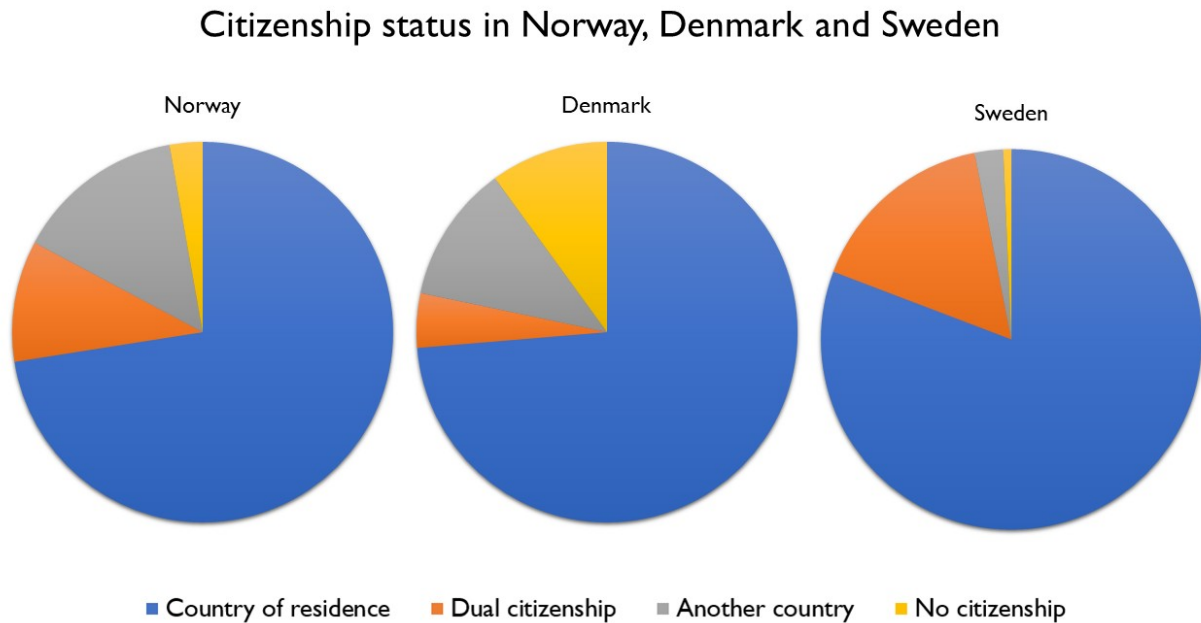


Figure 3

In terms of self-reported citizenship, the vast majority of the respondents are citizens of their respective countries of residence. Figure 3 shows that a higher percentage of respondents in Sweden are citizens of their country of residence, or have dual citizenship, in comparison to respondents in Norway and Denmark. The proportion of respondents without citizenship of the country of residence in Sweden is considerably smaller than in Norway and Denmark. These differences may be attributed to the relative ease of obtaining Swedish citizenship, as opposed to the more demanding naturalisation processes in place in Norway and Denmark. Interestingly, the Danish sample has a high proportion of self-reported stateless people.

Figure 4 depicts the details of the Norwegian sample. Within the Norwegian sample, the majority of the respondents in each group has Norwegian citizenship, either single or dual. The only exception is Polish immigrants, who overwhelmingly do not hold Norwegian citizenship, whether single or dual. Turkish immigrants are, after Polish immigrants, the largest group of respondents who do not hold Norwegian citizenship, whereas descendants of Turkish immigrants display the highest proportion of dual citizenship among all subgroups. Descendants of Pakistani and of Vietnamese immigrants have very similar citizenship status to the native Norwegian majority.

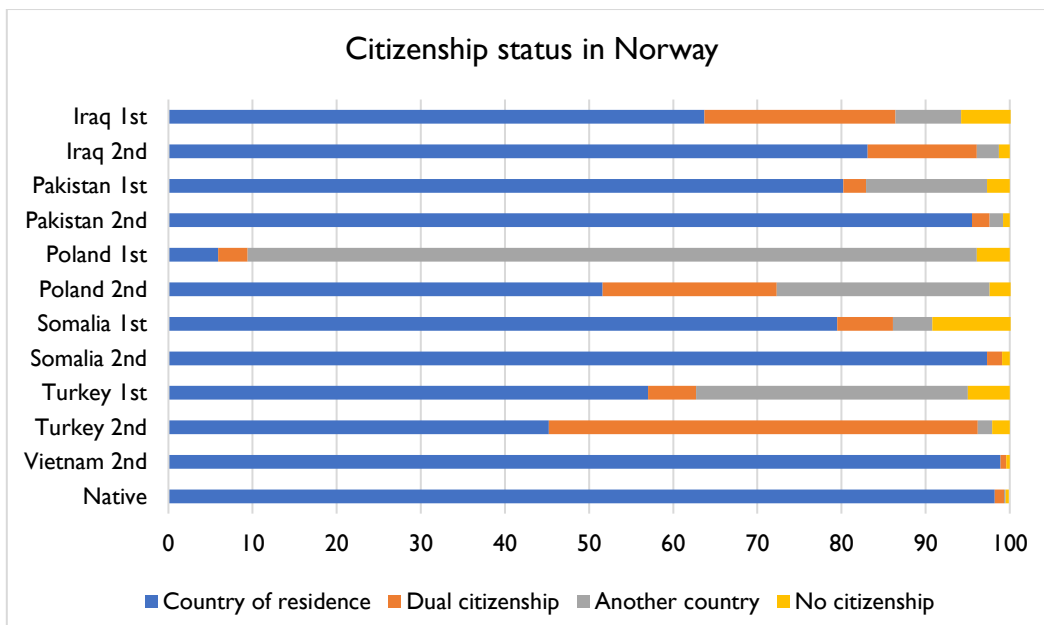


Figure 4

As in the case of Norway, the majority of respondents across all subgroups in Denmark hold Danish citizenship, whether single or dual, despite the proportion being lower than in Norway (with the obvious exception of native Danes). As shown in Figure 5, the number of self-reported no-citizenship is remarkably high, especially among Somali immigrants (more than 30% of respondents), Iraqi immigrants (20%) and descendants of Somali immigrants (16%). A plausible reason for these high numbers may be that the survey question relies on self-reported answers and that some immigrants simply do not know that they actually have citizenship in their country of origin. Just over half of Iraqi and Somali immigrants have Danish citizenship, whether single or dual.

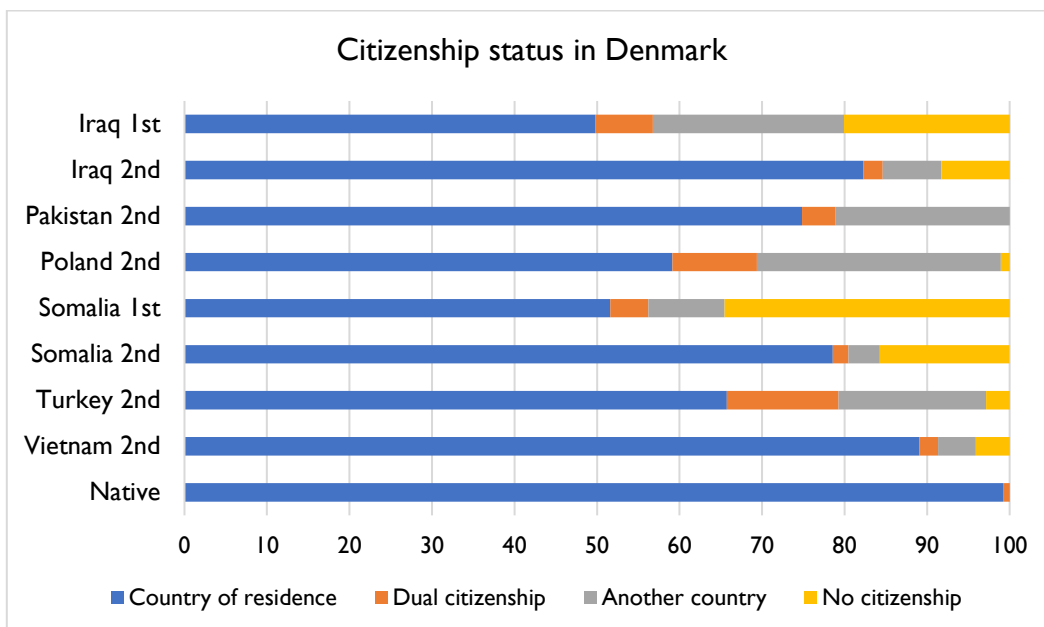


Figure 5

Respondents in Sweden are more likely to have single or dual citizenship of the country of residence than respondents in Norway and Denmark. From Figure 6 we see that Iraqi immigrants are the subgroup who display the lowest proportion of single Swedish citizenship (less than 50%) but have the highest proportion of dual citizenship. Somali immigrants in Sweden have the highest rate of citizenship of another country compared to the other subgroups and they are the only subgroup in which respondents

self-reported no citizenship. Descendants of Somali, Iraqi, and Vietnamese immigrants are, alongside native Swedes, the only subgroups in which all the respondents have either single or dual Swedish citizenship.

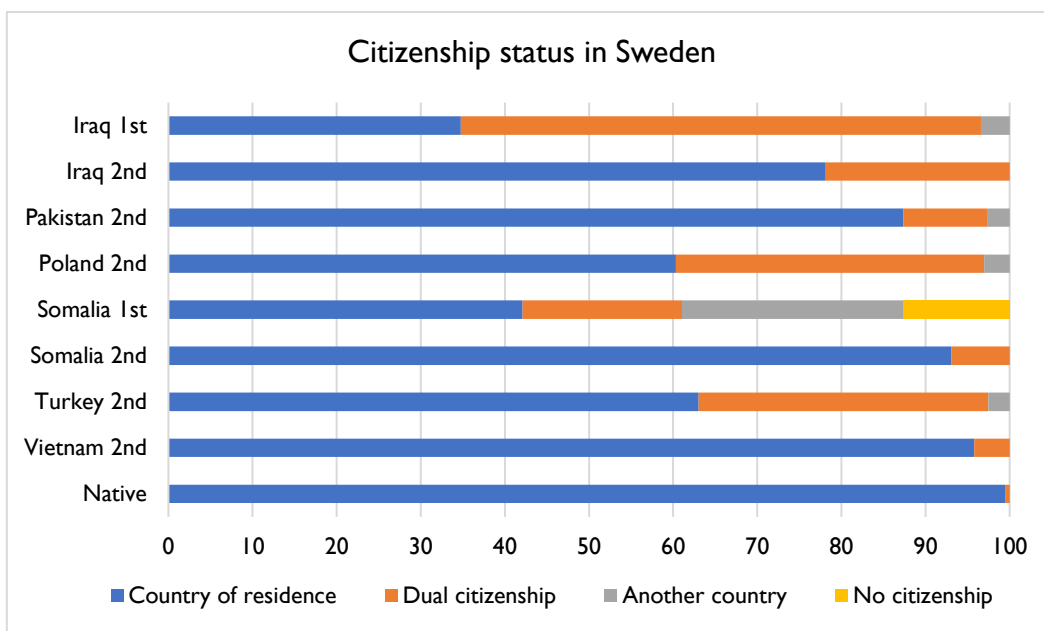


Figure 6

#### 4.2.1. Have minorities acquired the citizenship of the country of residence? (Data from the registry)

This set of data shows whether respondents have acquired the citizenship of their country of residence, based on registry data in the three countries. There are some discrepancies between the survey item (Section 4.2. Self-reported citizenship) and the registry data. For example, a few native majority respondents in the self-reported citizenship section do not have citizenship in Norway according to their own answers, while they do according to the registry data. This may be due to the fact that people make mistakes when answering the questionnaire, or they are unsure themselves. The registry data, does not show whether respondents hold dual citizenship.

Figure 7 shows that the highest proportion of respondents who have acquired citizenship of the country of residence is to be found in Sweden, while the lowest is in Denmark. Norway is between the other two countries, though the proportion of respondents who have not acquired the citizenship of the country of residence is closer to Denmark.

### Respondents with country of residence citizenship

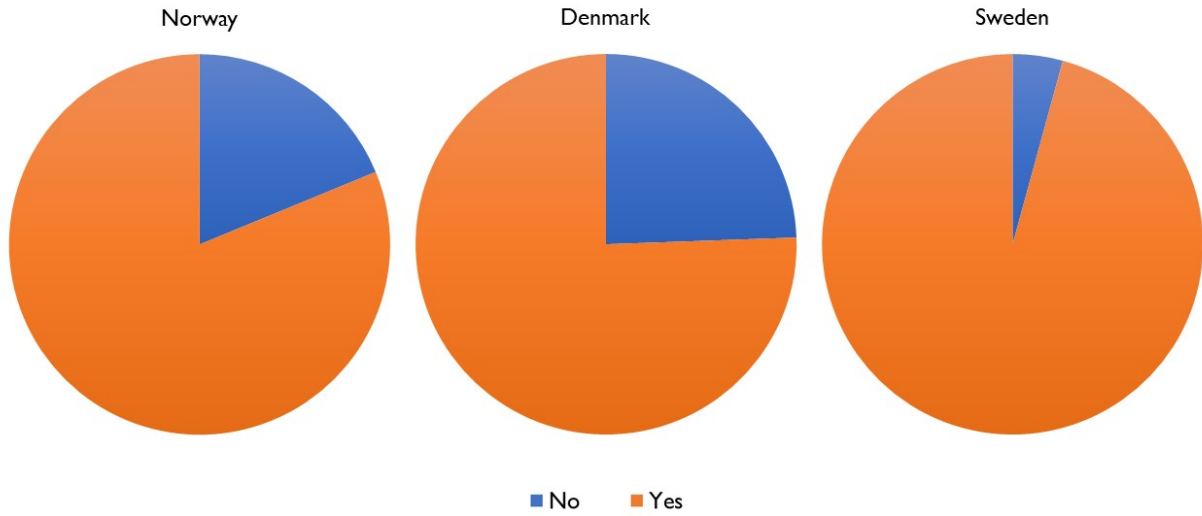


Figure 7

Based on the registry data, Figure 8 shows that native Norwegians and descendants of Vietnamese are the only two groups where all the respondents have Norwegian citizenship. The majority of all the other subgroups have Norwegian citizenship and, in particular, nearly all descendants of Turkish, Somali, Pakistani, and Iraqi immigrants have it. By contrast, hardly any Polish immigrants have Norwegian citizenship.

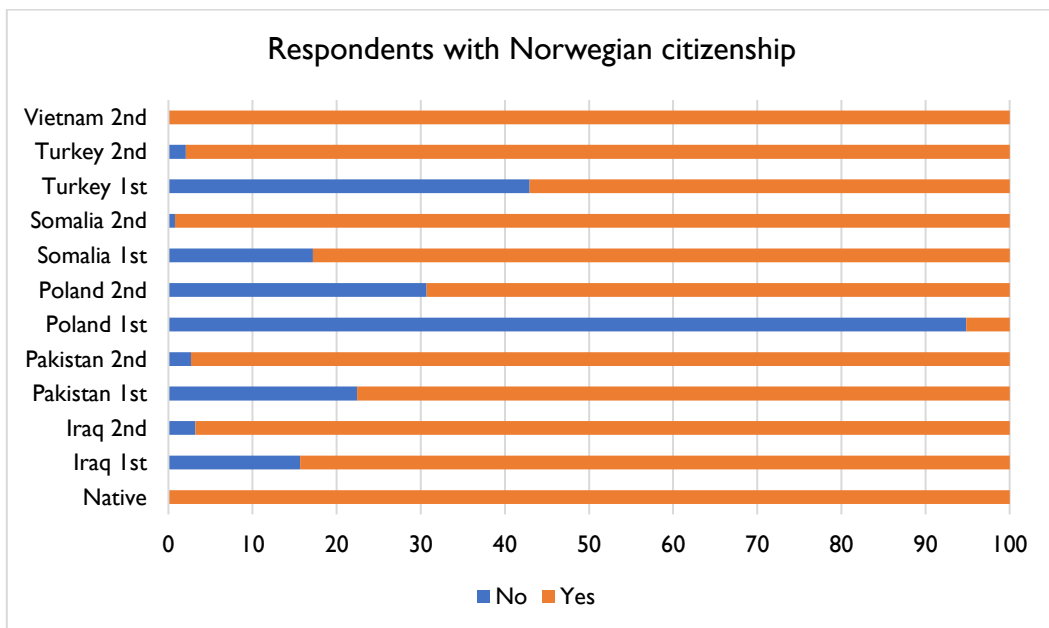


Figure 8

Figure 9 shows that native Danes are the only subgroup in which all respondents have Danish citizenship. Only half of Iraqi immigrants and less than half of Somali immigrants have Danish citizenship, which

makes them the two subgroups with the lowest proportion of Danish citizens. More than a quarter of descendants of Polish immigrants are not Danish citizens, which is in line with the Norwegian sample. Interestingly, a small proportion of descendants of Vietnamese immigrants do not have Danish citizenship, as opposed to Norway and Sweden, where all the respondents in the same subgroup have acquired the citizenship of their country of residence.

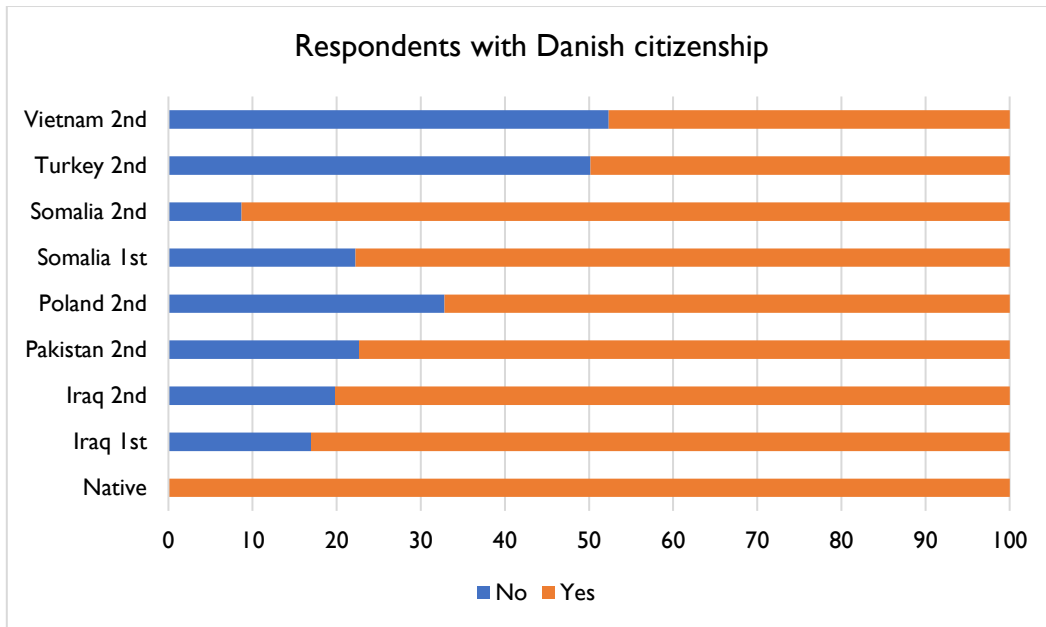


Figure 9

Figure 10 shows the Swedish sample. Here, all the descendants of Vietnamese, Turkish, Somali, and Iraqi immigrants have Swedish citizenship, while nearly all Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Polish and Pakistani immigrants have Swedish citizenship. The notable exception is Somali immigrants, the majority of whom do not have Swedish citizenship: this is a finding in line with the Danish sample and it resonates with the answers in the survey item (see Section 4.2. Self-reported citizenship).

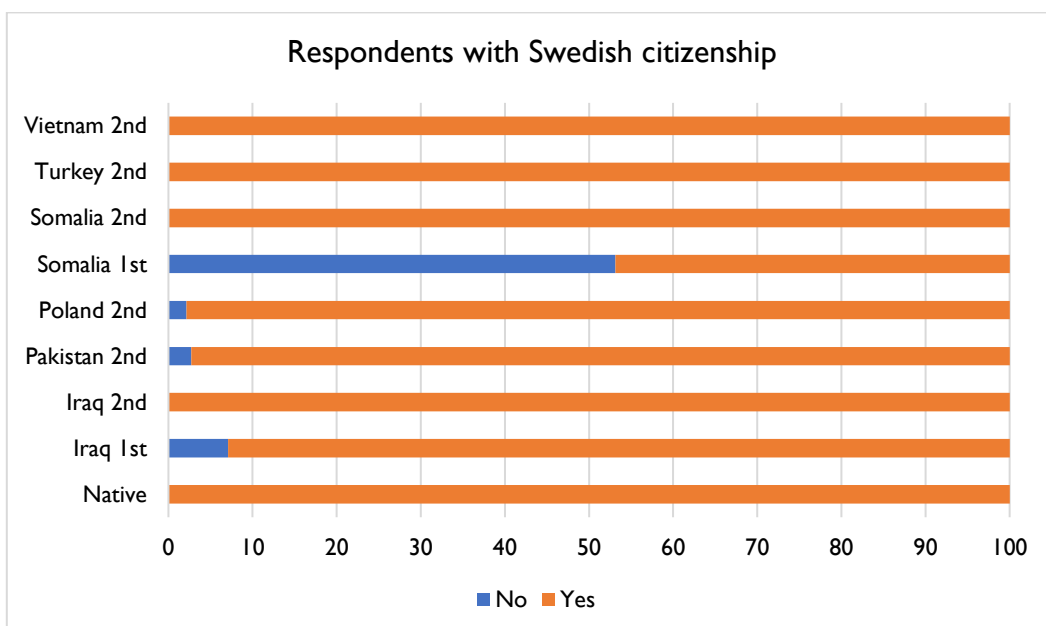


Figure 10

### 4.3. Naturalisation

This section presents findings about naturalisation. It is divided into three subsections: Subsection 4.3.1 presents how the respondents acquired citizenship; Subsection 4.3.2. presents the respondents' reasons for acquiring citizenship; Subsection 4.3.3. asks whether respondents who have not acquired citizenship have applied for it and, if not, why.

#### 4.3.1. How citizenship was acquired

In this subsection, the respondents who stated that they had acquired the citizenship of their country of residence were asked if they acquired it by birth, if their parents applied for them, or if they applied for it themselves. 2,553 people responded to the question in Norway, 1,488 in Denmark, and 1,659 in Sweden.

Figure 11 shows the Norwegian sample. Here, immigrants mostly applied themselves, followed by parents' application and birth: this is a finding consistent across all immigrant subgroups. By contrast, descendants of immigrants acquired Norwegian citizenship mostly by birth: the two exceptions in this case are descendants of Somali and Iraqi immigrants whose parents applied for it on their behalf. Descendants of Pakistani, Turkish and Vietnamese immigrants naturalised in a very similar way.

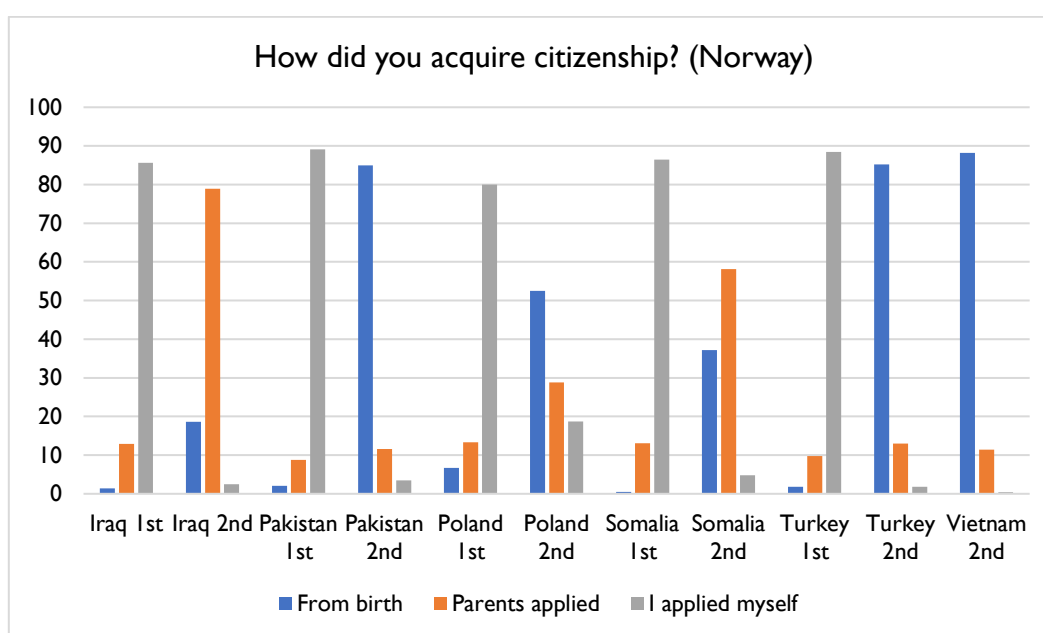


Figure 11

Figure 12 shows the Danish sample. Similarly to Norway, immigrants in Denmark applied for citizenship mostly by themselves, though the number of Somali immigrants whose parents applied for citizenship on their behalf is more than three times as high as in the case of Iraqi immigrants in Denmark and more than twice as high as Somali immigrants in Norway. Descendants of Pakistani, Vietnamese and Polish immigrants show a similar pattern to the descendants' groups in the other two countries, where citizenship by birth is predominant by a large margin. Citizenship from birth is also predominant among descendants of Turkish and Iraqi immigrants, but to a lesser extent. The exception is the descendants of Somali immigrants, the majority of whom obtained citizenship through their parents' application, in line with the findings in Norway.

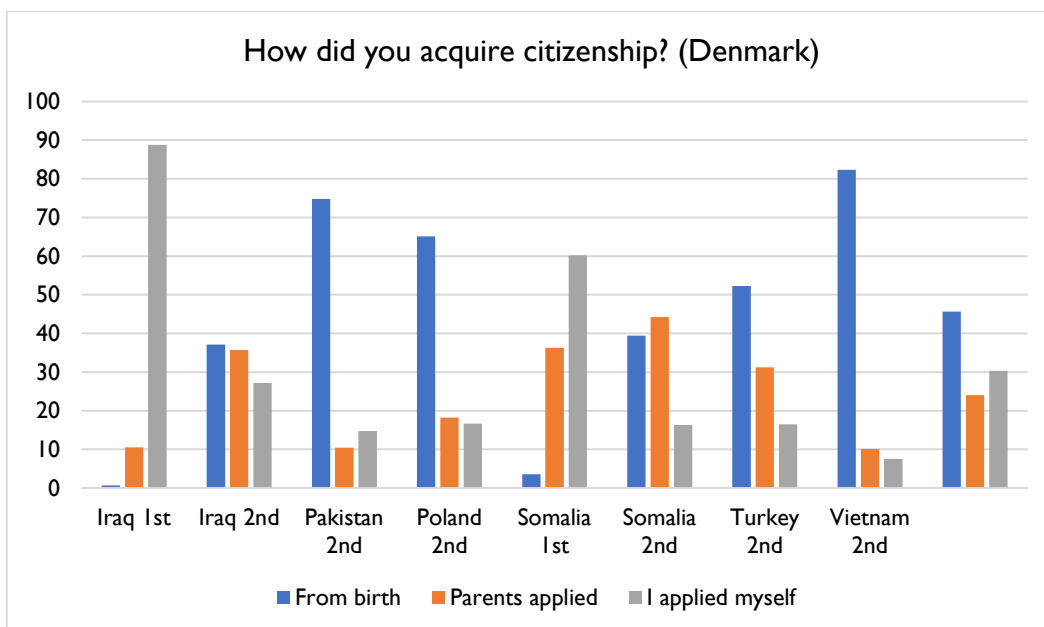


Figure 12

In line with the findings in Norway and Denmark, the majority of immigrants to Sweden applied for citizenship themselves, as shown in Figure 13: in the case of Somali immigrants, the totality of the respondents applied themselves. Among the descendants' groups, there is a similarity across all the subgroups, as the majority of the respondents acquired citizenship by birth. Descendants of Polish immigrants are the only descendant subgroup in which respondents applied for Swedish citizenship themselves.

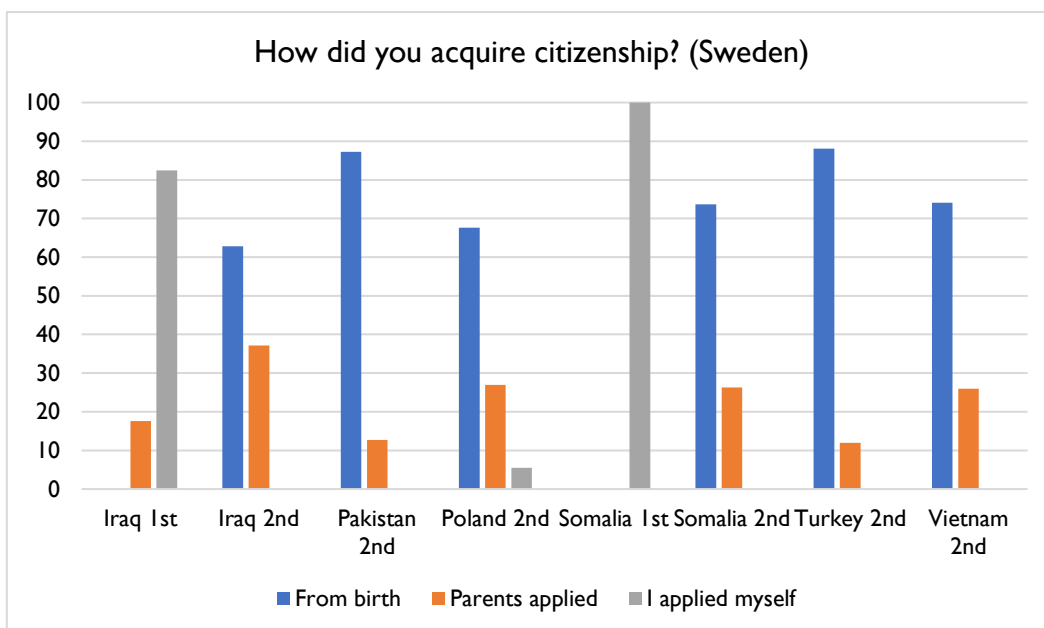


Figure 13

#### 4.3.2. Reasons for seeking citizenship of the country of residence

This subsection shows the reasons for which minorities in the three countries sought citizenship in their country of residence. The question only applies to participants in the survey who applied for citizenship and applied themselves. Since the native majorities usually by default would have citizenship in the country



of residence, they would not apply, and are therefore not part of the figures below. 861 participants responded in Norway, 499 in Denmark and 179 in Sweden.

The reasons provided are: to vote in elections; to visit the country of origin; feeling of belonging to the country of residence; to have better opportunities in society; for protection against deportation; because they would not return to their country of origin; because of statelessness; and other reasons. This subsection does not break down the results per subgroup and per country, as there are often too few responses to be statistically meaningful. The results are then presented as Minority (Norway), Minority (Denmark), and Minority (Sweden).

As shown in Figure 14, the most popular reason for applying for citizenship across the three countries is feeling of belonging to the country of residence. In the case of minorities in Sweden and Denmark in particular, this reason alone was the most popular. To have better opportunities in society is one of the most popular reasons after belonging, especially in Norway and Denmark: in the case of Norway, this reason is nearly as high as the feeling of belonging. Among respondents in Sweden, to be able to vote in elections and to visit their countries of origin are both more popular reasons than to have better opportunities in society. To vote in elections is a particularly popular reason among respondents in Denmark and Sweden, while among respondents in Norway it is an equally popular reason as to visit the country of origin. The least frequent reasons are: protection against deportation (which is the least frequent response among the Norwegian sample); no wish to return to the country of origin (which is the least frequent response among the Danish sample, apart from ‘other’); and statelessness (which is the least frequent response among the Swedish sample, apart from ‘other’).

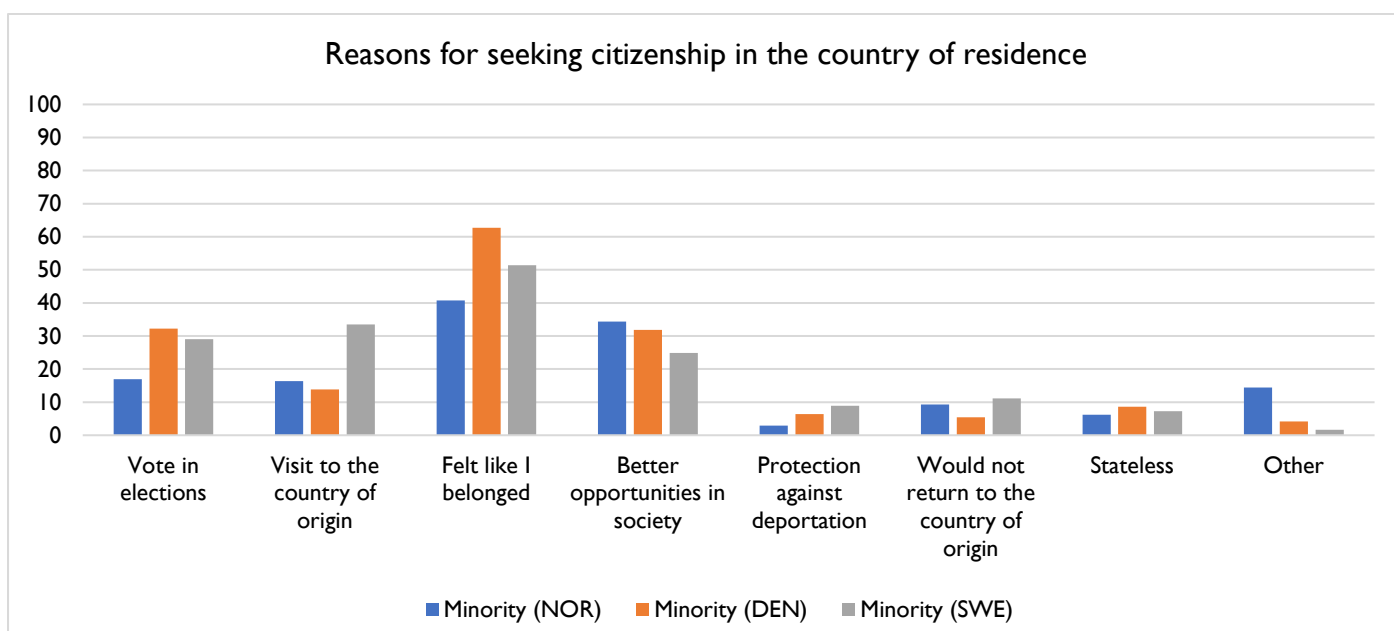


Figure 14

### 4.3.3. Applications for naturalisation

The question only applies to participants in the survey who did not have citizenship in the country of residence at the time the survey was conducted. 555 participants responded in Norway, 423 in Denmark and 44 in Sweden. The low number in Sweden reflects that almost all participants in Sweden have Swedish citizenship. The findings from especially Sweden should thus be taken with some reservation due to the low number of participants.

Figure 15 shows the breakdown of the answers per country. It is only in Sweden where the majority of respondents without the citizenship of the country of residence applied for it. Less than half of the respondents in Denmark and less than a quarter of the respondents in Norway without citizenship of their country of residence applied for it. The next subsection looks at the reasons for not applying for citizenship.

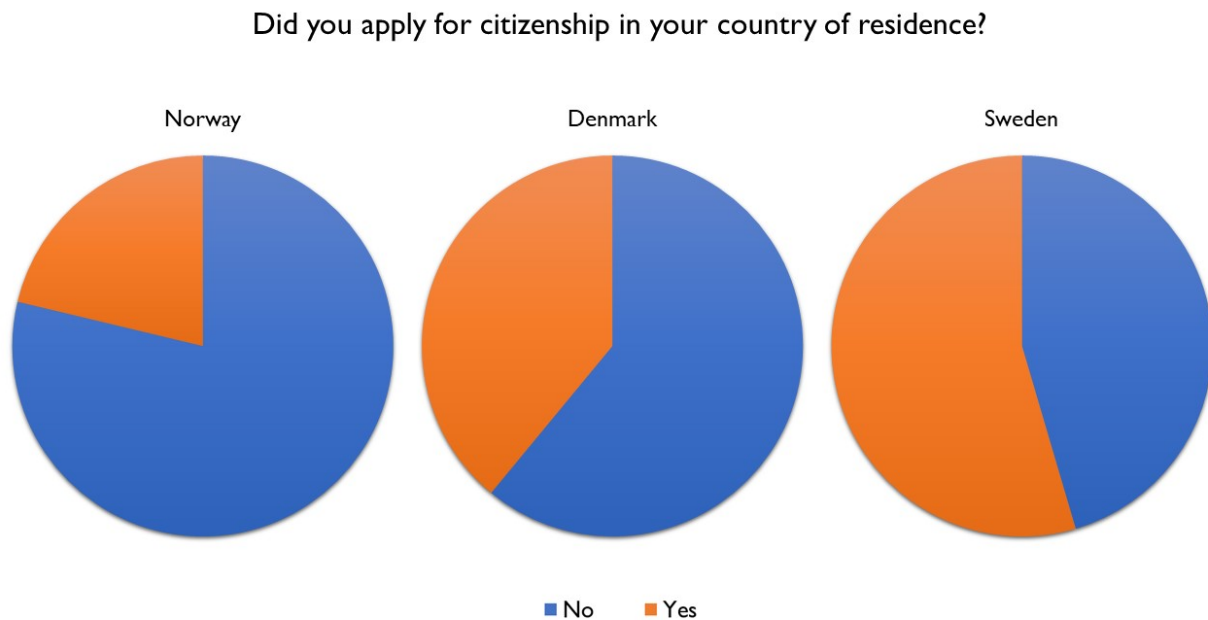


Figure 15

#### 4.3.4. Reasons for not seeking citizenship of the country of residence

This subsection shows the reasons for which minorities in the three countries did not seek citizenship in their country of residence. The question only applies to those who did not have citizenship in the country of residence at the time of the survey and chose *not* to apply for citizenship. 436 participants answered the question in Norway, 253 in Denmark and only 20 in Sweden. Due to the low number of respondents eligible for answering in Sweden, no figure is shown for that country.

The reasons provided are: plans to leave the country; no feeling of belonging; no fulfilment of the citizenship requirements; strong attachment to the country of origin; the difficulty of the application process; just not having done it; and other reasons. Results are shown in Figure 16.

Among the Danish sample, the two most frequent reasons for not seeking Danish citizenship are the lack of fulfilment of citizenship requirements and the difficulty of the process of application. Beyond these two reasons, simply not having done it is the third most frequent reason in the Danish sample. This is the most frequent response in the Norwegian sample. Apart from ‘other reasons’, the difficulty of the application process and a strong attachment to the country of origin follow as the two most frequent reasons for not seeking citizenship among the Norwegian sample. Interestingly, a strong attachment to the country of origin is the least frequent response among the Danish sample. There is a considerable difference between respondents who indicate the lack of fulfilment of citizenship requirements in

Denmark and Norway: in the Danish sample, nearly 40% of the respondents selected this option, while less than 10% of respondents in Norway did so. Among the least frequent reasons are plans to leave the country and lack of feeling of belonging.

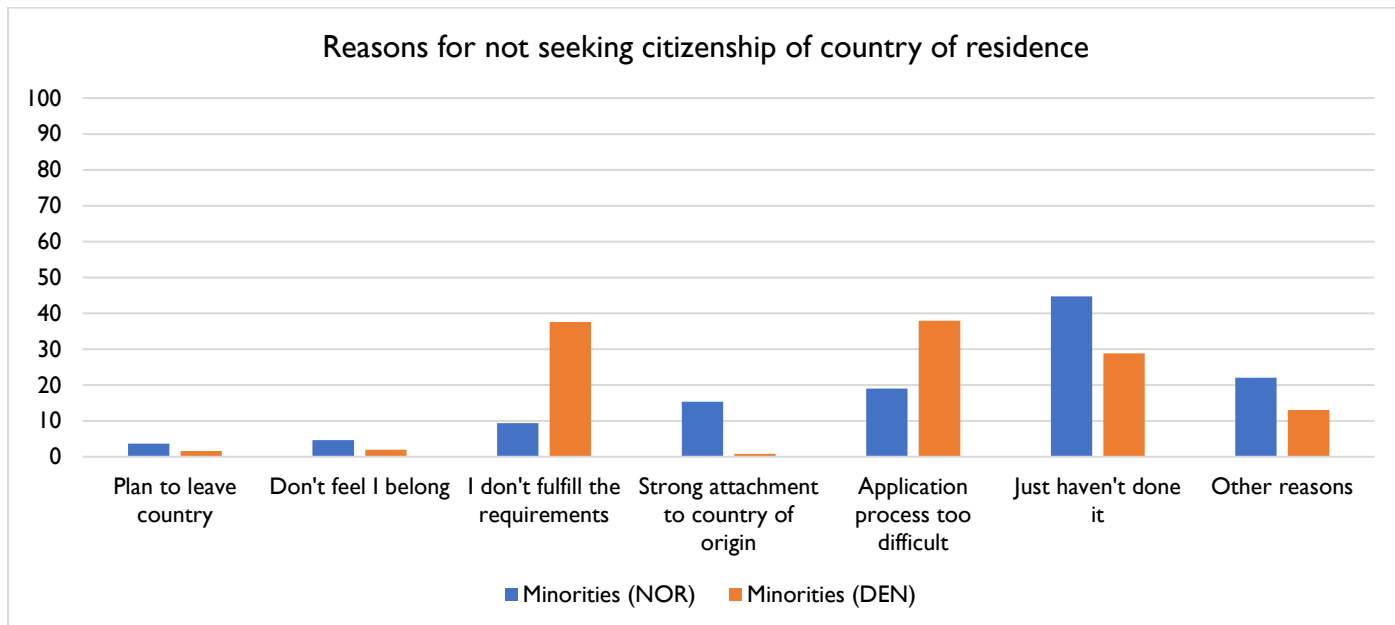


Figure 16

#### 4.4. Self-reported religious affiliation

This section shows the breakdown of religious affiliation among the minority groups in the three countries. Results are shown in percentages.

As shown in Figure 17, the majority of respondents self-identify as being affiliated with a religious group across all subgroups. Descendants of immigrants tend to display a marginally higher proportion of 'no religion', 'atheists' and 'other religions' than immigrants, across all minority groups in Norway: the only exception is among the Turkish minority, in which immigrants and descendants display a nearly equal religious affiliation. The highest proportion of atheists and non-religious respondents is found among Polish immigrants and descendants of Iraqi, Polish and Vietnamese immigrants.

### Religious affiliation of subgroups in Norway

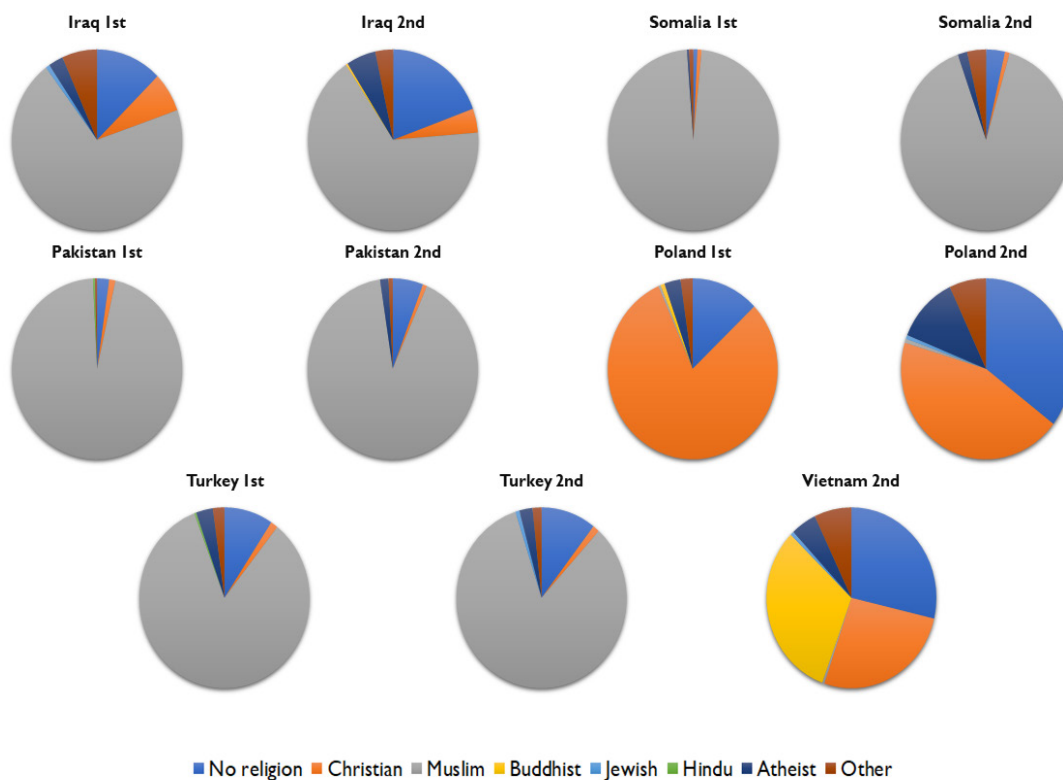


Figure 17

Among the Danish subgroups (Figure 18), the majority of the respondents self-identify as religious, in line with the Norwegian sample. As in Norway, immigrants tend to be marginally more religious than the descendants with the same country of origin, but the differences between immigrants and descendants of immigrants are very small.

### Religious affiliation of subgroups in Denmark

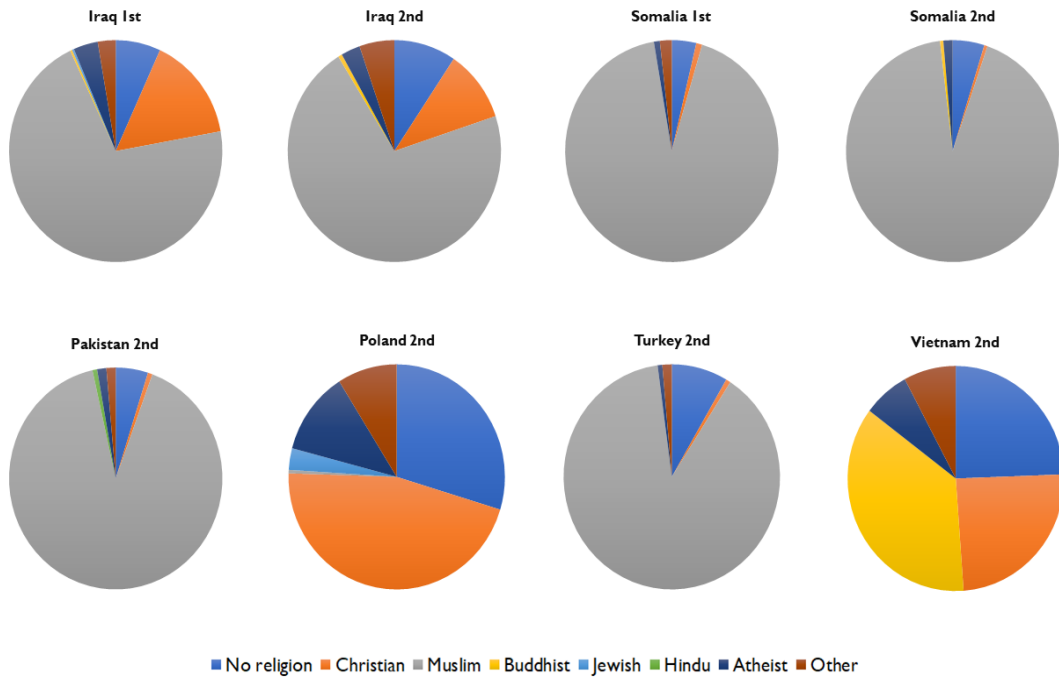


Figure 18

Figure 19 shows the Swedish sample. It presents some notable differences in comparison to the Norwegian and the Danish samples. The proportion of atheist respondents across all groups is notably higher than in Norway and Denmark, except among Somali and Iraqi immigrants. The number of respondents who indicated no religion is also higher than in the other two countries, except among Somali immigrants. Descendants of Vietnamese immigrants are the only subgroup among the countries' samples in which non-religious and atheist respondents outnumber religious respondents.

### Religious affiliation of subgroups in Sweden

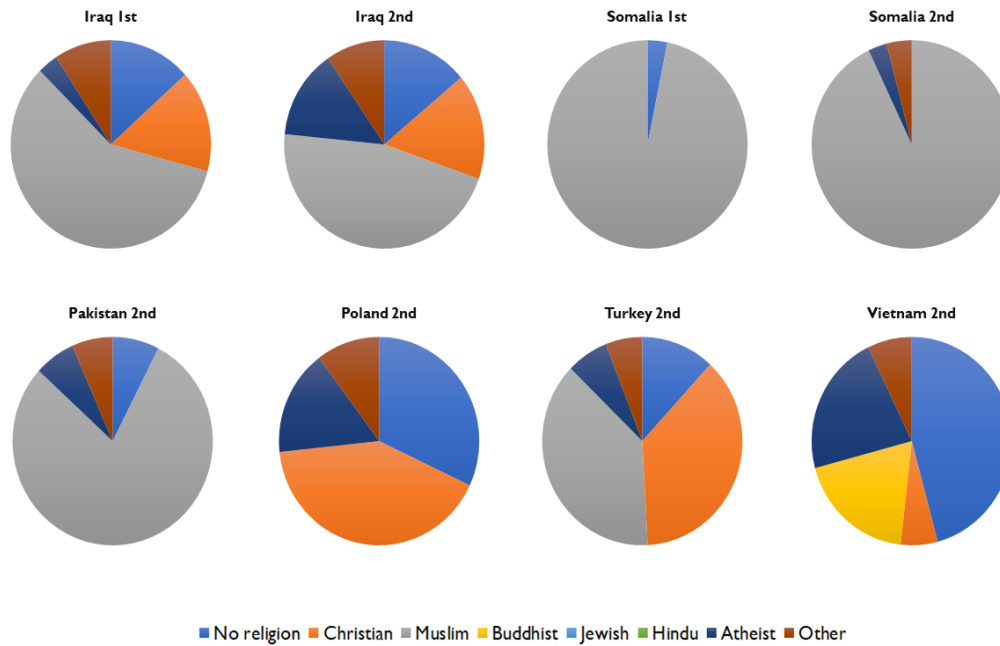


Figure 19

#### 4.5 Chapter summary

In total, 7,594 respondents have answered the survey. Out of these, 3,843 are in the Norwegian sample, 1,964 in the Danish sample and 1,787 in the Swedish sample. Alongside native majorities, the other subgroups that feature in each country are: Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Iraqi immigrants; Somali immigrants and descendants of Somali immigrants; descendants of Pakistani immigrants; descendants of Polish immigrants; descendants of Turkish immigrants; and descendants of Vietnamese immigrants. In addition to these groups, the Norwegian sample includes Pakistani, Polish and Turkish immigrants. With a few exceptions, the majority of the respondents are citizens of their countries of residence, whether citizenship is dual or single. Generally, most of the immigrant groups in the three countries naturalised by applying themselves, while descendants of immigrants obtained citizenship mostly by birth. The most popular reasons for not applying for citizenship are simply not having done it, the difficulty of the application process and a lack of fulfillment of the requirements. In terms of religious affiliation, the various subgroups in the three countries are rather like each other: the number of atheists in the Swedish sample is considerably higher than in Norway and Denmark. The only subgroup where the majority of respondents are not religious or atheists are the descendants of Vietnamese immigrants in Sweden.

## 5. Attitudes to citizenship

Chapter 5 presents the findings of the respondents' attitudes to citizenship. The chapter is divided into three sections: first, the perceived ease of acquiring citizenship; second, the perception of what are seen as legitimate criteria for acquiring citizenship; and third, the attitudes to the actual citizenship requirements in the country of residence.

### 5.1. Perceived ease of acquiring citizenship

The first section of Chapter 5 presents the findings of the perceived ease of acquiring citizenship in Norway, Denmark and Sweden, respectively. Respondents were asked to place whether they perceive the acquisition of citizenship in their countries of residence on a scale of 0 (very difficult) to 10 (very easy). The figures below show means and their 95%-confidence intervals.<sup>6</sup>

As shown in Figure 20, respondents in Sweden perceive the acquisition of Swedish citizenship as somewhat easy, with mean scores around 6, with no substantial difference between the native majority and the minority groups. The Norwegian native majority perceives the ease of acquiring citizenship similarly to the two Swedish groups, whereas the Norwegian minority thinks on average that it is more difficult. In Denmark, both the native majority and the minority perceive the acquisition of citizenship as difficult, with the minority group seeing it as most difficult.

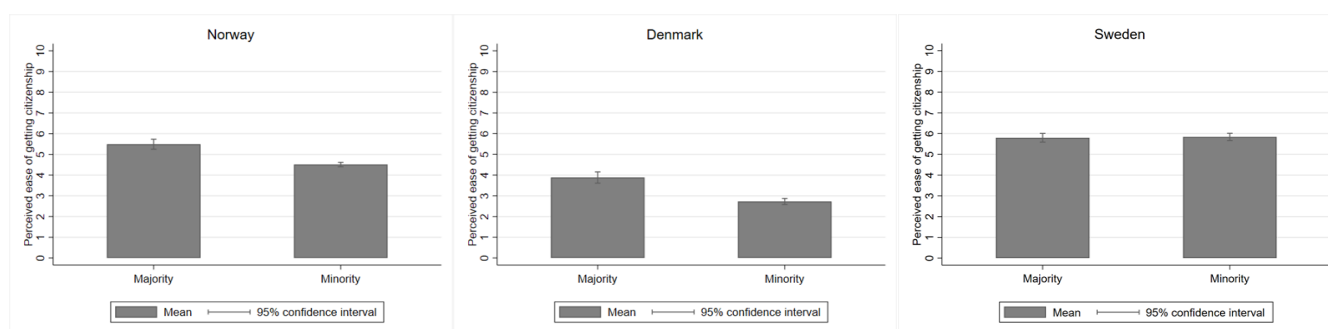


Figure 20

Within the Norwegian sample (Figure 21), there are significant differences among some of the subgroups, which rank the perceived ease of acquiring Norwegian citizenship either neutrally or as slightly difficult. Turkish and Iraqi immigrants perceive it to be easier than descendants of Turkish and Iraqi immigrants: the difference is close to be significant, also between Pakistani immigrants and descendants of Pakistani immigrants. By contrast, descendants of Polish immigrants perceive the acquisition of citizenship to be easier than Polish immigrants.

<sup>6</sup> The 95%-confidence interval indicates the statistical uncertainty in an observed mean. Specifically, the interval shows a span within which the mean lies with a probability of 95%. From this also follows that there is a 5% chance that an observed mean does not fall within a given interval. It is important to note that the confidence intervals used here are primarily a tool to assess the specific uncertainty of a mean *within* each group. That two confidence intervals overlap does not necessarily mean that there is no statistically significant difference between those means (however, if two confidence intervals do *not* overlap, this indicates that the difference between the two means is in fact statistically significant).

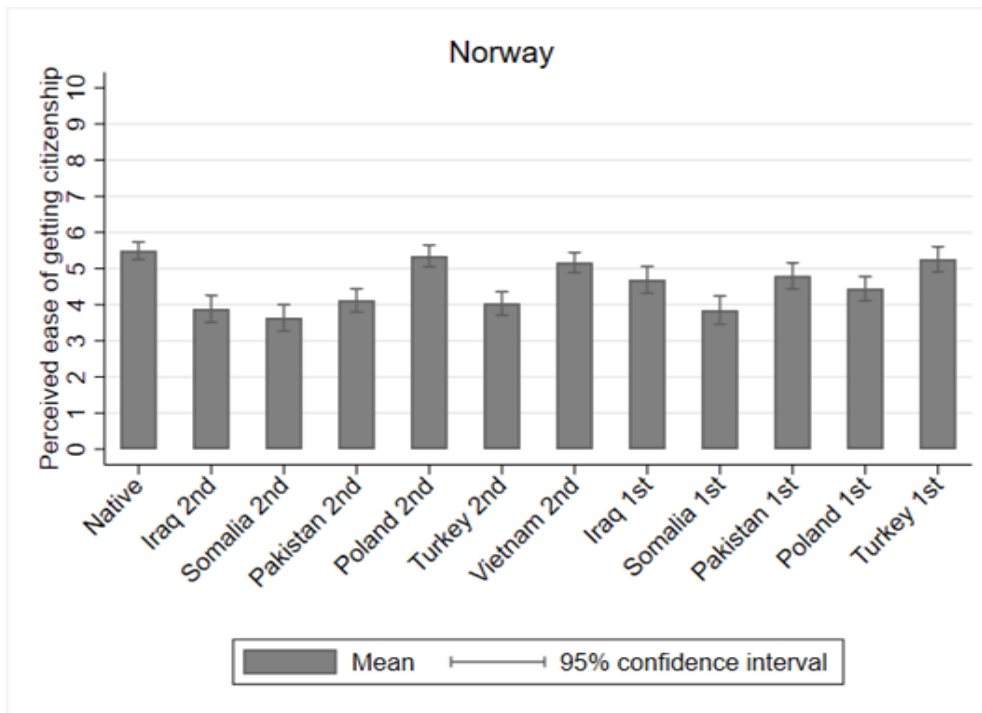


Figure 21

Within the Danish sample (Figure 22), Iraqi and Somali immigrants as well as descendants of Pakistani, Somali and Iraqi immigrants perceive the acquisition of Danish citizenship to be significantly more difficult than native Danes: native majority Danes, descendants of Polish immigrants, and, to some extent, Turkish and Vietnamese immigrants, think that citizenship is slightly less difficult to acquire than the former subgroups. Respondents in the Danish sample tend to perceive the acquisition of Danish citizenship as difficult, regardless of the differences between subgroups.

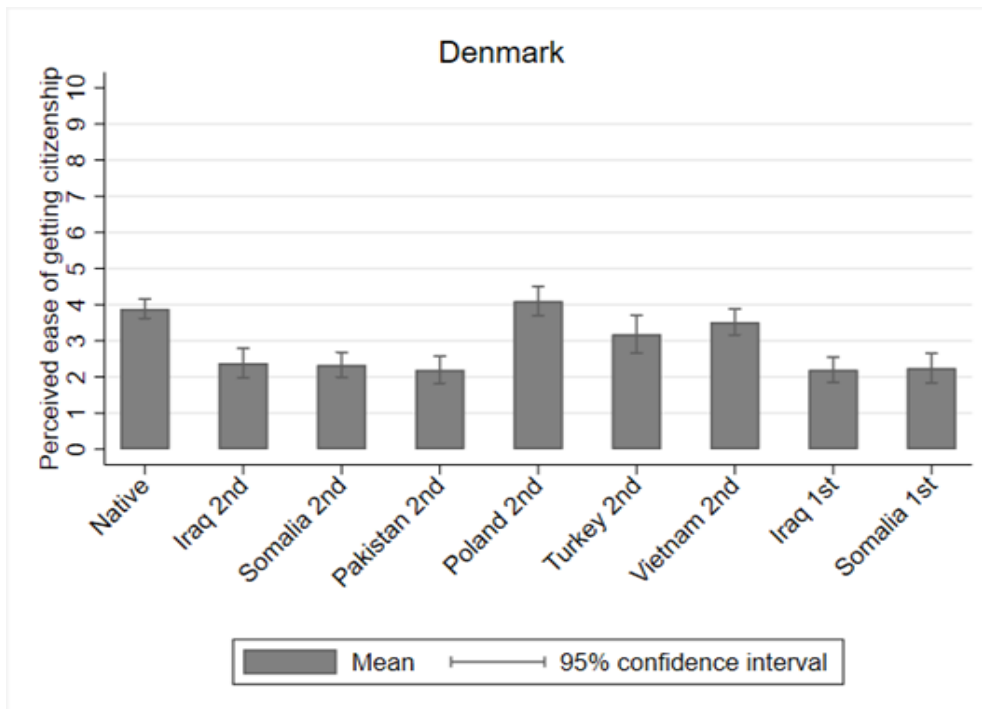


Figure 22

Within the Swedish sample (Figure 23), there is little difference between the subgroups, with an overall tendency to perceive the acquisition of Swedish citizenship as somewhat easy. In particular, descendants of Polish immigrants and Iraqi immigrants perceive it to be significantly easier than native majority



Swedes. The lowest values are found among Somali immigrants and descendants of Somali and Pakistani immigrants.

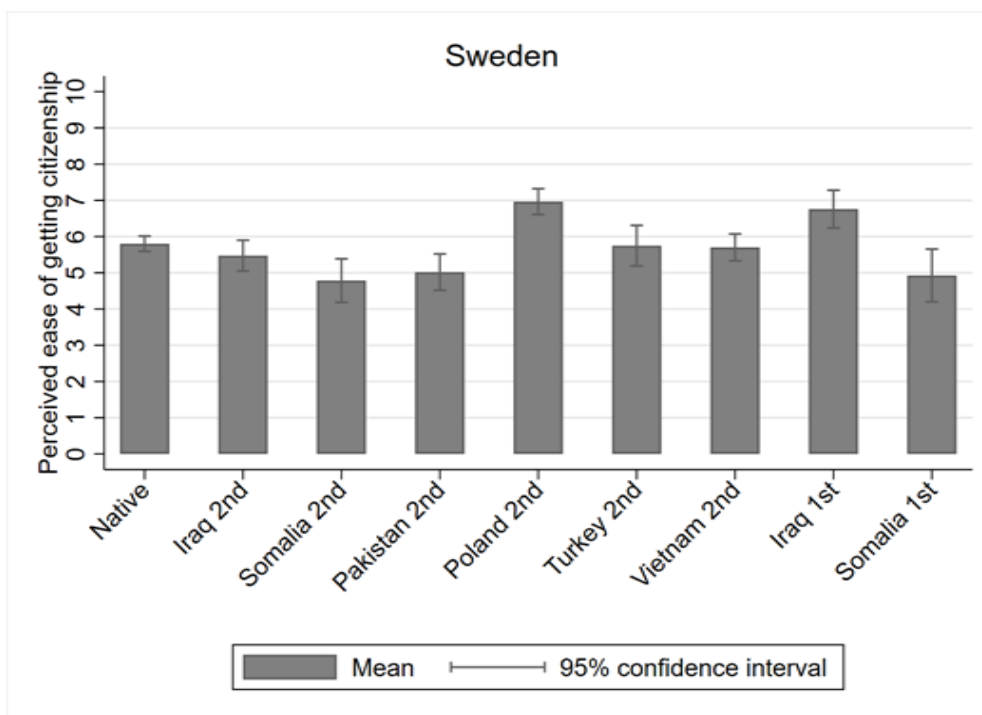


Figure 23

## 5.2. Perception of legitimate criteria for acquiring citizenship

The second section of Chapter 5 presents the respondents' perceptions of what are legitimate requirements for obtaining citizenship in their country of residence. The section is divided into seven subsections, one per each of the six criteria that were included in the survey and a final index. The six criteria respondents were asked to consider are: length of residence; language competence; economic qualifications; historical and cultural knowledge; declaration of citizenship commitment (oath); and dual citizenship. In these sections, results are presented in percentages. The seventh subsection shows the overall perception of legitimate criteria for acquiring citizenship, combining the six criteria in one index. In the last subsection, the graphs show the means and their 95%-confidence intervals.

### 5.2.1. Length of residence

The first criterion for acquiring citizenship is length of residence. Respondents were asked to choose the preferred option among: no requirements; three years; five years; seven years; nine years; and longer than nine years.

As shown in **Error! Reference source not found.**, in Norway, Denmark and Sweden the most popular option is five years of residence in the country, both among native majorities and minorities. Three years of residence is the second most popular choice, but it is preferred marginally more by the native majorities in the three countries than the minorities. A requirement of seven years (which is overall the third preferred choice) is marginally more popular among minorities than native majorities. There is little difference between groups in the same country at the two ends of the spectrum (no requirements and longer than nine years), with the notable exception of the Swedish native majority which favours no

requirements twice as much as the Swedish minorities. The least popular option among all groups is nine years.

Within the Norwegian sample (Figure 24) there is little difference between subgroups, as most prefer a five-year residence requirement, followed by three or seven years. The two least popular options are no requirements and nine years. A notable exception is Polish immigrants, only less than half of whom favour five years or less as a minimum requirement for citizenship, and less than 5% of whom prefer 3 years or less: in fact, Polish immigrants are also the subgroup that prefer longer than nine years the most (over 25% of the respondents). Descendants of Polish immigrants show a similar pattern to Polish immigrants, though the fraction of respondents preferring three or less years is higher and the fraction of respondents preferring nine or more years is lower.

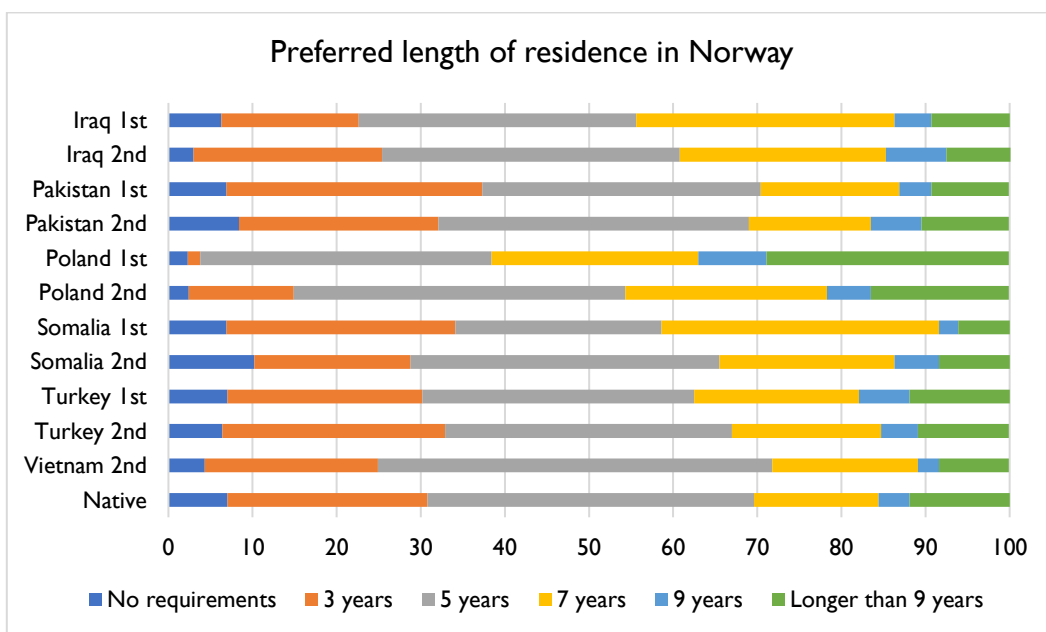


Figure 24

In the Danish sample, shown in Figure 25, the majority of each subgroup prefers five or less years of residence as a minimum requirement for Danish citizenship. The two immigrant subgroups (Iraqis and Somalis) are those who prefer lower requirements the least, while preferring the longer requirements (seven or more years) the most. Among the other subgroups, the differences are small.

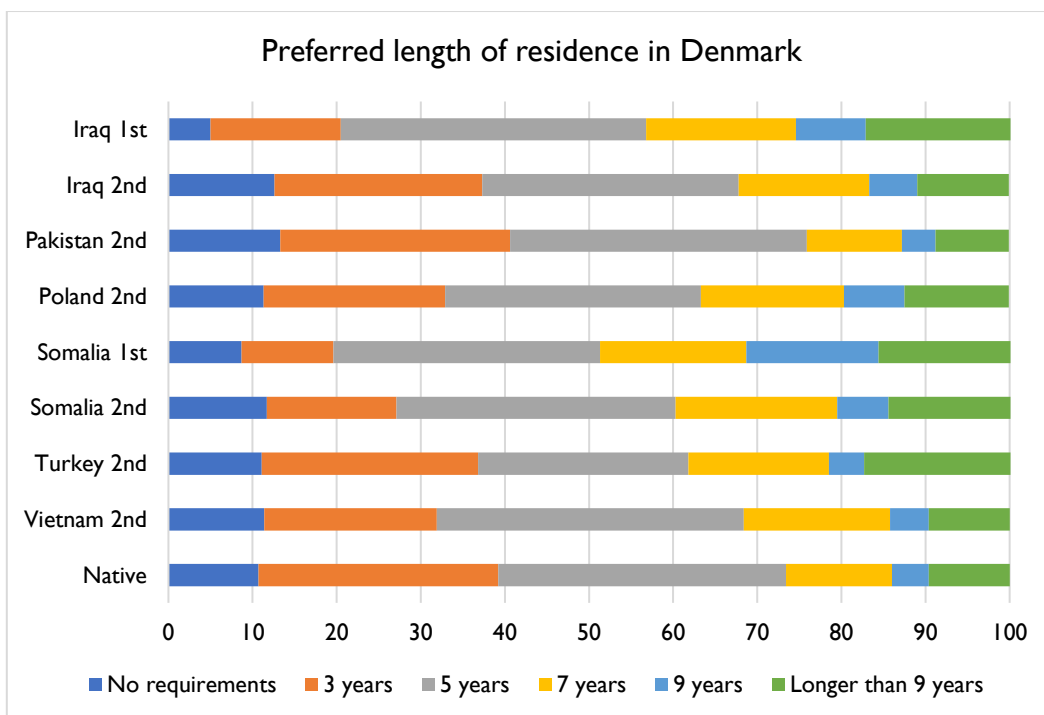


Figure 25

In Sweden (Figure 26), the most popular requirement is five years of residence for all groups. Generally, lower requirements of three or less years of residence are more popular among all groups, especially among natives, descendants of Pakistani, Somali, and Vietnamese immigrants. This also holds true, but to a lesser extent, for Somali and Iraqi immigrants, who both tend to favour five years. Longer requirements of seven or more years are not very popular. Among descendants of Turkish and Polish immigrants, more than 20% of the respondents favour one of the three longest requirements; among the other subgroups, the proportion is below 20%.

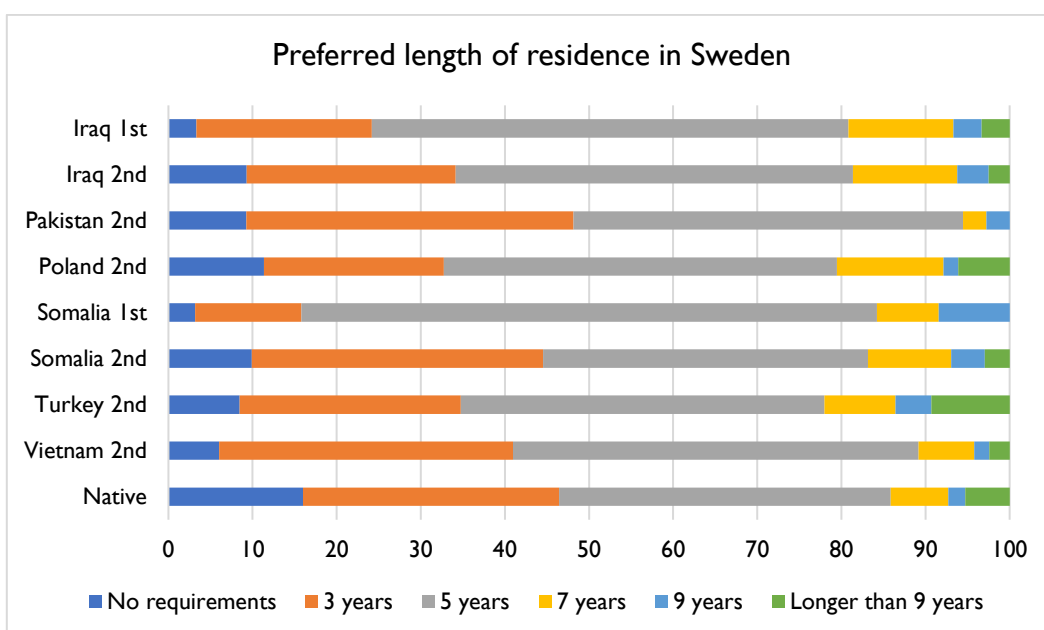


Figure 26

## 5.2.2. Language competence

The second criterion for acquiring citizenship is language competence. Respondents were asked to choose the preferred option among: no requirements; to take a course; to pass a basic exam; and to pass a higher exam.

Passing a basic language exam is the single most preferred requirement for acquiring citizenship in the country of residence by the native majorities and the minorities in each of the three countries, as shown in

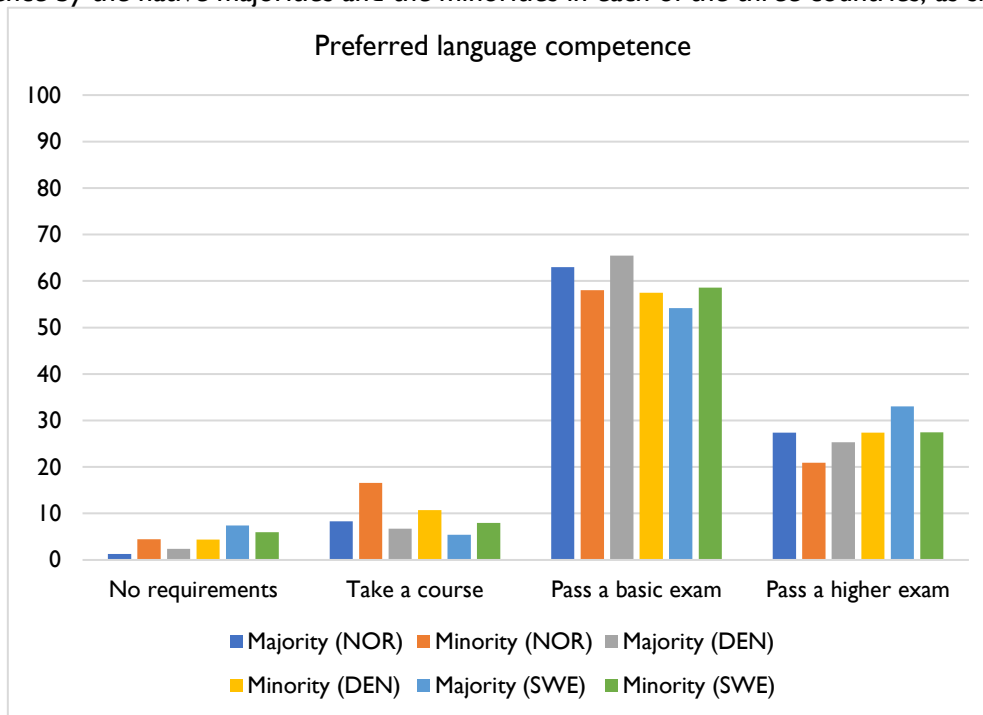


Figure 27. The second most popular option is passing a higher exam: Denmark is the only country in which the minorities prefer this more than the native majority. Taking a language course comes third, with minority respondents favouring it more than the native majorities in each country. The least popular option is no requirements, especially among native majorities: the exception is Sweden, where this option was chosen by more native majority Swedes than minority respondents.

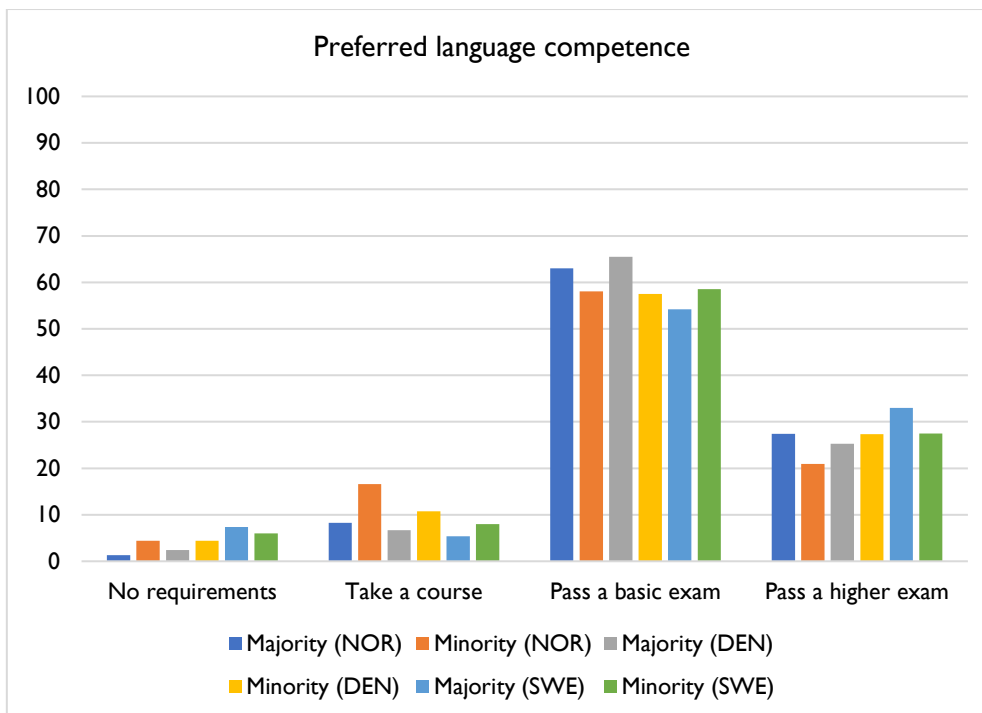


Figure 27

As shown in Figure 28, in Norway there is little difference between groups, as passing a basic language exam is by far the most popular option among all groups. Passing a higher exam is the second most popular option, especially among Polish immigrants, descendants of Polish immigrants and native majority Norwegians. The options chosen by the fewest respondents are taking a language course and no requirements, though 30% of Iraqi, Pakistani and Turkish immigrants selected either of the two. Specifically, no requirements is a less popular choice among descendants of immigrants than among immigrants from the same country, while taking a course is slightly more popular among immigrants than among descendants of immigrants from the same country. In this instance, the exception is the descendants of Somali immigrants who favour taking a course more than Somali immigrants.

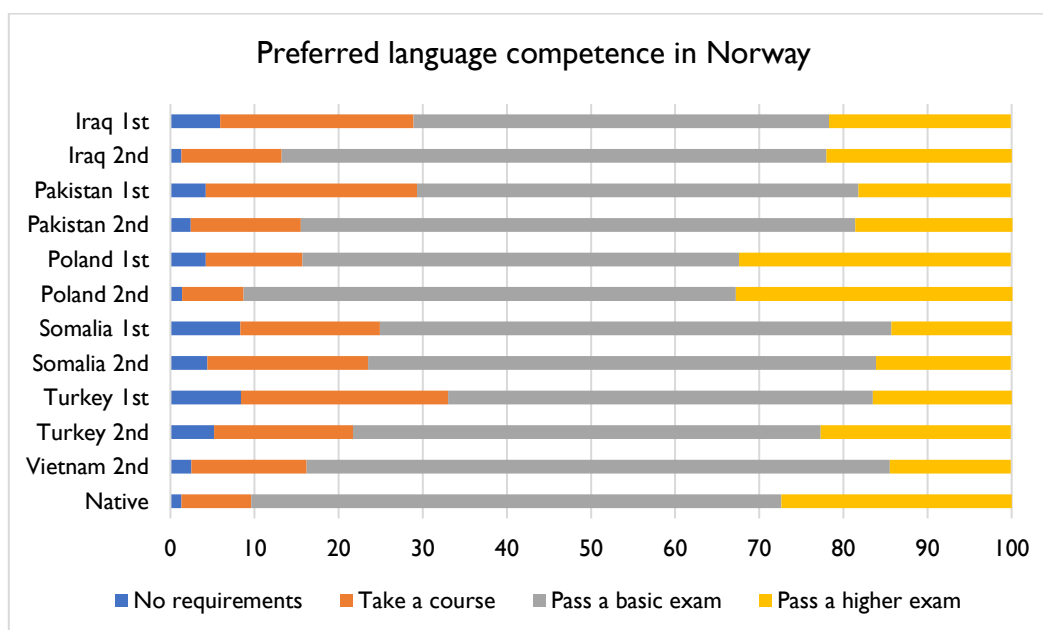


Figure 28

As in the case of Norway, in Denmark (Figure 29) the most popular option among all subgroups is to pass a basic language exam, followed by passing a higher language exam. The subgroup that favours lower requirements is the descendants of Turkish immigrants, about a fifth of whom opted for no requirements or taking a language course, in line with the Norwegian data.

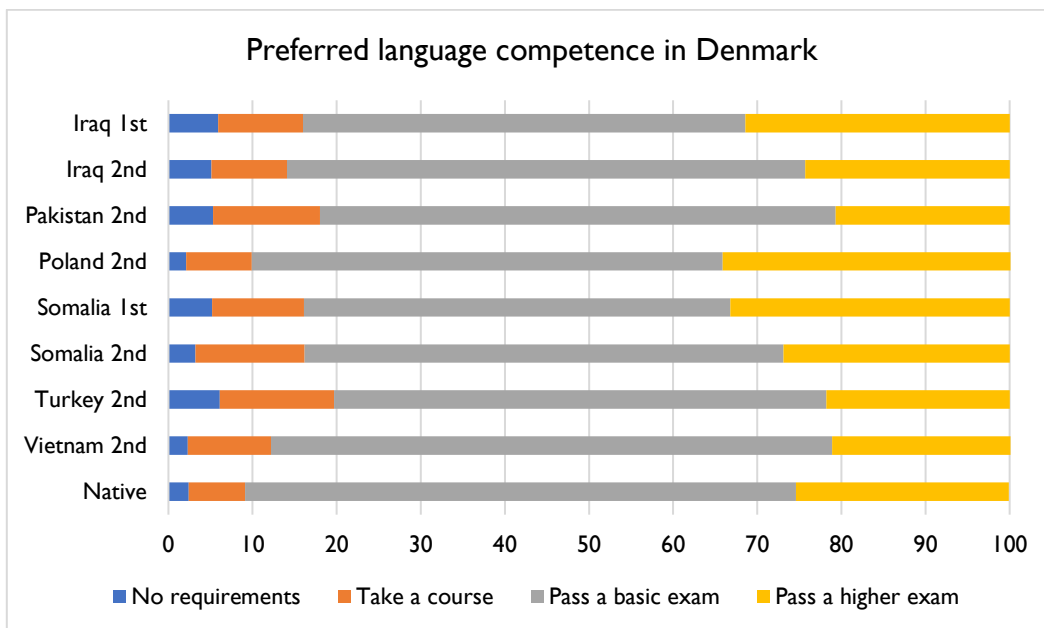


Figure 29

The answers in the Swedish sample (Figure 30) are slightly less homogeneous than in the Danish sample. Despite a general preference for passing a basic language test among all subgroups, a higher language exam is less popular than the combination of lower requirements (i.e. taking a course and no requirements) among Somali and Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Somali immigrants; however, a higher test is still the second most popular option among these groups, after a basic exam. Nearly a quarter of Somali immigrants indicated no requirements as the preferred option.

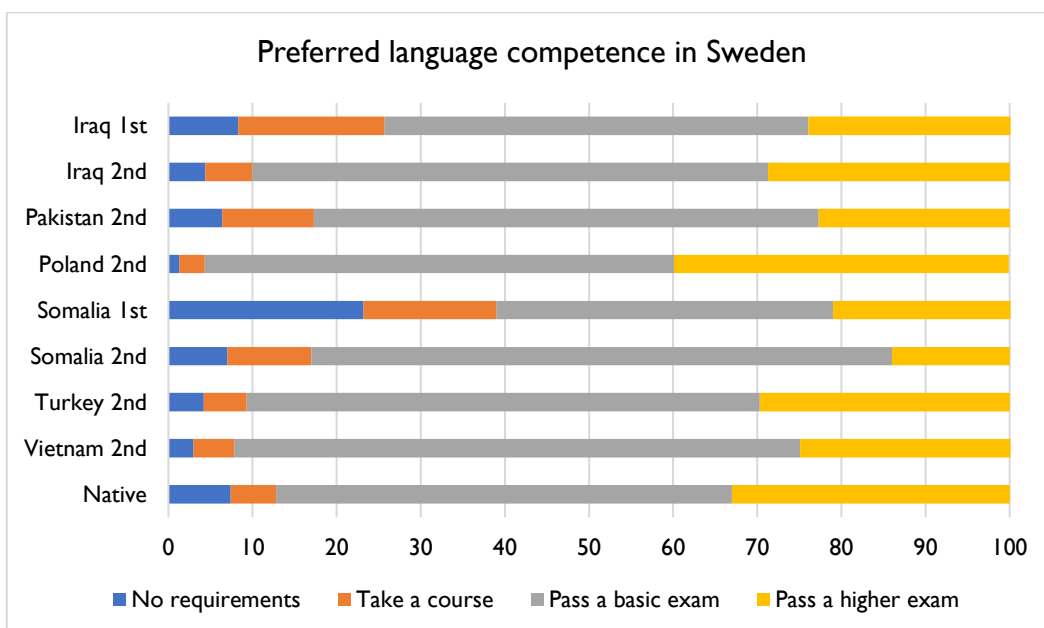


Figure 30

### 5.2.3. Economic qualifications

The third criterion for acquiring citizenship is economic qualifications. Respondents were asked to choose the preferred option among: no requirements; not being on welfare; being employed; and having worked full-time for several years.

To be employed is the most popular option among native majorities and minorities in each of the three countries, as Figure 31 shows. In Norway, it was chosen by more than half of the respondents among the native majority and the minorities. There is little difference between the remaining options: however, a few findings can be noted. Respondents in Sweden and, to a lesser extent in Denmark, favour no economic requirements more than both not being on welfare and having worked full-time several years. The Norwegian sample is instead evenly split between no economic requirements, not being on welfare, and having worked full-time for several years.

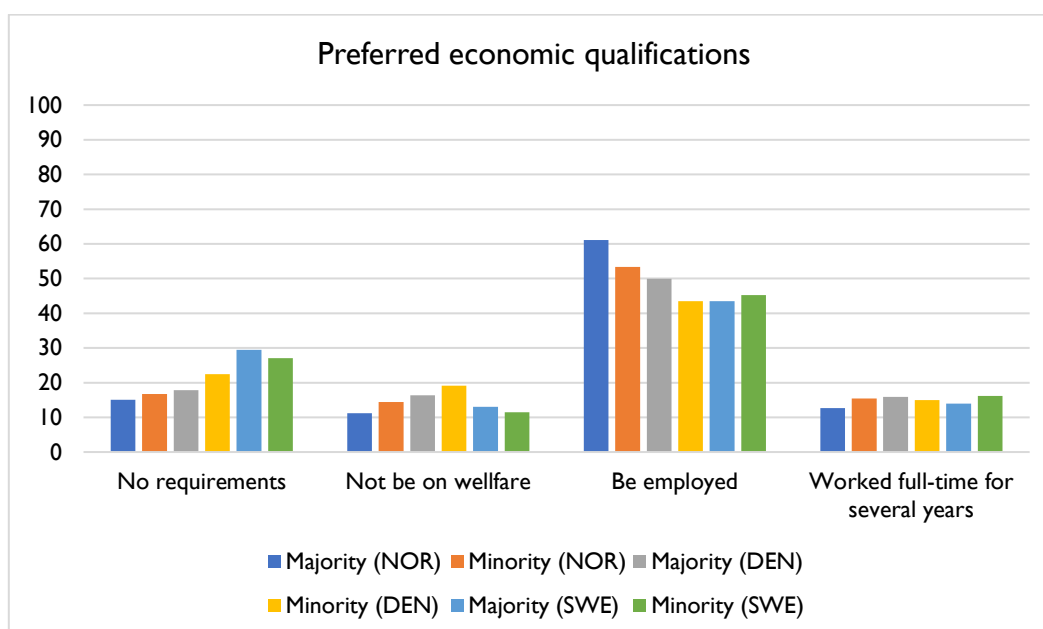


Figure 31

The most popular economic requirement in the Norwegian sample (Figure 32) is to be employed: this is true for all the subgroups, except for Somali immigrants, who favour no requirements more than any other subgroup in Norway. Over 20% of Iraqi immigrants and of descendants of Somali immigrants also favour no requirements. The least popular option is to have worked full-time for several years, though it is considerably more popular among Polish immigrants than among any other subgroup. There is generally little difference between all the other subgroups.

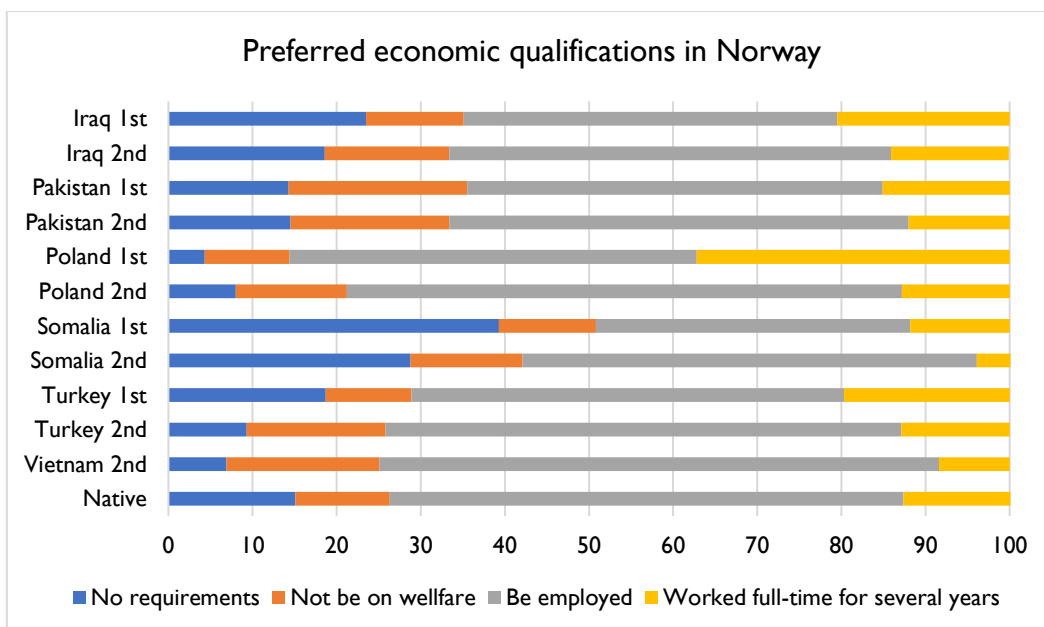


Figure 32

The most popular economic requirement among all subgroups in the Danish sample is to be employed, as shown in Figure 33. There is little difference among the subgroups. However, it can be noted that Iraqi immigrants are the only subgroup in which more than a fifth of the respondents indicated having worked full-time for several years as the preferred option. No requirements is the least popular option among descendants of Vietnamese and of Pakistani immigrants.

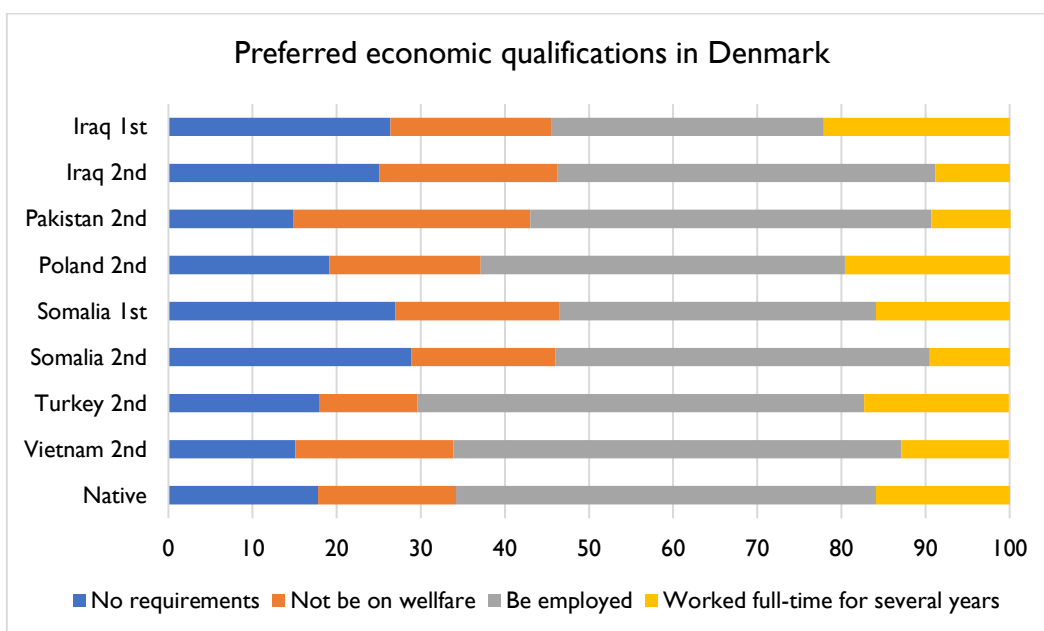


Figure 33

To be employed is generally the most preferred option in the Swedish sample (Figure 34), though to a lesser extent than in Denmark and Norway. In fact, both Somali immigrants and descendants of Somali immigrants prefer no economic requirements more than any other option. More than a fifth of Iraqi immigrants, descendants of Polish immigrants and of Turkish immigrants chose having worked full-time for several years as a preferred option. No requirements is the least popular option among descendants of Polish and of Vietnamese immigrants.



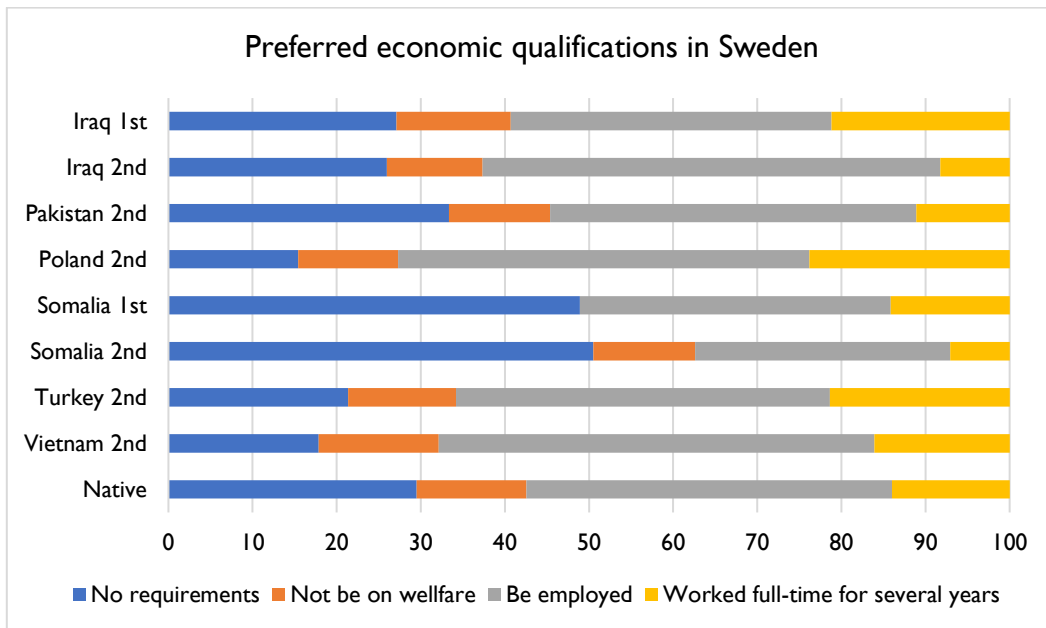


Figure 34

#### 5.2.4. Historical and cultural knowledge

The fourth criterion for acquiring citizenship is historical and cultural knowledge. Respondents were asked to choose the preferred option among: no requirements; an easy exam on life in society; and an advanced exam on the country's history and culture.

Figure 35 shows the results in the three countries. An easy exam on life in society is the most preferred option among native majorities and minorities in each country: more than half of the respondents in each group selected it, with the exception of native majority Swedes, 49.8% of whom chose the category. Native majorities prefer an easy exam more than the minorities, apart from Sweden, where the opposite is true. No requirements are the second most preferred option in Sweden and, to a lesser extent, in Denmark. Native majority Norwegians favour an advanced exam on the history and culture of the country more than no requirements and more than any other group across the samples.

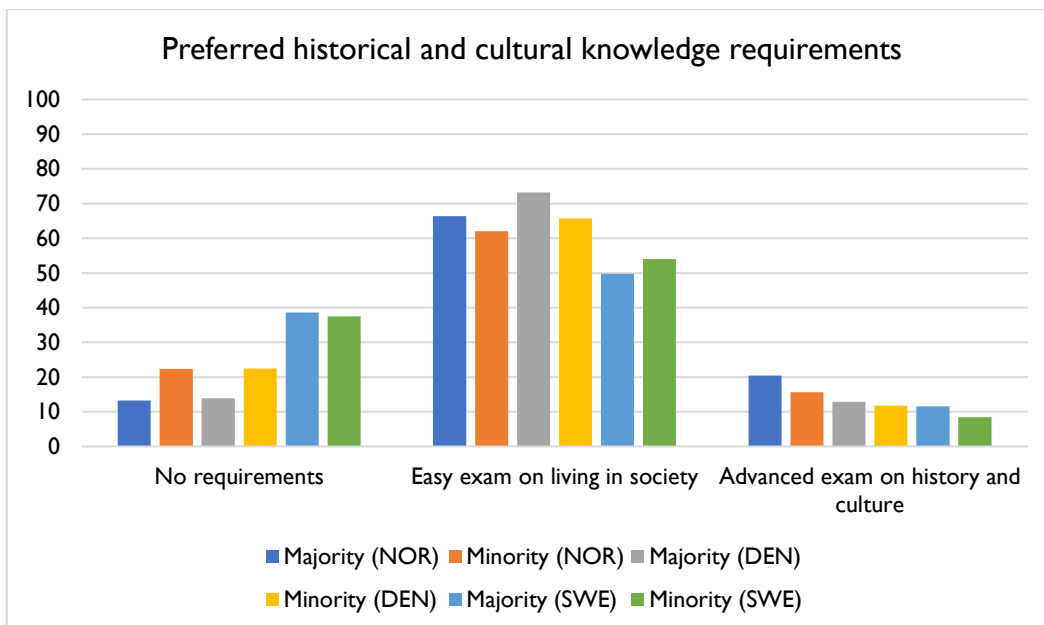


Figure 35

An easy exam on the life in society is by a large margin the most preferred option among all the subgroups in the Norwegian sample (Figure 36). Descendants of Somali immigrants are the group where no requirements is the most popular option, while it is least popular among the native Norwegian majority, Iraqi and Polish immigrants and descendants of Vietnamese and Polish immigrants. More than a fifth of the native majority Norwegians, Somali, and Iraqi immigrants prefer an advanced exam on the history and culture of Norway.

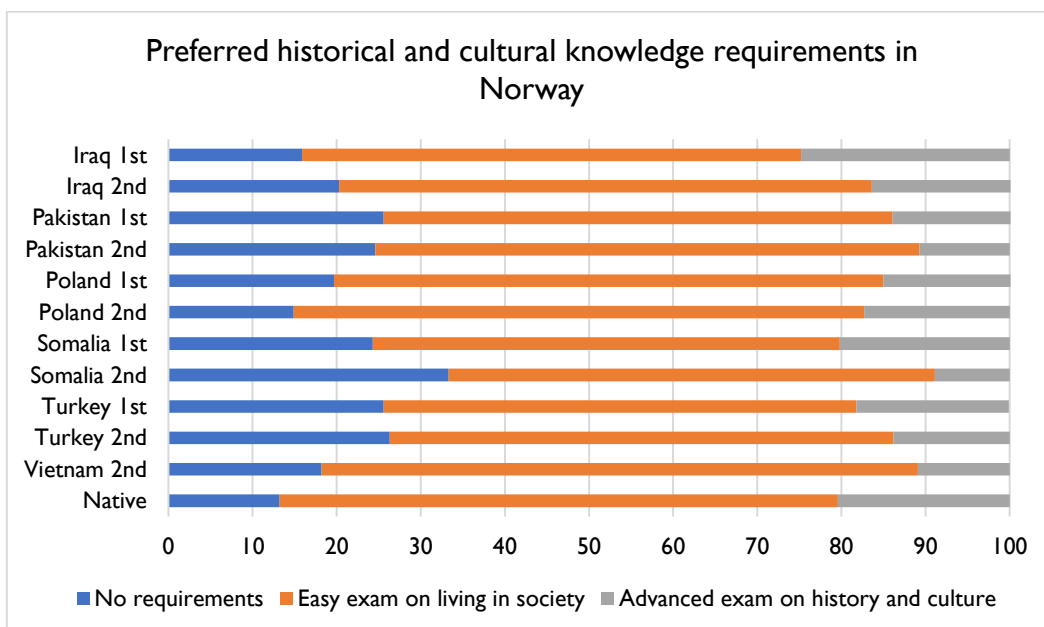


Figure 36

Figure 37 shows the results in Denmark. Here, an easy exam on the life in society is the most preferred option, across all groups and to a higher extent than in Norway. Native majority Danes, Iraqi, and Somali immigrants are the subgroups that least prefer no requirements. An advanced exam on the history and culture of Denmark is not very popular, especially among descendants of Iraqi and Vietnamese immigrants and, especially, descendants of Pakistani immigrants.

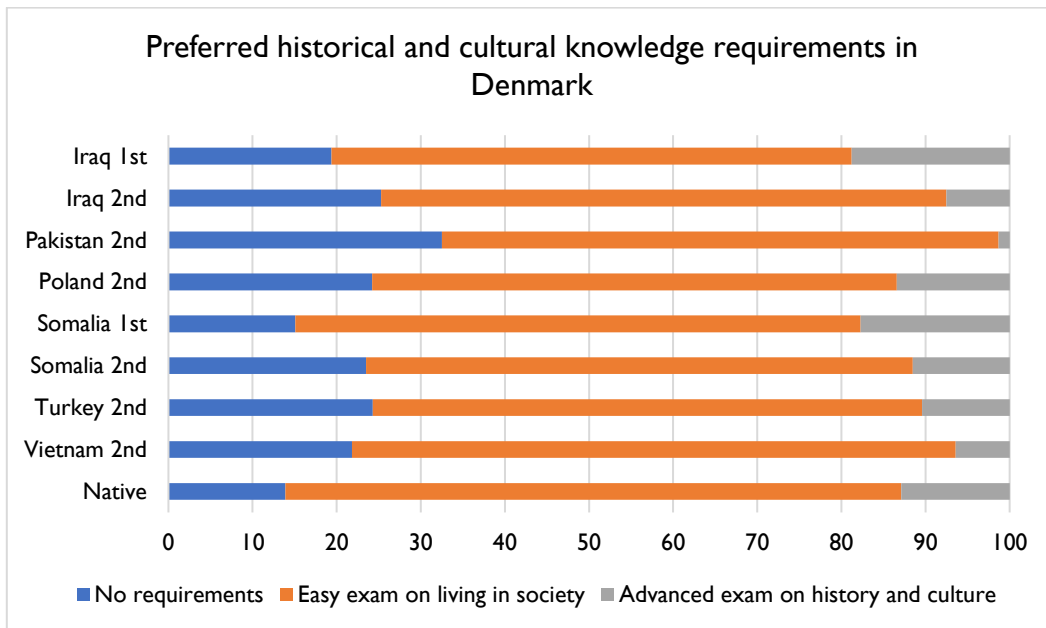


Figure 37

In Sweden (Figure 38) there is a general preference for an easy exam on the life in society among the majority of subgroups, but the difference between that and no requirements is considerably lower than in Norway or Denmark. Descendants of Somali immigrants are the only group that consider no requirements as the preferred option. The preference for an advanced exam on the history and culture of Sweden is considerably lower than in Norway and Denmark. The only subgroup that reported in a similar way its preference for historical and cultural requirements in Norway, Denmark and Sweden is the descendants of Polish immigrants.

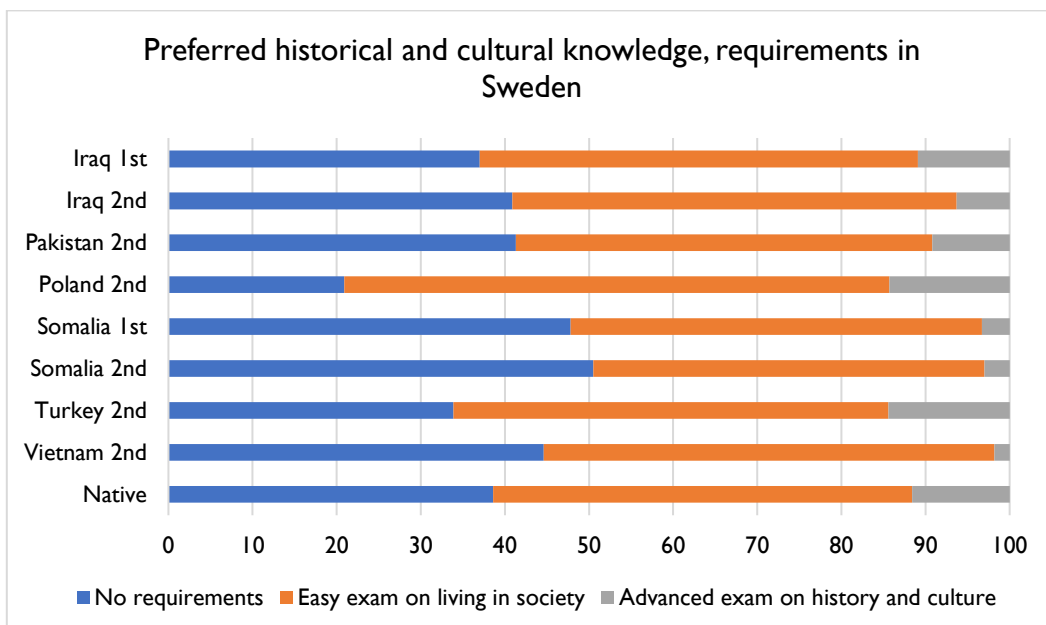


Figure 38

### 5.2.5. Declaration of citizenship commitment (oath)

The fifth criterion for acquiring citizenship is a declaration of citizenship commitment, or oath. Respondents were asked to choose the preferred option among: no oath; an oath on respecting the laws of the country; an oath on loyalty to the country; and both oaths.

Figure 39 shows the results from the three countries. Respondents in Sweden (both native majority and minorities) prefer an oath on respecting the laws of the country to a larger extent than any other option and any of the other groups. Both Denmark's and Norway's native majorities and minorities prefer both oaths to a slightly larger extent than an oath on respecting the country's laws. The differences between native majorities and minorities in Norway and Denmark are very small. An oath on loyalty to the country is the least favoured option among all groups, especially among native majorities.

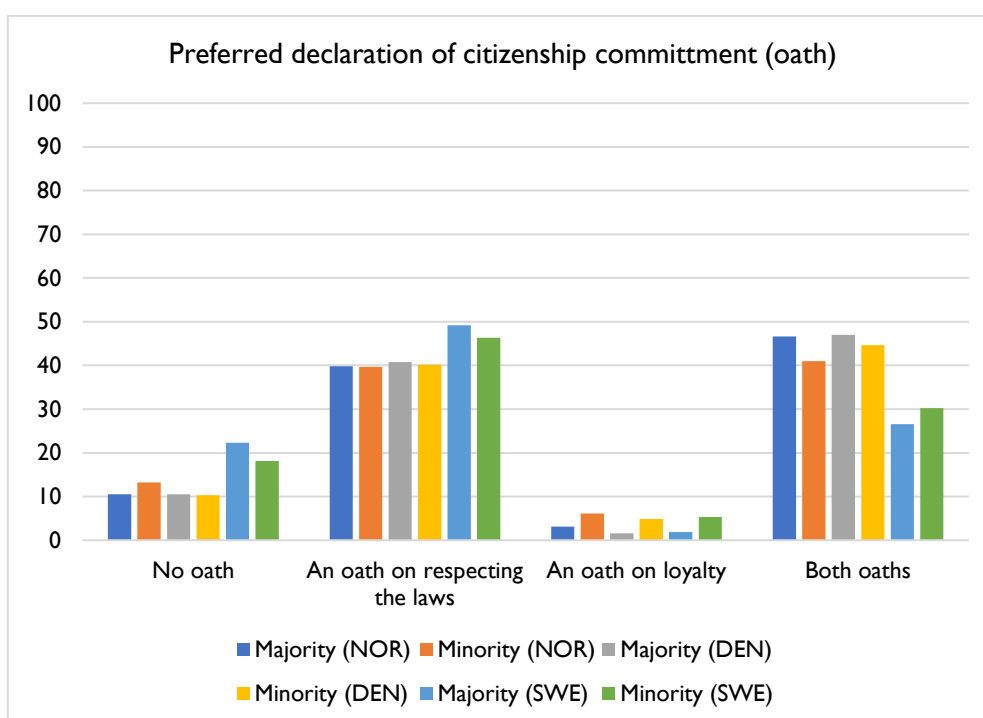


Figure 39

The two preferred options in the Norwegian sample (Figure 40) are an oath on respecting the laws and both oaths (on respecting the laws and on loyalty to Norway). The difference between the two is generally small, but a few findings can be noted: Somali immigrants and descendants of Somali immigrants are the two subgroups who prefer both oaths the least, favouring instead to a larger extent an oath on respecting the laws. Pakistani and Turkish immigrants are the subgroups that prefer an oath on respecting the laws the least, preferring instead both oaths. Turkish immigrants are also the subgroup that prefers no oaths the most, closely followed by descendants of Somali immigrants. An oath on loyalty to the country is the least favoured option, especially among native majority Norwegians and descendants of Polish immigrants: the exception in this case are Iraqi immigrants, who prefer both oaths to a slightly larger extent than no oaths.

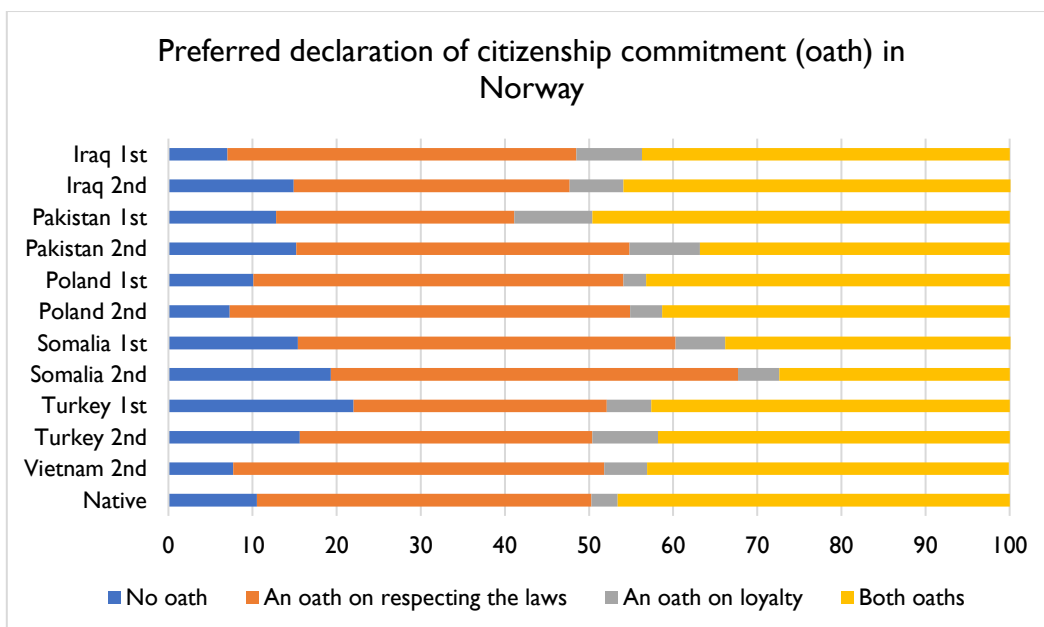


Figure 40

Most of the subgroups in the Danish sample (shown in Figure 41) prefer both oaths (on loyalty to Denmark and on respecting its laws), especially Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Turkish immigrants. An oath on respecting the country's laws is the preferred option among descendants of Pakistani, Somali, and Vietnamese immigrants. No oath is generally a choice that is less popular among minorities in Denmark than in Norway: it is most popular among descendants of Pakistani immigrants. An oath on loyalty to Denmark is the least preferred option, especially among native majority Danes.

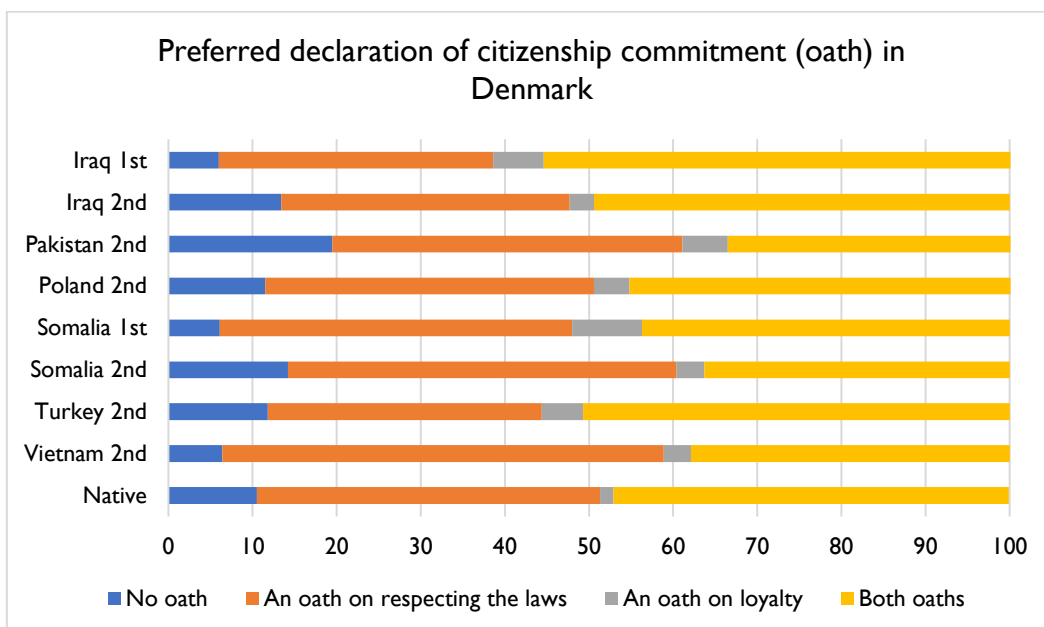


Figure 41

In Sweden the preferred option among most groups is an oath on respecting the country's laws, as Figure 42 displays. The two subgroups that are an exception to this are Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Polish immigrants, who prefer both oaths (on the respecting Sweden's laws and on loyalty to Sweden) to a slightly higher extent. In comparison to Norway and Denmark, the Swedish sample has a more favourable attitude towards no oath, especially among descendants of Somali immigrants and native

majority Swedes. An oath on loyalty to the country in the Swedish sample constitutes an interesting case: in fact, Sweden is the only one of the three countries in which no respondents from two subgroups selected it (descendants of Somali and of Vietnamese immigrants), while displaying the highest level of preference of any of the subgroups in the three countries (among Iraqi and Somali immigrants).

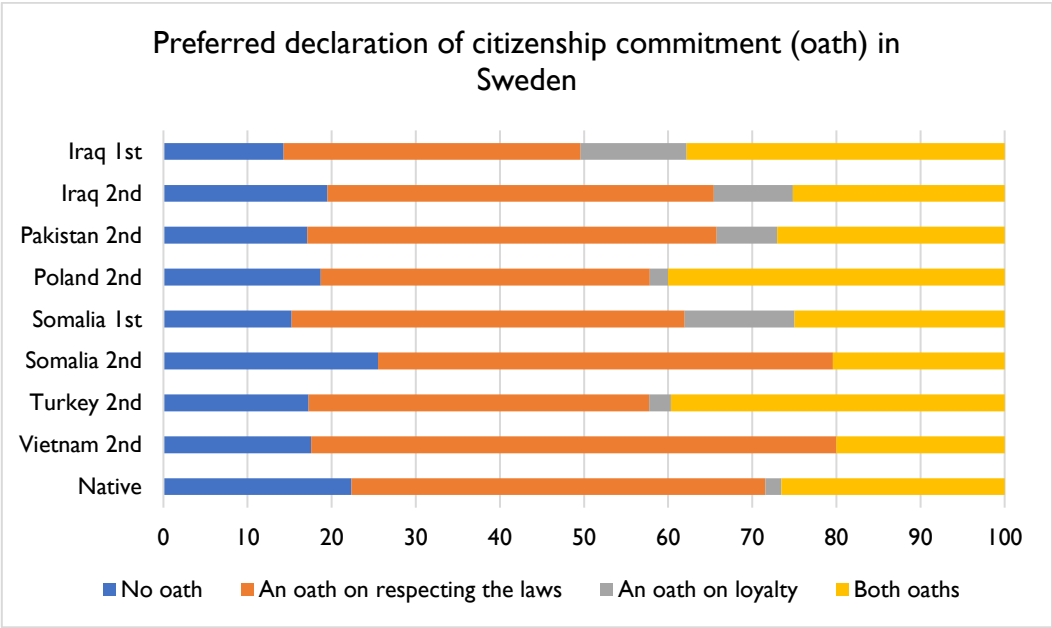


Figure 42

5.2.6. Dual citizenship

The sixth criterion for acquiring citizenship is dual citizenship. Respondents were asked whether it should be allowed or not.

The majority of respondents in each country think that dual citizenship should be allowed (Figure 43). In each country, native majorities lean more towards not allowing dual citizenship than the minority groups. Opposition to dual citizenship is highest in Norway and lowest in Sweden, with Denmark in the middle.

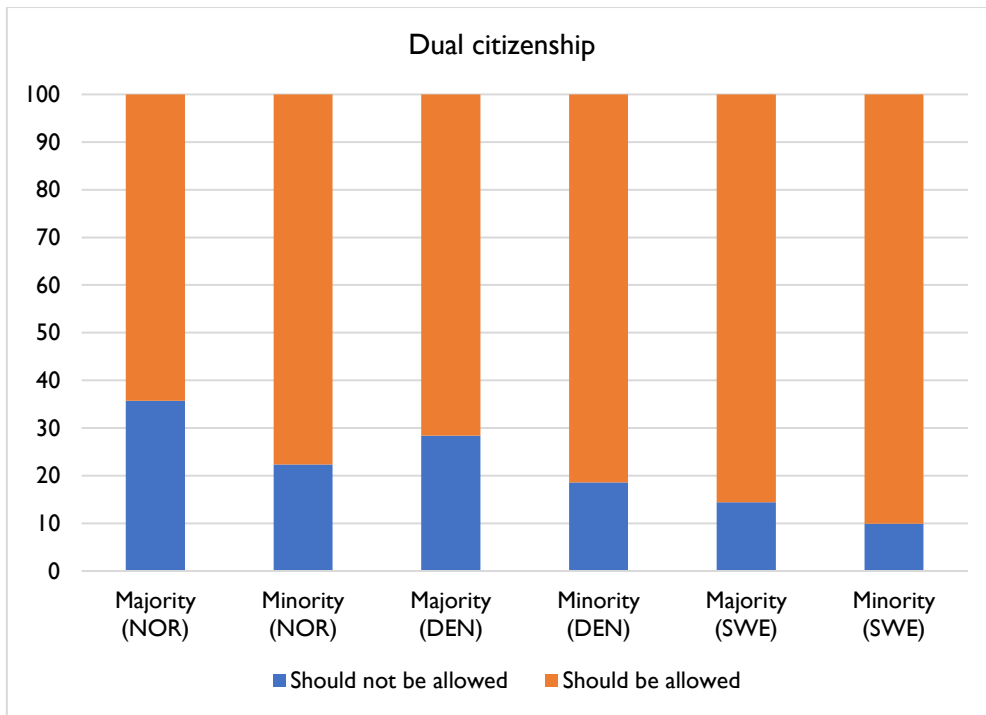


Figure 43

Figure 44 shows that across all subgroups in Norway most respondents think that dual citizenship should be allowed, particularly Polish immigrants, and descendants of Turkish and Polish immigrants. Native majority Norwegians are the group with the highest level of opposition to dual citizenship (approximately a third of the respondents): the proportion is similar to that of Somali immigrants and of descendants of Pakistani immigrants.

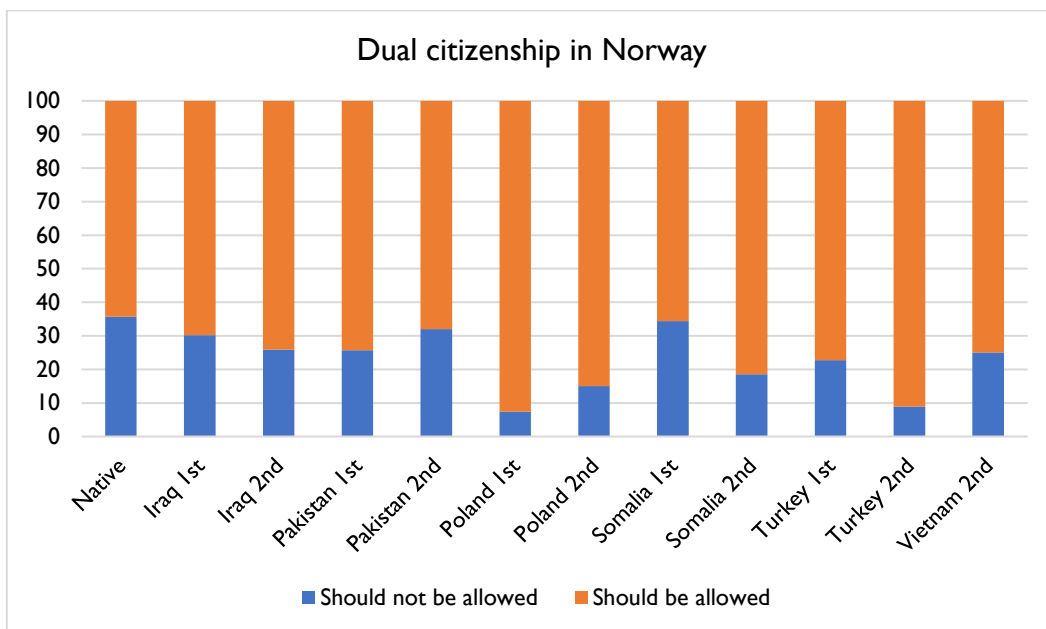


Figure 44

In Denmark (Figure 44), there is little difference in the support for dual citizenship among the subgroups, and support is generally higher than in Norway. The two groups who think to the highest degree that dual citizenship should be allowed are descendants of Turkish and of Polish immigrants, while native

majority Danes and descendants of Vietnamese immigrants are the most opposed to dual citizenship (though the proportion is below 30%).

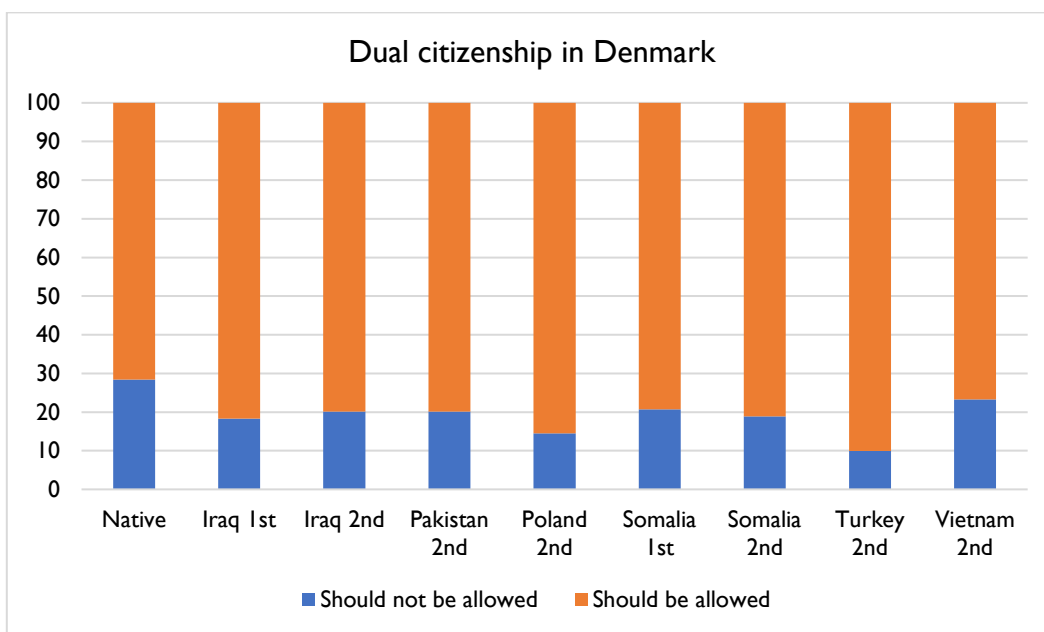


Figure 45

Respondents in Sweden have the highest support for dual citizenship compared to Norway and Denmark, with little difference among all subgroups, as shown in Figure 46. Support for dual citizenship is highest among descendants of Somali, Vietnamese, and Pakistani immigrants. Opposition to dual citizenship is highest among Somali immigrants and native majority Swedes (though the proportion is below 20%).

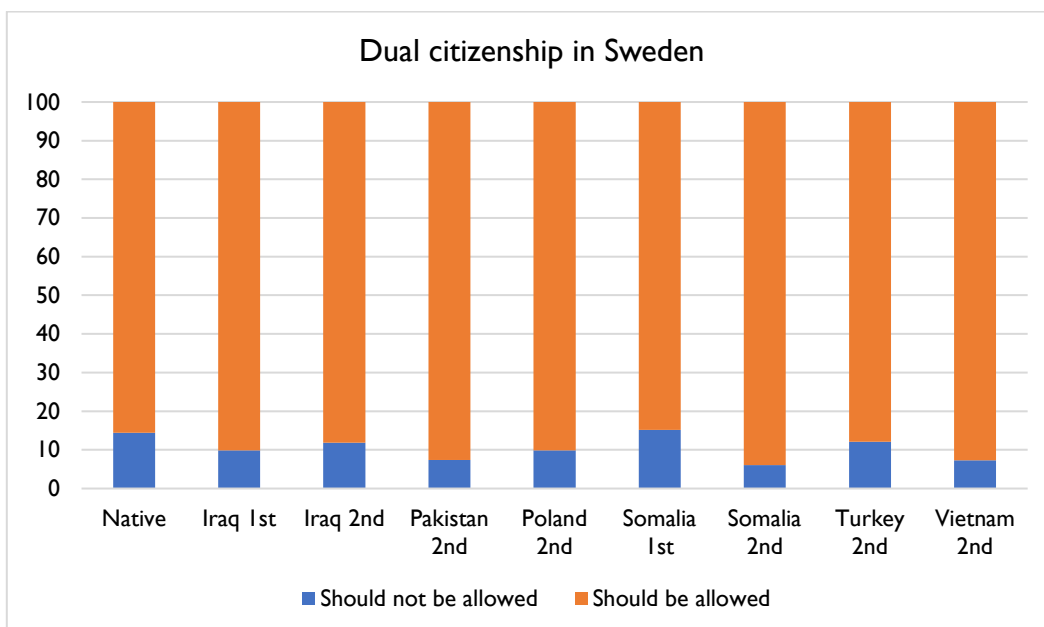


Figure 46



## 5.2.7. Perception of legitimate citizenship requirements (index)

In this subsection, the six dimensions of perceived legitimate citizenship requirements are merged into one measure (a formative index) that refers to the overall ‘toughness’ of the suggested requirements. The scale goes from 0 (no requirements) to 1 (the requirements should be as tough as possible). Means and 95%-confidence intervals are shown.

Figure 47 shows a comparison between Norway, Denmark and Sweden. The average attitude to citizenship requirements in Norway, Denmark and Sweden is roughly situated in the middle of the scale. In Norway and Denmark, both the native majorities and the minority groups have average values of around 0.5 and 0.55. In Sweden, the average is slightly lower among both groups – around 0.4. Respondents in Sweden thus, on average, lean more towards favouring less strict requirements. Though minority respondents in Norway seem to favour marginally less strict rules compared to native Norwegians, the difference is small. In Denmark and Sweden, the average level of ‘toughness’ is in substantial terms the same across the majority and minority group.

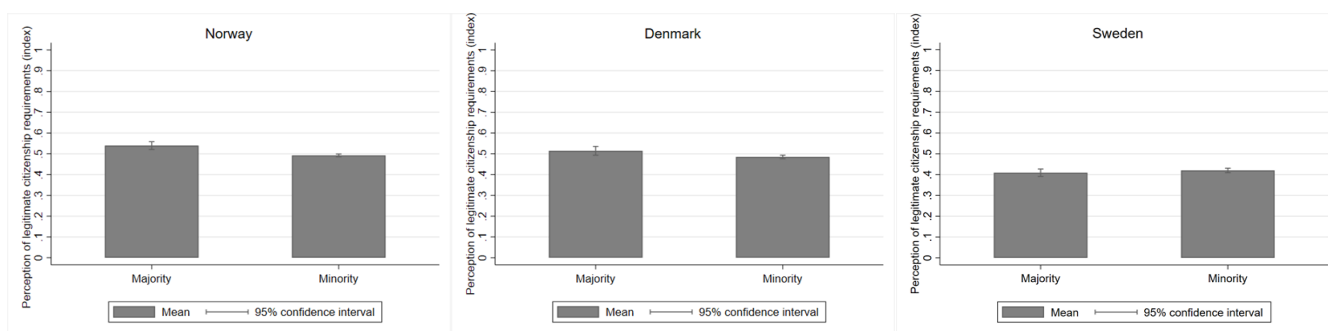


Figure 47

Within the Norwegian sample (Figure 48), there is little difference between subgroups, with most groups lying in the middle ground between no requirements and tough requirements. Descendants of Somali immigrants on average favour the least strict citizenship requirements compared to the other groups.

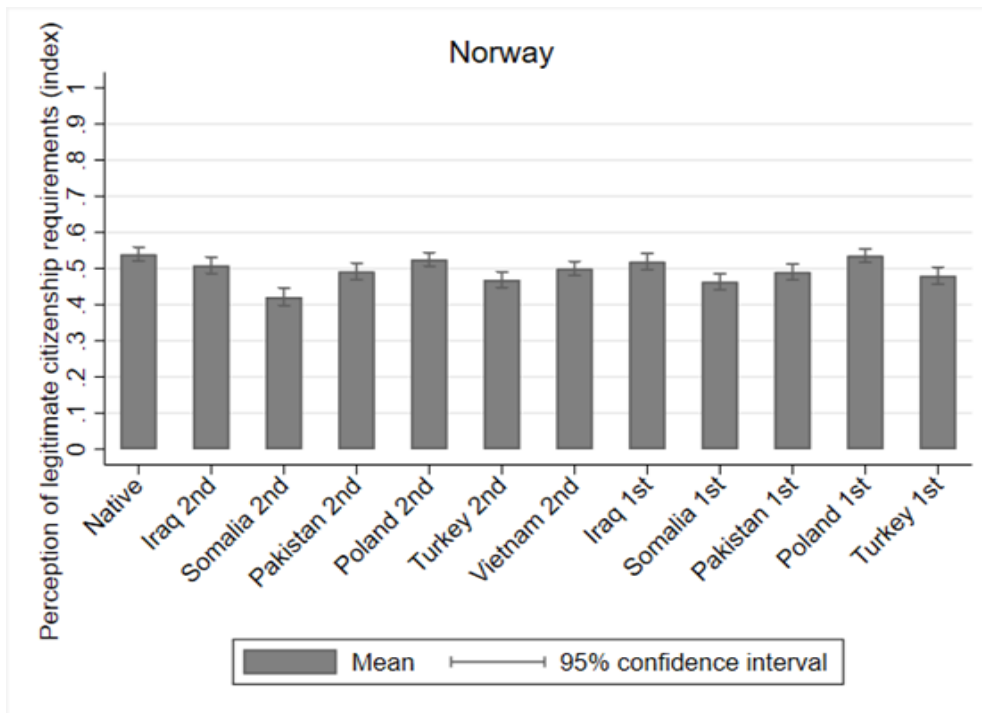


Figure 48

Figure 49 shows that the differences between subgroups in Denmark are smaller than in the Norwegian sample, as all subgroups display a preference for a middle ground between no requirements and strict requirements. Only descendants of Pakistani and Somali immigrants lean significantly more in favour of fewer requirements than the native majority Danes.

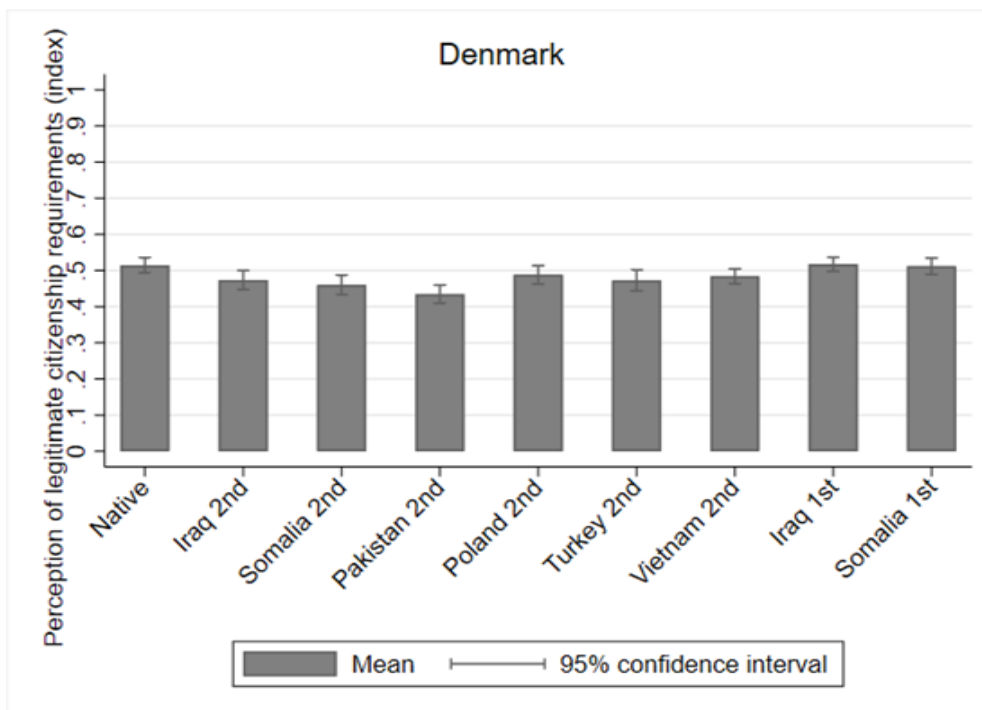


Figure 49

The Swedish sample leans overall more towards lower requirements than the Norwegian and Danish samples, as shown in Figure 50. The differences between the Swedish subgroups are small, but it can be noted that descendants of both Polish and Turkish immigrants have a slight preference for stricter

requirements than native majority Swedes. Descendants of Somali immigrants are the only subgroup that is significantly more in favour of lower requirements than native majority Swedes.

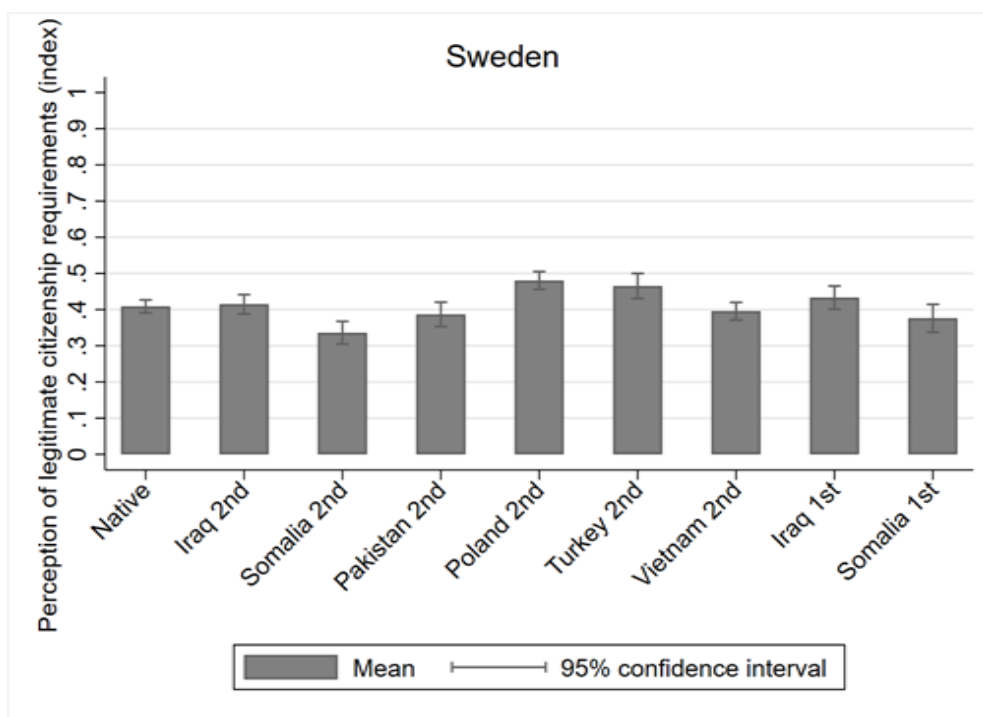


Figure 50

### 5.3. Attitudes to actual citizenship requirements

The third section of Chapter 5 presents the respondents' attitudes towards the actual requirements to obtain citizenship in their country of residence. The section is divided into four subsections, one per each of three criteria and a final index. The three criteria respondents were asked to consider are: whether existing citizenship requirements are fair towards immigrants; whether existing citizenship requirements promote integration; and whether existing citizenship requirements are good for the country. The fourth subsection shows the overall attitudes towards existing citizenship requirements, combining the three criteria in one index. The results are presented in graphs showing the means and their 95%-confidence intervals.

#### 5.3.1. Citizenship rules are fair towards immigrants

The first subsection shows the respondents' opinion on whether existing citizenship requirements are fair towards immigrants. Respondents were asked to express their agreement on a scale of 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree).

Generally, respondents in each country tend to agree with the statement that existing citizenship rules are fair towards immigrants, as shown in Figure 51. Respondents in the Danish sample agree to a lesser extent than in Norway and Sweden. In particular, minorities in Denmark agree with it significantly less than native majority Danes and less than any other group in Norway and Sweden.

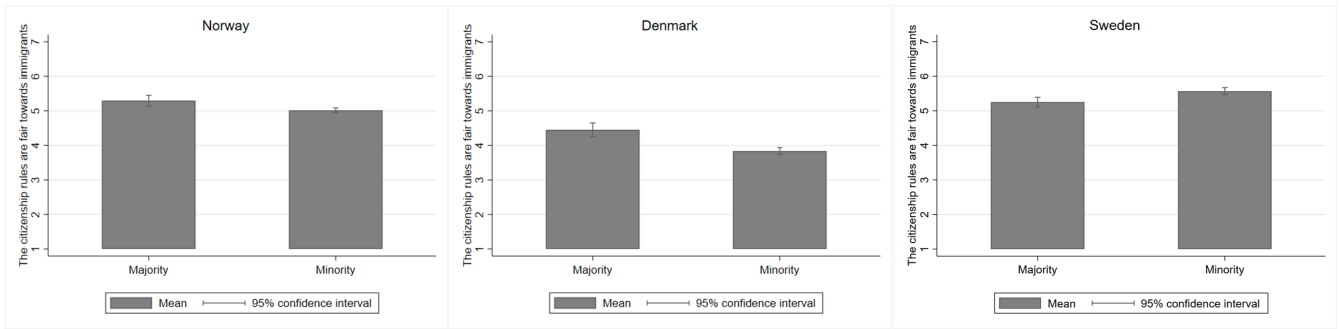


Figure 51

In Norway, there is little difference between subgroups. They all tend to agree, to an extent, that existing citizenship requirements are fair towards immigrants, as Figure 52 highlights. It can be noted that descendants of Turkish and Pakistani immigrants, Somali, and Polish immigrants are significantly less in agreement with the statement than native majority Norwegians.

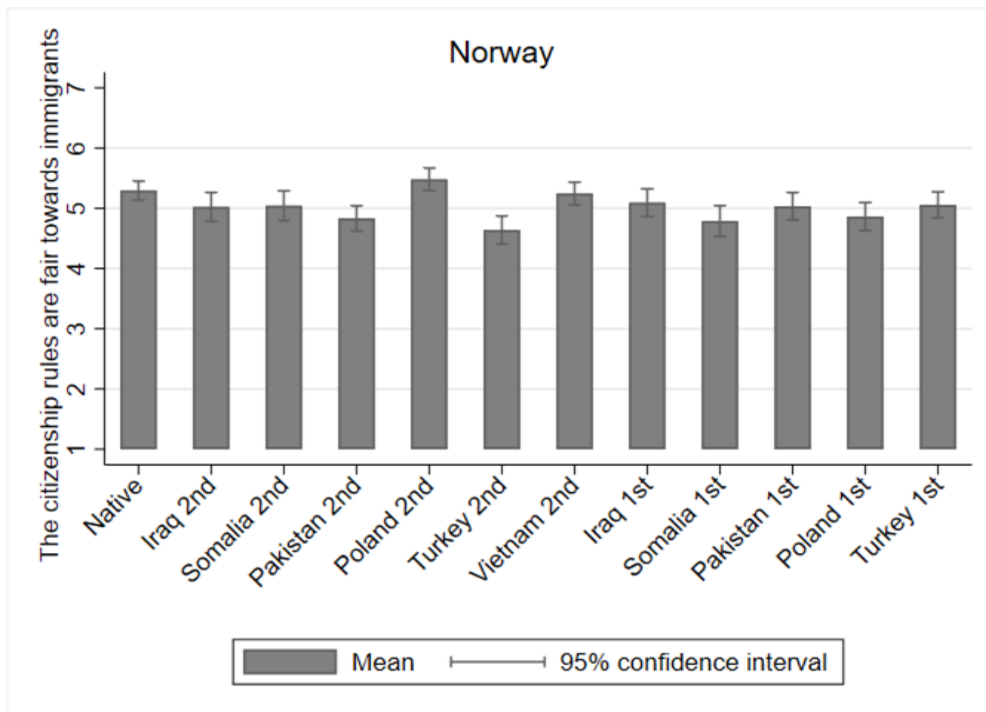


Figure 52

Differences within the Danish sample (Figure 53) are more pronounced than in the Norwegian sample. Descendants of Iraqi, Somali, and Pakistani immigrants, and Somali and Iraqi immigrants agree significantly less than native majority Danes and descendants of Polish and Vietnamese immigrants.

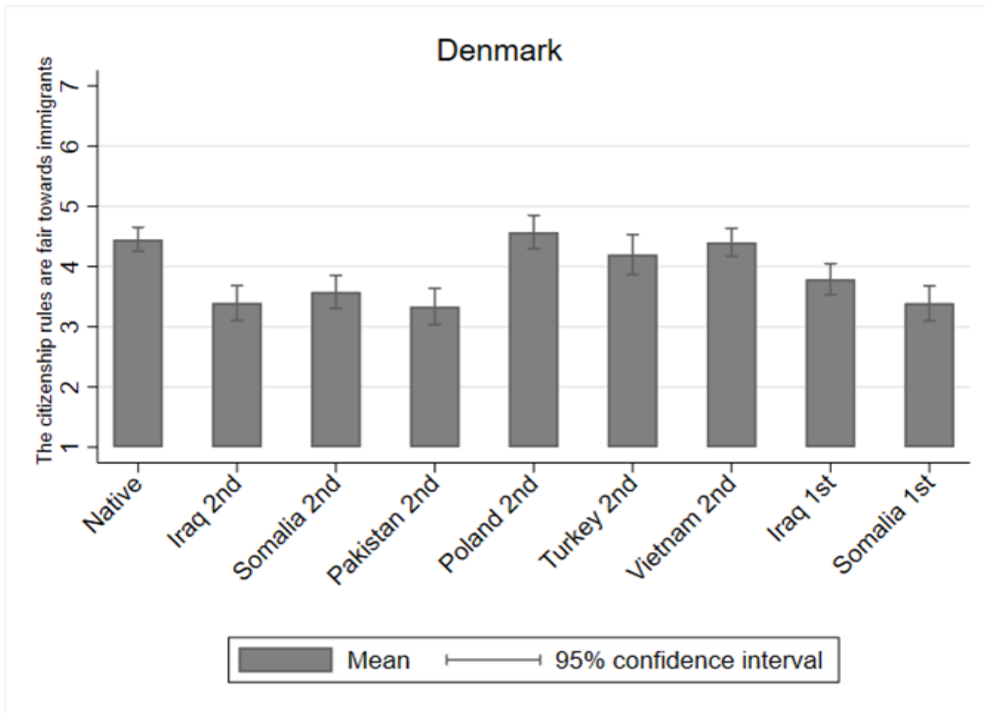


Figure 53

All the subgroups in the Swedish sample tend to agree with the statement that existing citizenship requirements are fair towards immigrants, as Figure 54 shows. In particular, Somali and Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Polish and Turkish immigrants agree with it significantly more than native majority Swedes.

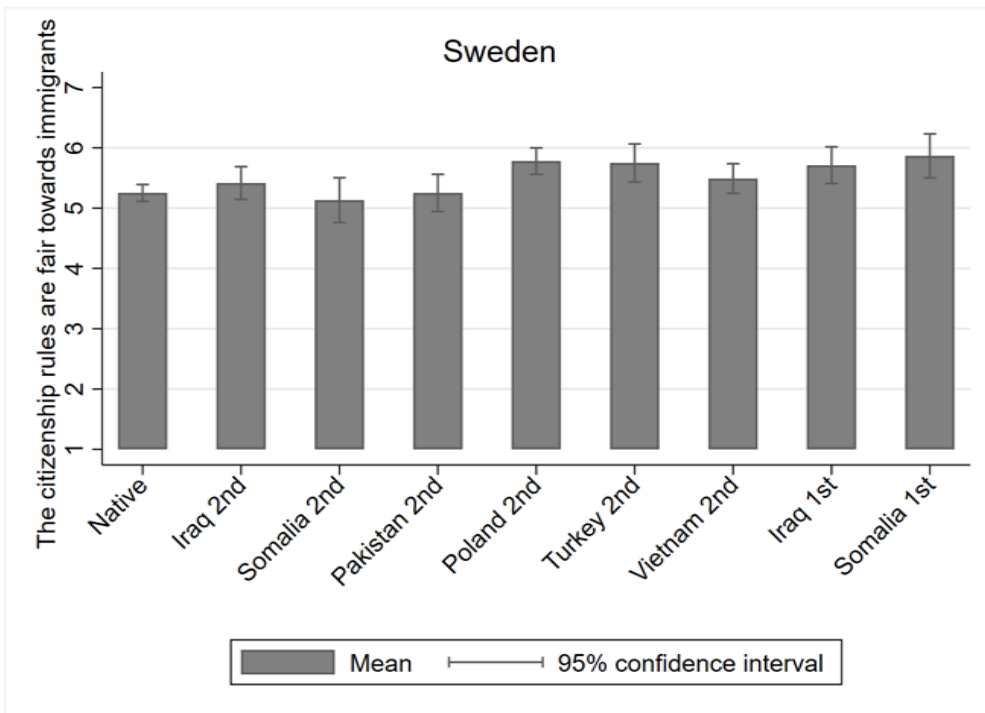


Figure 54

### 5.3.2. Citizenship rules promote integration

The second subsection shows the respondents' opinion on whether existing citizenship requirements promote integration in the country of residence. Respondents were asked to express their agreement on a scale of 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree).

There are generally small differences across the three countries (Figure 55), as all groups tend to agree to a certain extent. Minorities in Denmark are the group that agrees the least, whereas minorities in Norway agree with the statement the most.

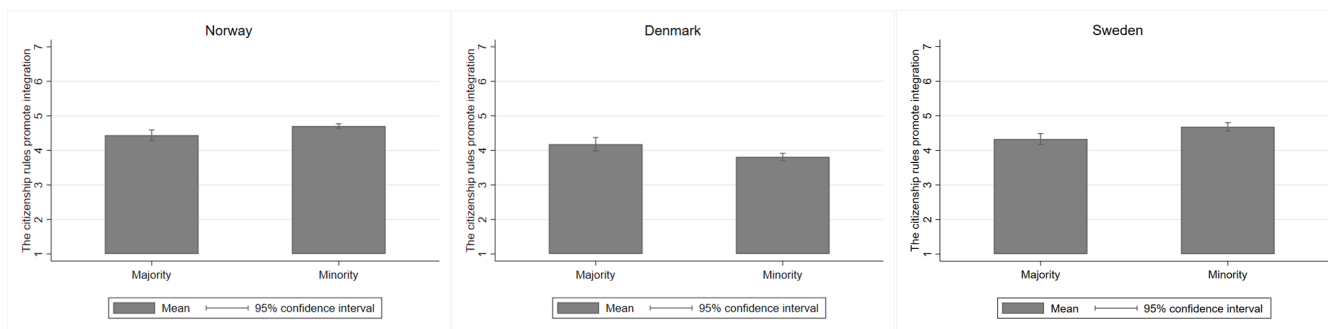


Figure 55

As highlighted in Figure 56, within the Norwegian sample, all subgroups somewhat agree with the statement that existing citizenship requirements promote integration. All immigrant subgroups, apart from Polish immigrants, agree with it significantly more than native majority Norwegians. There is instead no significant difference among the other subgroups.

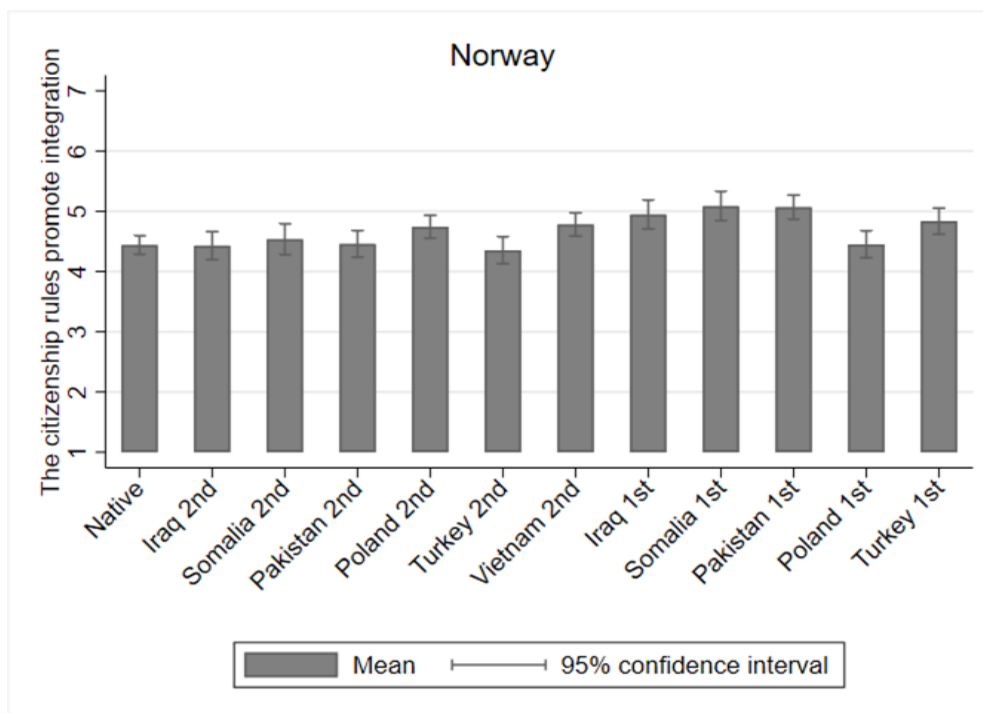


Figure 56

Danish respondents are more in disagreement with the statement than Norwegian respondents, as Figure 57 displays. Only native majority Danes and descendants of Polish and Vietnamese immigrants express a slightly stronger agreement than other subgroups. Somali and Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Turkish immigrants agree to a slightly higher extent than descendants of Iraqi, Somali and Pakistani immigrants.

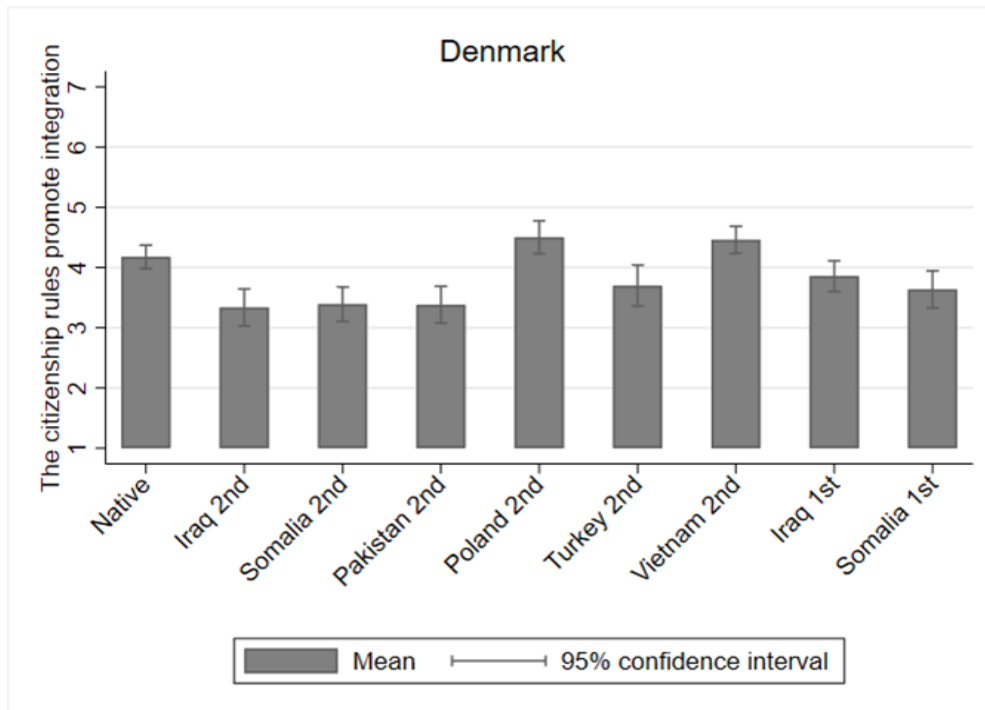


Figure 57

All the subgroups in the Swedish sample are in slight agreement with the statement that existing citizenship requirements promote integration in the country (Figure 58). There is no significant difference between groups, apart from Iraqi and Somali immigrants who agree significantly more than descendants of Iraqi and Somali immigrants, and native majority Swedes.

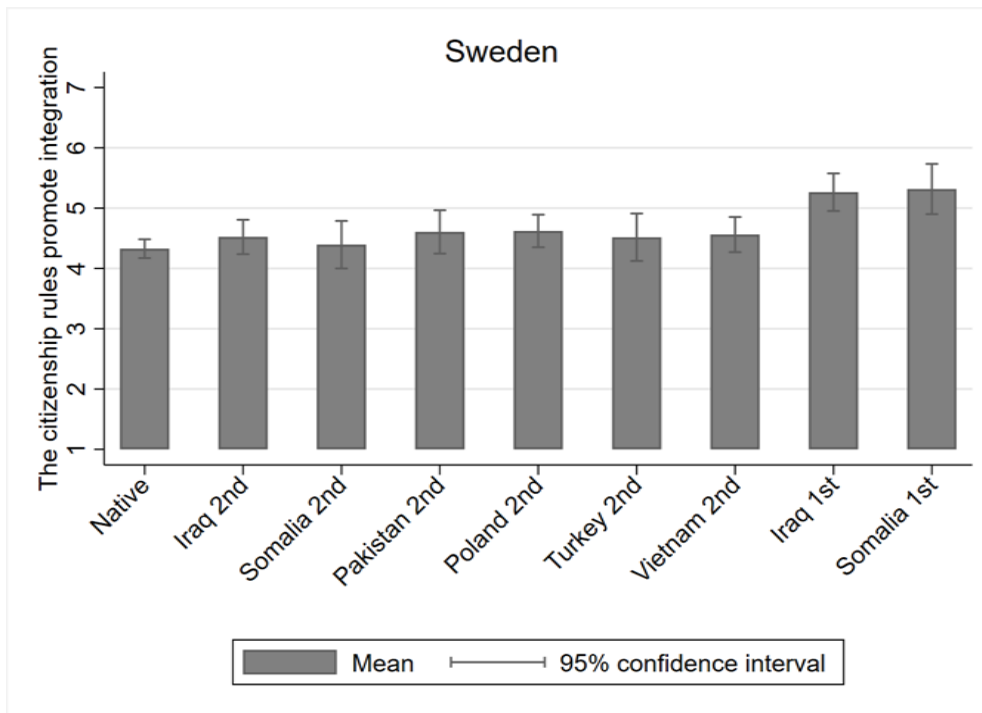


Figure 58

### 5.3.3. Citizenship rules are good for the country

The third subsection shows the respondents' opinion on whether existing citizenship requirements are good for the country of residence. Respondents were asked to express their agreement on a scale of 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree).

Figure 59 shows that there is a general agreement across Norway and Sweden that the existing citizenship requirements are good for the country, while respondents in Denmark are more neutral towards it. In both Norway and Sweden, the minority groups are significantly more in agreement than native majorities, while in Denmark minorities agree with it to a lesser extent than native majority Danes. Minorities in Sweden are the group who agree with the statement more than any other group in the three countries.

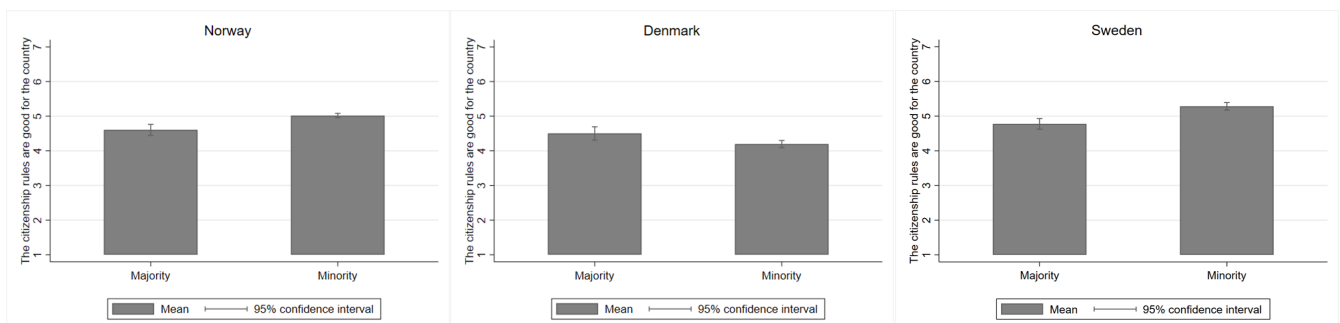


Figure 59

All the subgroups in Norway tend to generally agree with the statement, as displayed in Figure 60. In a similar way to the previous subsection (which asked whether citizenship requirements promote integration), all the immigrant subgroups, apart from Polish immigrants, agree significantly more than



native majority Norwegians. This is also true for descendants of Vietnamese immigrants. Descendants of Polish immigrants agree significantly more than Polish immigrants and native majority Norwegians. There is no significant difference among the remaining descendant groups.

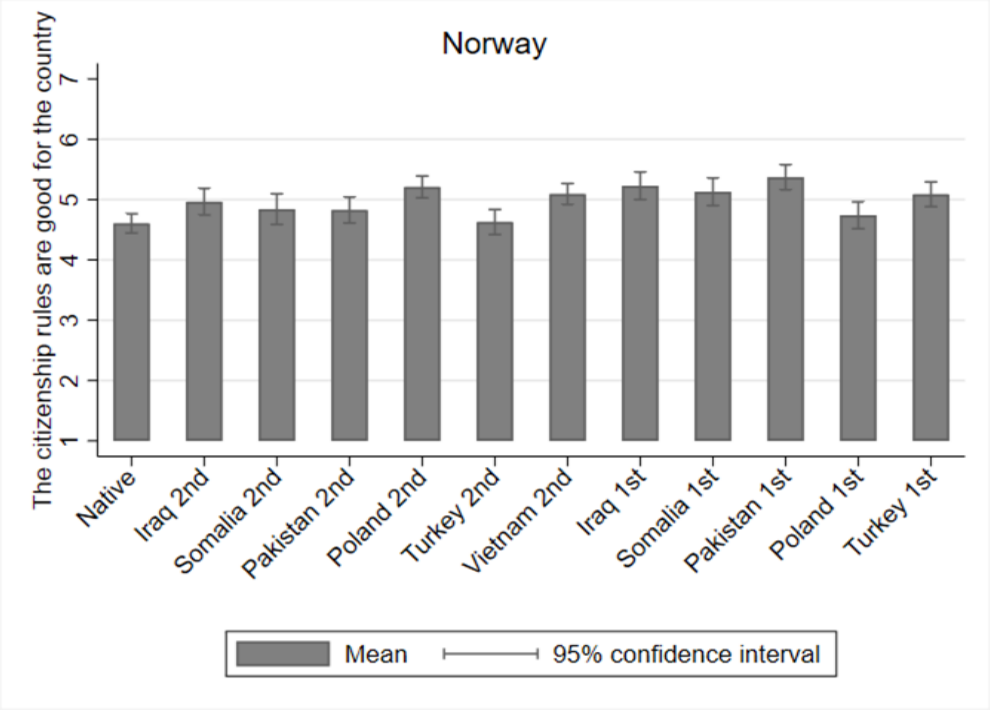


Figure 60

Respondents in Denmark agree with the statement that existing citizenship requirements are good for the country to a lesser extent than in Norway (Figure 61). Somali immigrants and descendants of Iraqi and Pakistani immigrants are the only subgroups who agree significantly less than native majority Danes. There is no significant difference between the remaining groups.

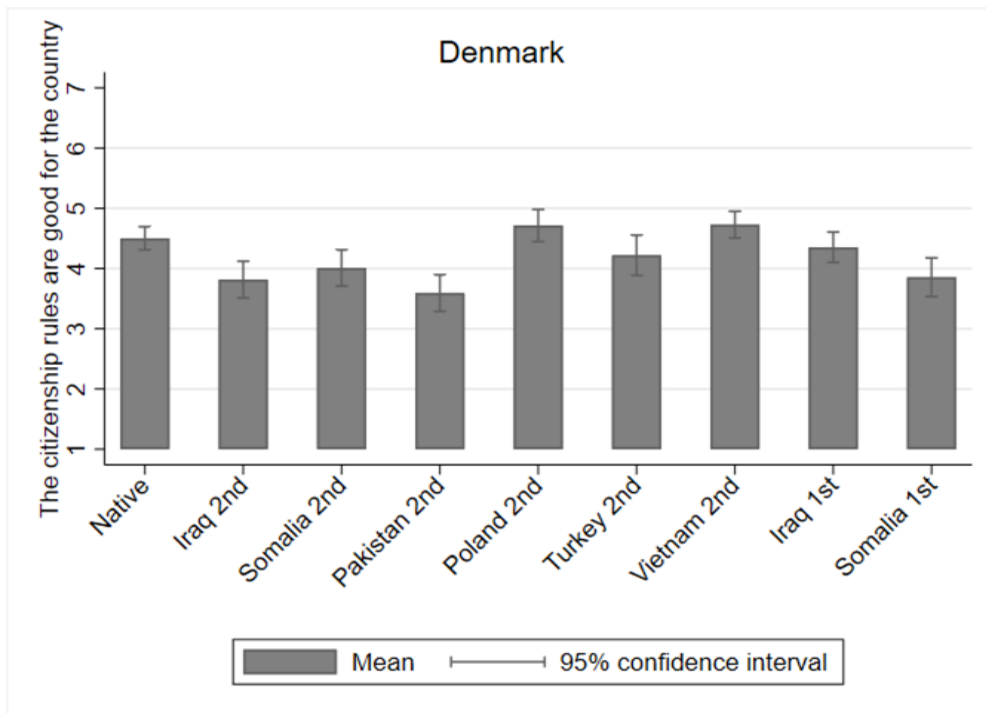


Figure 61

In Sweden (Figure 62) all the subgroups generally agree with the statement that existing citizenship requirements are good for the country. In a similar way to the previous subsection (which asked whether citizenship requirements promote integration), Somali and Iraqi immigrants agree with it significantly more than native majority Swedes. The descendants of Iraqi, Somali, Pakistani, and Vietnamese immigrants agree significantly more than native majority Swedes, too.

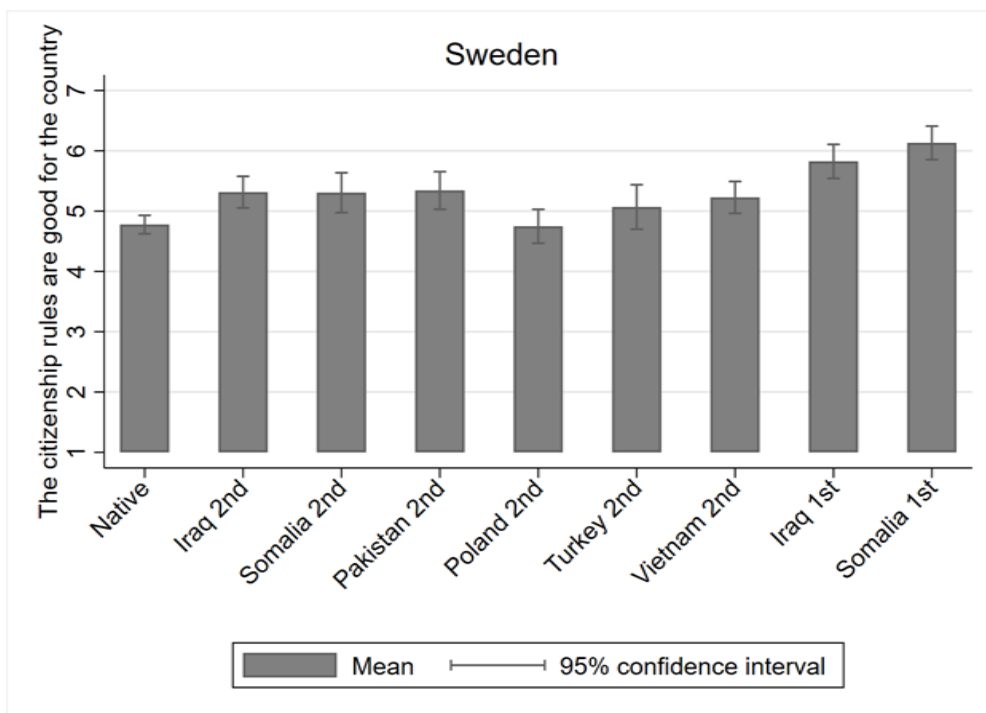


Figure 62

### 5.3.4. Attitudes towards actual citizenship requirements (index)

In this subsection, the three attitudes towards existing requirements are merged into one measure that refers to the overall attitude towards the existing requirements. The scale measures attitudes towards citizenship in general and it goes from 0 (very negative perceptions of existing citizenship requirements) to 1 (very positive perceptions of existing citizenship requirements).

Figure 63 shows the results from the three countries. The general attitudes towards existing citizenship rules are similarly positive in Norway and Sweden, among both native majorities and minorities. There is no significant difference between the Norwegian groups, while in Sweden, minorities are significantly more positive than native majority Swedes. The Danish sample shows the least positive attitudes towards existing citizenship rules, with minorities significantly less positive than native majority Danes.

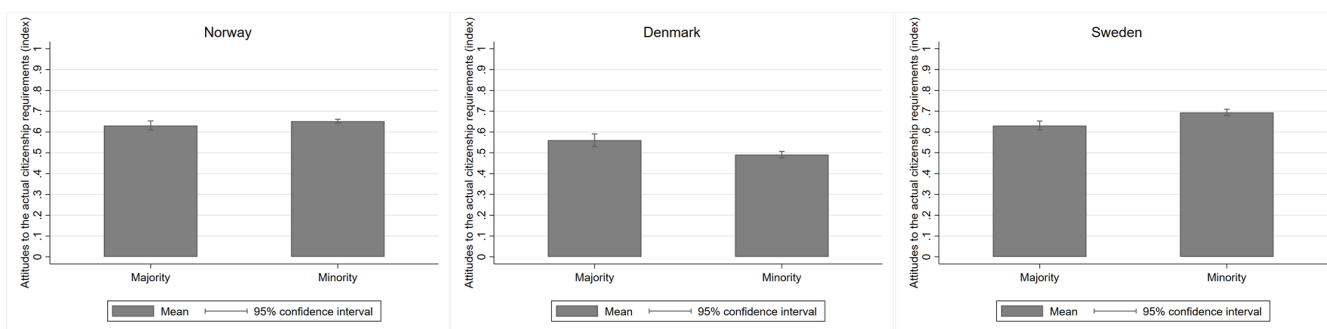


Figure 63

Respondents in the Norwegian sample (Figure 64) have an overall positive attitude towards existing citizenship requirements. Only descendants of Polish immigrants and Pakistani immigrants are significantly more positive towards existing citizenship rules than native majority Norwegians. There is no significant difference between the other groups.

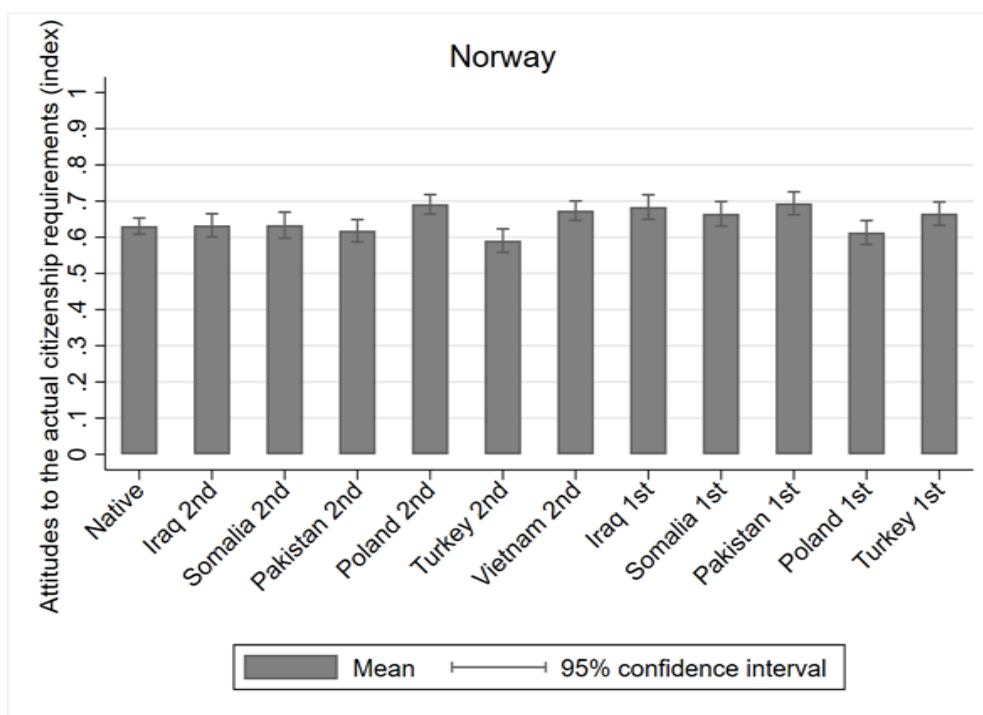


Figure 64

General attitudes towards existing citizenship requirements in Denmark are overall not as positive as in Norway or Sweden, as shown in Figure 65. Descendants of Iraqi, Somali, and Pakistani immigrants display a more negative attitude towards citizenship rules and are significantly less positive than native majority Danes. Somali immigrants also have a slightly negative attitude towards the requirements. There is little difference among the remaining subgroups.

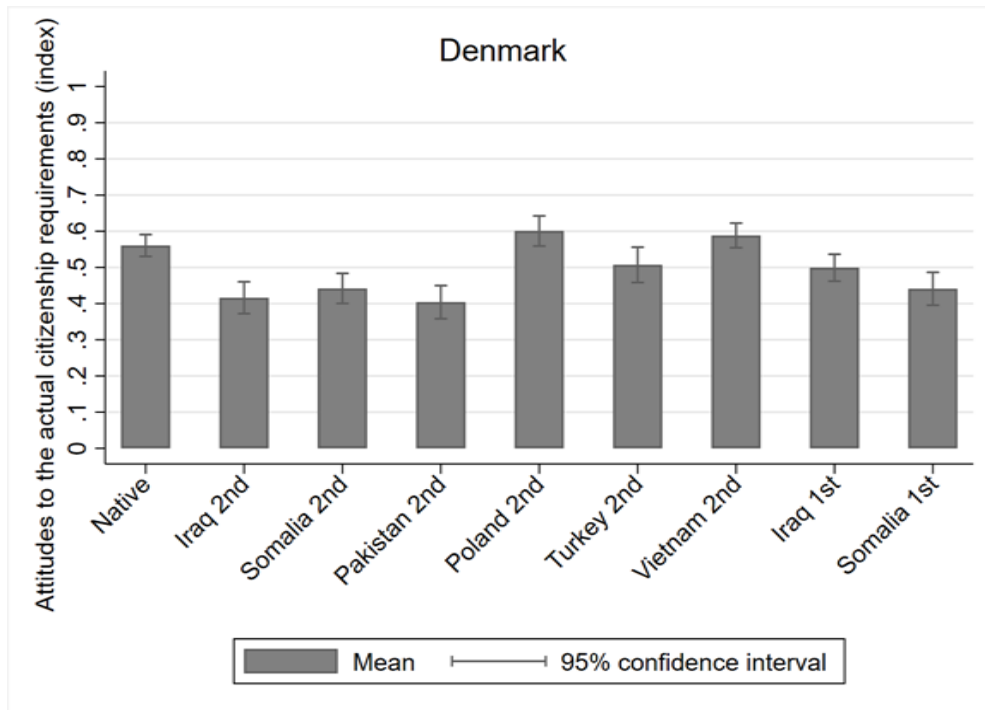


Figure 65

Respondents in the Swedish sample display overall the most positive attitude towards existing citizenship requirements, as highlighted in Figure 66. There is no significant difference between the subgroups, except for Somali immigrants who are significantly more positive than any of the descendants' groups or native majority Swedes. Iraqi immigrants are also significantly more positive than native majority Swedes.

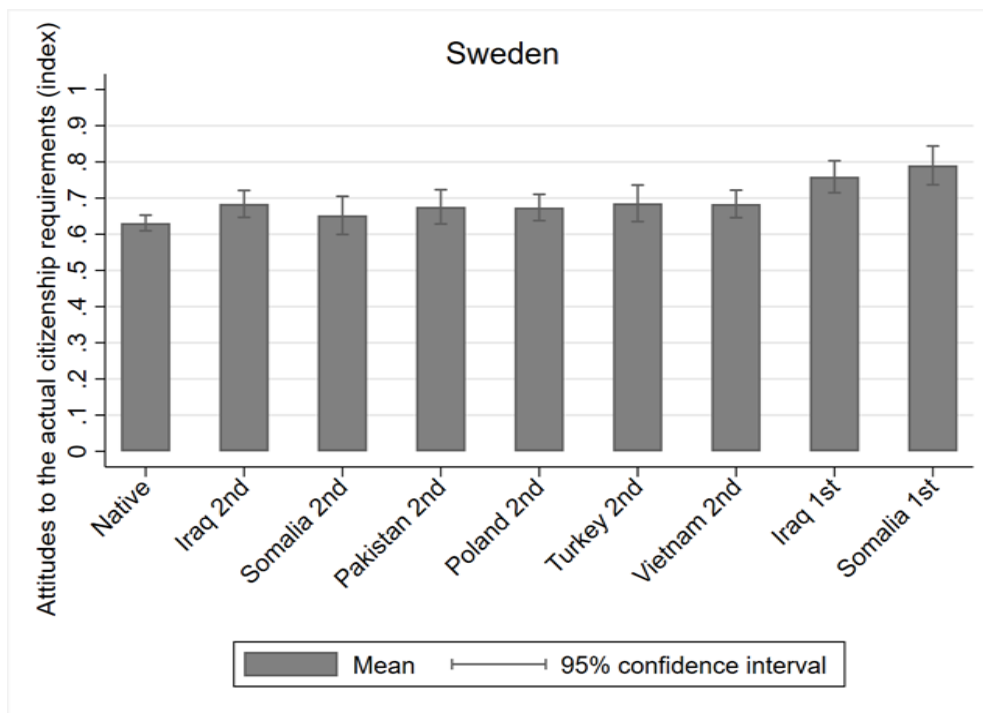


Figure 66

#### 5.4. Chapter summary

Chapter 5 presented the respondents' attitudes to citizenship. The acquisition of citizenship is perceived to be the hardest among respondents in Denmark, and the easiest among respondents in Sweden. Respondents in Norway are in the middle. Concerning the perception of what legitimate requirements for acquiring citizenship should be, respondents in the Norwegian and Danish samples position themselves at an intermediate level between no requirements and tough requirements. Respondents in Sweden lean more towards fewer requirements. The attitude towards the actual requirements of citizenship is generally positive among respondents in Norway and Sweden, while respondents in Denmark have a more neutral opinion. Minorities in Denmark have the least positive opinion on the actual requirements of citizenship, while minorities in Sweden have the most positive. Despite the differences, it can be noted that there is an overall similarity in attitudes towards citizenship across groups and countries.

## 6. Trust

Chapter 6 presents the findings about trust. The chapter is divided into two sections: institutional trust and social trust. The institutional trust section is made up of five subsections: trust in the government; trust in the police; trust in parliament; trust in the politicians; and an institutional trust index that merges the four questions into one index. The social trust section is divided into four subsections: people's trustworthiness; people's fairness; people's helpfulness; and an index that merges the three questions into one index. All the results are presented in graphs showing the means and their 95%-confidence intervals.

### 6.1. Institutional trust

The section on institutional trust is divided into five subsections. The first four subsections present the results for each dimension of institutional trust (trust in the government; trust in the police; trust in parliament; and trust in the politicians), while the fifth subsection presents an institutional trust index, which merges the four questions into one index.

#### 6.1.1. Trust in the government

The first subsection shows the respondents' level of trust in the government. Respondents were asked to rate their trust in the governments of their countries of residence on a scale of 0 (no trust at all) to 10 (complete trust).

Figure 67 shows the results in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. There is no significant difference between native majorities and minorities across each country. In Norway, Denmark and Sweden, both native majorities and minorities express an intermediate level of trust in the government, responding with neither complete trust nor complete distrust.

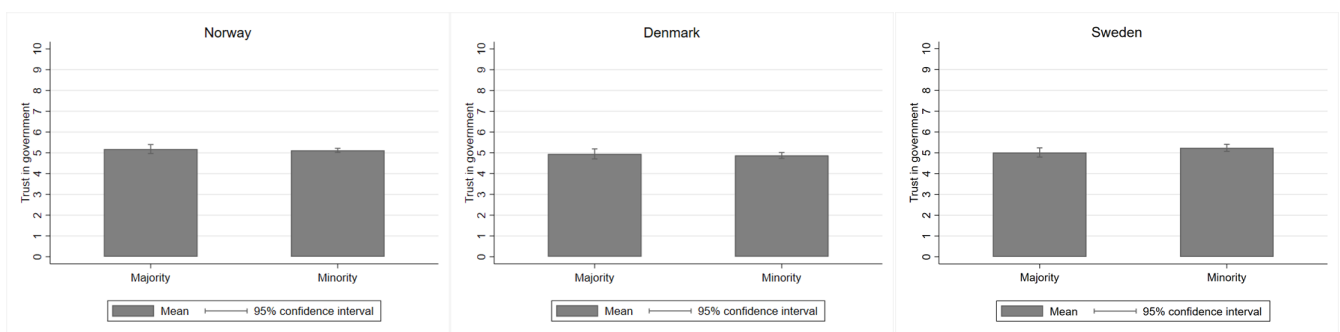


Figure 67

In the Norwegian sample (Figure 68), all subgroups express a neutral opinion, with little difference among them. The only two subgroups that are significantly less trusting of the government than native majority Norwegians are descendants of Pakistani and of Turkish immigrants. Somali, Pakistani, and Turkish immigrants trust the government significantly more than descendants of Somali, Pakistani, and Turkish immigrants.

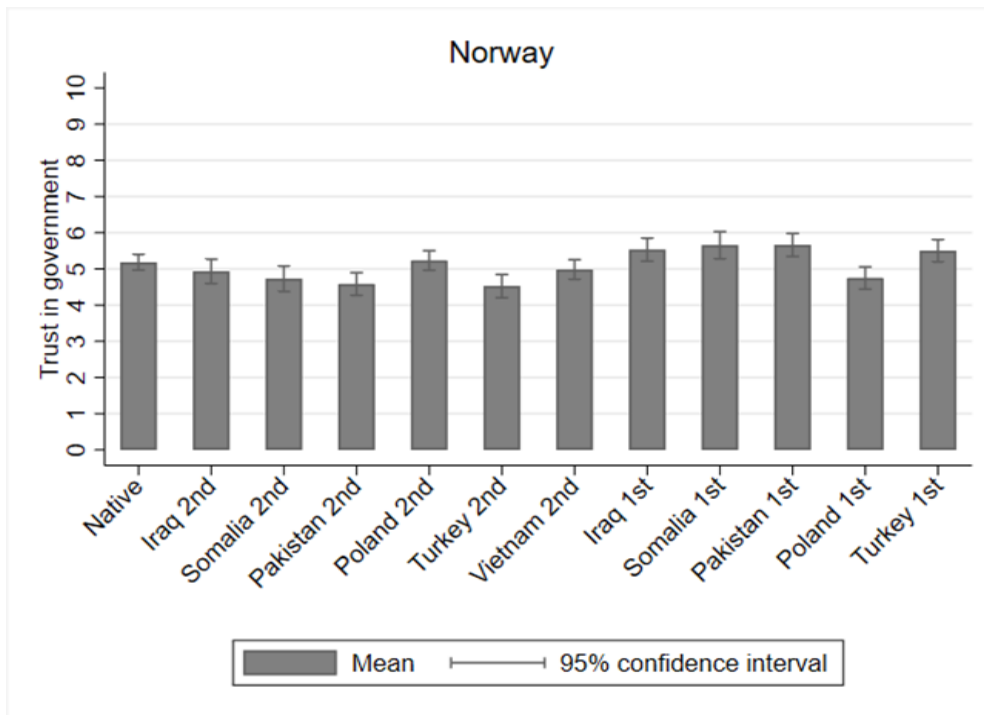


Figure 68

There is little difference also among the Danish sample, as presented in Figure 69: all subgroups roughly tend to have an intermediate level of trust for the government. Descendants of Pakistani immigrants are the only subgroup who trust the government significantly less than native majority Danes, while Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Vietnamese immigrants trust the government significantly more than native majority Danes. Iraqi immigrants are significantly more trusting of the government than descendants of Iraqi immigrants.

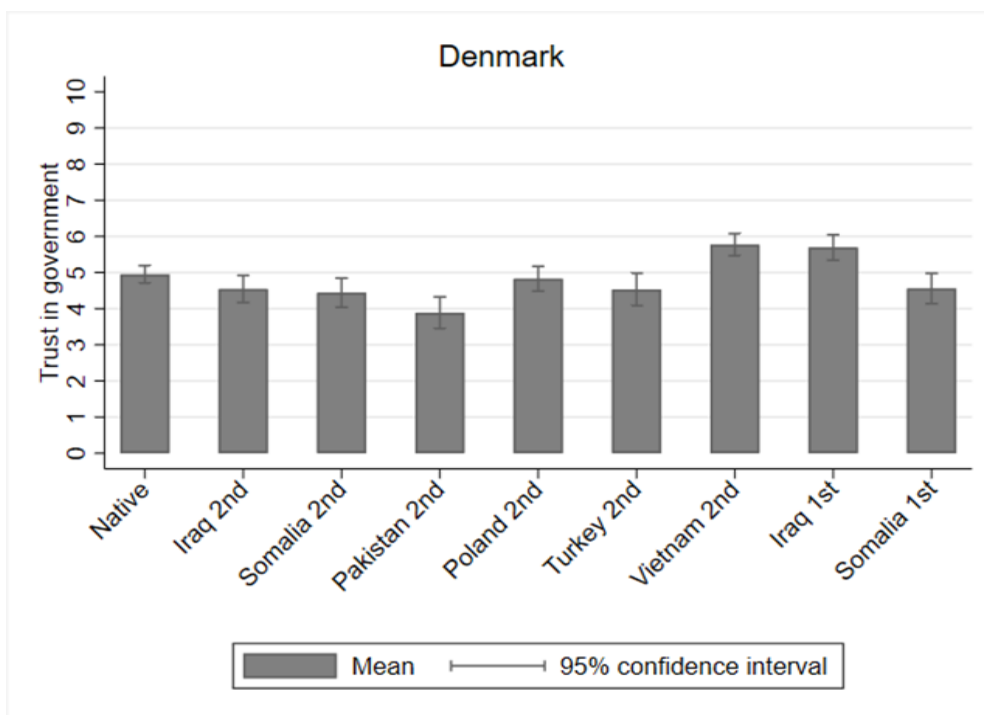


Figure 69

As in Norway and Denmark, the respondents in the Swedish sample also tend to have an intermediate level of trust for the government (Figure 70). Both Iraqi and Somali immigrants trust the government significantly more than native majority Swedes: in particular, Somali immigrants in Sweden are the subgroup that displays the highest level of trust for the government than any other subgroup across the three countries. Descendants of Polish immigrants are the only subgroup with significantly lower trust for the government than native majority Swedes.

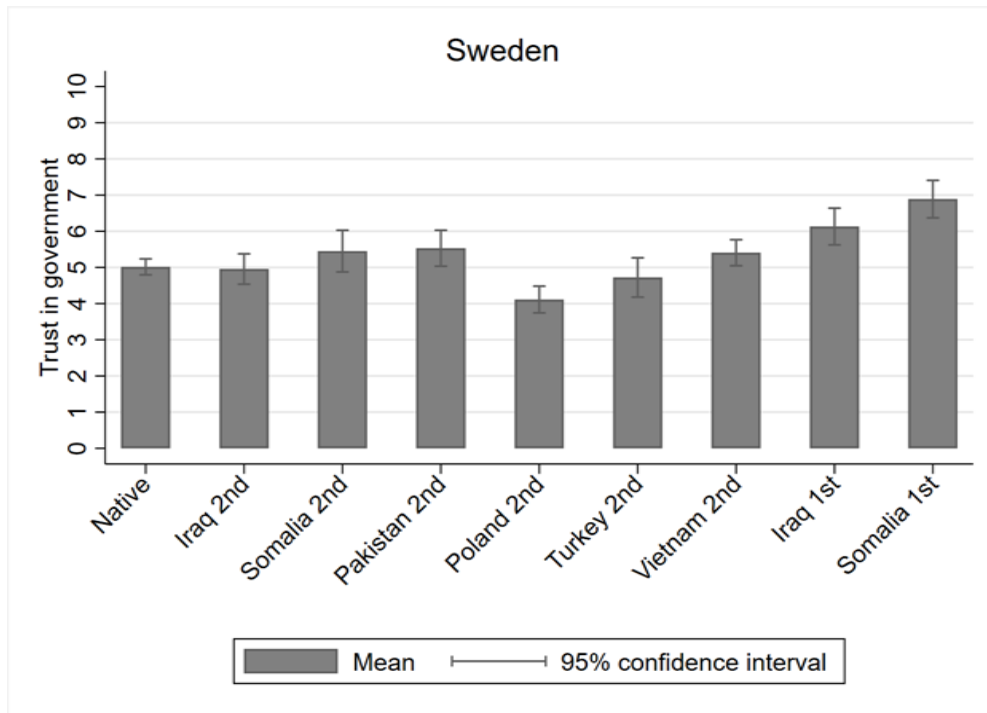


Figure 70

### 6.1.2. Trust in the police

The second subsection shows the respondents' level of trust in the police. Respondents were asked to rate their trust in the police in their countries of residence on a scale of 0 (no trust at all) to 10 (complete trust).

Trust in the police is generally high in each country and across native majorities and minorities, as shown in Figure 71. Native majority Danes are significantly more trusting of the police than any other group, while minorities in Sweden are significantly less trusting of the police than any other group.



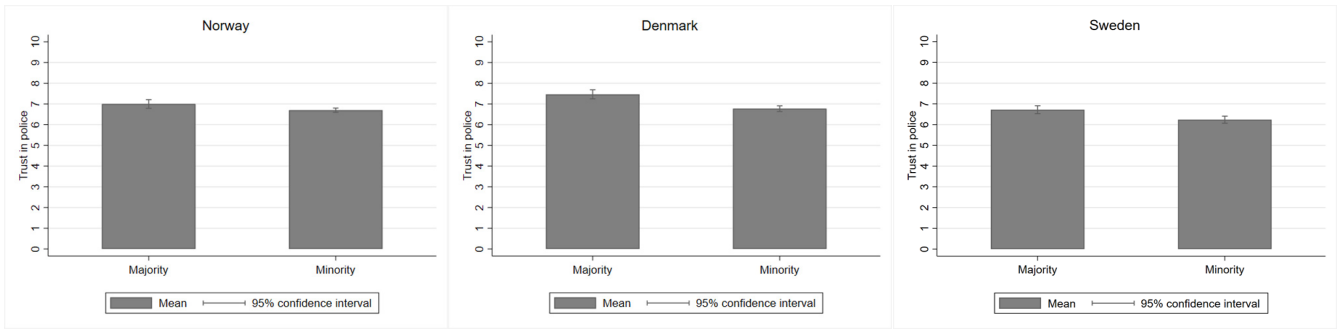


Figure 71

In Norway, all subgroups display a relatively high level of trust in the police, with little difference among subgroups (Figure 72). Polish immigrants and descendants of Somali and of Turkish immigrants trust the police significantly less than native majority Norwegians. Somali, Pakistani, and Turkish immigrants trust the police significantly more than descendants of Somali, Pakistani, and Turkish immigrants.

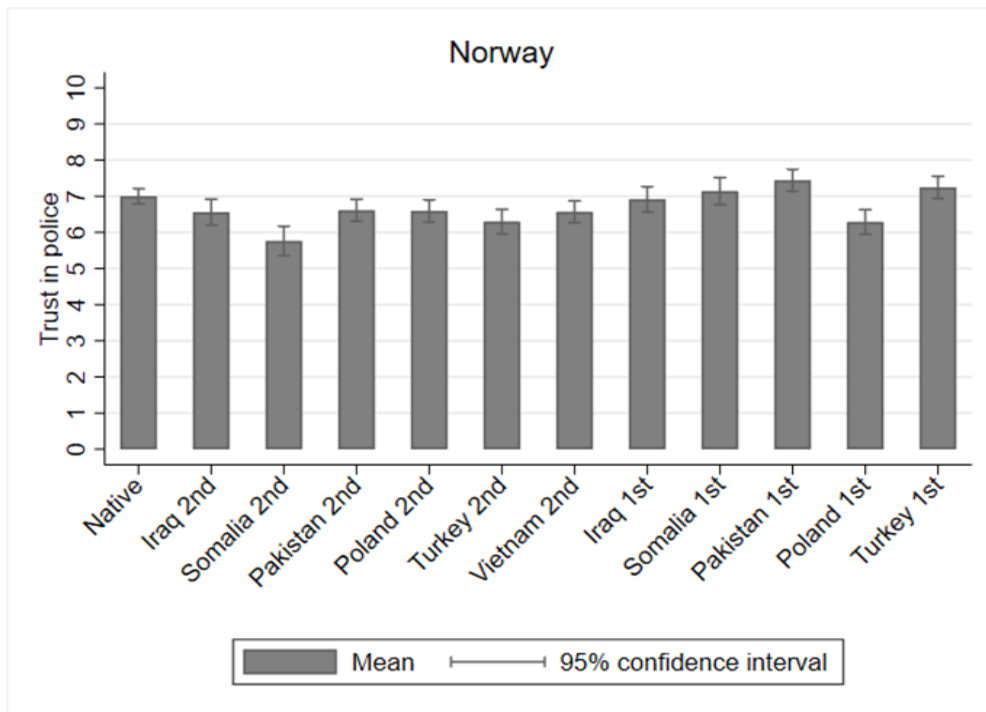


Figure 72

All subgroups in Denmark display a generally high trust for the police, with little difference among subgroups, as shown in Figure 73. Apart from the descendants of Vietnamese immigrants, all the other descendants of immigrants' subgroups trust the police significantly less than native majority Danes.

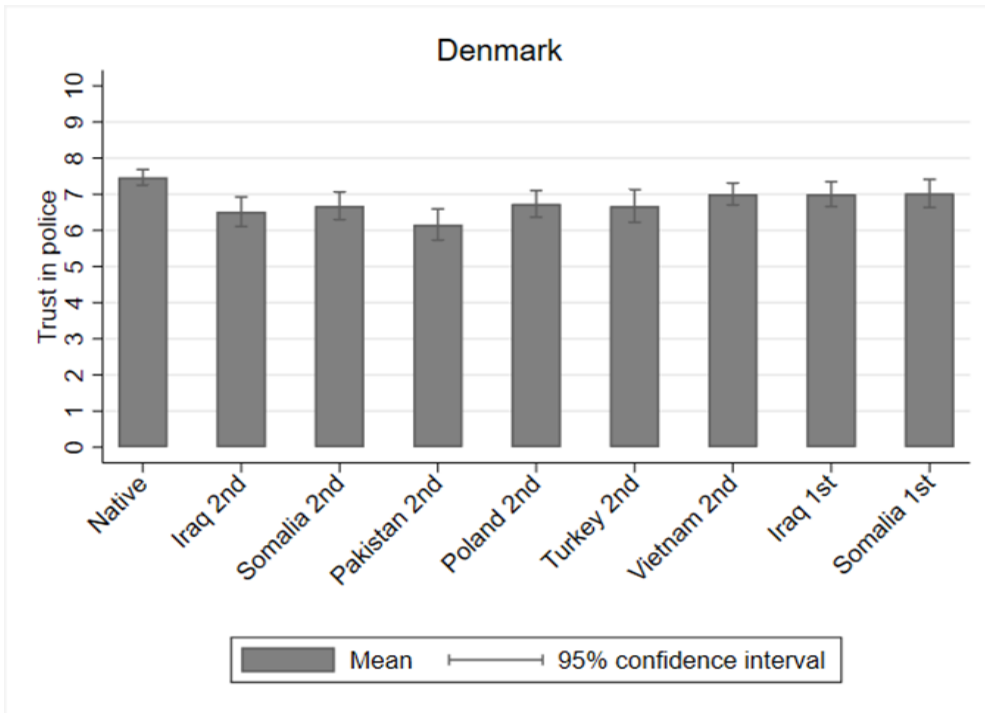


Figure 73

Among respondents in Sweden (Figure 74), the level of trust in the police is relatively high and in a not too dissimilar way than in Norway and Denmark. Somali immigrants are the only subgroup that is significantly more trusting of the police than native majority Swedes, while descendants of Iraqi, Somali, and Polish immigrants are the only subgroups that are significantly less trusting of the police than native majority Swedes. As in the case of Norway, Somali immigrants trust the police significantly more than descendants of Somali immigrants.

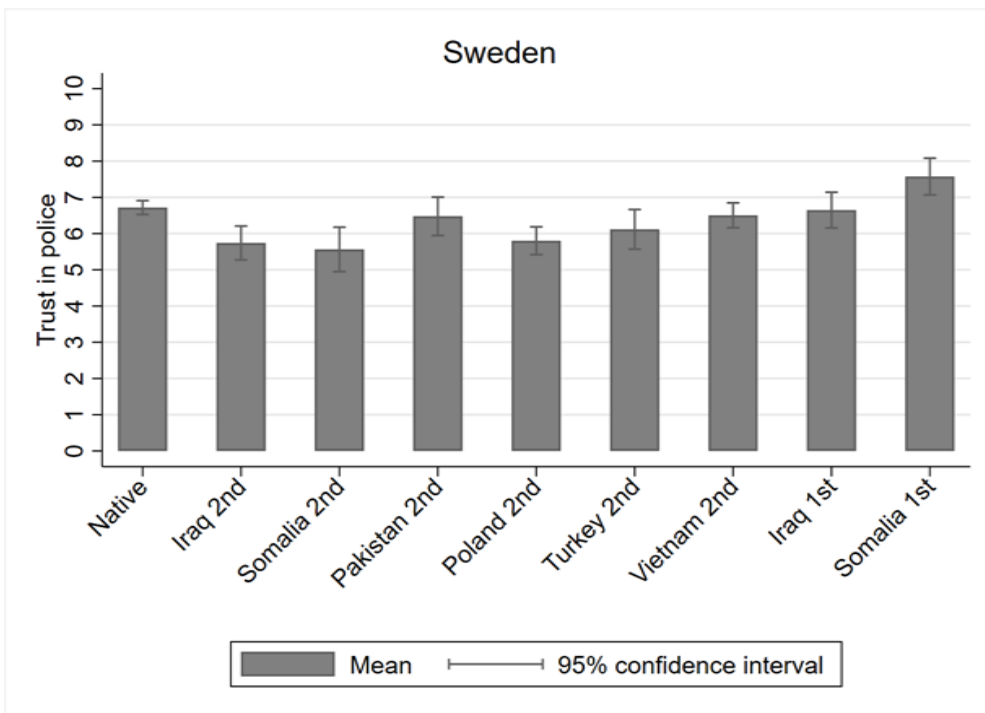


Figure 74

### 6.1.3. Trust in the parliament

The third subsection shows the respondents' level of trust in parliament. Respondents were asked to rate their trust in parliament in their countries of residence on a scale of 0 (no trust at all) to 10 (complete trust).

The level of trust in parliament overall tends to be in the middle ground, with little difference among native majorities and minorities in the three countries, as shown in Figure 75. Minorities in Denmark are the only group that is significantly less trusting of parliament than any other group.

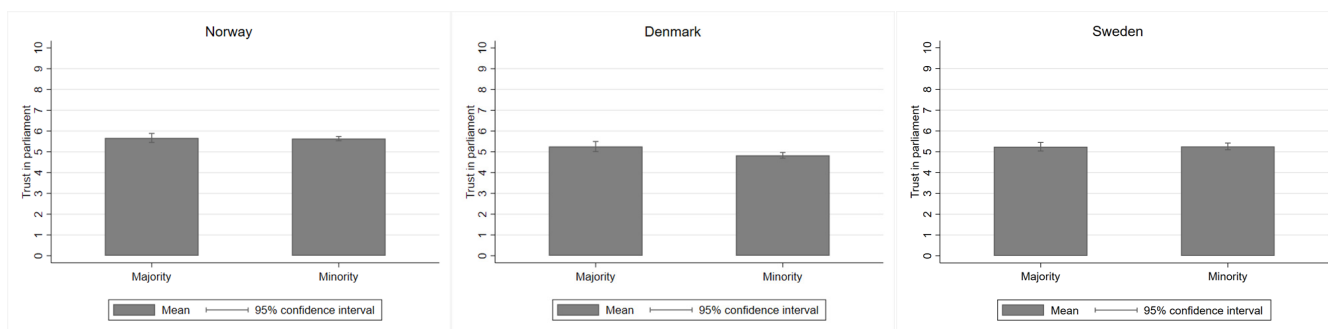


Figure 75

Figure 76 displays the results from the Norwegian sample. The overall difference between subgroups is small, as most subgroups tend to express a slight trust in parliament. Iraqi and Somali immigrants trust parliament significantly more than native majority Norwegians, while Polish immigrants trust parliament significantly less than native majority Norwegians. Apart from Polish immigrants, Iraqi, Turkish, Pakistani, and Somali immigrants trust parliament more than the descendants of Iraqi, Turkish, Pakistani, and Somali immigrants.

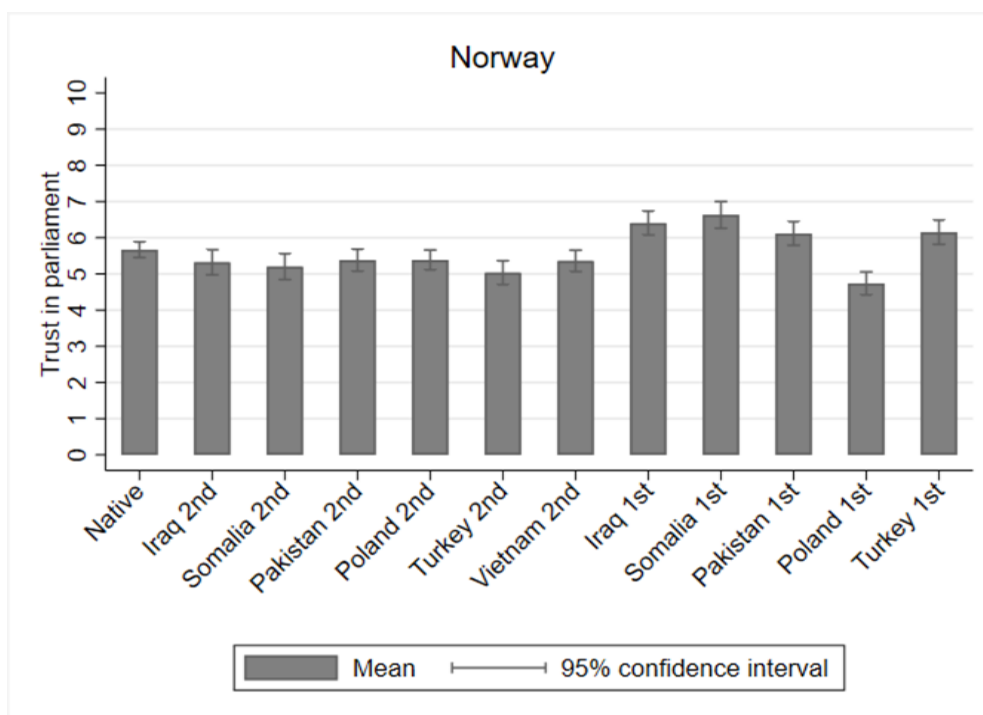


Figure 76

As Figure 77 highlights, trust in parliament in Denmark is lower than in Norway and, in a few cases, it leans towards a slight distrust (especially among descendants of Pakistani immigrants). Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Vietnamese immigrants have higher levels of trust in parliament than the native majority Danes, all the other minority respondents have lower trust in parliament than native majority Danes.

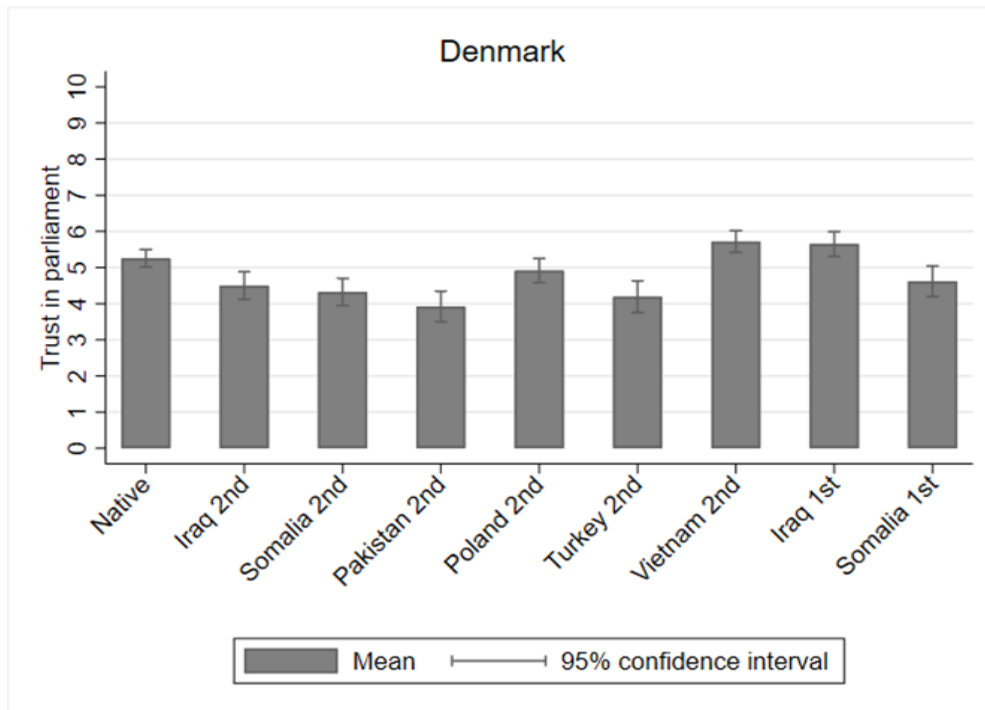


Figure 77

Most groups in Sweden (Figure 78) express an intermediate level of trust in parliament, except for Somali immigrants, who trust parliament significantly more than any of the other groups. Descendants of Polish immigrants are the only subgroup that is significantly less trusting of parliament than native majority Swedes. Both Iraqi immigrants and Somali immigrants trust parliament significantly more than descendants of Iraqi and Somali immigrants.

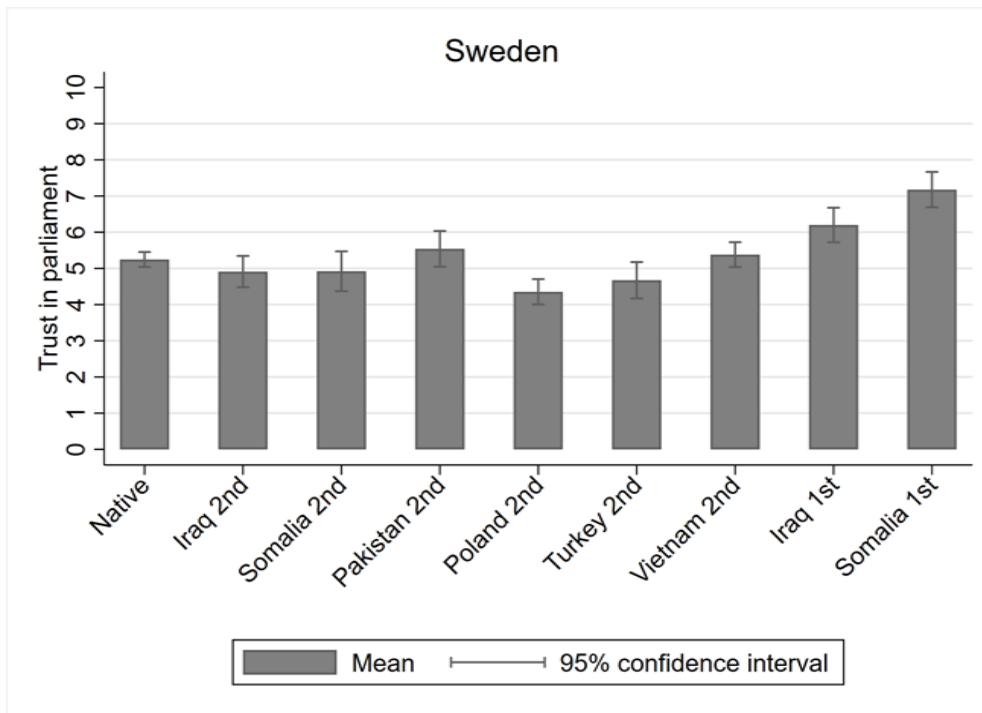


Figure 78

#### 6.1.4. Trust in the politicians

The fourth subsection shows the respondents' level of trust in the politicians. Respondents were asked to rate their trust in politicians in their countries of residence on a scale of 0 (no trust at all) to 10 (complete trust).

There is no significant difference between native majorities and minorities across each country, as Figure 79 shows. In Norway, Denmark and Sweden, both native majorities and minorities express a slight mistrust of politicians. Minorities in Denmark express a significantly higher level of mistrust towards politicians than any other group.

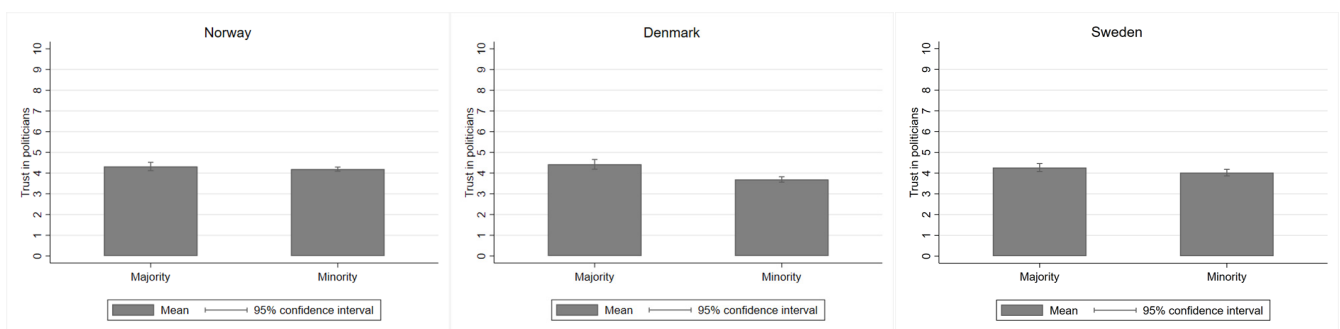


Figure 79

There is little difference among respondents in the Norwegian sample (shown in Figure 80), as most subgroups express a slight mistrust of politicians: only Iraqi immigrants are significantly more trusting of politicians than native majority Norwegians. Apart from Polish immigrants, all the other immigrant groups have a significantly higher level of trust in politicians than the descendants of immigrants from

the same countries. Only descendants of Somali immigrants trust politicians significantly less than native majority Norwegians.

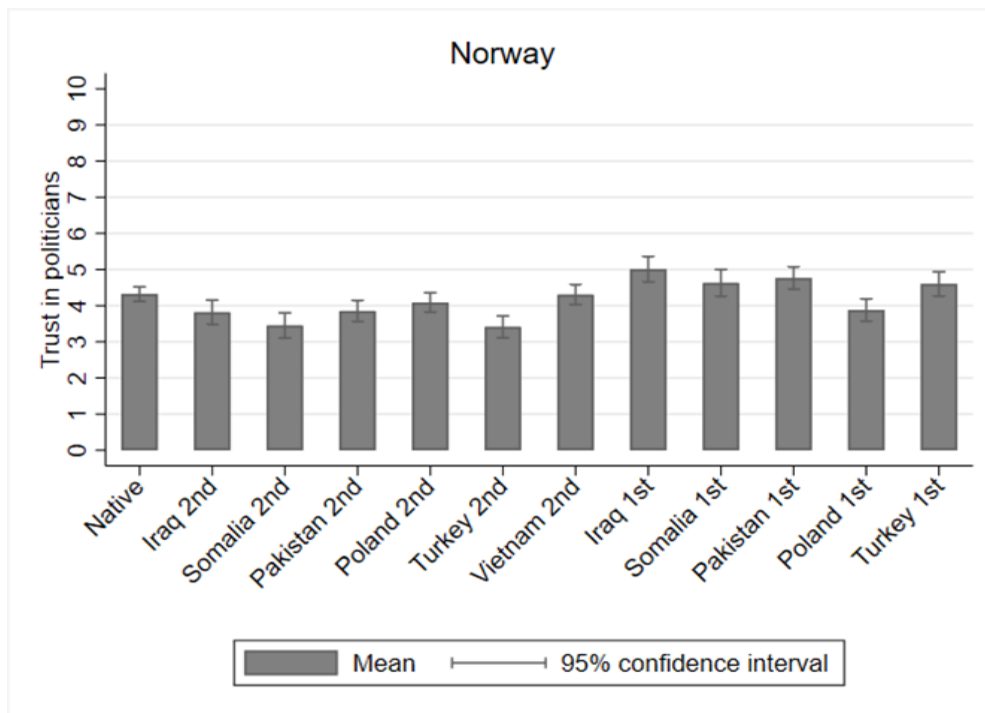


Figure 80

Respondents in Denmark generally lean towards a slight mistrust of politicians, especially among groups of descendants of immigrants (Figure 81): in fact, descendants of Somali, Iraqi, Pakistani, and Polish immigrants have significantly lower trust in politicians than native majority Danes. Only descendants of Vietnamese immigrants and Iraqi immigrants have a level of trust in politicians comparable to that of native majority Danes. Somali immigrants are significantly less trusting of politicians than Iraqi immigrants and native majority Danes.

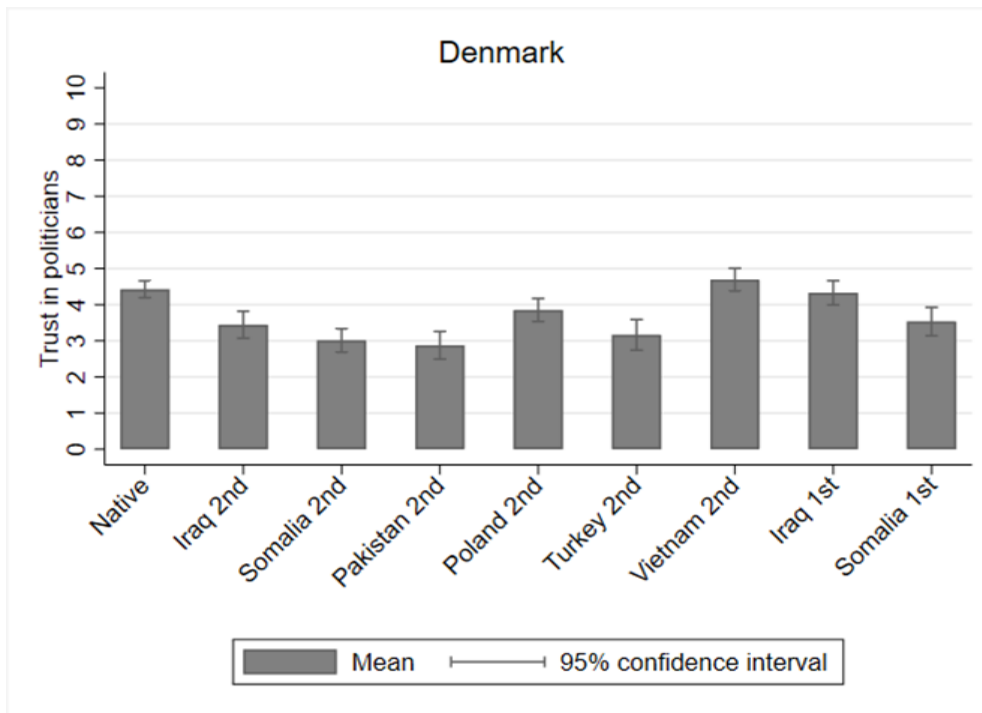


Figure 81

The overall level of trust in politicians is also somewhere between the middle ground and a slight mistrust among all subgroups in the Swedish sample, as shown in Figure 82. As already noted for the trust in the government and in parliament, both Iraqi immigrants and Somali immigrants show a significantly higher level of trust in politicians than native majority Swedes. Iraqi and Somali immigrants are also significantly more trusting of politicians than descendants of Iraqi and Somali immigrants. The three subgroups that trust politicians significantly less than native majority Swedes are the descendants of Polish, Iraqi, and Turkish immigrants.

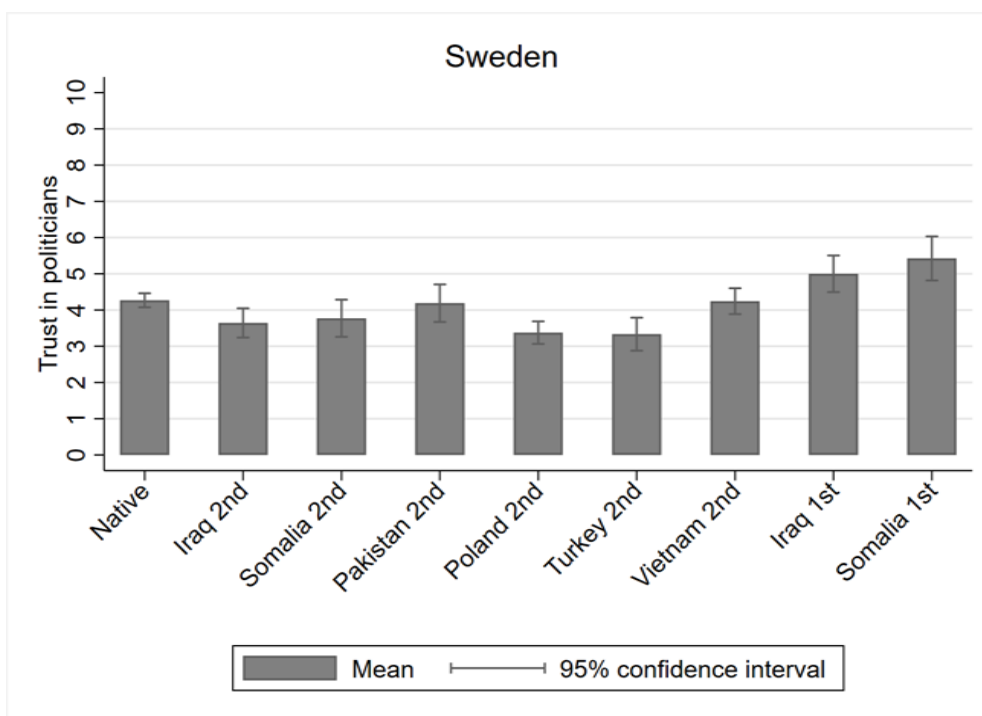


Figure 82

### 6.1.5. Institutional trust (index)

In this subsection, the four levels of institutional trust are merged into one measure that displays the overall level of institutional trust in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. The scale goes from 0 (complete institutional mistrust) to 10 (complete institutional trust).

The overall level of institutional trust in Norway, Denmark and Sweden is on an intermediate level, as there are no groups that are particularly trusting or mistrusting of institutions in any of the three countries (Figure 83). Only in Denmark are minority groups significantly less trusting of institutions than the native majority.

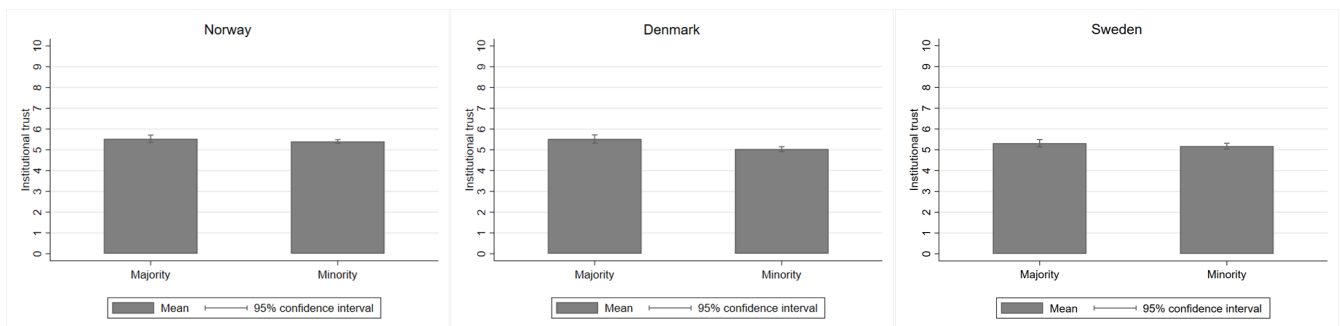


Figure 83

Figure 84 shows the institutional trust in Norway. Somali, Iraqi, Pakistani and Turkish immigrants have a significantly higher institutional trust than native majority Norwegians, while Polish immigrants and descendants of Somali and Turkish immigrants are the only subgroups with a significantly lower level of institutional trust than native majority Norwegians. Except for Polish immigrants, all the other immigrant groups have a significantly higher level of institutional trust than the descendants of immigrants from the same countries.



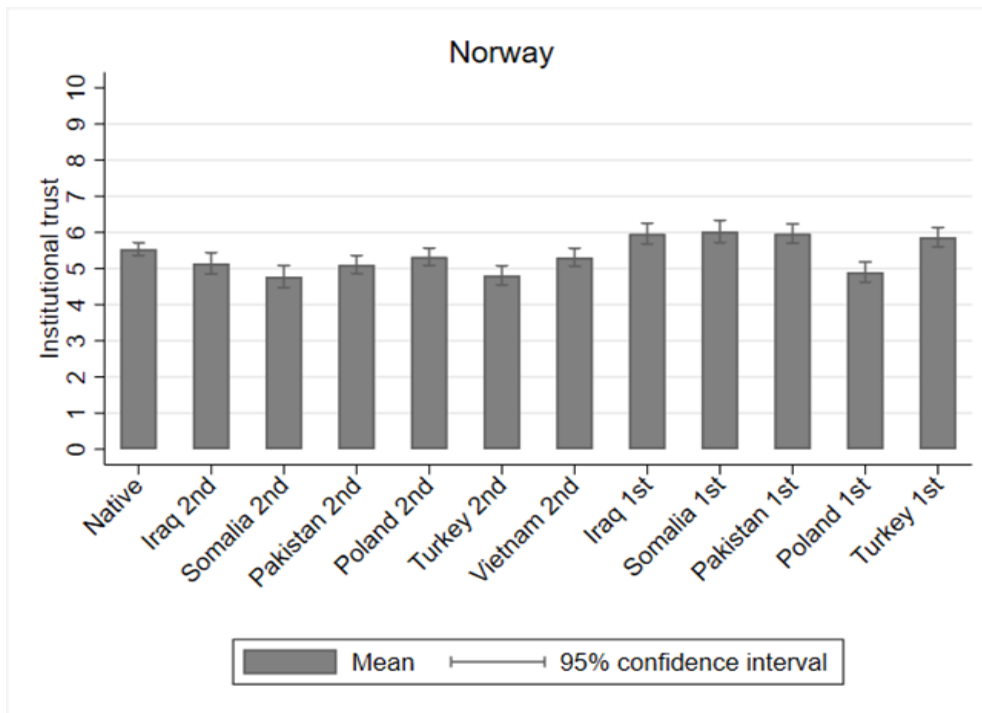


Figure 84

In Denmark (Figure 85), Somali immigrants and descendants of Iraqi, Somali, Pakistani, and Turkish immigrants have a significantly lower institutional trust than native majority Danes. Iraqi immigrants have a significantly higher institutional trust than descendants of Iraqi immigrants. There is no significant difference between the remaining groups.

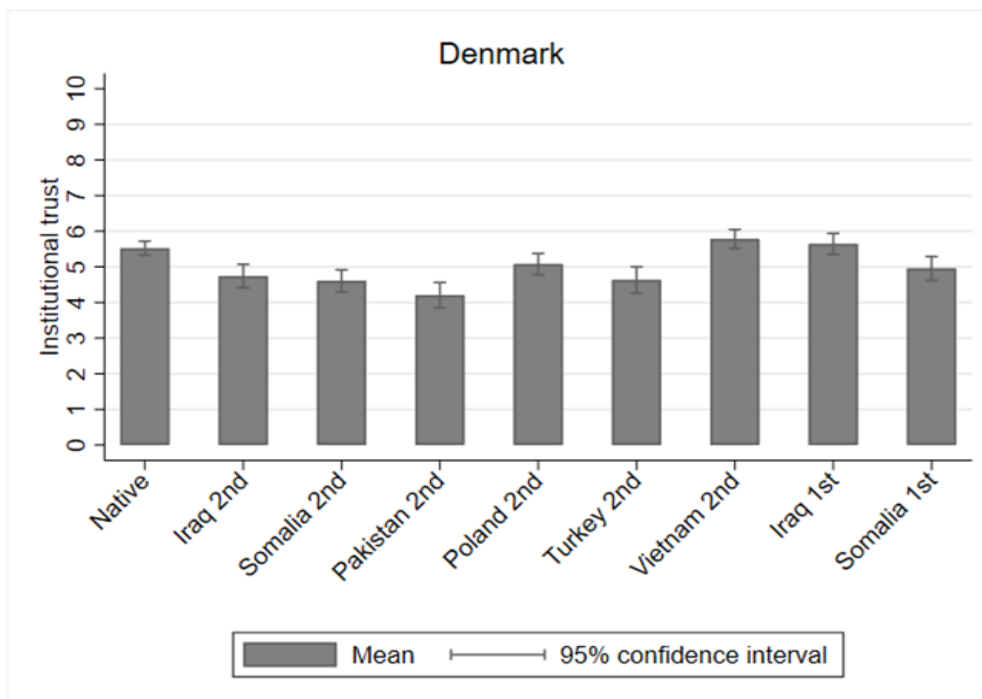


Figure 85

Results from the Swedish sample are displayed in Figure 86. Iraqi and Somali immigrants have a significantly higher institutional trust than native majority Swedes, whereas descendants of Polish and

Turkish immigrants have a lower institutional trust than native majority Swedes. Both Iraqi and Somali immigrants have a higher institutional trust than descendants of Iraqi and Somali immigrants.

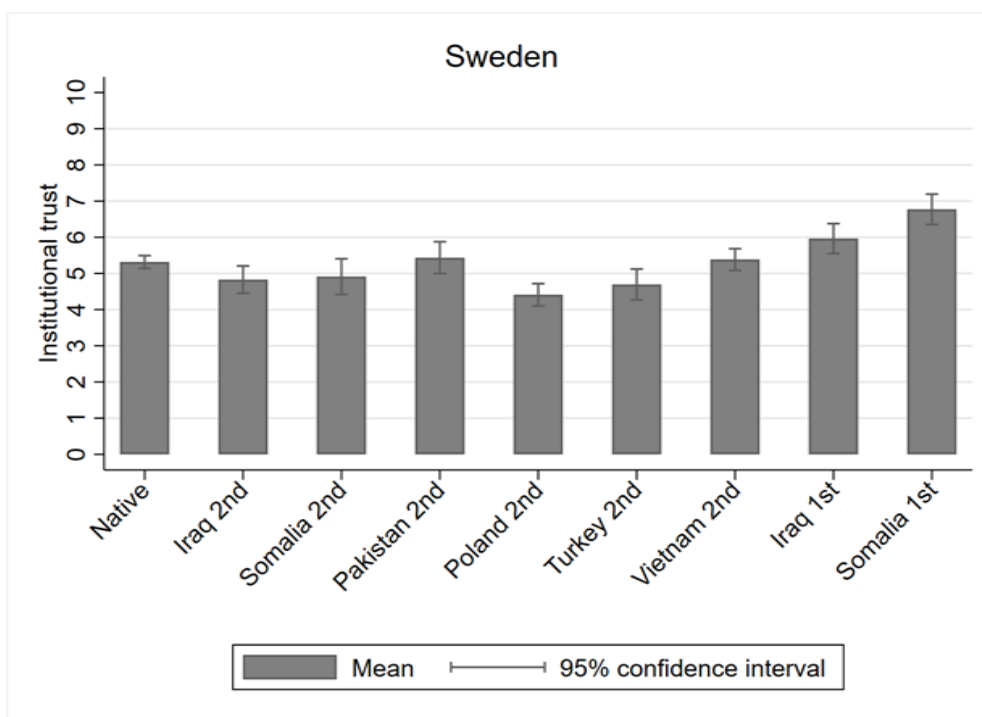


Figure 86

## 6.2. Social trust

The second section of Chapter 6 presents the results about social trust. The section is divided into four subsections. The first three subsections present the results for each dimension of social trust (people are trustworthy; people are fair; people try to be helpful), while the fourth subsection presents a social trust index, which combines the results of the previous three subsections.

### 6.2.1. People are trustworthy

The first subsection shows the respondents' attitudes towards people's trustworthiness. Respondents were asked to rate people's trustworthiness on a scale of 0 (you can't be too careful) to 10 (most people can be trusted).

Figure 89 compares the results in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. In each country, native majorities think most people can be trusted to a significantly higher extent than minorities do. The highest level of trust is found among native Danes and the lowest level of trust is found among the Norwegian minority.

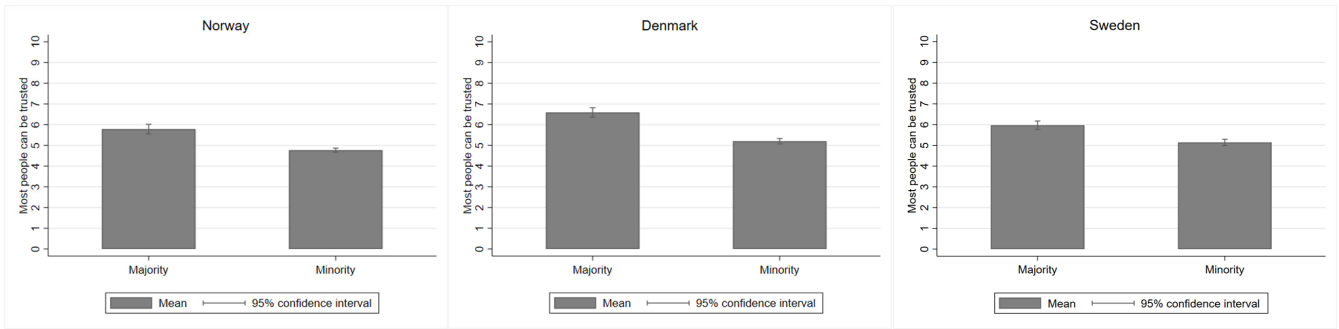


Figure 87

Figure 88 shows the results from the Norwegian sample. Apart from Pakistani immigrants and descendants of Polish immigrants, all the remaining groups think that people can be trusted to a significantly lower extent than native majority Norwegians do. All immigrant groups have a higher level of trust in people than the descendants of immigrants from the same country, with the exception of Polish immigrants, who are significantly less trusting of people than the descendants of Polish immigrants. Minority groups generally tend to lean towards a slight mistrust of people, compared to native majority Norwegians.

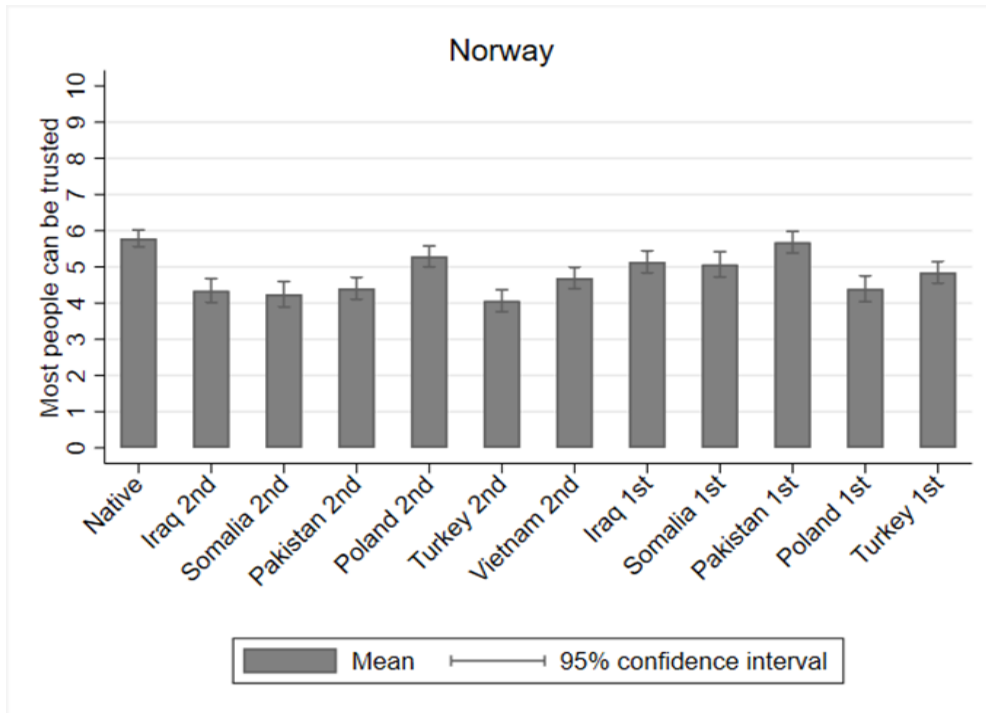


Figure 88

Figure 89 shows the results from the Danish sample. Native majority Danes have the highest level of trust in people among any group in the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish samples. At the same time, minorities in Denmark are slightly more trusting of people than minorities in Norway, with little difference between them.

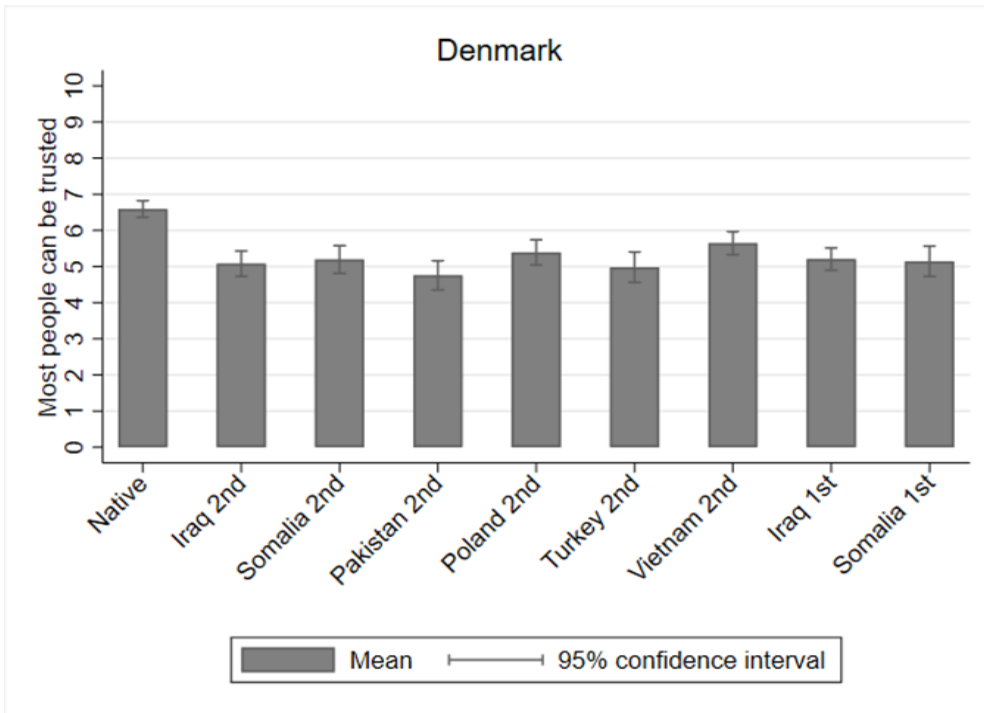


Figure 89

In Sweden (Figure 90), all subgroups apart from Somali immigrants and descendants of Vietnamese immigrants have a significantly lower level of trust in people than native majority Swedes. Among the minority subgroups there are no significant differences, except for Somali immigrants, who have a slightly higher level of trust in people than descendants of Somali immigrants.

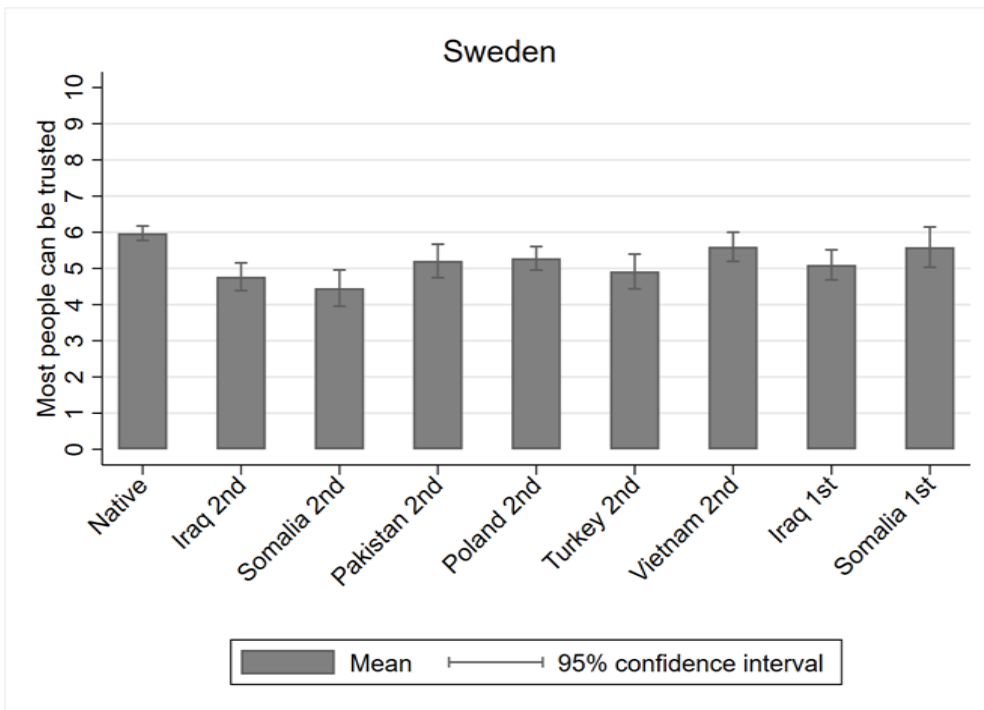


Figure 90

### 6.2.2. People are fair

The second subsection shows the respondents' opinion on the fairness of people. Respondents were asked to rate people's fairness on a scale of 0 (most people would try to take advantage of me) to 10 (most people would try to be fair).

The results shown in Figure 91 look rather similar to the results in the former subsection. Native majorities in Norway, Denmark and Sweden rate people's fairness significantly higher than minority groups. Minorities in Norway and Sweden rate people's fairness lower than minorities in Denmark, while native majority Danes rate it highest of all groups.

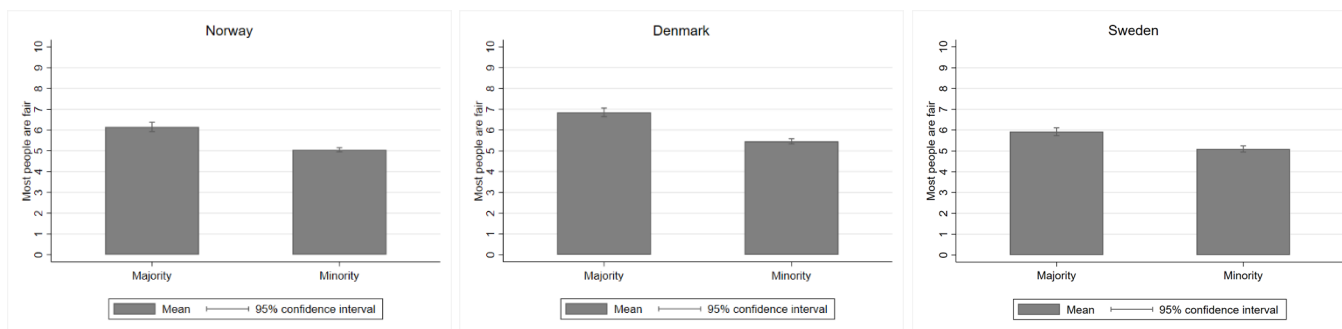


Figure 91

Figure 92 shows the results from the Norwegian sample. Most of the minority subgroups tend to have a more or less neutral opinion on other people's fairness. With the exception of Somali immigrants, all subgroups think that people are fair to a significantly lower extent than native majority Norwegians do. Both Pakistani and Somali immigrants consider other people fair to a significantly higher extent than descendants of Pakistani and Somali immigrants, while descendants of Polish immigrants rate people's fairness at a significantly higher extent than Polish immigrants.

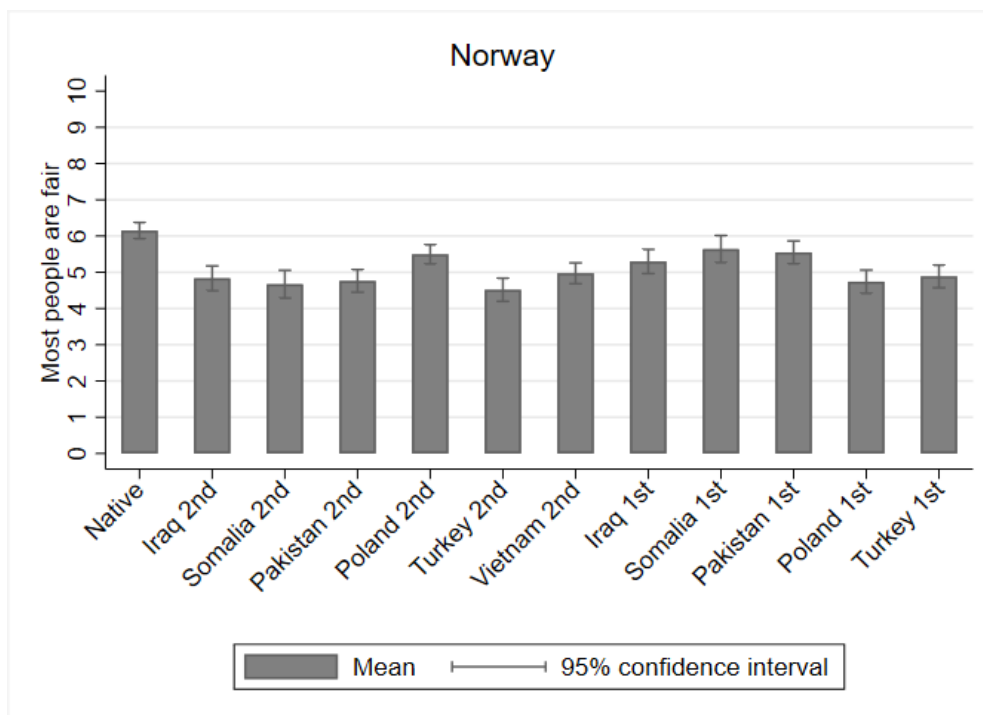


Figure 92

Native majority Danes rate other people’s fairness to a significantly higher extent than any other subgroup, as highlighted in Figure 93. There is no substantial difference among the other subgroups, as they mostly lean to a slightly positive attitude towards people’s fairness.

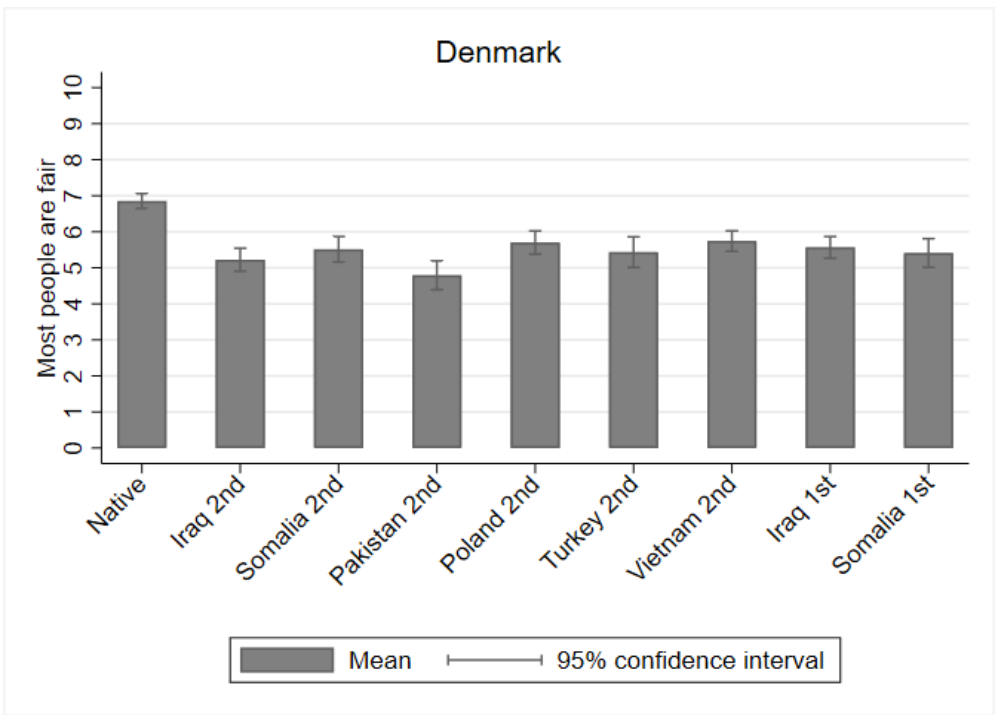


Figure 93

In Sweden (Figure 94), all the groups of descendants of immigrants rate people significantly lower than native majority Swedes and Somali immigrants. Iraqi immigrants rate people’s fairness to a significantly higher extent than descendants of Iraqi immigrants. There is no significant difference among the other subgroups, as they mostly tend to express a neutral attitude towards people’s fairness.

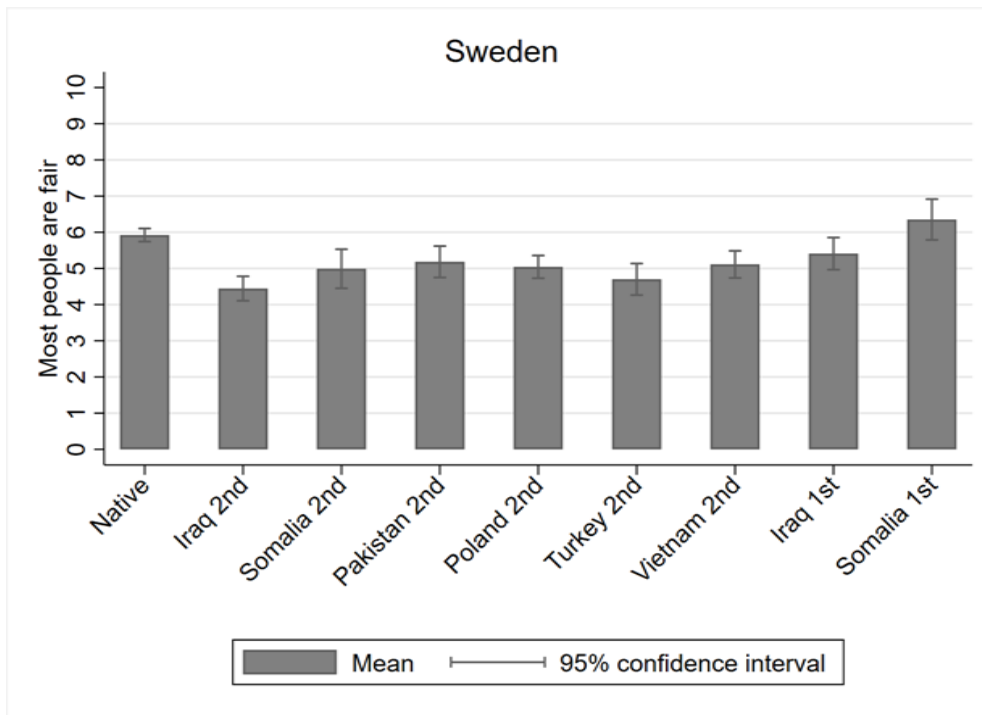


Figure 94

### 6.2.3. People try to be helpful

The third subsection shows the respondents' opinion on the people's helpfulness. Respondents were asked to rate people's helpfulness on a scale of 0 (most people look out for themselves) to 10 (most people would try to be helpful).

Respondents in Norway, Denmark and Sweden tend to have a neutral opinion on other people's helpfulness, as emerges from Figure 95. This fact notwithstanding, native majorities in each of the countries think of people as more helpful than minorities, though the difference is substantially small.

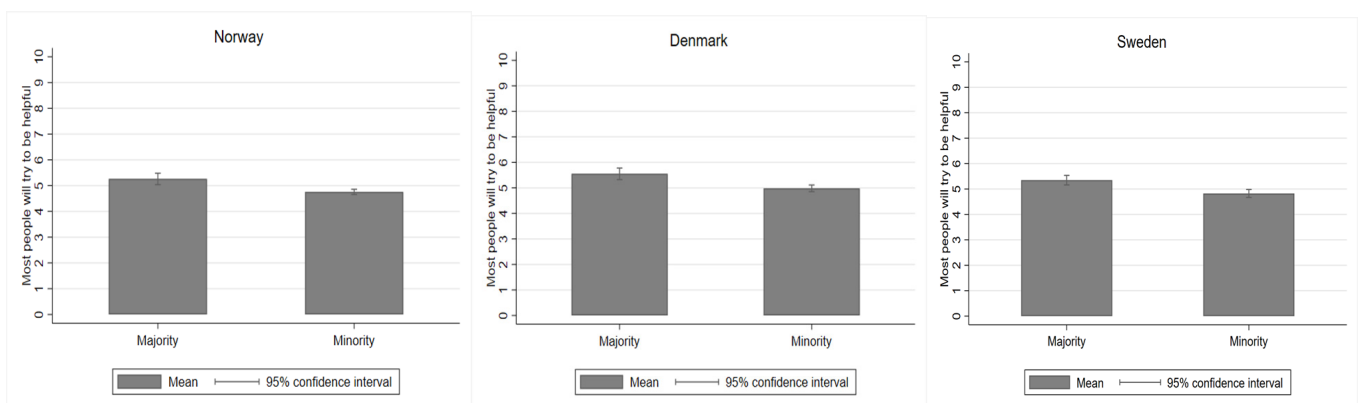


Figure 95

Figure 96 shows the results from the Norwegian sample. All the groups of descendants of immigrants in Norway think of other people as helpful to a significantly lesser extent than native Norwegians, with the exception of descendants of Polish immigrants. Native majority Norwegians' opinion on people's helpfulness is comparable to that of Iraqi, Somali, and Pakistani immigrants, and of descendants of

Polish immigrants. Iraqi, Somali, and Pakistani immigrants think of other people as helpful to a significantly greater degree than descendants of Iraqi, Somali, and Pakistani immigrants.

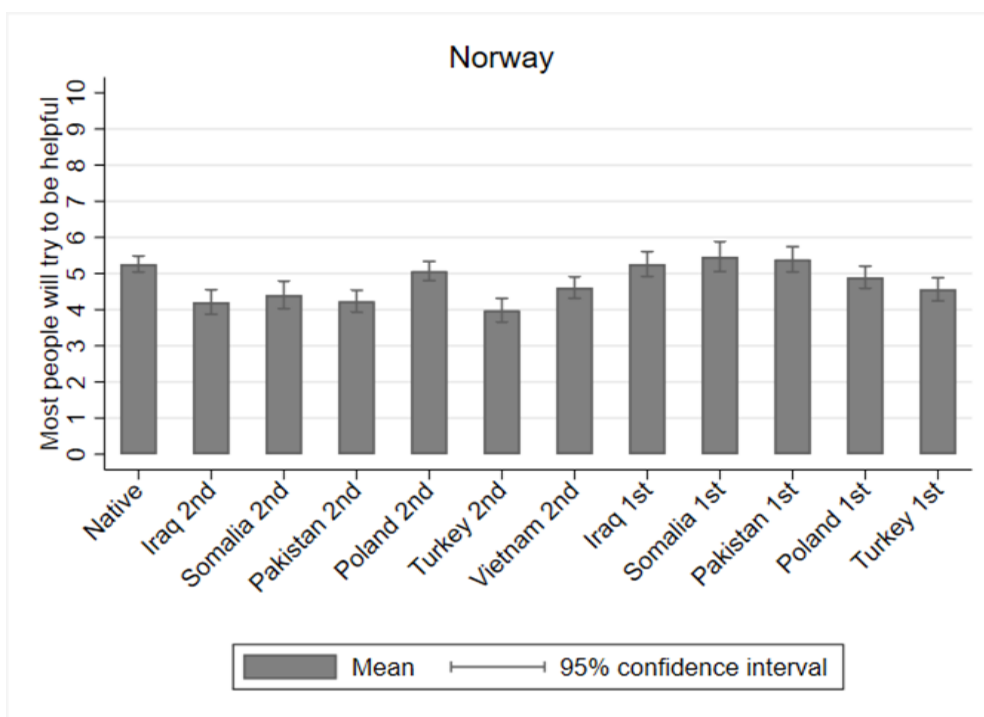


Figure 96

Most respondents in the Danish sample (Figure 97) express a more or less neutral opinion on other people’s helpfulness, with only a few notable differences. Apart from descendants of Vietnamese immigrants and Somali immigrants, all the other descendants’ subgroups rate people’s helpfulness lower than native majority Danes.

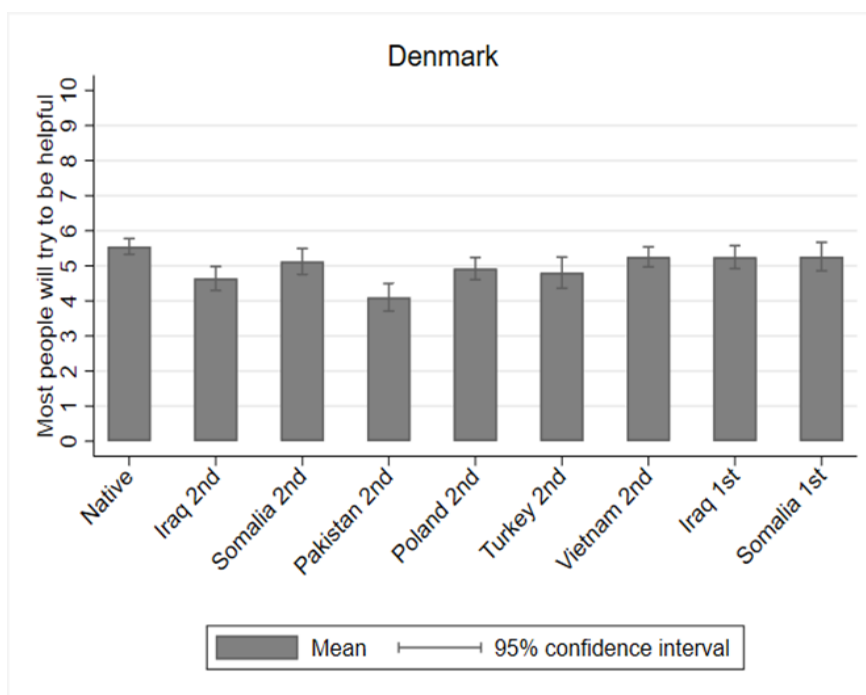


Figure 97



In Sweden (shown in Figure 98), most respondents tend to express a neutral opinion on other people’s helpfulness. The clearest exception is Somali immigrants, who rate people’s helpfulness significantly more positively than any other subgroup. Descendants of Iraqi immigrants rate people’s helpfulness lower than descendants of Vietnamese immigrants and of Iraqi immigrants. Only descendants of Iraqi, Polish, and Turkish immigrants think of other people as less helpful than native majority Swedes do.

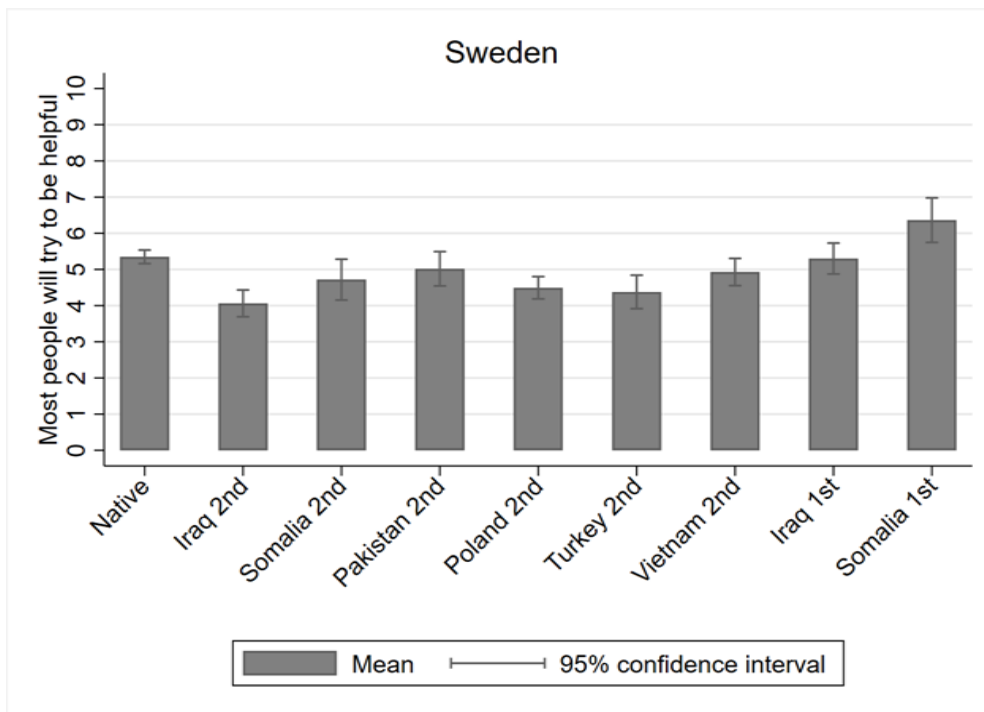


Figure 98

#### 6.2.4. Social trust (index)

In this subsection, the three dimensions of social trust are merged into one measure (an index) that displays the overall level of social trust in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. The scale goes from 0 (no social trust at all) to 10 (complete social trust).

Respondents in Norway, Denmark and Sweden (Figure 99) tend to have an intermediate level of social trust. In particular, native majorities in each of the three countries display a higher degree of social trust than minorities in a slight but statistically significant way. Native majority Danes show the highest level of social trust of all groups.

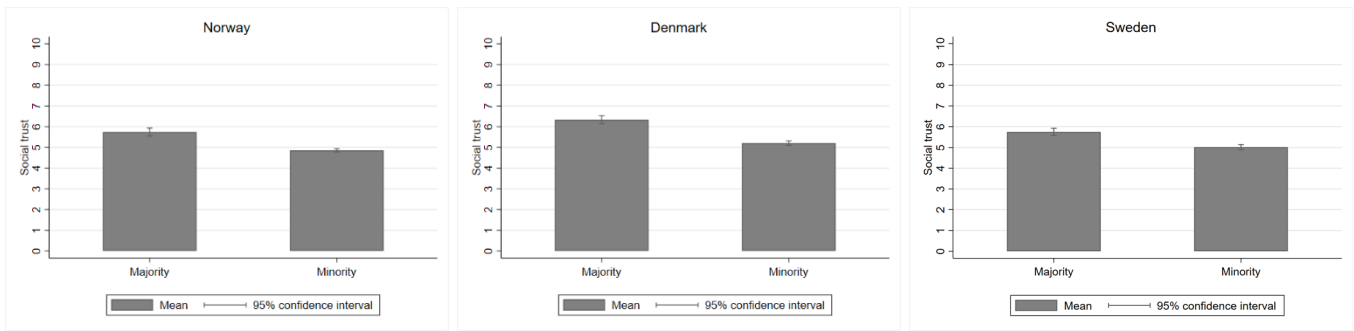


Figure 99

Within the Norwegian sample (Figure 100), native majority Norwegians have a higher degree of social trust than any of the descendants' subgroups and of Polish and Turkish immigrants. All the immigrant subgroups have a higher social trust level than the descendants of immigrants from the same country: the exception is Polish immigrants, who have a significantly lower level of social trust than descendants of Polish immigrants.

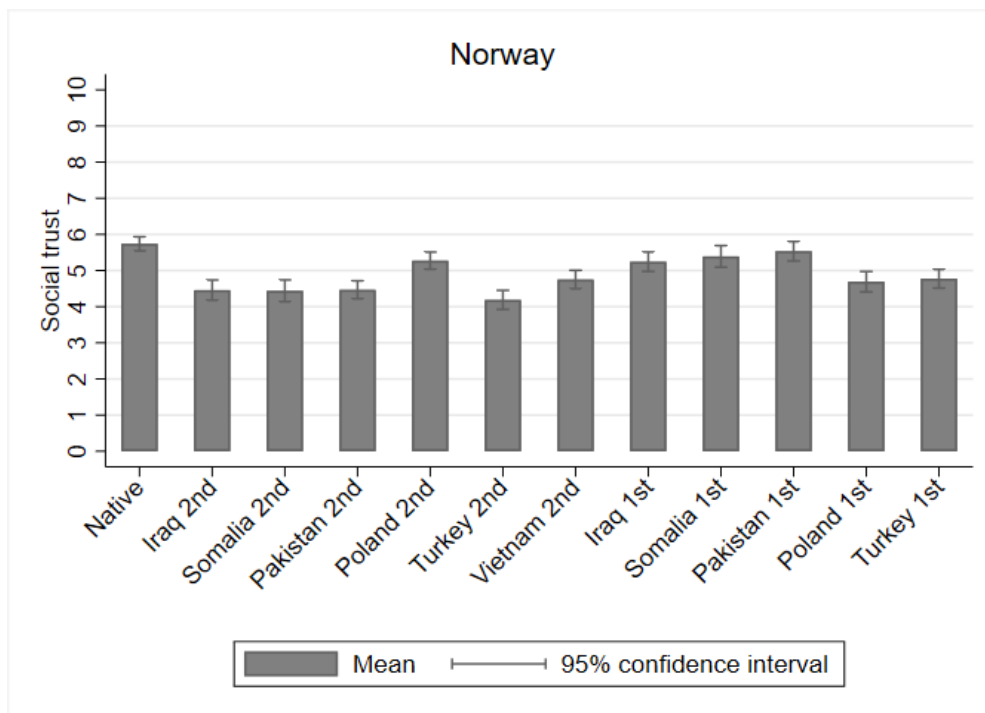


Figure 100

Within the Danish sample (Figure 101), native majority Danes have the highest level of social trust of any of the other subgroups. There is no major difference among the Danish minority subgroups, as they all tend to display an intermediate level of social trust.

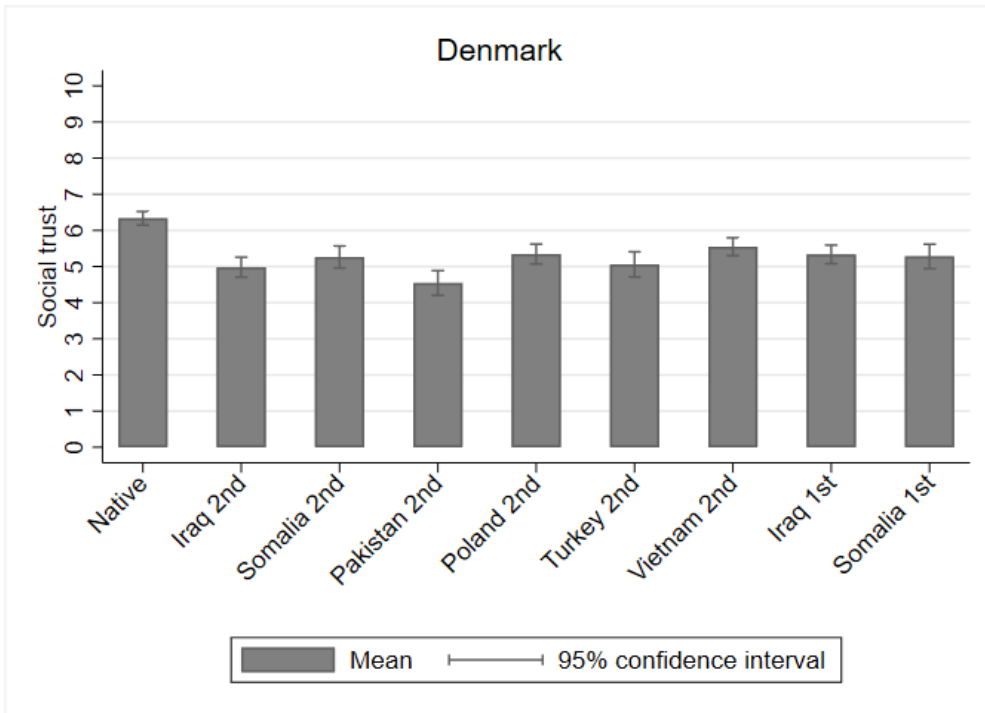


Figure 101

All the descendants of immigrants in Sweden display a lower level of social trust than native majority Swedes and Somali immigrants, as shown in Figure 102. Iraqi immigrants have a higher level of social trust than descendants of Iraqi immigrants. There is no major difference among the other minority subgroups, as they all tend to display an intermediate level of social trust.

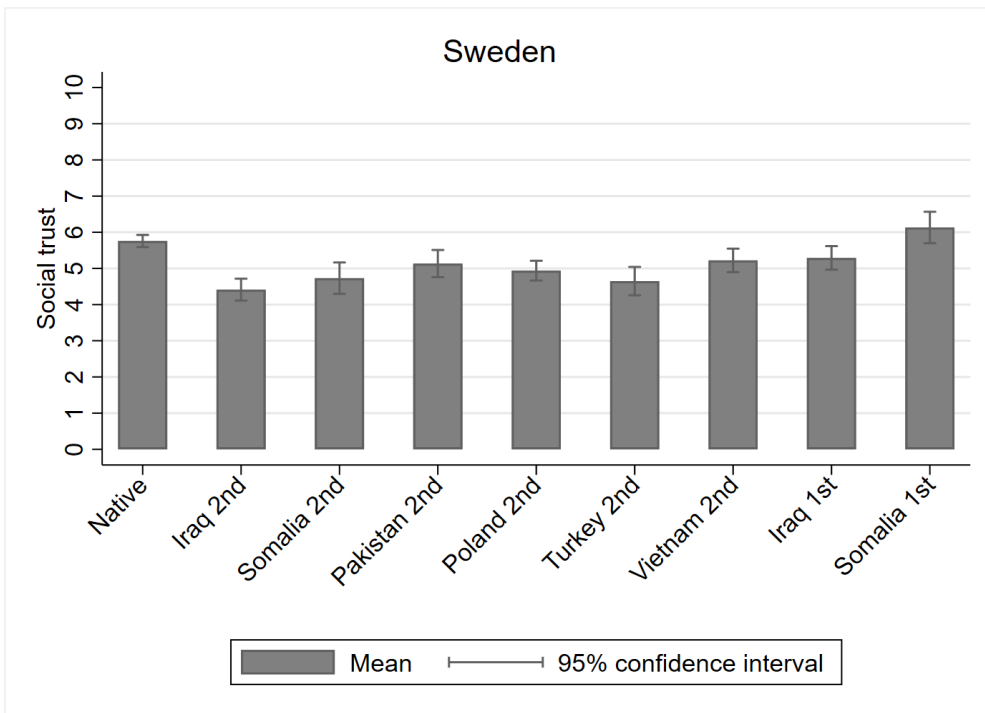


Figure 102

### 6.3. Chapter summary

Chapter 6 presented the findings about levels of trust. Trust was divided into institutional and social categories. In terms of institutional trust, there is little to no difference between native majorities and minorities in the three countries, as they all show an intermediate level of trust, though differences do emerge when looking at each specific question instead of the combined index. In terms of social trust, the differences are more noticeable, as in each country the native majorities have a higher level of social trust than the minorities.

## 7. Participation

Chapter 7 presents the findings about respondents' participation in the public life of the country of residence. The chapter is divided into two sections: first, actual participation; and second, suggested obligations to participate. The actual participation section is divided into eight subsections: willingness to vote in legislative elections; membership of a hobby or sports club; membership of a religious organisation; membership of a political party; membership of a cultural or ethnic association; membership of an aid organisation or charity; and, lastly, a participation index merging the results from the previous subsections. The suggested obligations to participate section is divided into three subsections: obligation to vote; obligation to work and pay taxes; and obligation to volunteer.

### 7.1. Actual participation

The first section of Chapter 7 presents the results about respondents' level of actual participation. The section is divided into seven subsections. The first six subsections present the results for each dimension of actual participation (willingness to vote in legislative elections; membership of a hobby or sport club; membership of a religious organisation; membership of a political party; membership of a cultural or ethnic association; membership of an aid organisation or charity), while the seventh subsection presents an actual participation index, which combines the results of the six dimensions of actual participation. In the first and in the last subsection, the results are presented in graphs showing the means and their 95%-confidence intervals. In the remaining sections, results are in percentages.

#### 7.1.1. Would you vote tomorrow?

The first subsection shows the respondents' willingness to vote in parliamentary elections. This question was only asked to respondents who have the citizenship of their country of residence. Respondents were asked to rank their willingness to vote on a scale of 0 (would definitely not vote tomorrow) to 10 (would definitely vote tomorrow).

Figure 103 compares the results from Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Though the native majorities groups in the three countries are significantly more likely to vote in a parliamentary election tomorrow than the minorities, both native majorities and minorities express a strong willingness to participate in elections. Native majority Swedes are more willing to vote in parliamentary elections than any other group, while minorities in Sweden are the minority group that expresses the greatest willingness to vote in parliamentary elections.

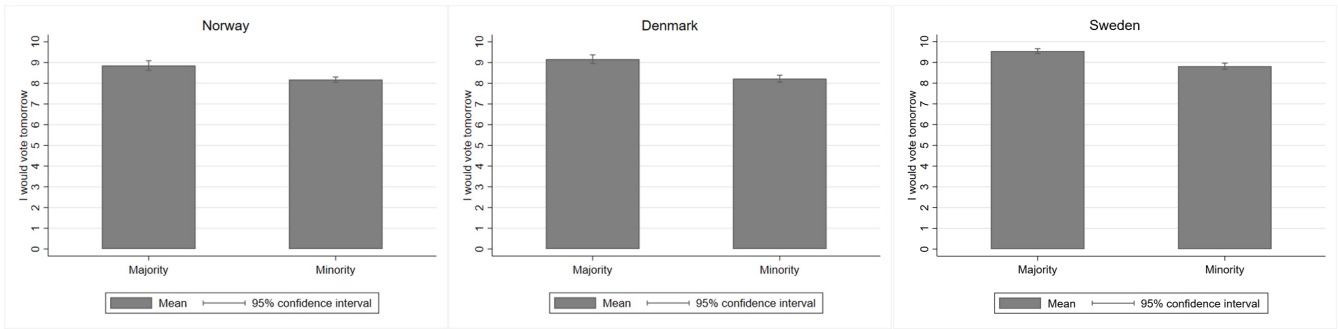


Figure 103

In Norway (Figure 104) all subgroups have a strong willingness to vote in parliamentary elections. There is no significant difference between the subgroups of immigrants and of descendants of immigrants from the same country, with one exception: Polish immigrants are significantly less willing to vote than descendants of Polish immigrants. It has to be taken into account that the 95%-confidence interval in the Polish immigrants' subgroup is so wide because the number of Polish immigrants with Norwegian citizenship is very low (only 5% of Polish immigrants have Norwegian citizenship – see Section 4.2. Self-reported citizenship). Somali immigrants show the highest willingness to vote in parliamentary elections than any other immigrant subgroup. There is no significant difference between descendants of immigrants.

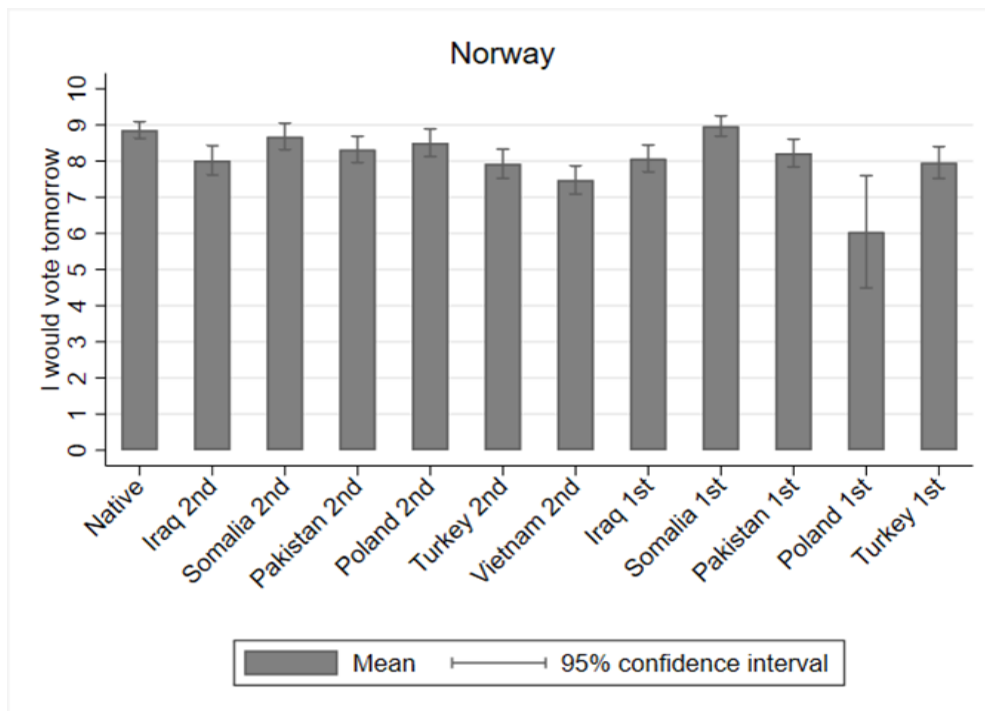


Figure 104

In Denmark, all the subgroups express a strong willingness to vote in parliamentary elections, as shown in Figure 104. There is no significant difference between native majority Danes and Somali and Iraqi immigrants, but native majority Danes are significantly more willing to vote in parliamentary elections than descendants of immigrants – apart from descendants of Polish immigrants, between the two of which there is no difference.

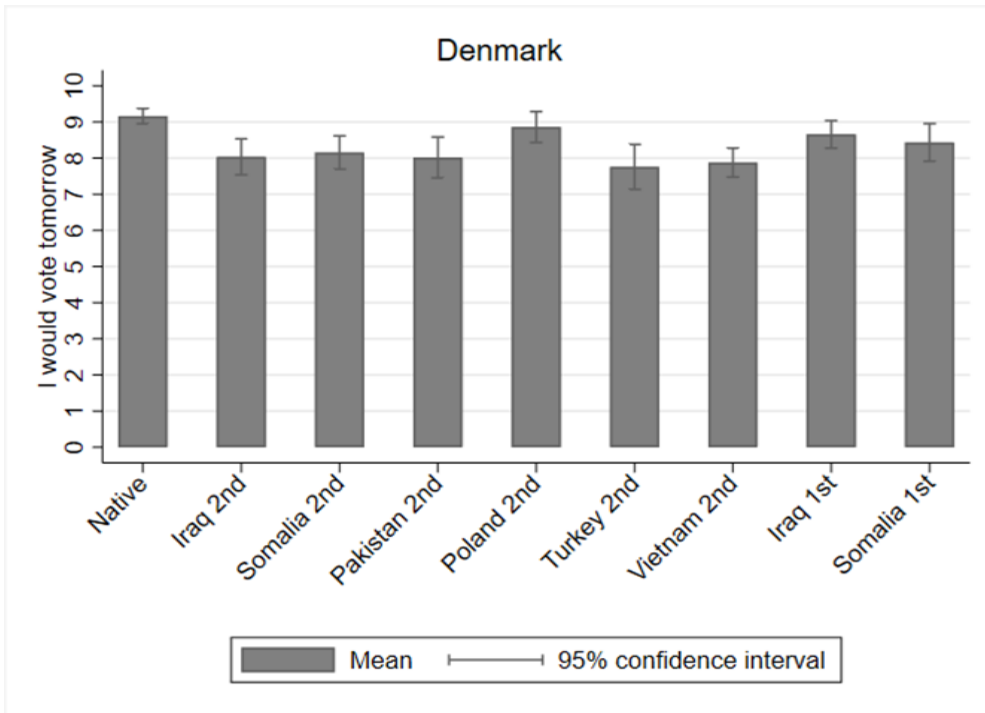


Figure 105

All the subgroups in the Swedish sample (Figure 106) display a very strong willingness to vote in parliamentary elections, with little difference between the subgroups. Native majority Swedes are significantly more willing to participate in parliamentary elections than both immigrant subgroups (Iraqi and Somali), and of most subgroups of descendants of immigrants, except for descendants of Pakistani and of Turkish immigrants.

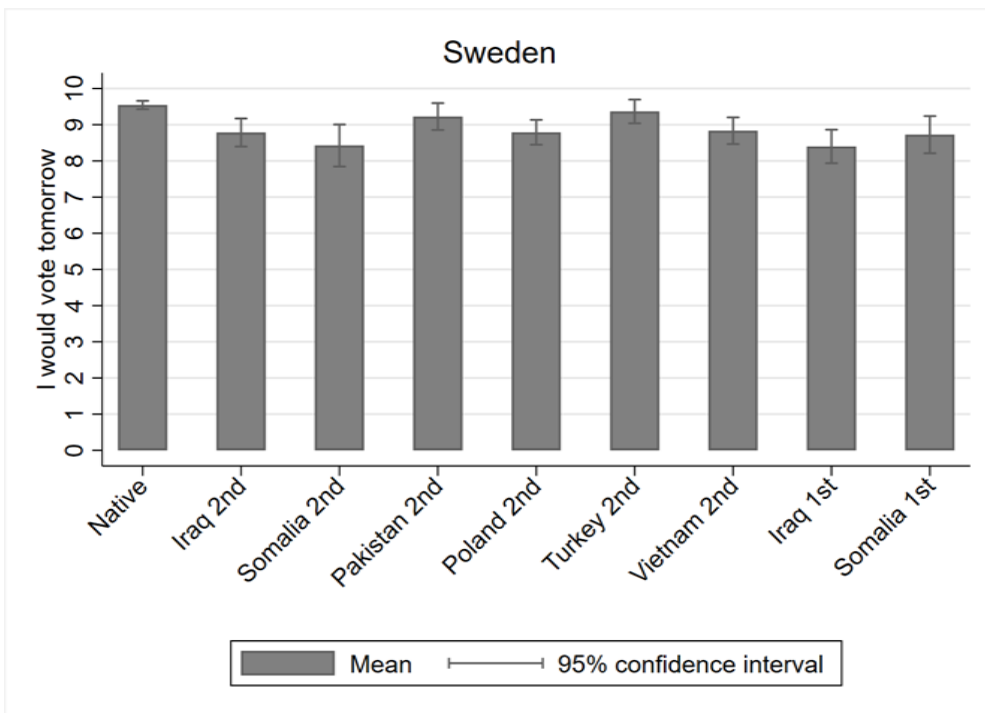


Figure 106

### 7.1.2. I am a member of a hobby or sport club

Figure 107 shows the percentage of respondents who are members of a hobby or sport club in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Both native majorities and minorities in the three countries are mostly not members of a hobby or sport club. In each country, native majorities are more involved in hobby or sport clubs than minorities. Among the minority groups, minorities in Denmark are more involved than in Norway or Sweden.

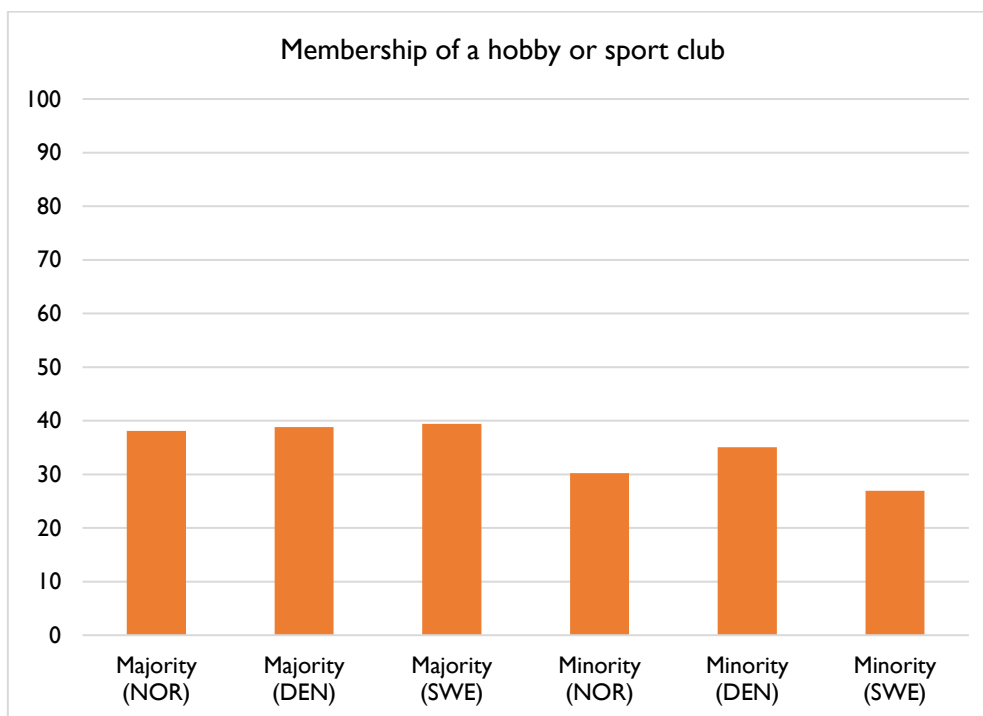


Figure 107

Figure 108 displays the results from the Norwegian sample: the majority of respondents in each subgroup is not a member of a hobby or sport club. All the minority subgroups in the Norwegian sample are less involved in hobby or sport clubs than native majority Norwegians. Among the minority subgroups, membership is lowest among Pakistani immigrants and highest among descendants of Turkish immigrants. The immigrants' subgroups have a lower membership rate than the descendants of immigrants' subgroups from the same country.



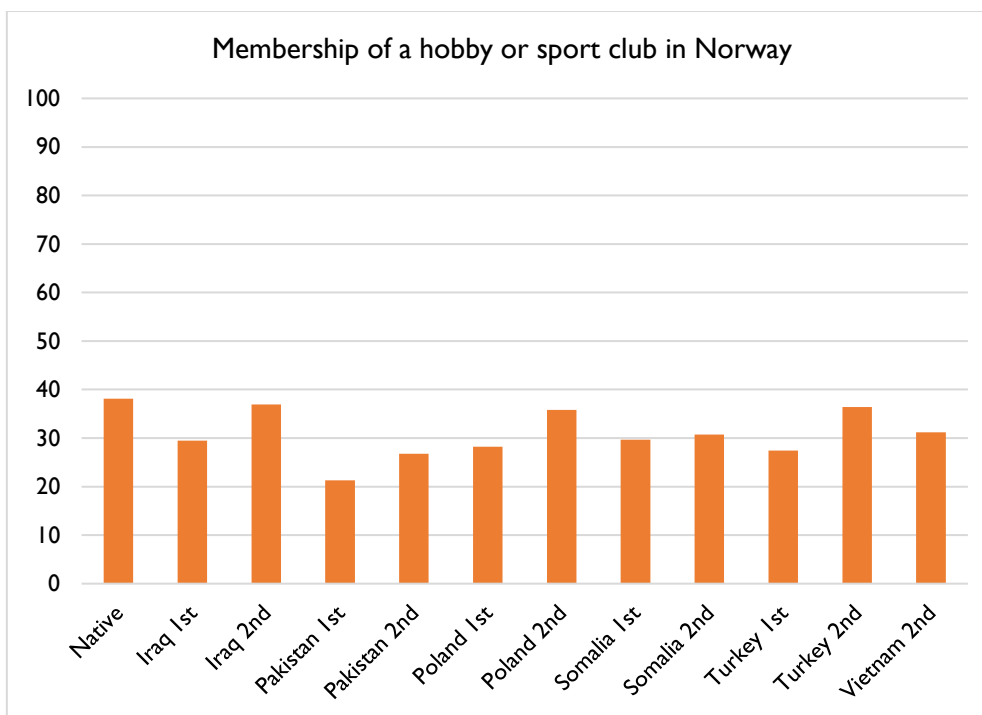


Figure 108

Respondents in the Danish sample (Figure 109) are slightly more involved in hobby or sport clubs than in the Norwegian sample. Both Somali immigrants and descendants of Somali immigrants have a higher rate of membership in hobby or sport clubs than native majority Danes and any other subgroup. Involvement in hobby or sport clubs is lowest among Iraqi immigrants.

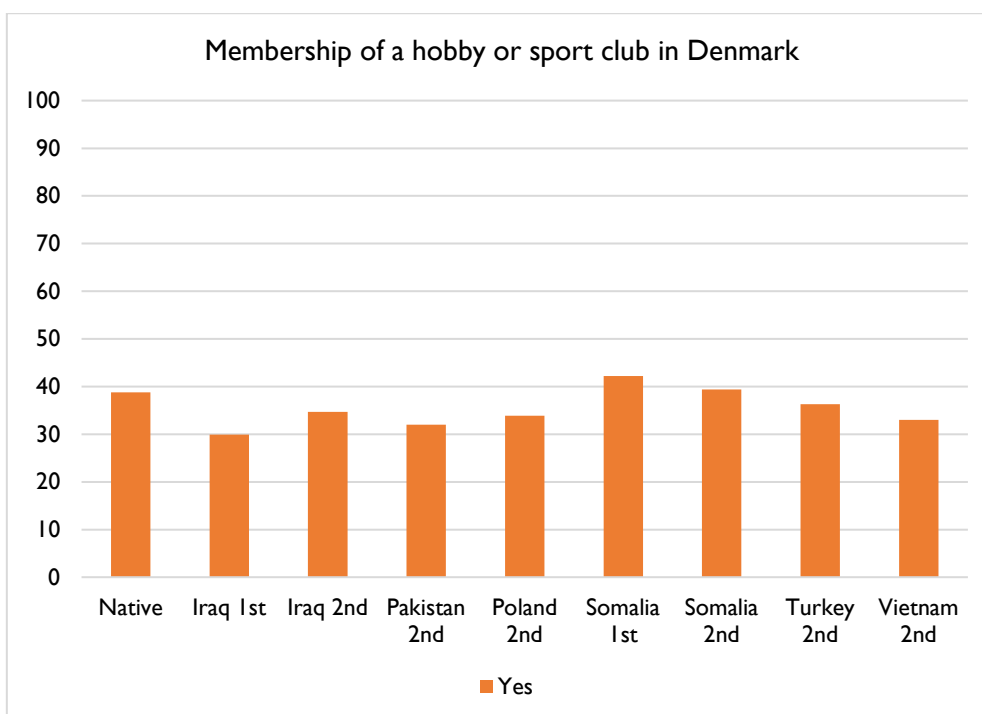


Figure 109

Participation in hobby and sport clubs in Sweden is generally low, as shown in Figure 110. All minority subgroups are less involved than native majority Swedes. Among minority subgroups, the lowest rate of

membership in hobby or sport clubs is among Iraqi immigrants, while the highest is among descendants of Somali immigrants.

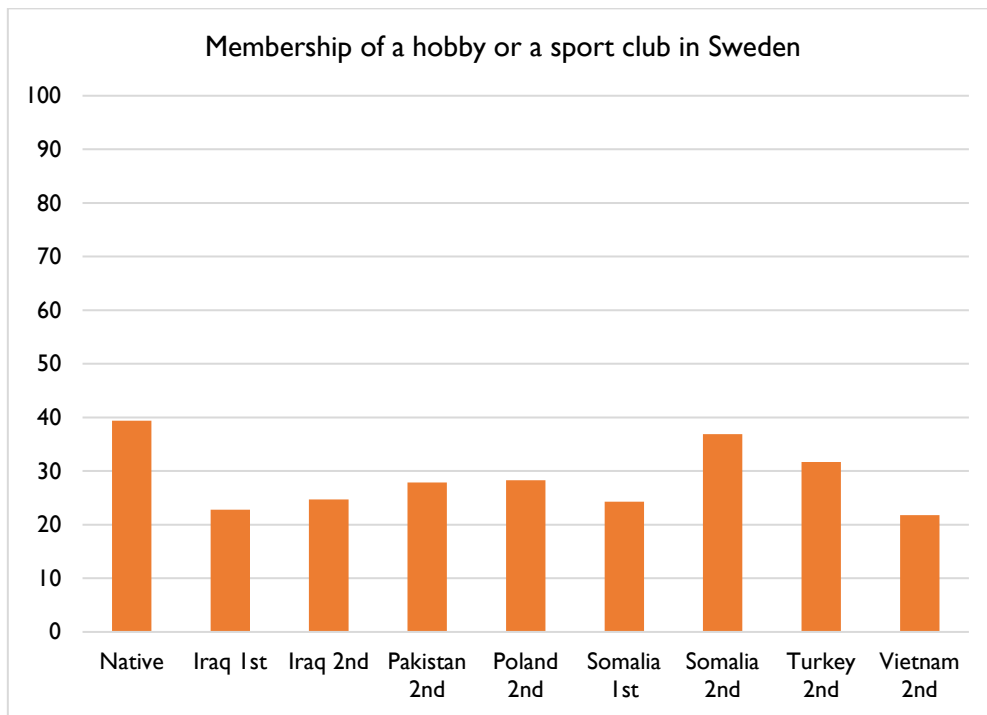


Figure 110

### 7.1.3. I am a member of a religious organisation

Figure 111 shows the percentage of respondents who are members of a religious organisation or congregation in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Membership of religious groups or congregations is low in all countries and across all groups. Minorities are slightly more involved in religious groups and congregations than native majority groups.

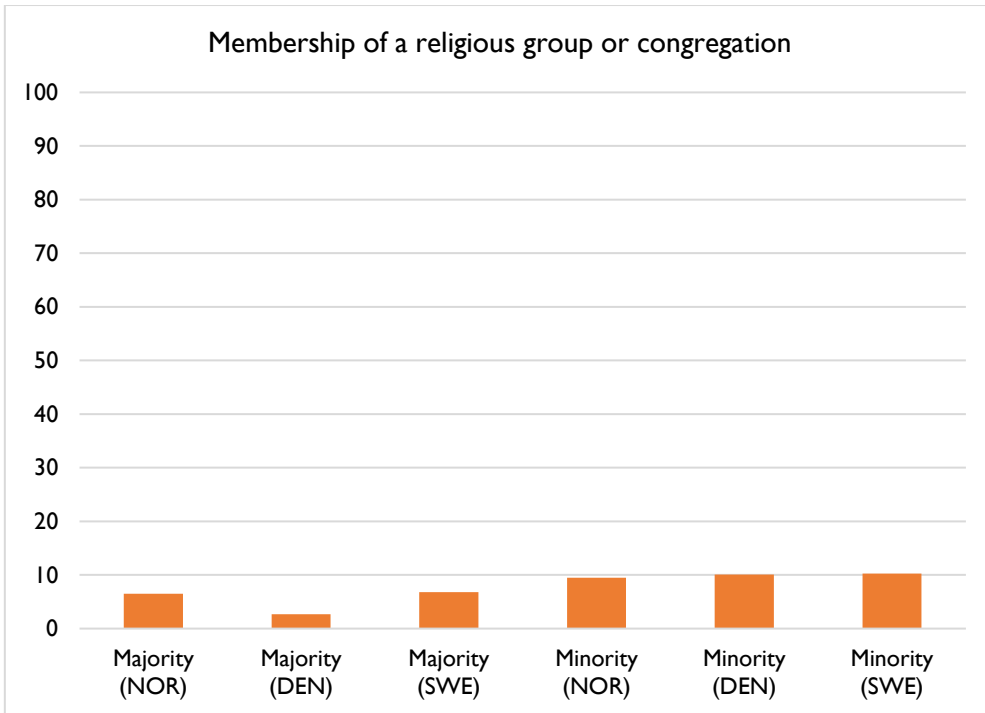


Figure 111

Membership of religious groups or congregations in Norway is low, as displayed in Figure 112. Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Iraqi and Polish immigrants are less involved in religious groups than native majority Norwegians. Nearly a fifth of the respondents among descendants of Pakistani immigrants are involved in a religious group or congregation. More than 10% of respondents among Pakistani immigrants and descendants of Somali and Turkish immigrants are members of a religious group or congregation.

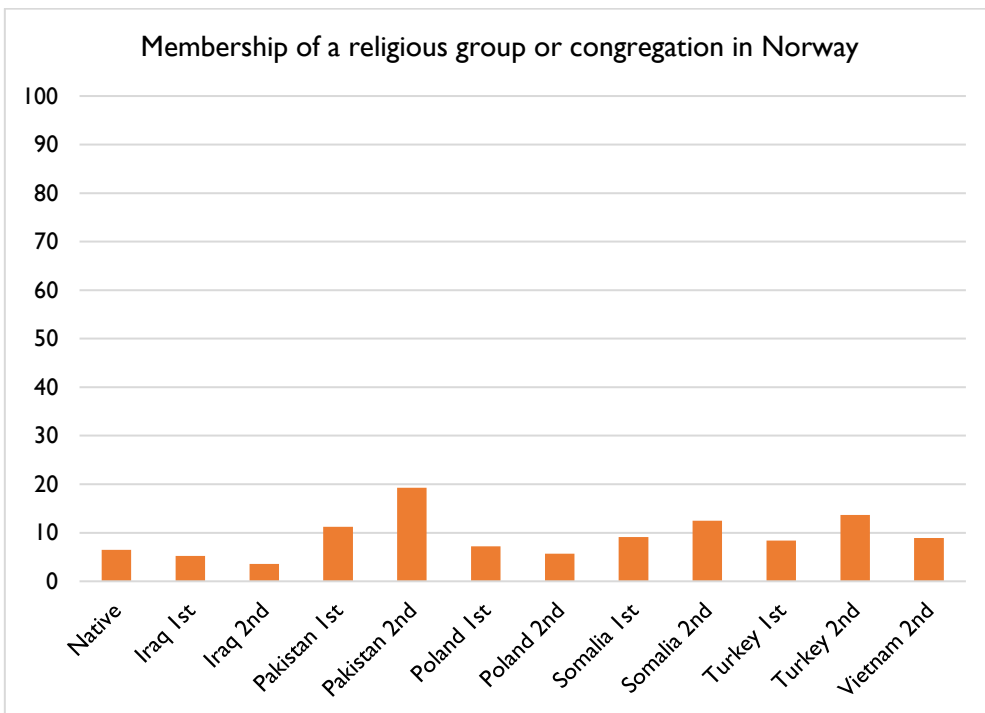


Figure 112

Membership of religious groups or congregations in Denmark is low, as Figure 113 shows. Native majority Danes have the lowest level of involvement of all groups. Similarly to Norway, about a fifth of the respondents among descendants of Pakistani immigrants are involved in religious groups or congregations, as are more than 10% of respondents among descendants of Somali immigrants.

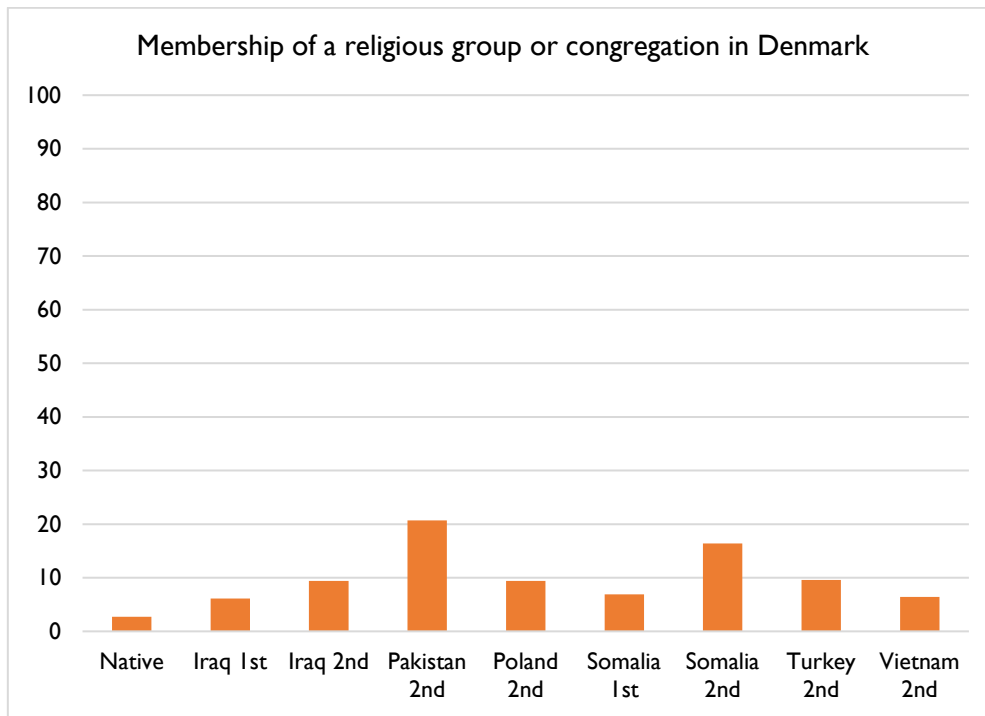


Figure 113

Membership of religious groups or congregations is low also in Sweden (Figure 114). Only descendants of Vietnamese immigrants are less involved than native majority Swedes. Similar to Norway and Denmark, about a fifth of the respondents among the descendants of Pakistani immigrants are members of a religious group or congregation. Similar to Norway, membership of religious groups or associations is above 10% among descendants of Somali and of Turkish immigrants.

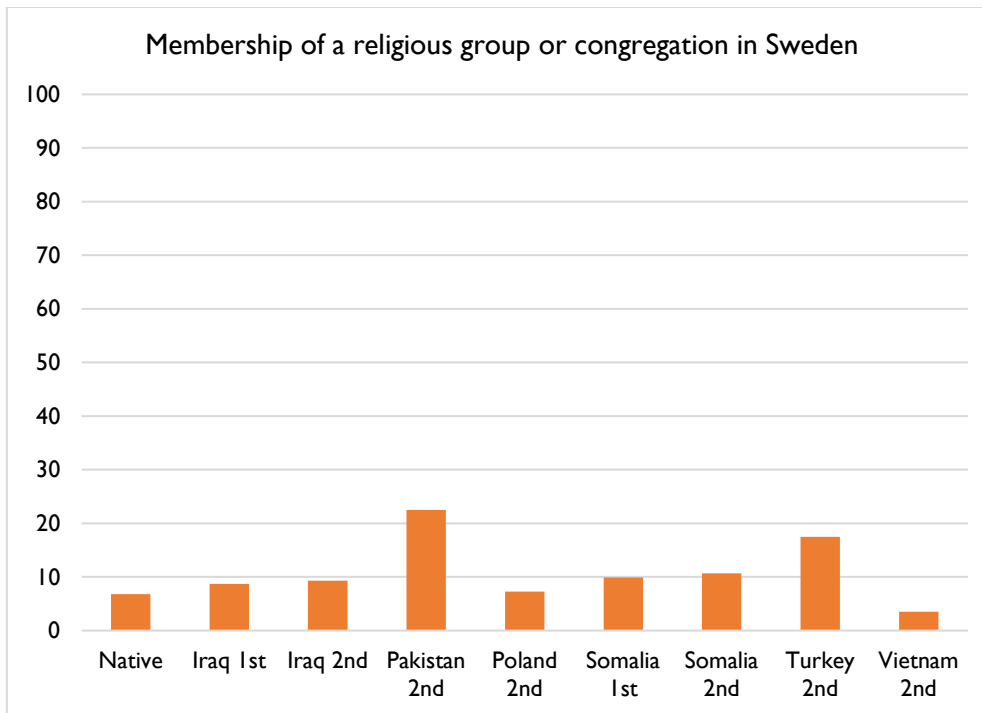


Figure 114

#### 7.1.4. I am a member of a political party

Figure 115 shows the percentage of respondents who are members of political parties in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Membership of political parties is below 10% among both native majorities and minorities in each country. Norway has the lowest rate of respondents who are members of political parties, both among the native majority and the minority groups. Native majority Swedes have the highest membership of political parties among all groups.

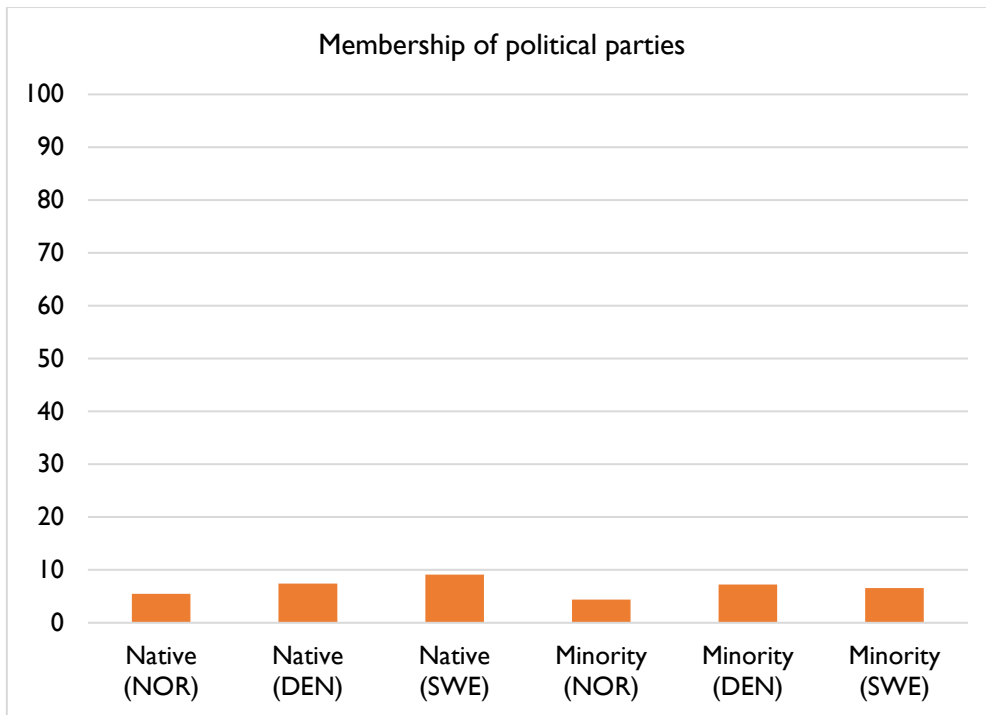


Figure 115

Less than 10% of respondents in each of the Norwegian sample's subgroups are members of political parties (Figure 116). Only descendants of Iraqi, Polish, and Somali immigrants have a slightly higher rate of involvement in political parties than native majority Norwegians. Membership of political parties is lowest among Somali immigrants and highest among descendants of Somali immigrants.

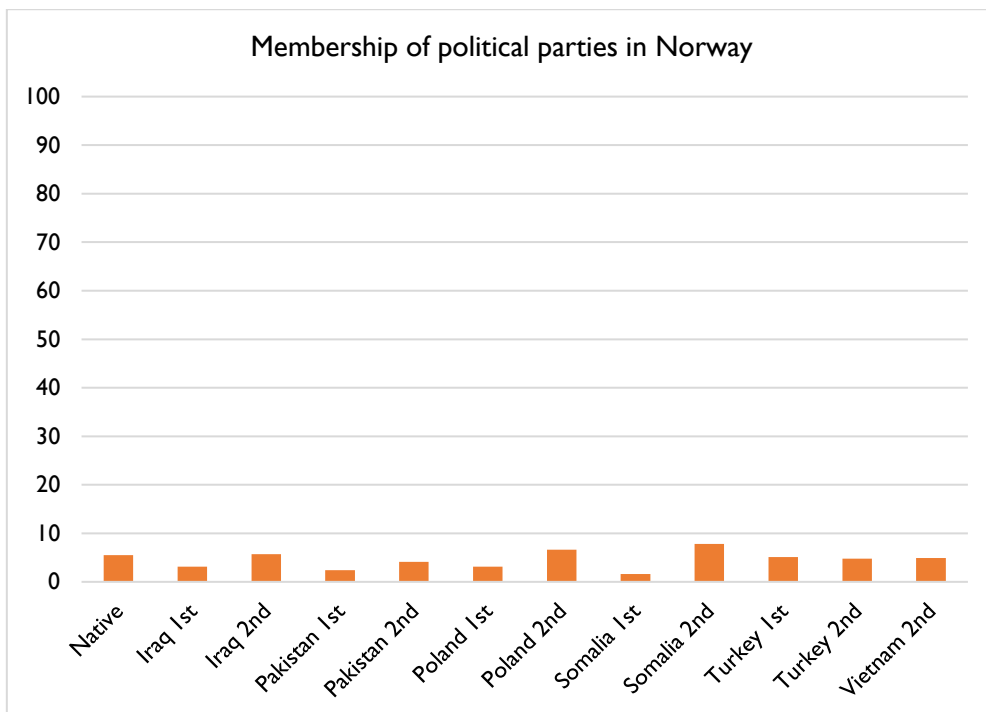


Figure 116

Membership of political parties in Denmark is generally higher than in Norway, as shown in Figure 117. Membership among Somali immigrants and descendants of Somali immigrants is above 10% in both cases. This is higher than membership among native majority Danes. Membership of political parties

among descendants of Turkish immigrants is also higher than that of native majority Danes. The lowest rate of political party membership is to be found among Iraqi immigrants.

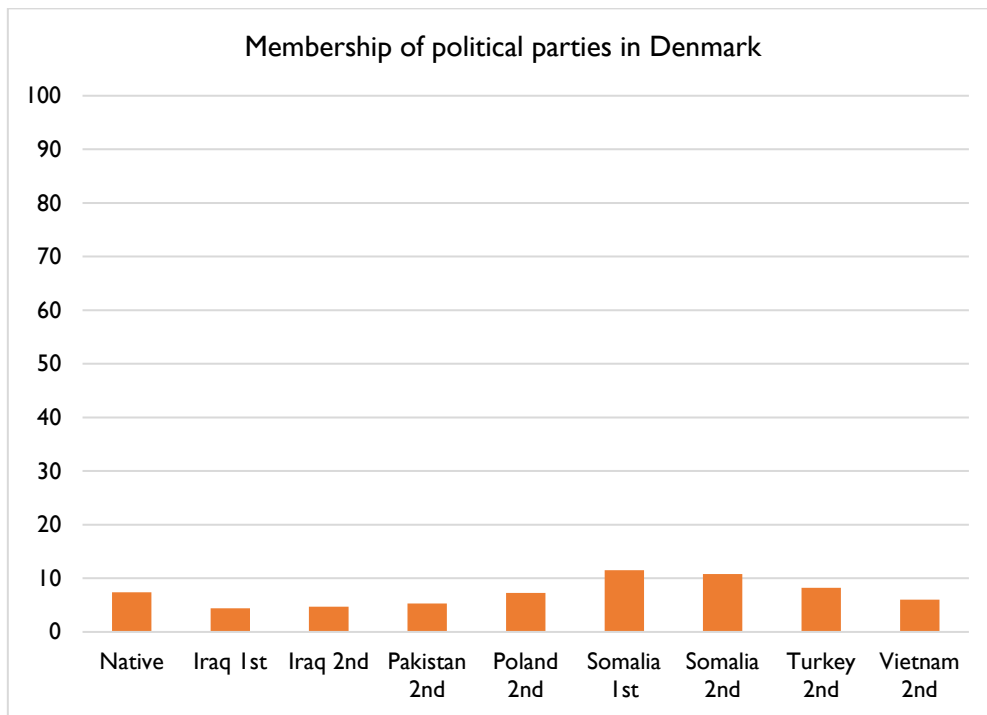


Figure 117

Membership of political parties in Sweden (Figure 118) is comparable to that of Denmark. As in Norway and Denmark, descendants of Somali immigrants are the subgroup that displays the highest rate of political party membership, at above 10%. This is the only subgroup that has a higher rate of participation than native majority Swedes. Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Vietnamese immigrants in Sweden are the subgroups with the lowest level of political party membership among all subgroups in the three countries. Differences between the other subgroups in the Swedish sample are minimal.

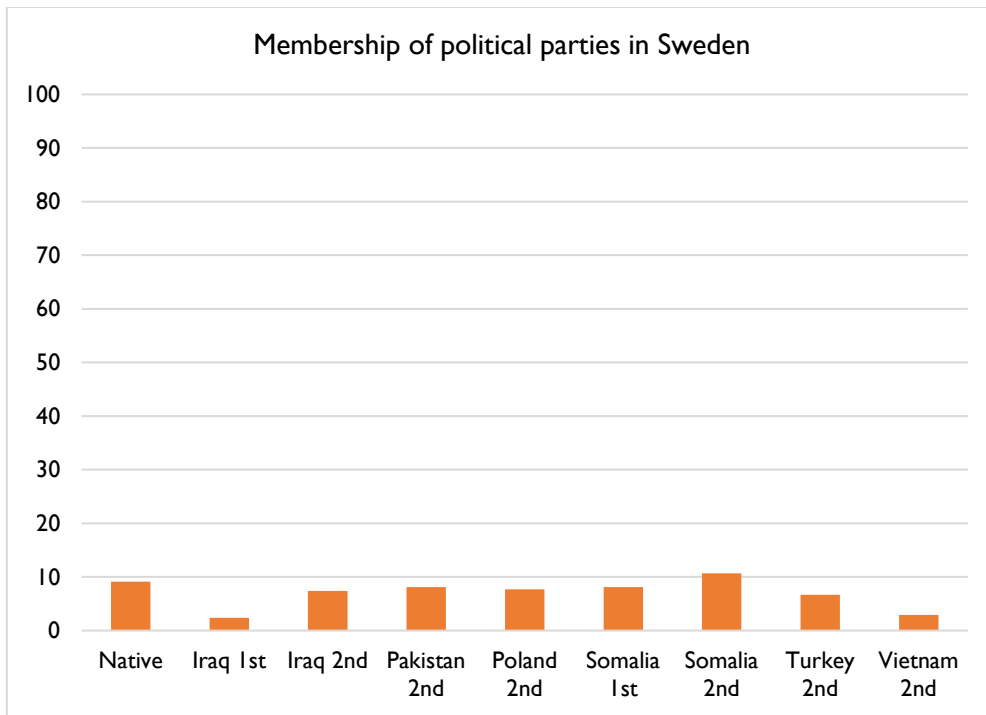


Figure 118

#### 7.1.5. I am a member of a cultural or ethnic association

Figure 119 shows the percentage of respondents who are members of cultural or ethnic associations in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Membership is low among all groups in each of the three countries. It is higher among minority groups than among native majorities: minority groups in Denmark display the highest level of participation in cultural or ethnic associations.

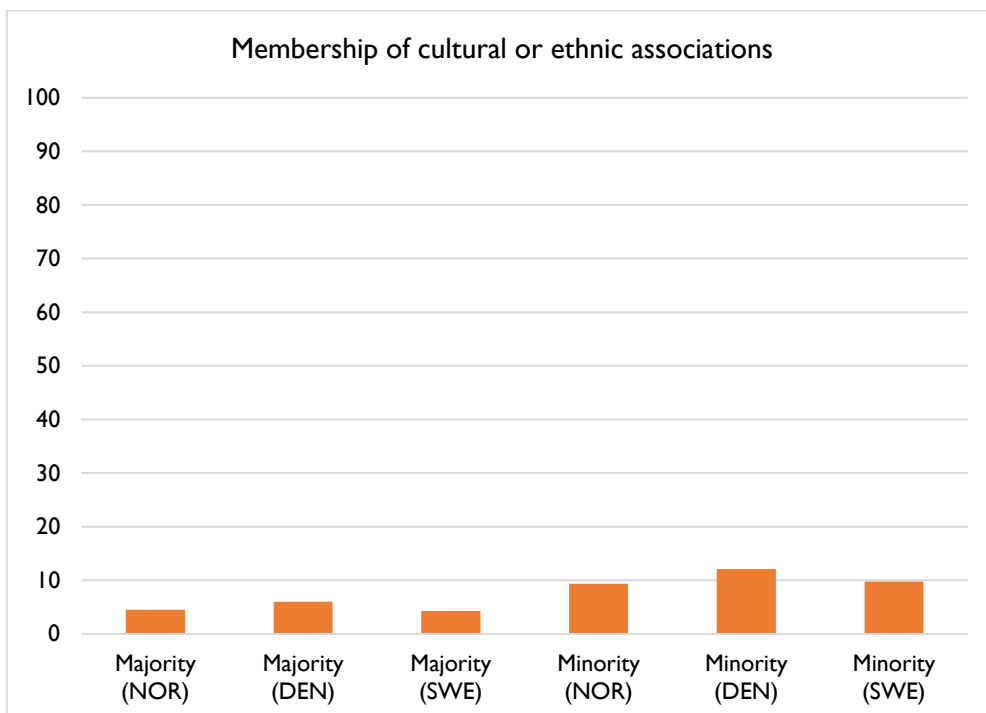


Figure 119



Membership of cultural or ethnic organisations in Norway is relatively low, as displayed in Figure 120. Native majority Norwegians show the lowest involvement of all subgroups, after Polish immigrants. The highest level of involvement is to be found among Turkish immigrants and descendants of Turkish immigrants. The level of membership among descendants of Pakistani and of Somali immigrants is also above 10%. All descendants of immigrants' groups have a higher membership than immigrants' groups from the same country, with the exception of Turkish immigrants, who are more involved in cultural or ethnic organisations than descendants of Turkish immigrants.

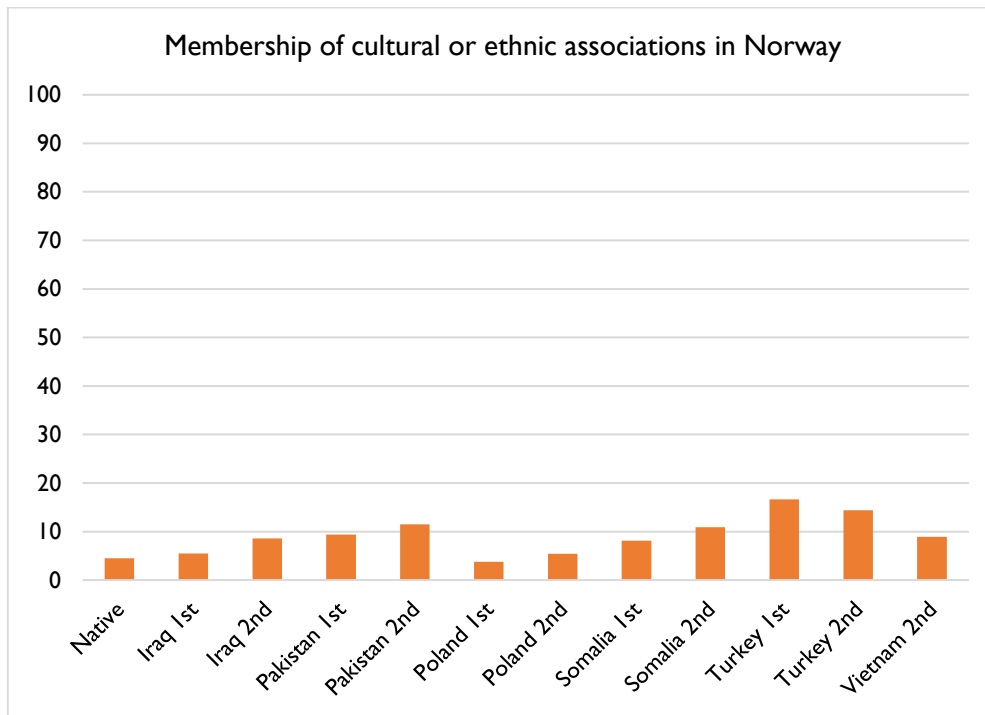


Figure 120

As in the case of Norway, in the Danish sample (Figure 121) native majority Danes show the lowest involvement in cultural or ethnic associations of all subgroups: only descendants of Polish immigrants are less involved than native majority Danes. Around a fifth of the respondents in the descendants of Somali immigrants' and of Turkish immigrants' subgroups are members of cultural or ethnic associations.

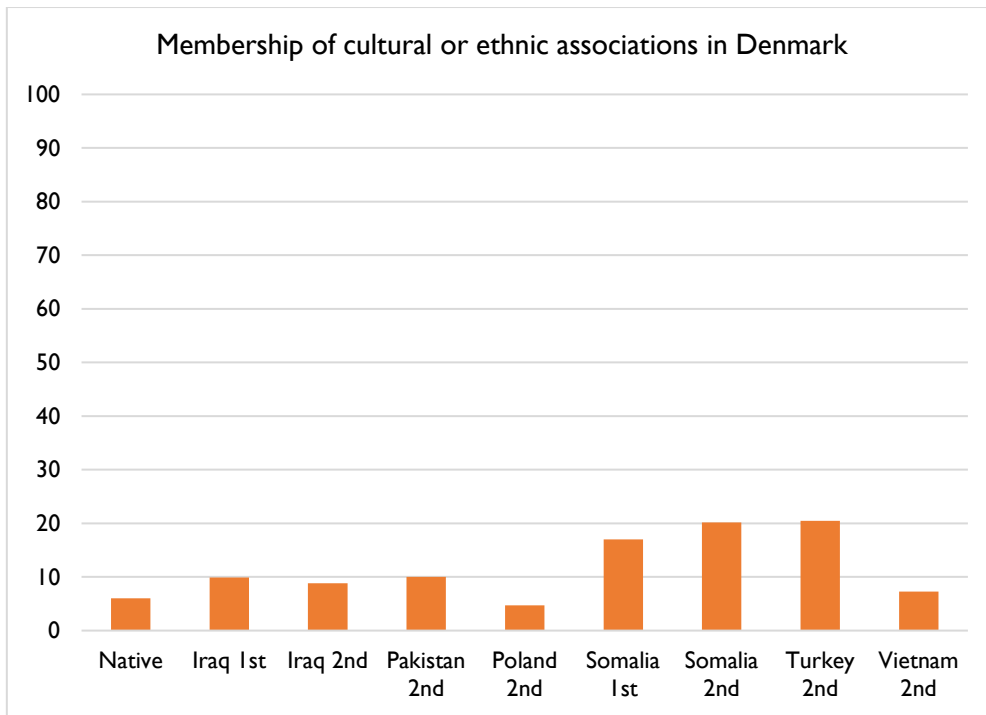


Figure 121

As shown in Figure 122, membership of cultural or ethnic associations in Sweden is lower than in Norway and Denmark. Apart from descendants of Vietnamese immigrants, native majority Swedes have the lowest level of membership of cultural or ethnic associations. Somali immigrants show the highest level of involvement. Membership of cultural or ethnic associations is above 10% among descendants of Turkish, Somali, and Polish immigrants. There is little difference among the other groups.

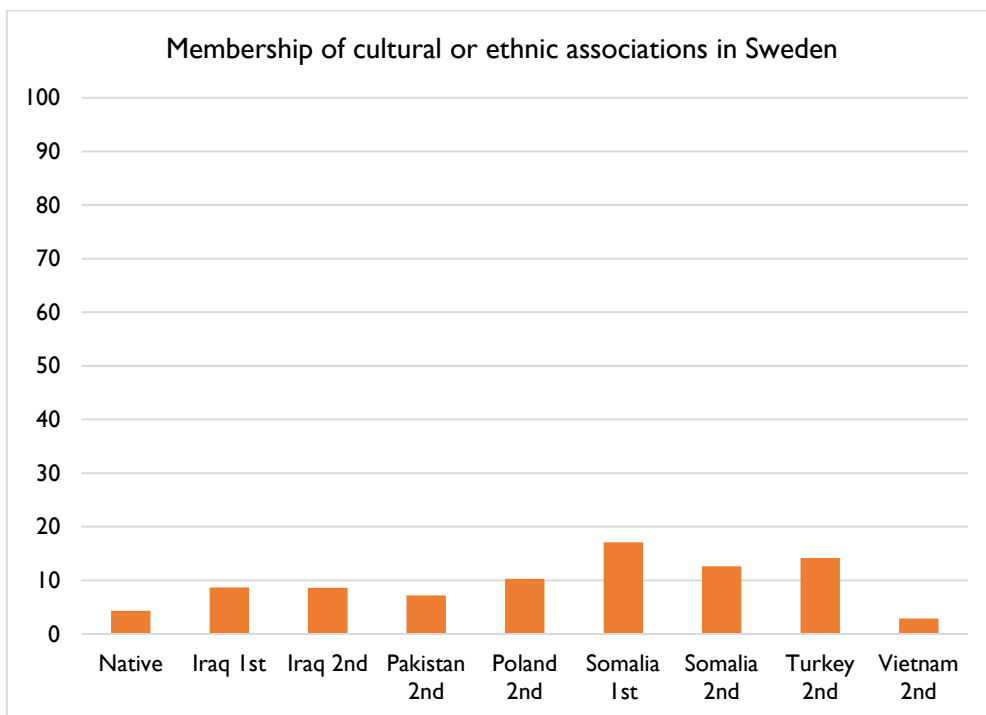


Figure 122

### 7.1.6. I am a member of an aid organisation or charity

Figure 123 shows the percentage of respondents who are members of aid organisations or charities in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Membership is generally low among all groups in the three countries. Minority groups in Denmark and Sweden display a higher level of involvement than any of the other groups.

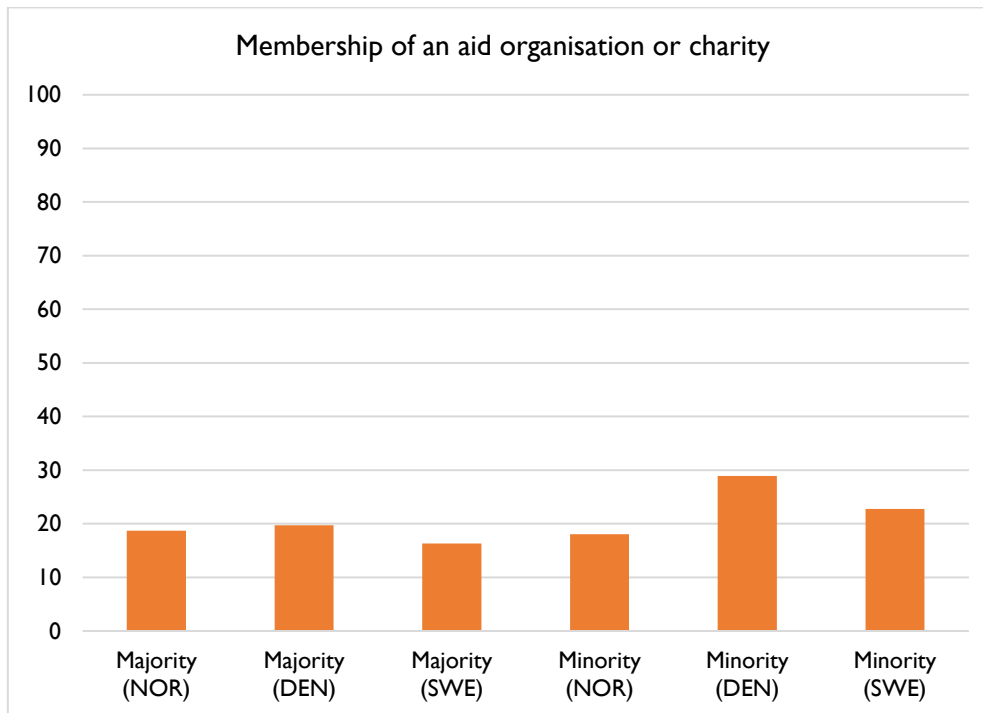


Figure 123

Figure 124 shows the findings of the Norwegian sample. Descendants of immigrants are more involved in aid organisations and charities than immigrants from the same country, and all display a higher level of participation than native majority Norwegians. Despite being less involved than the descendants of Somali immigrants, Somali immigrants have a higher level of membership of aid organisations and charities than native majority Norwegians.

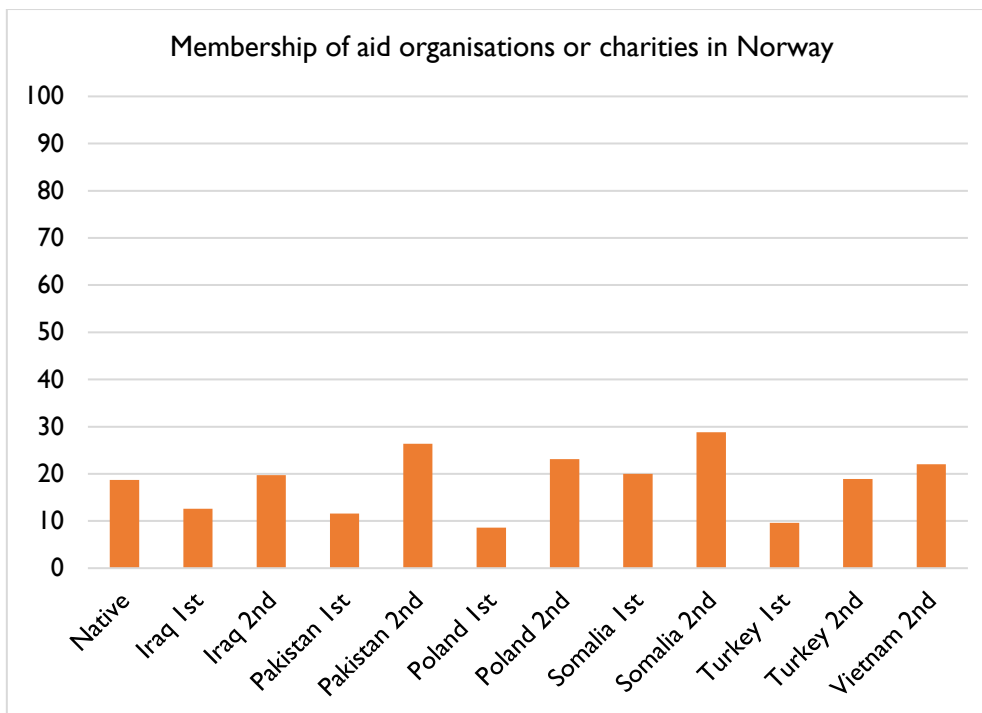


Figure 124

Respondents in the Danish sample (Figure 125) are more involved in aid organisations and charities than respondents in the Norwegian and Swedish samples. In particular, nearly half of the respondents among the descendants of Somali immigrants are members of an aid organisation or charity. The lowest rate of participation in aid organisations and charities is found among descendants of Vietnamese immigrants, Iraqi immigrants and native majority Danes. Membership of aid organisations and charities is over 30% among descendants of Turkish, Pakistani, and Iraqi immigrants.

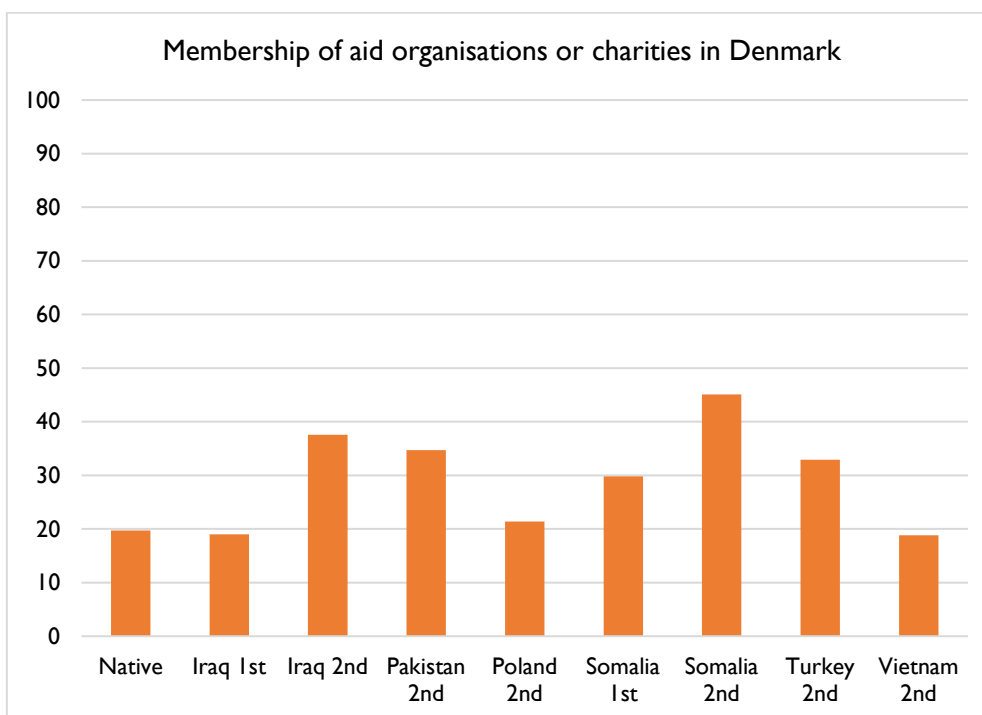


Figure 125

Membership of aid organisations and charities in Sweden is generally lower than in Denmark, in line with the Norwegian sample, as shown in Figure 126. As in the case of Denmark, two of the groups that have the lowest rate of membership of aid organisations or charities are Iraqi immigrants and native majority Swedes. Descendants of Pakistani immigrants have the highest level of membership at over 30%, followed by descendants of Somali and Iraqi immigrants. More than a fifth of the respondents among Somali immigrants and descendants of Vietnamese and Turkish immigrants is a member of an aid organisation or charity.

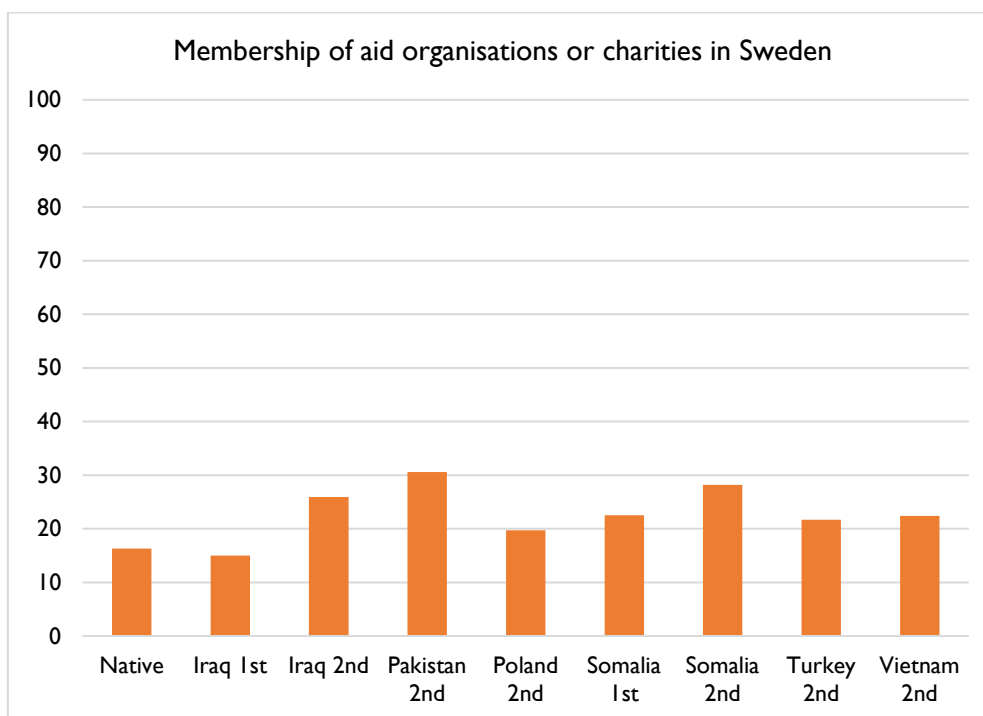


Figure 126

### 7.1.7. Participation in an organisation

In this subsection, the six categories of active participation (willingness to vote in legislative elections; membership of a hobby or sport club; membership of a religious organisation; membership of a political party; membership of a cultural or ethnic association; membership of an aid organisation or charity) are collapsed into one measure. Respondents have been given the value 0 if they do not participate in any of the above activities. Respondents who participate in one or more of the above activities are given the value 1. The measure therefore shows the proportion of respondents within each group who actively participate in one or more of the above-mentioned activities.

As shown in Figure 127, the only substantial difference in active participation is between minorities in Denmark and minorities in Sweden and Norway: in fact, minorities in Denmark are generally more involved than in the other countries. Minorities in Norway participate in organisations significantly less than native majority Norwegians.

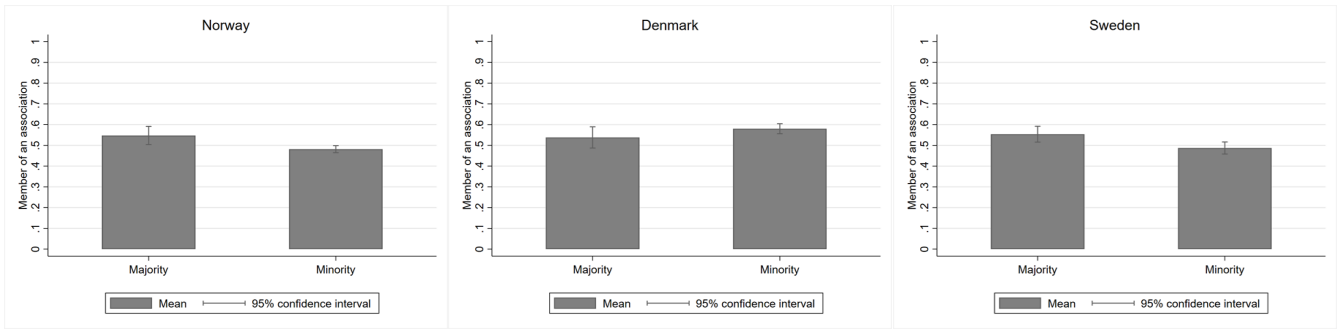


Figure 127

Figure 128 presents the results from the Norwegian sample. Only Iraqi, Pakistani and Polish immigrants participate significantly less than native majority Norwegians: the three subgroups participate also significantly less than descendants of Iraqi, Pakistani and Polish immigrants. With the exception of Somali and Turkish immigrants, the remaining immigrant subgroups tend to participate less than the descendants of immigrants.

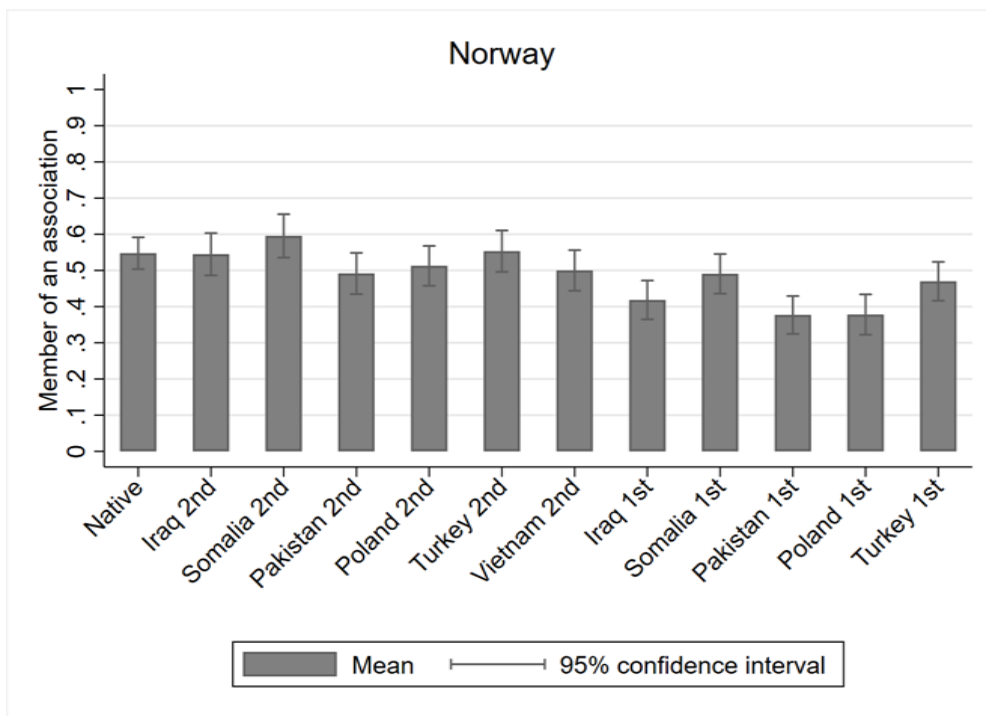


Figure 128

Figure 129 presents the results from the Danish sample. Both Somali immigrants and descendants of Somali immigrants participate significantly more than native majority Danes. As in the case of Norway, descendants of Iraqi immigrants are significantly more involved than Iraqi immigrants. There is otherwise no remarkable difference between subgroups in Denmark.

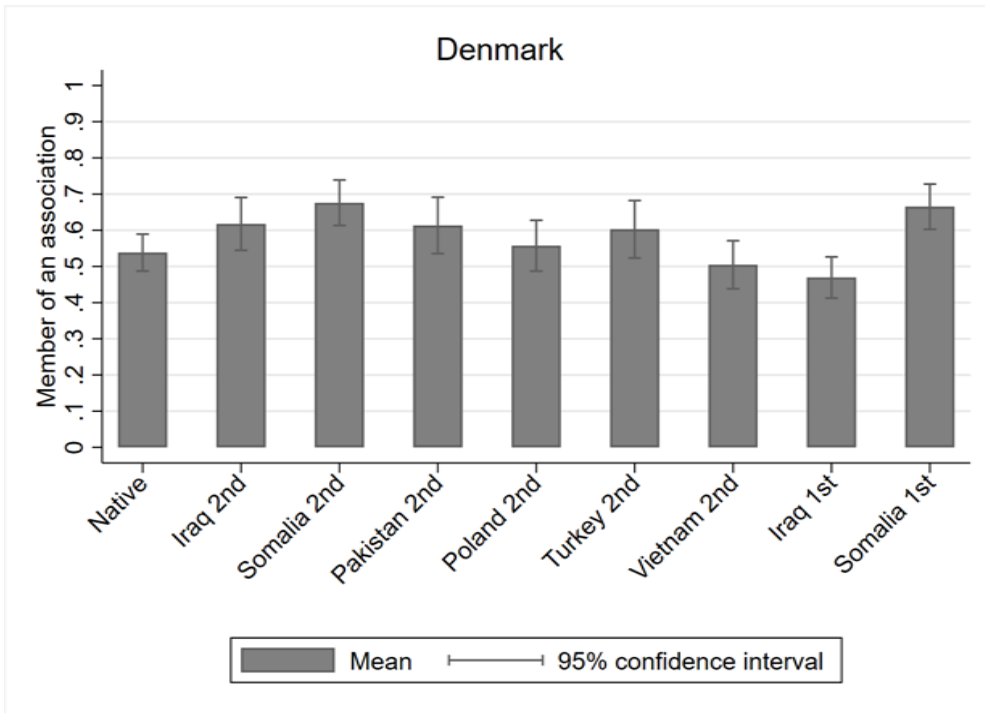


Figure 129

In Sweden (Figure 130), only Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Vietnamese immigrants are significantly less involved than native majority Swedes. As in the case of Norway, immigrants tend to participate slightly less than the descendants of immigrants. There is no substantial difference between the other subgroups.

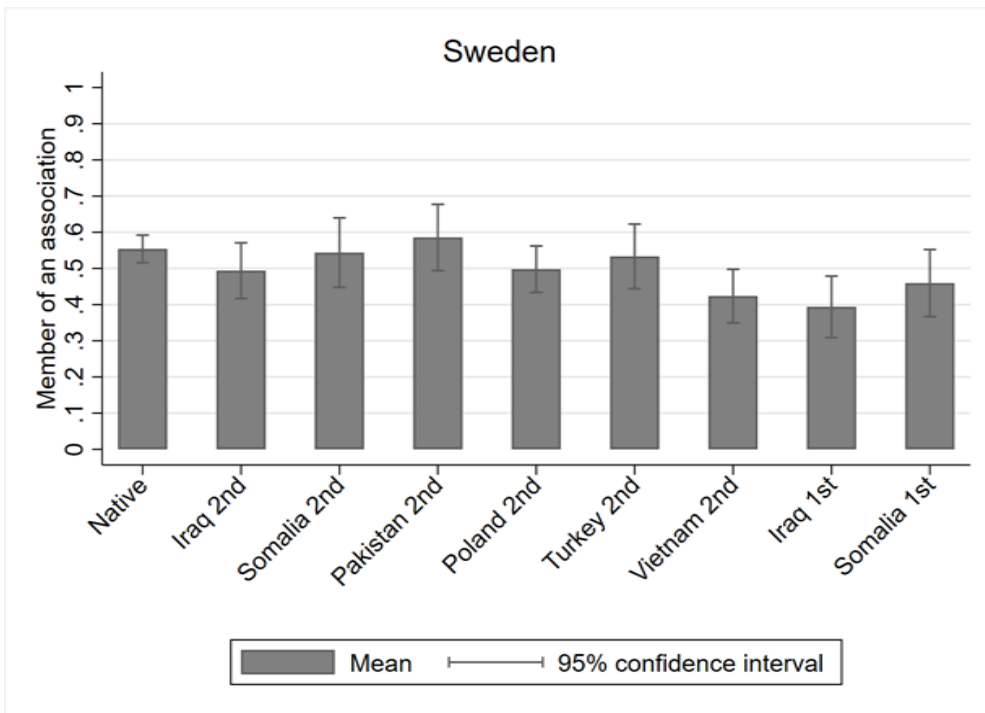


Figure 130

## 7.2. Obligations to participate

The second section of Chapter 7 presents the respondents' opinions on obligations to participate in the public life of their countries of residence. The section is divided into three subsections, one per obligation: to vote; to work and pay taxes; and to volunteer. The results are presented in graphs showing the means and their 95%-confidence intervals.

### 7.2.1. Obligation to vote

The first subsection shows the respondents' attitudes towards the obligation to vote in their countries of residence. Respondents were asked to express their opinion about the obligation to vote on a scale of 0 (no obligation at all) to 10 (very obligated).

In each country, respondents feel more or less strongly obliged to vote, as shown in Figure 131. The obligation is highest in Sweden and Denmark and lowest in Norway. Minorities in Norway express a lower obligation to vote than minorities in Denmark and Sweden. Minorities in Sweden feel more obliged to vote than native majority Norwegians. Native majority Swedes feel more obliged to vote than both native majority Danes and Norwegians.

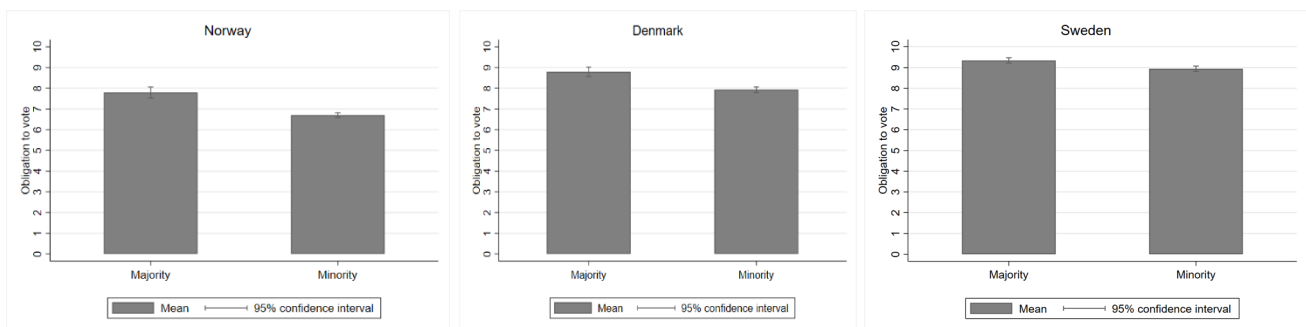


Figure 131

All the subgroups in the Norwegian sample (presented in Figure 132) feel an overall obligation to vote. All immigrant groups feel significantly less obliged to vote than native majority Norwegians, whereas there is no significant difference between native majority Norwegians and descendants of Somali, Pakistani, and Polish immigrants. Descendants of Somali immigrants show a significantly higher obligation to vote than Somali immigrants, and descendants of Iraqi and Turkish immigrants feel more obliged to vote than immigrants from the same countries. There is otherwise no substantial difference between the other subgroups.



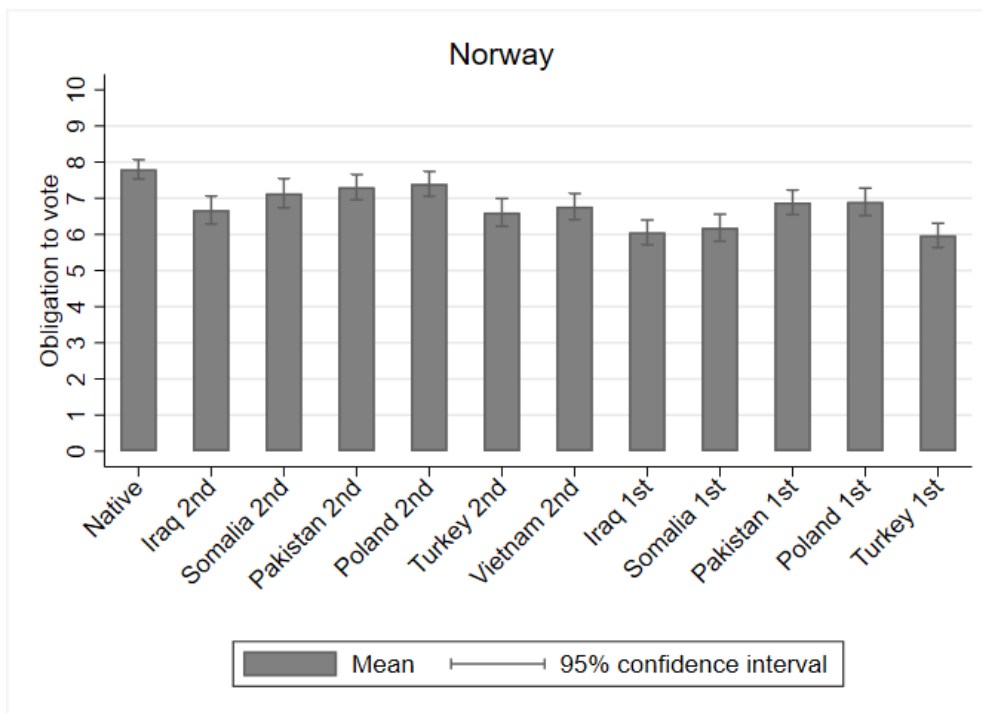


Figure 132

All subgroups in Denmark (Figure 133) display a very high obligation to vote. In particular, native majority Danes feel significantly more obliged to vote than any other subgroup. There is no significant difference between any of the other subgroups.

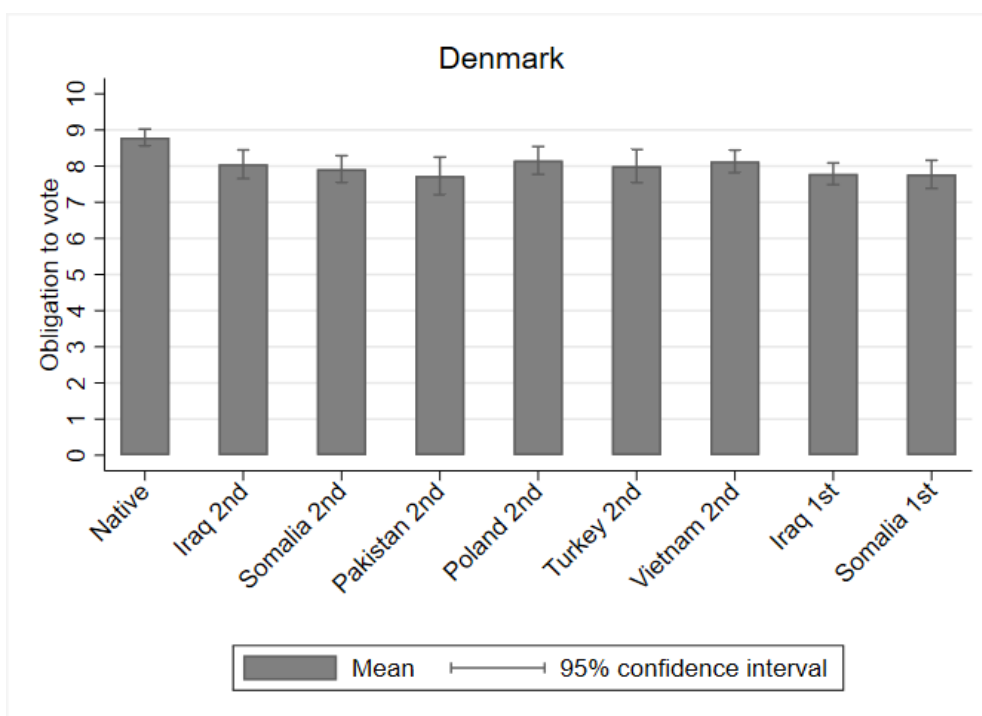


Figure 133

As in the case of Denmark, all the subgroups in the Swedish sample (Figure 134) express a very strong obligation to vote. Only Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Somali and Polish immigrants feel significantly less obliged to vote than native majority Swedes. There is no significant difference between the other subgroups.

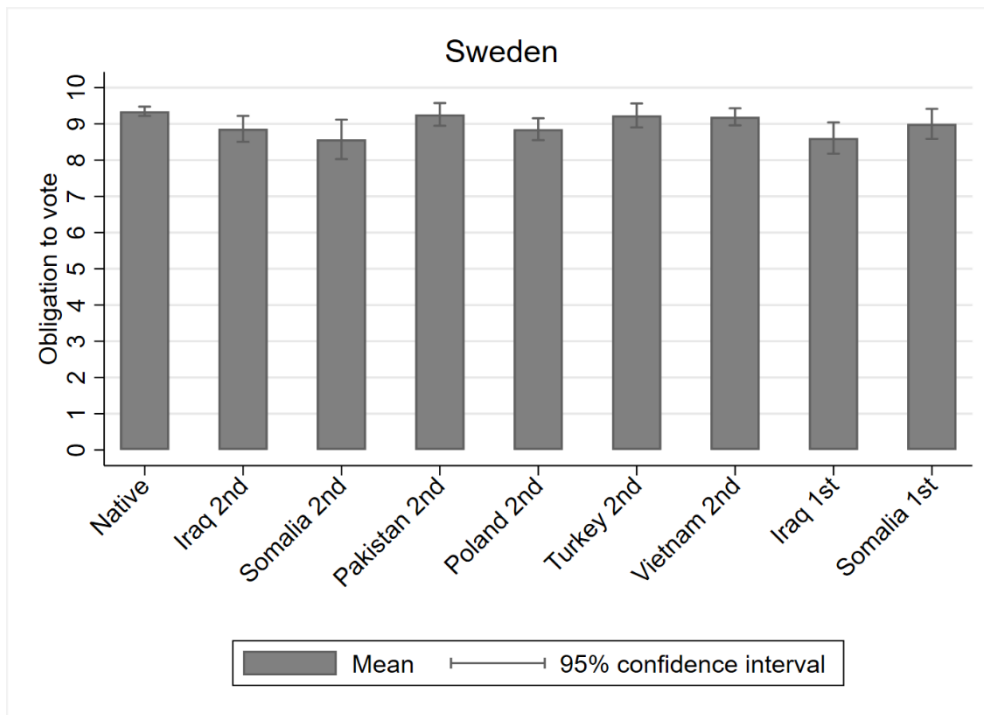


Figure 134

### 7.2.2. Obligation to work and pay taxes

The second subsection shows the respondents' attitudes towards the obligation to work and pay taxes in their countries of residence. Respondents were asked to express their opinion about the obligation to work and pay taxes on a scale of 0 (no obligation at all) to 10 (very obligated).

The obligation to work and pay taxes (Figure 135) is very high among all groups in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Native majority Norwegians feel less obliged than native majority Danes and Swedes. Minorities in Norway feel less obliged to work and pay taxes than minorities in Denmark and Sweden. Minorities in Sweden feel more obliged than any other minority group and more than native majority Norwegians.

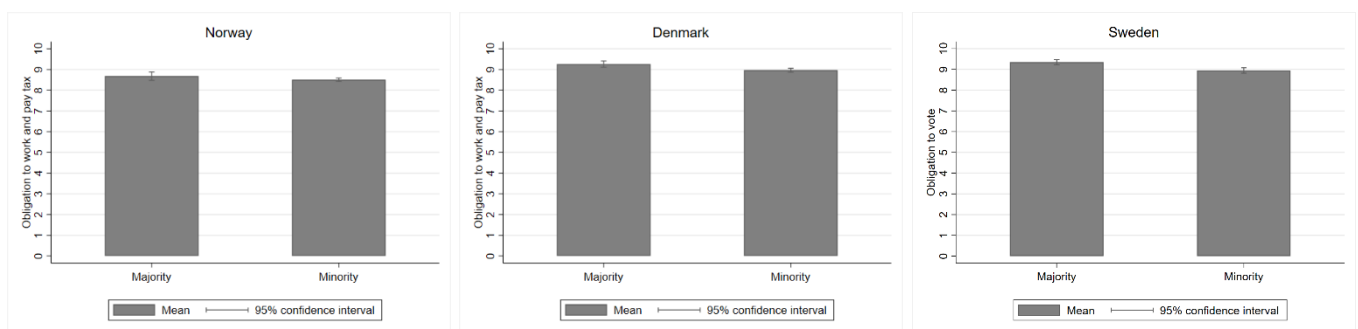


Figure 135

All the subgroups in the Norwegian sample (presented in Figure 136) feel a strong obligation to work and pay taxes. Only Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Turkish immigrants feel significantly less

obliged than native majority Norwegians. Descendants of Iraqi immigrants feel slightly more obliged to work and pay taxes than Iraqi immigrants. There is no other significant difference between subgroups.

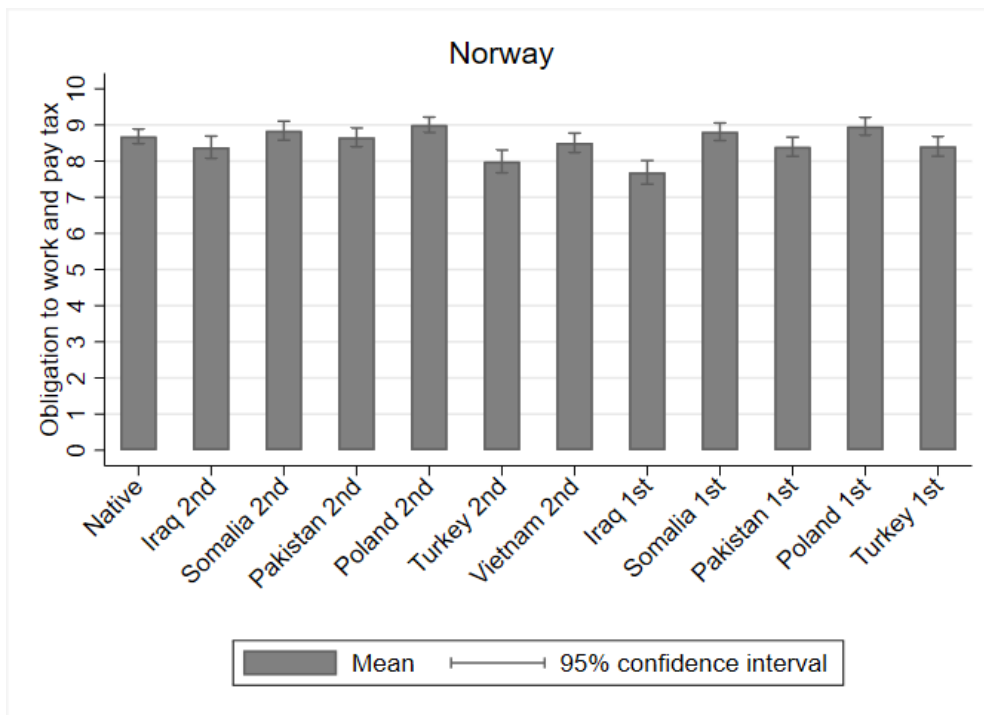


Figure 136

All the subgroups in Denmark feel equally obliged to work and pay taxes, as shown in Figure 137. Only Iraqi immigrants feel significantly less obliged to work and pay taxes than any other subgroup.

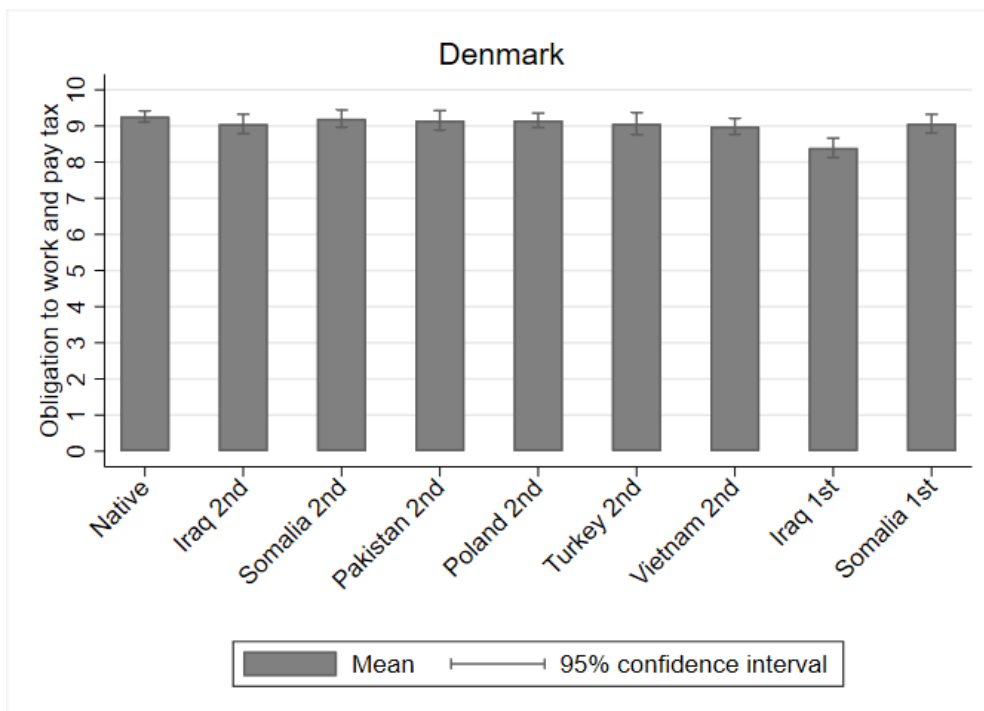


Figure 137

All the subgroups in Sweden (Figure 138) feel equally obliged to work and pay taxes, on a level comparable to the Danish sample. As noticed in Norway and Denmark, only Iraqi immigrants feel slightly but significantly less obliged to work and pay taxes than native majority Swedes.

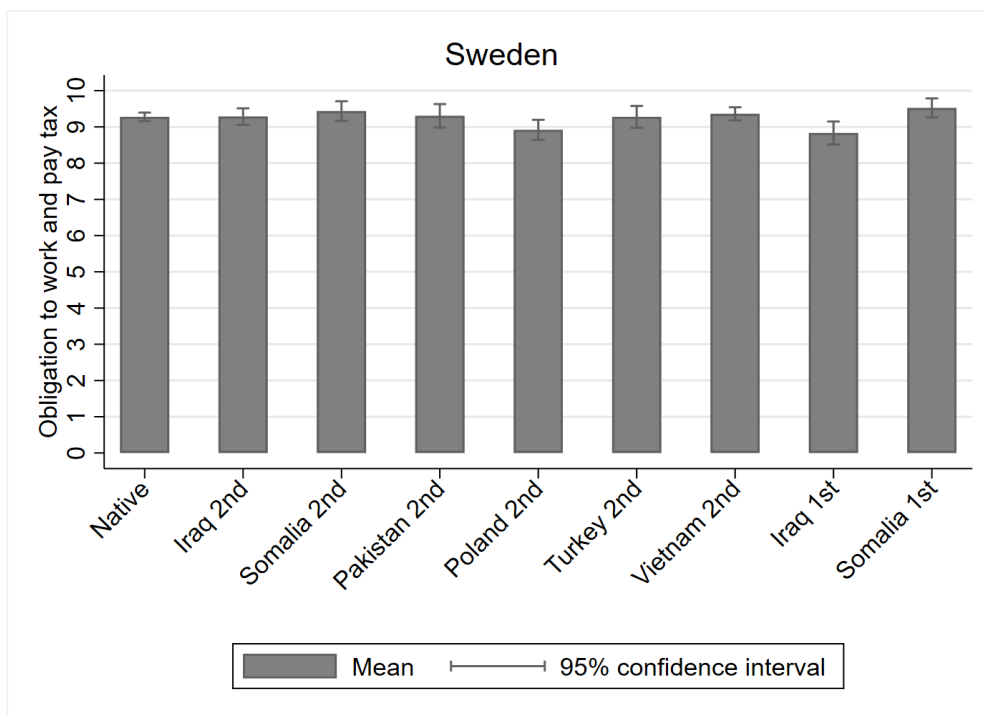


Figure 138

### 7.2.3. Obligation to volunteer

The third subsection shows the respondents' attitudes towards the obligation to volunteer in their countries of residence. Respondents were asked to express their opinion about the obligation to volunteer on a scale of 0 (no obligation at all) to 10 (very obligated).

The obligation to volunteer is considerably lower than the obligation to vote and to work and pay taxes in each of the three countries, as shown in Figure 139. Minority groups feel significantly more obliged to volunteer than the native majorities in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Obligation to volunteer is highest among minorities in Sweden and lowest among native majority Danes and Norwegians.

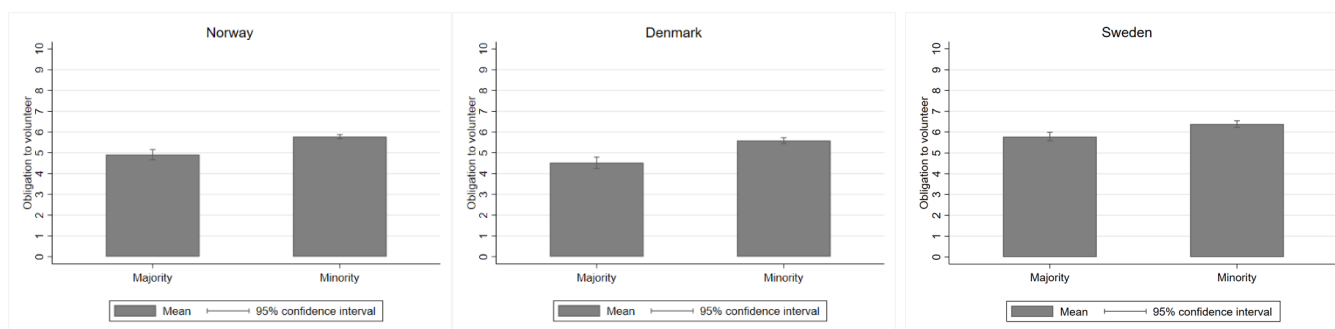


Figure 139

In the Norwegian sample (Figure 140), all the immigrant subgroups feel a significantly higher obligation to volunteer than native majority Norwegians, with the exception of Polish immigrants. Descendants of Iraqi, Pakistani, and Somali immigrants feel significantly more obliged to volunteer than native majority Norwegians do. Apart from native majority Norwegians, the subgroup that is significantly less inclined to feel an obligation to volunteer is the descendants of Vietnamese immigrants. With the exception of Polish immigrants, the remaining immigrant groups feel slightly more obliged to volunteer than the descendants of immigrants from the same countries.

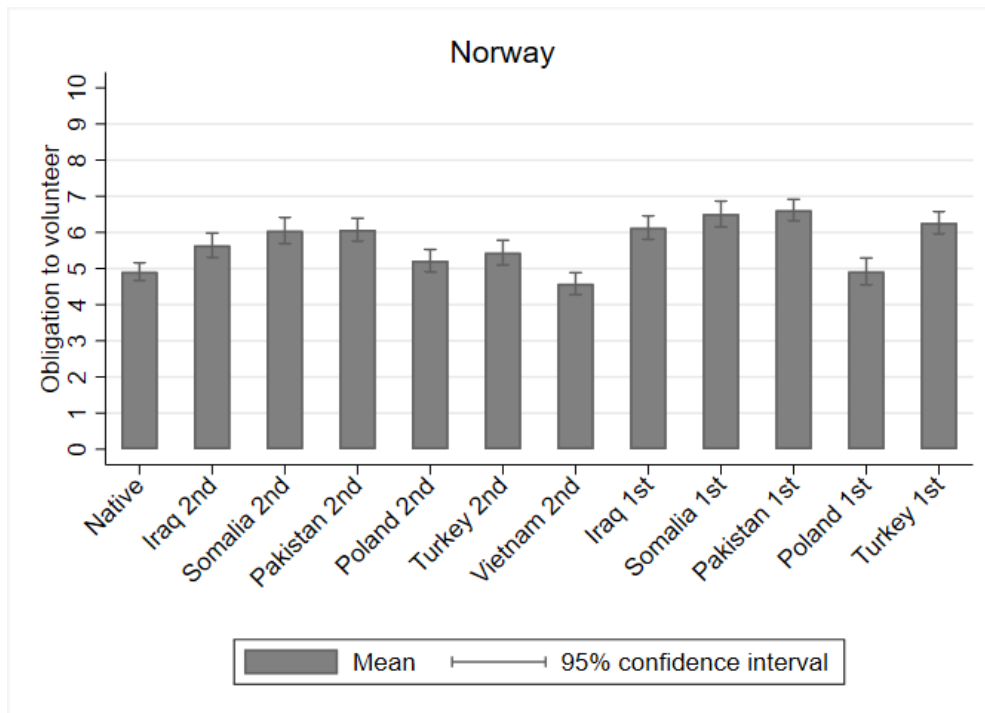


Figure 140

Figure 141 shows the results of the Danish sample. Native majority Danes are among the subgroups that feel least obliged to volunteer, with no significant difference between them and the descendants of Polish, Turkish and Vietnamese immigrants. Iraqi immigrants display a higher level of obligation than descendants of Iraqi immigrants, while there is no significant difference between Somali immigrants and descendants of Somali immigrants.

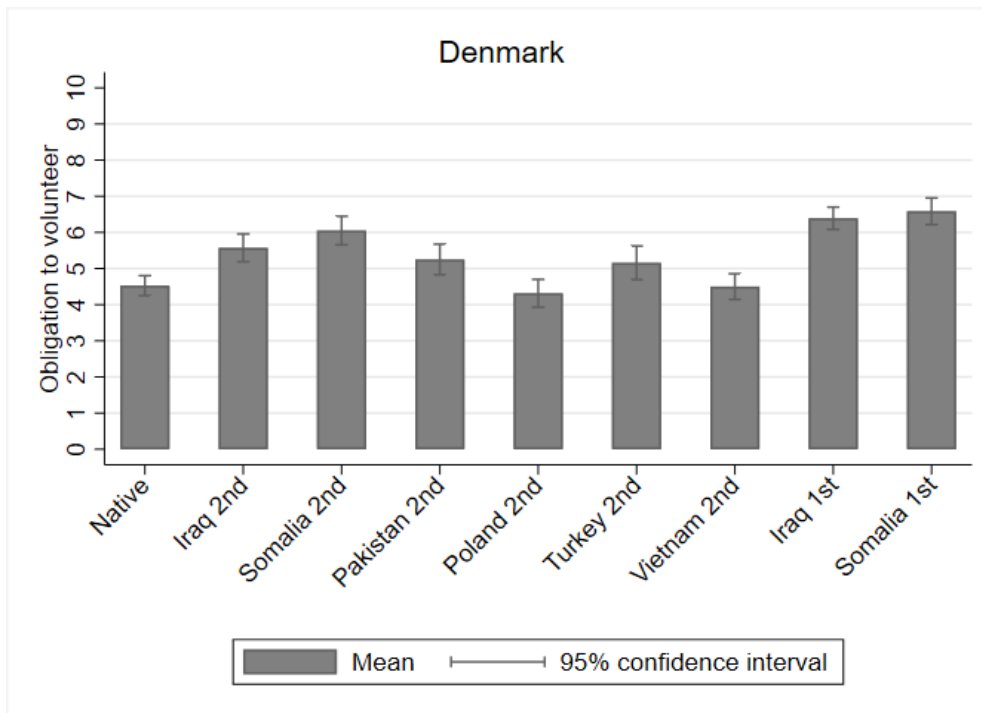


Figure 141

In Sweden (Figure 142), both Iraqi and Somali immigrants display a higher level of obligation to volunteer than native majority Swedes: the same holds true for both descendants of Pakistani and of Somali immigrants. Descendants of Turkish and Iraqi immigrants feel substantially more obliged to volunteer than native majority Swedes. There is no other significant difference between the other subgroups.

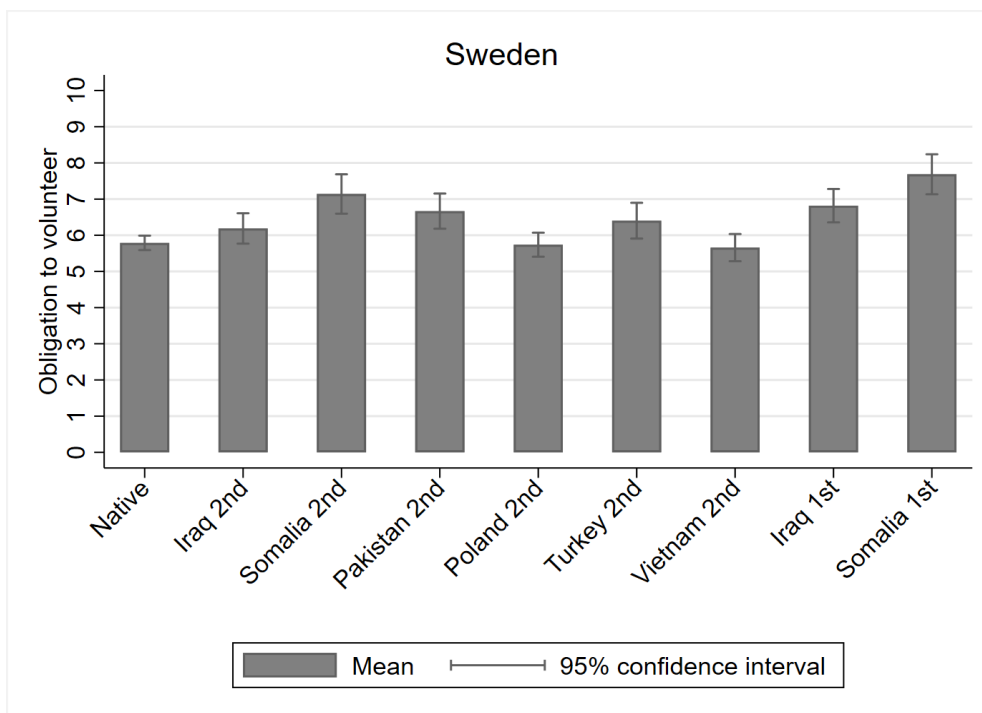


Figure 142

### 7.3. Chapter summary

Chapter 7 presented the findings about respondents' participation. Participation was divided into actual participation and obligations to participate. In terms of actual participation, there is little difference between groups in Norway, Denmark and Sweden, as they all display an intermediate level of actual participation. In terms of obligation to participate, respondents were presented with three different types of obligation: to vote, to work and pay taxes, and to volunteer. Obligation to vote is very high in Denmark and Sweden, with little difference between native majorities and minorities. Obligation to vote is slightly lower in Norway, particularly among minorities. Obligation to work and pay taxes is very high in all the countries, with no remarkable difference between groups. Obligation to volunteer is considerably lower across all the samples, but it can be noted how minorities feel more obliged to volunteer than native majorities in each country.

## 8. Political ideology, interest and self-efficacy

Chapter 8 presents the findings about respondents' political ideology, political interest, and political self-efficacy. The chapter is divided into three sections, each of them looking at the three themes. The political self-efficacy section is divided into six subsections: the political system allows me to have a say in what the government does; I am able to take an active role in a group involved with political issues; the political system allows me to have an influence on politics; I am confident about my ability to participate in politics; politicians care about what people say; and a final political self-efficacy index. Apart from Section 8.2. Interest in politics where the results are shown in percentages, all the other results are presented in graphs showing the means and their 95%-confidence intervals.

### 8.1. Political ideology (left to right)

The first section of this chapter presents the respondents' political ideology. Respondents were asked to place themselves on a scale of 0 (left) to 10 (right).

All the groups across Norway, Denmark and Sweden tend to place themselves in the middle of the political spectrum, as displayed in Figure 143. In Norway, the minority groups are slightly more to the left of native majority Norwegians, while there is no significant difference between native majorities and minorities in Denmark and Sweden.

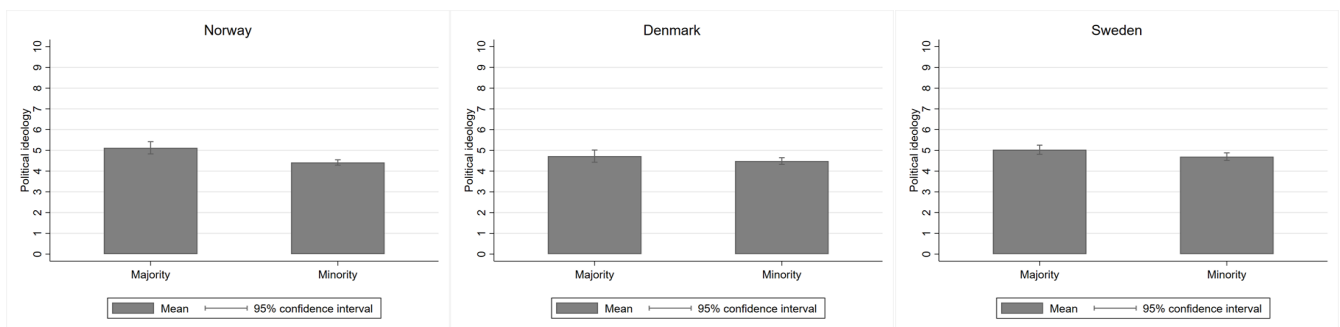


Figure 143

In Norway (Figure 144), there are some significant differences between subgroups. Somali immigrants and descendants of Somali immigrants are significantly more to the left than any other subgroup. Both Polish immigrants and descendants of Polish immigrants are the subgroups that lean towards the right more than any other groups, closely followed by native majority Norwegians and descendants of Vietnamese immigrants. There are no remarkable differences between immigrants and descendants of immigrants from the same countries.



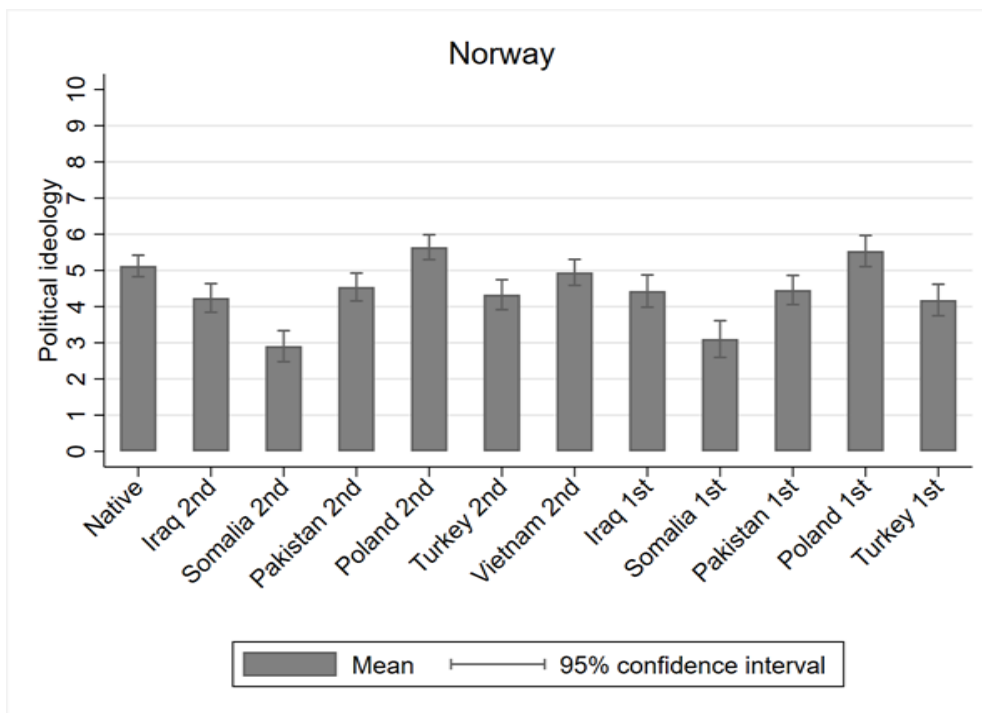


Figure 144

Figure 145 shows the results from the Danish sample. Most of the subgroups place themselves in the middle of the political spectrum. Descendants of Somali and Pakistani immigrants are slightly but significantly more to the left than native majority Danes and Iraqi immigrants. There is no other significant difference between subgroups.

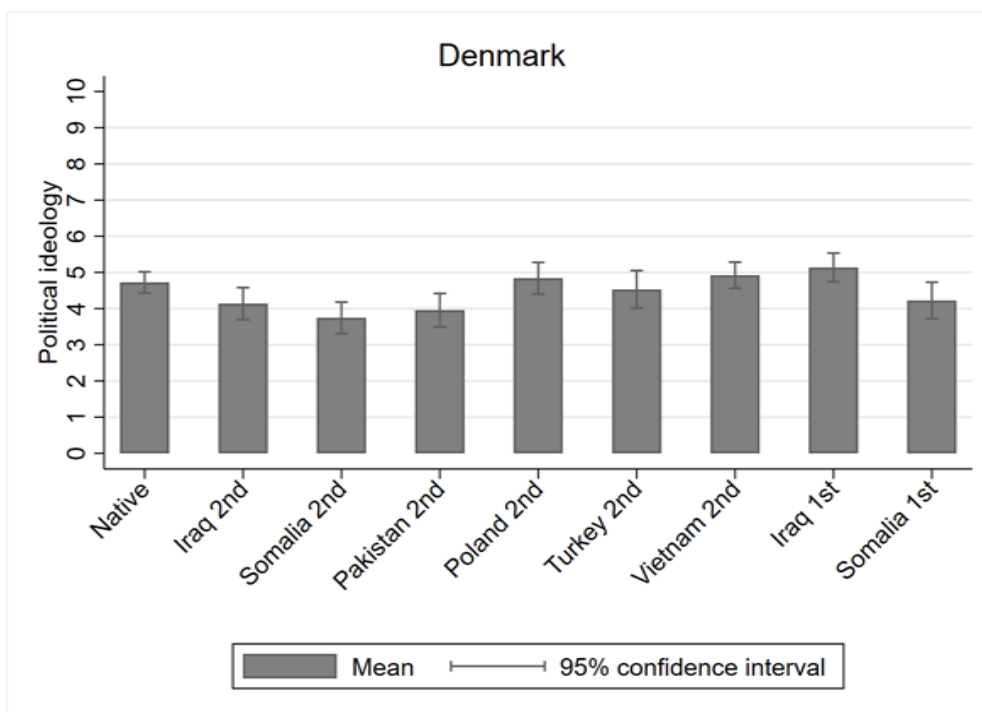


Figure 145

In Sweden, most subgroups place themselves in the middle of the political spectrum, as shown in Figure 146. As in the case of Norway, descendants of Polish immigrants are significantly more to the right of native majority Swedes, and of any of the other subgroups. Somali immigrants, descendants of Pakistani

immigrants, and especially descendants of Somali immigrants are significantly to the left of native majority Swedes.

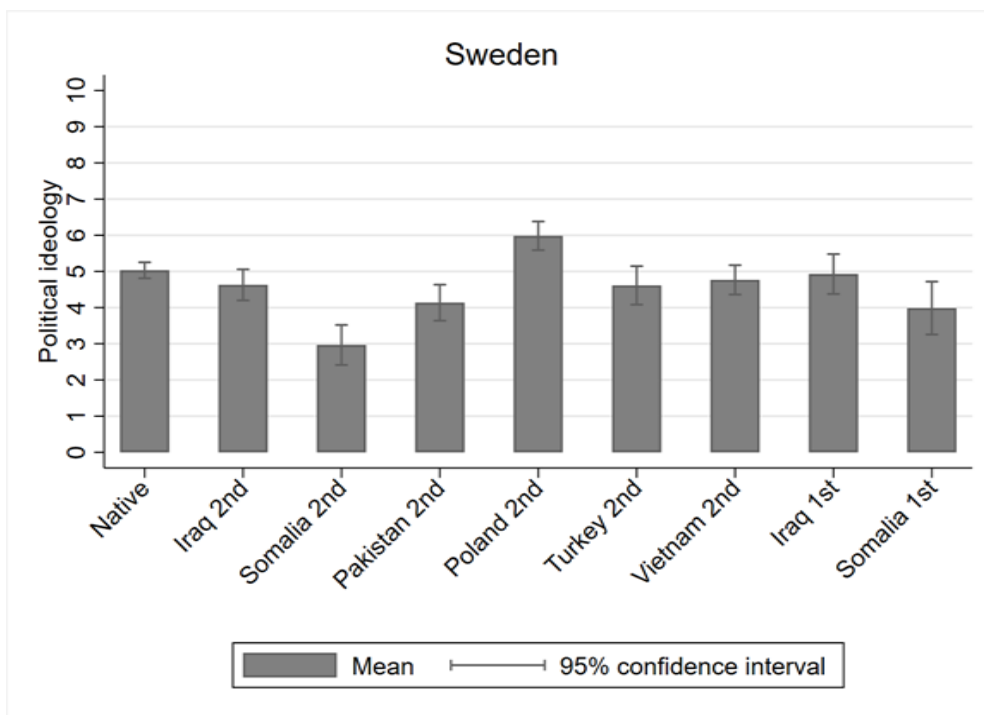


Figure 146

## 8.2. Interest in politics

The second section of Chapter 8 looks at the respondents' interest in politics. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they are not at all interested, hardly interested, quite interested, or very interested.

Figure 147 compares the results from Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Most of the respondents in the three countries are either hardly or quite interested. Most native majority Danes and Swedes are either quite or very interested in politics, while the majority of native majority Norwegians are hardly or not at all interested. Among the minority groups, only minorities in Sweden are either quite or very interested in politics, while in Denmark and especially in Norway they are hardly or not at all interested.

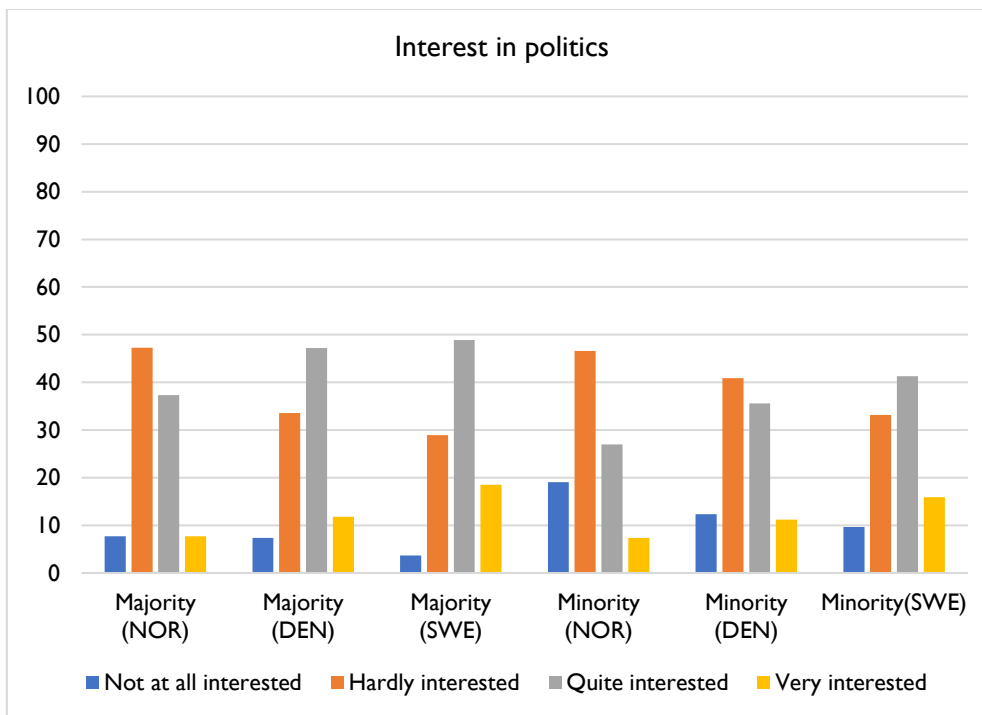


Figure 147

The majority of all the subgroups in the Norwegian sample (Figure 148) are either hardly or not at all interested in politics. Having no interest in politics is highest among Iraqi immigrants, while Polish immigrants and descendants of Vietnamese immigrants have the highest percentage of respondents who are not at all interested or hardly interested in politics. All the descendants of immigrants' subgroups have a higher interest in politics than the immigrants' groups from the same country.

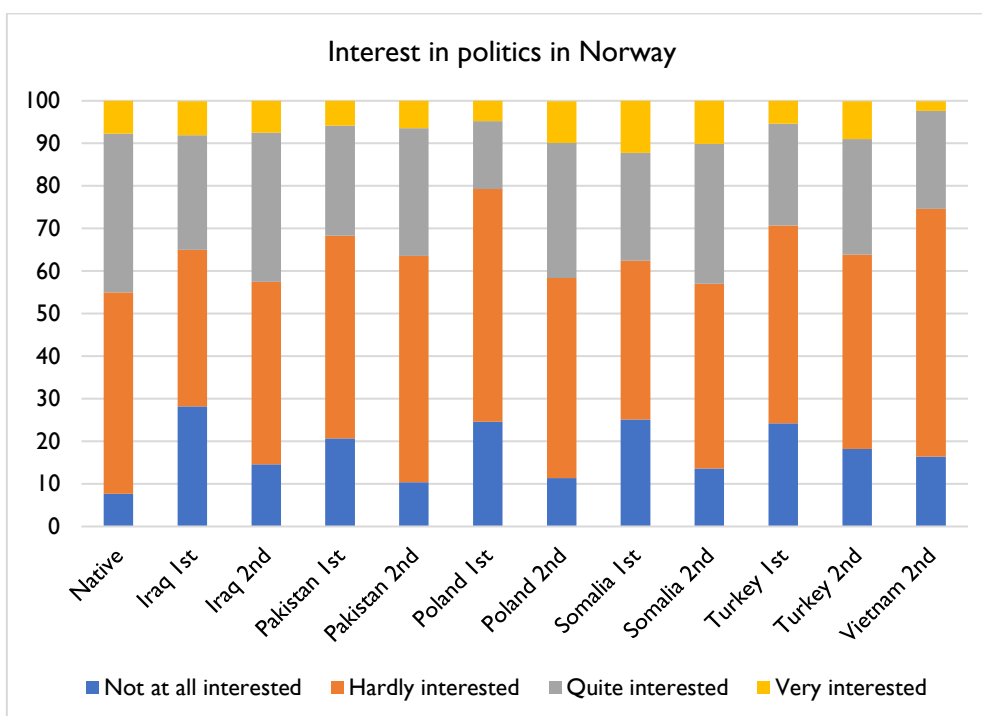


Figure 148

Interest in politics among subgroups in the Danish sample (Figure 149) is generally higher than in Norway. The subgroup showing the lowest level of interest in politics is descendants of Vietnamese

immigrants. The majority of native majority Danes, descendants of Pakistani and descendants of Somali immigrants is quite or very interested in politics. The highest level of political interest is among Somali immigrants, while the lowest is among Iraqi immigrants.

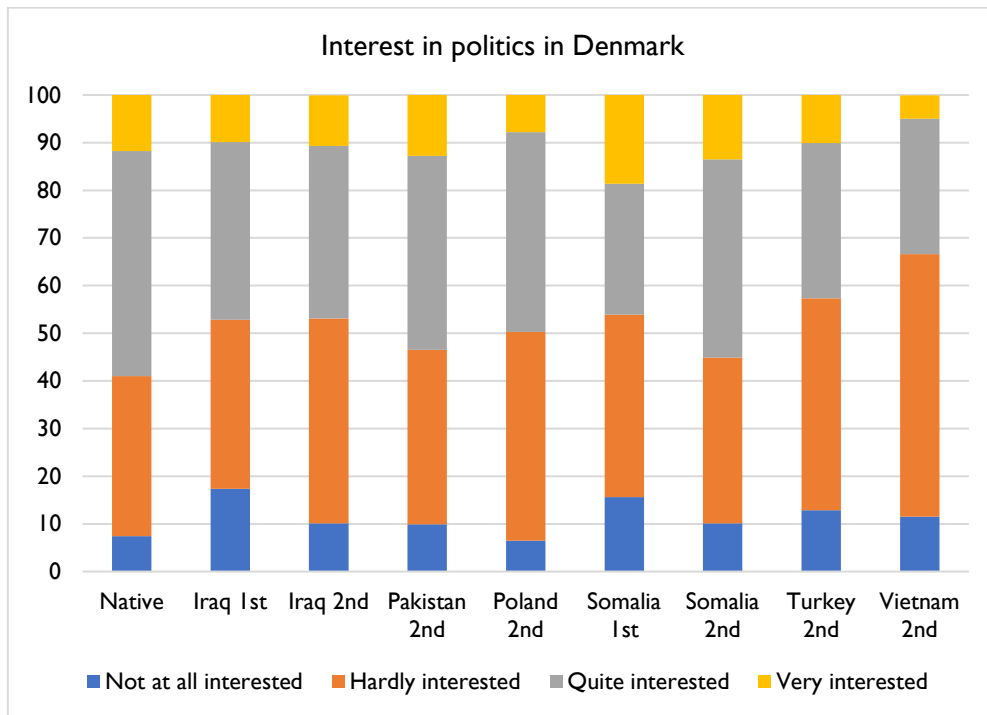


Figure 149

Most of the subgroups in the Swedish sample (Figure 150) are either hardly or quite interested in politics: descendants of Vietnamese immigrants show the lowest level of interest of all groups, as in the case of Denmark. More than a fifth of respondents among Somali immigrants and descendants of Iraqi and Turkish immigrants are very interested in politics. Having no interest at all is highest among Somali and Iraqi immigrants.

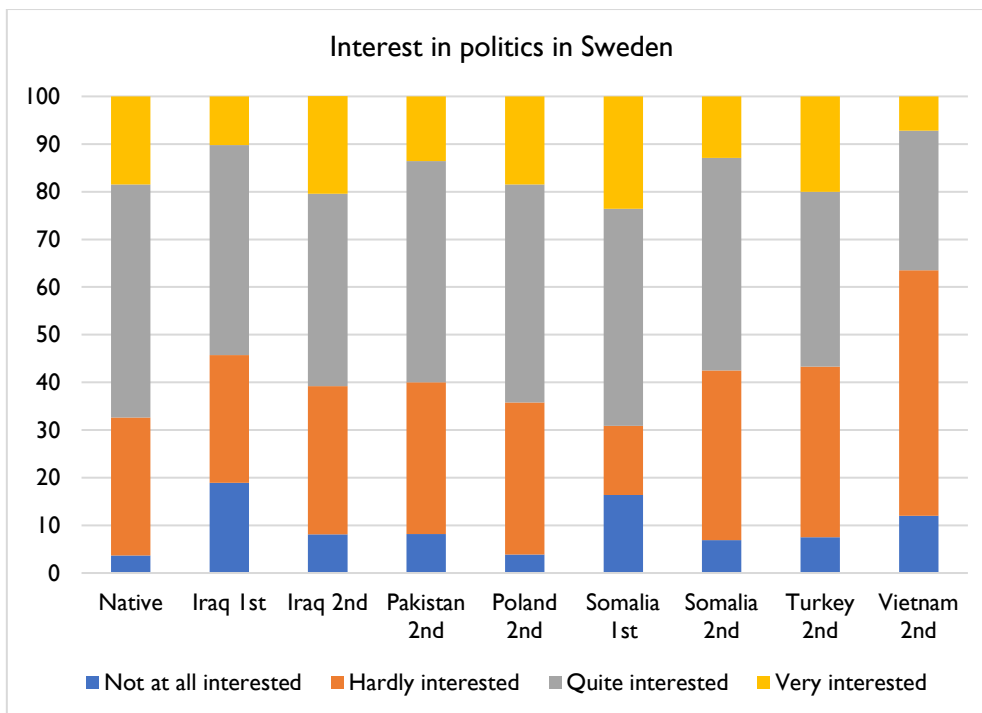


Figure 150

### 8.3. Political self-efficacy

The third section of Chapter 8 is divided into six subsections. The first five subsections look at different themes (the political system allows me to have a say in what the government does; I am able to take an active role in a group involved with political issues; the political system allows me to have an influence on politics; I am confident about my ability to participate in politics; politicians care about what people say), and the sixth subsection presents a political self-efficacy index, which collapses the five measures into one.

#### 8.3.1. The political system allows me to have a say in what the government does

In the first subsection, respondents were asked whether they think the political system allows them to have a say in what the government does on a scale of 0 (not at all) to 10 (a great deal).

All the groups in Norway, Denmark and Sweden (shown in Figure 151) lean towards a slight disagreement with the statement that the political system allows them to have a say in what the government does. While in Denmark the difference between groups is minimal, in Norway and Sweden minorities tend to be slightly less in disagreement than native majorities.

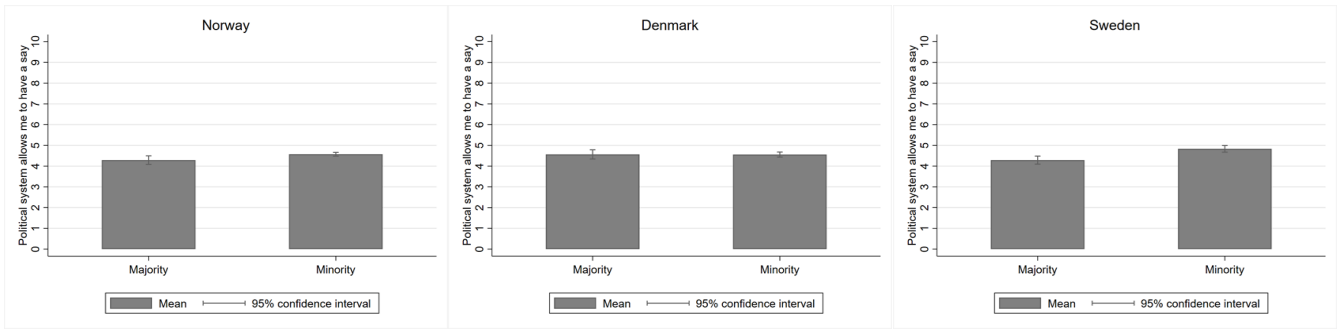


Figure 151

In Norway (Figure 152), most subgroups express a neutral or slight disagreement with the statement that the political system allows them to have a say in what the government does. Only Pakistani immigrants agree with it significantly more than native majority Norwegians. Pakistani immigrants agree with it significantly more than descendants of Pakistani immigrants, too. There is no other significant difference between the other subgroups.

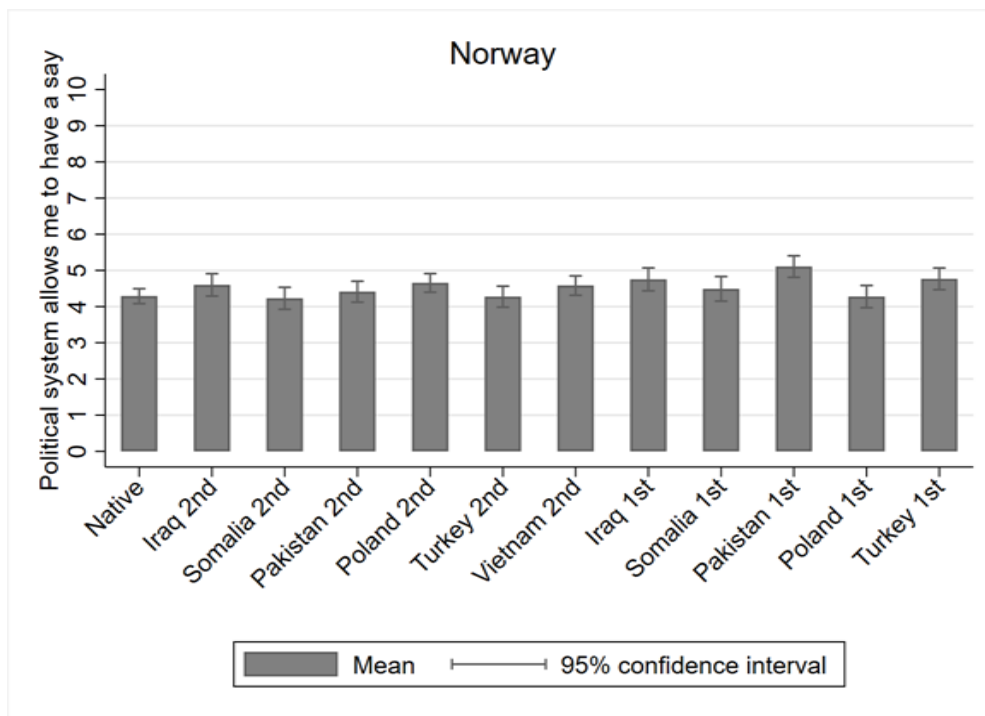


Figure 152

In Denmark (Figure 153), most subgroups express a slight disagreement with the statement that the political system allows them to have a say in what the government does. Only Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Vietnamese immigrants have a more neutral opinion: in relative terms, they agree significantly more than any other subgroup. Only Somali immigrants express a stronger disagreement, and do so significantly more than any other subgroup, except for descendants of Pakistani immigrants.

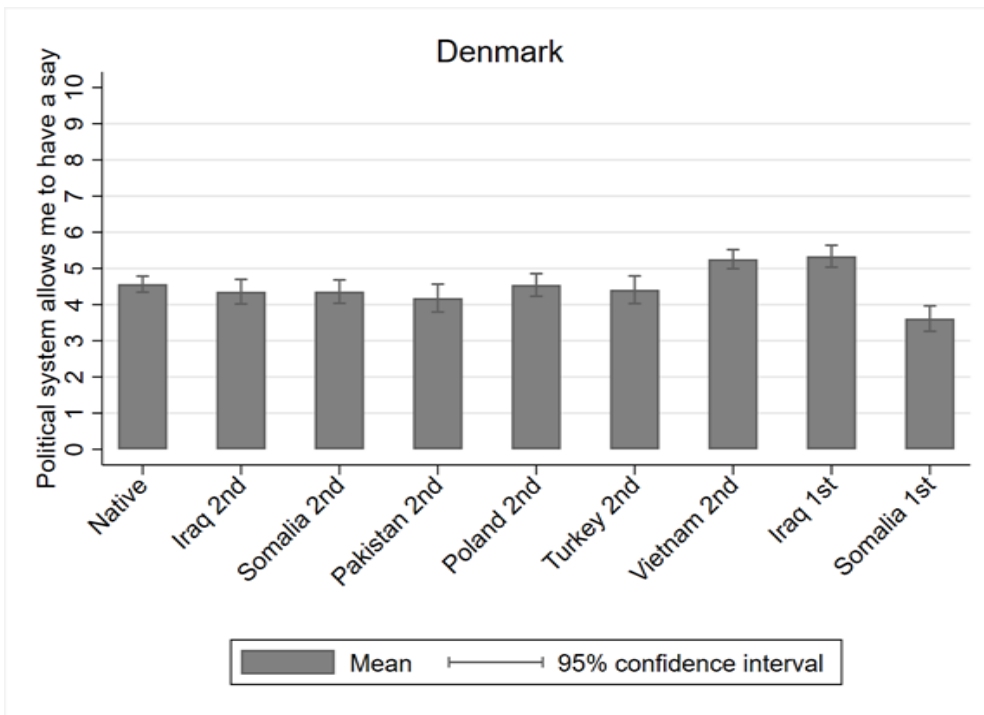


Figure I53

In Sweden (Figure 154), most subgroups express a neutral or slight disagreement with the statement that the political system allows them to have a say in what the government does. Iraqi and Somali immigrants and descendants of Pakistani immigrants are significantly more in agreement with it than native majority Swedes. There is no other significant difference in the sample.

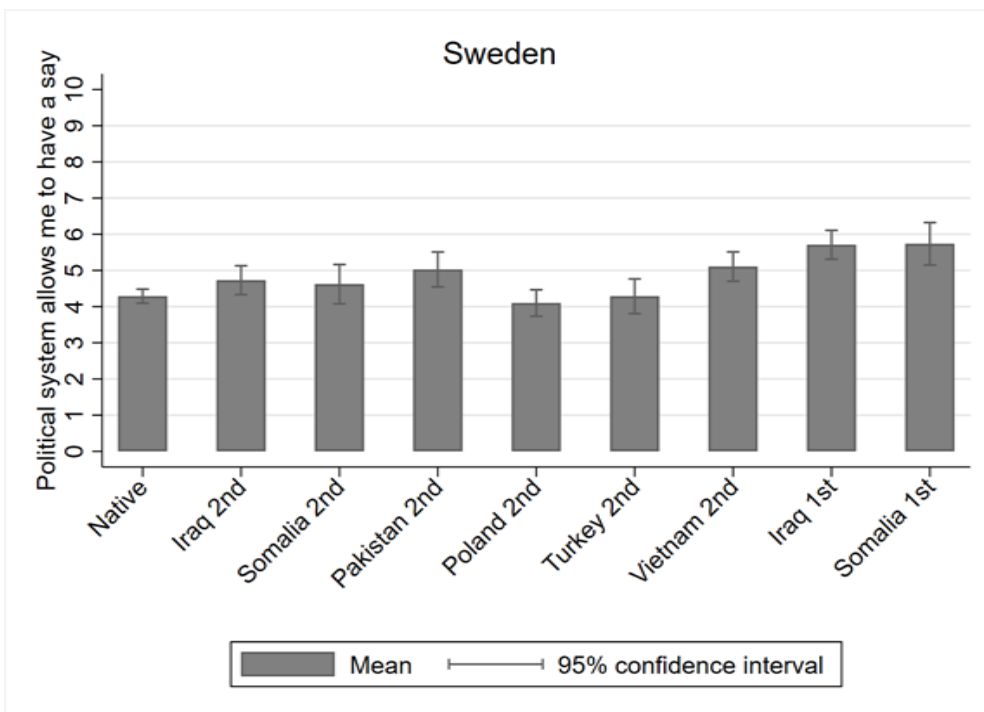


Figure I54

### 8.3.2. I am able to take an active role in a group involved with political issues

In the second subsection, respondents were asked whether they think they are able to take an active role in a group involved with political issues on a scale of 0 (not at all) to 10 (a great deal).

Figure 155 compares the results from the three countries. Most of the respondents in Norway, Denmark and Sweden tend to answer either neutrally or in slight disagreement. Among native majorities, Norwegians have the lowest level of agreement. Minorities in Sweden are less in disagreement than minorities than in Denmark.

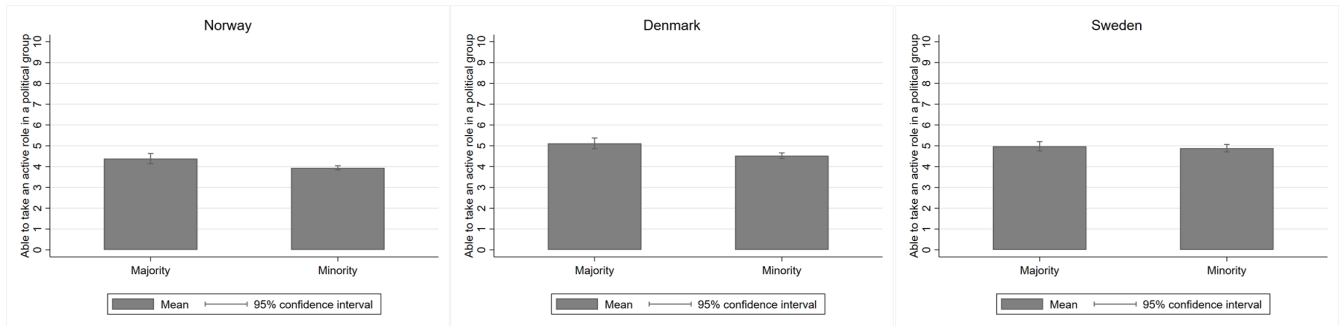


Figure 155

Overall, respondents in the Norwegian sample (Figure 156) are in slight disagreement with the statement that they are able to take an active role in a group involved with political issues. Somali, Polish and Turkish immigrants are significantly more in disagreement than native majority Norwegians, and descendants of Iraqi, Pakistani, and Polish immigrants. There is no other significant difference.

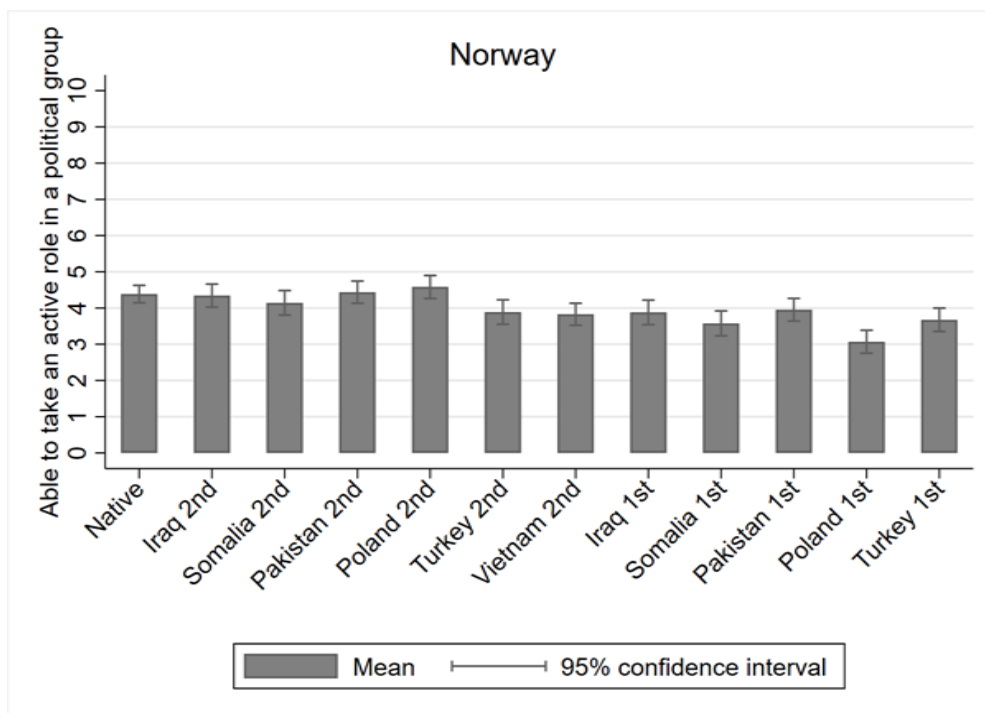


Figure 156



Respondents in the Danish sample (shown in Figure 157) express a rather neutral opinion on the statement about being able to take an active role in a group involved with political issues. Only Somali and Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Turkish immigrants are significantly more in disagreement than native majority Danes. There is no other significant difference between the subgroups.

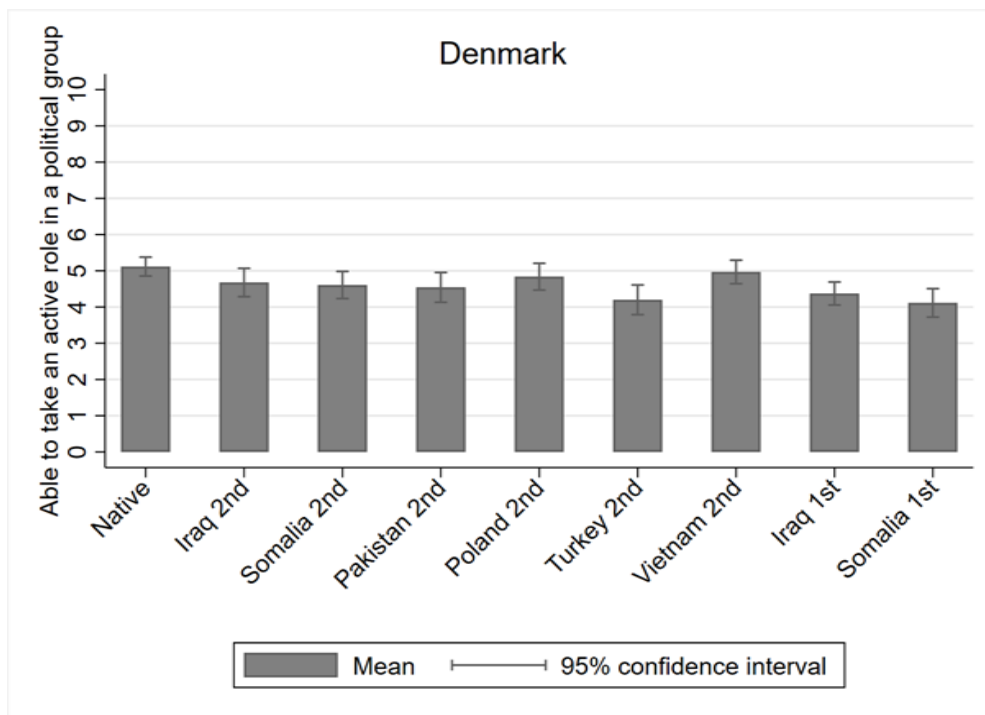


Figure 157

Figure 158 displays the results from the Swedish sample. There is no significant difference between the subgroups, as most of them express a neutral opinion on the statement about being able to take an active role in a group involved with political issues. Only descendants of Vietnamese immigrants are significantly more in disagreement than any of the other subgroups.

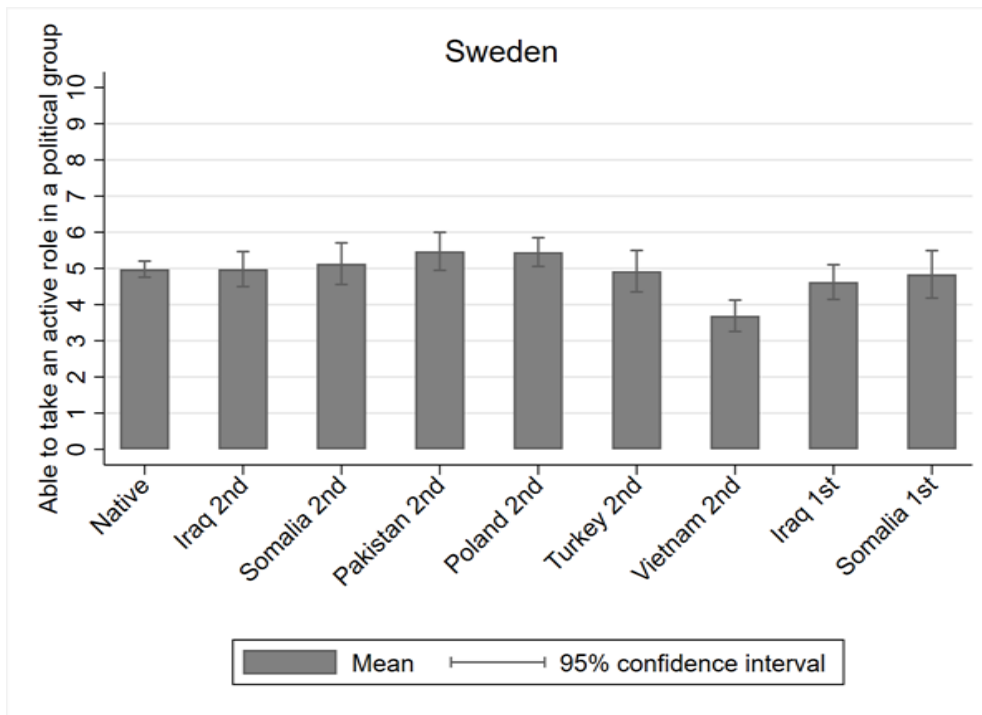


Figure 158

### 8.3.3. The political system allows me to have an influence on politics

In the third subsection, respondents were asked whether they think the political system allows them to have an influence on politics on a scale of 0 (not at all) to 10 (a great deal).

Figure 159 compares the results from Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Most of the respondents in the three countries tend to be in slight disagreement with the statement that the political system allows them to have an influence on politics. Minorities in Norway are the group that disagree with it more than any other group. Differences are otherwise minimal.

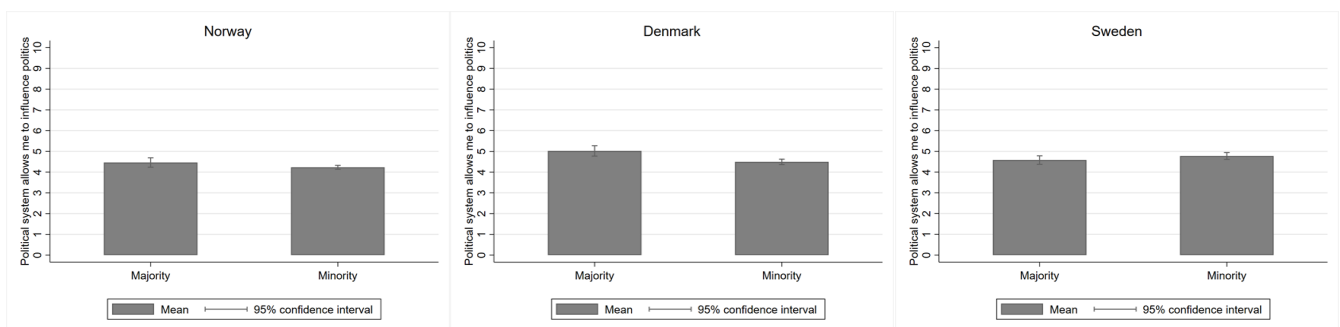


Figure 159

All the subgroups in the Norwegian sample (depicted in Figure 160) tend to be in more or less disagreement with the statement that the political system allows them to have an influence on politics. Only descendants of Somali immigrants and Polish immigrants are significantly more in disagreement than native majority Norwegians. Among the subgroups of immigrants, Polish immigrants express the highest disagreement with the statement. There is no other significant difference.

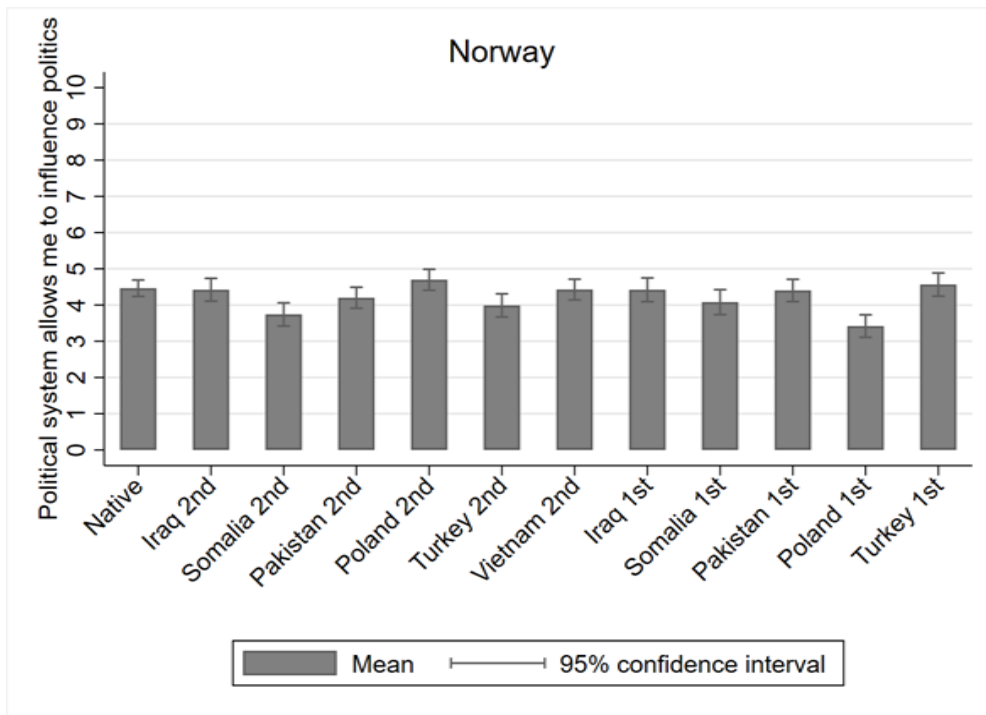


Figure 160

In the Danish sample (Figure 161), most subgroups express either a neutral opinion or a slight disagreement with the statement that the political system allows them to have an influence on politics. Except for native majority Danes, the descendants of Vietnamese immigrants are the only subgroup that expresses slight agreement with the statement in a significant way. Somali immigrants are slightly but significantly more in disagreement than the descendants of Somali immigrants. Native majority Danes are significantly less in disagreement than descendants of Pakistani and Turkish immigrants, and less than Somali immigrants.

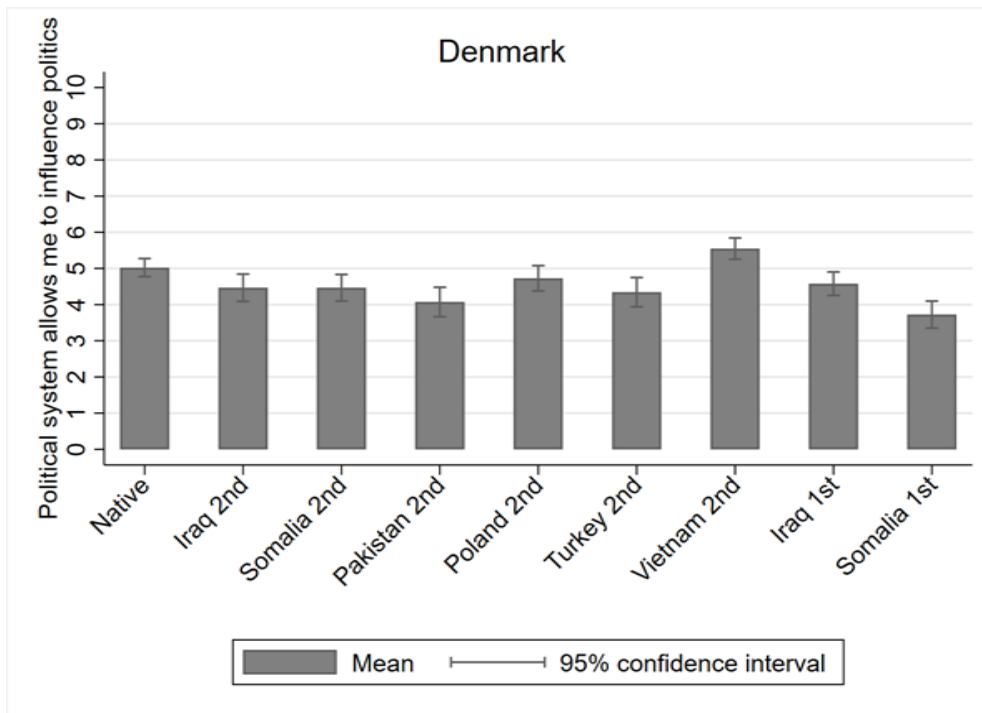


Figure 161

In Sweden (Figure 162), most of the subgroups have a neutral opinion on the statement that the political system allows them to have an influence on politics. Iraqi immigrants are significantly more in agreement than native majority Swedes and descendants of Polish immigrants. There are no other significant differences, though Somali and Iraqi immigrants disagree substantially less than descendants of Somali and Iraqi immigrants.

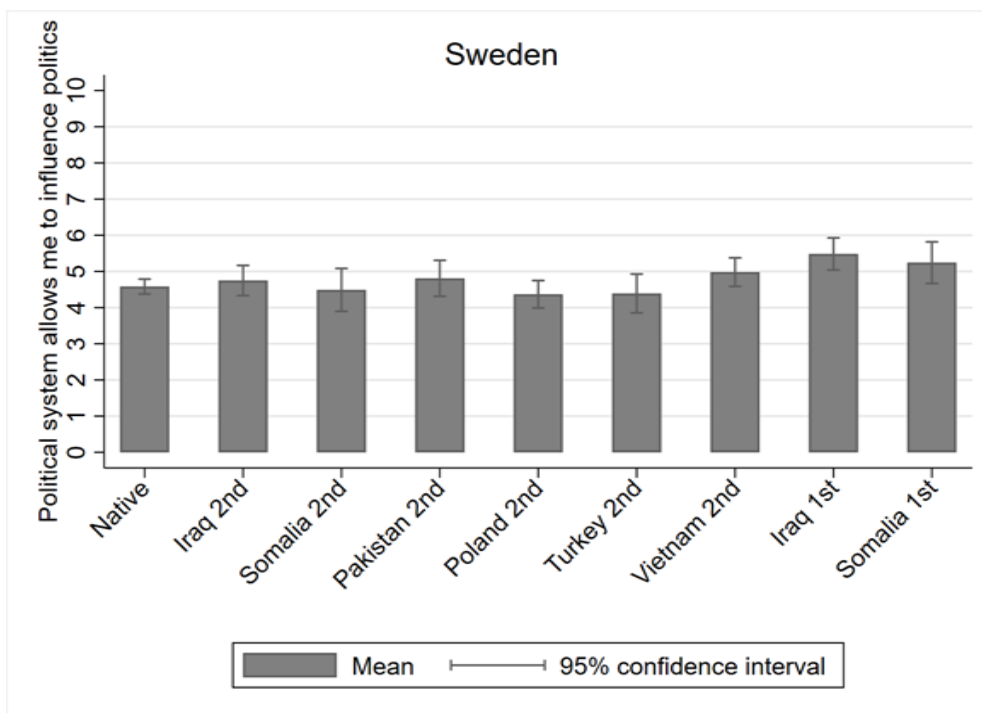


Figure 162

### 8.3.4. I am confident about my ability to participate in politics

The fourth subsection presents respondents' confidence about their ability to participate in politics on a scale of 0 (not at all) to 10 (a great deal).

Figure 163 shows the results from Norway, Denmark and Sweden. There is mostly no significant difference between the groups in the three countries, as they all answer either neutrally or in slight disagreement with the statement that they are confident about their ability to participate in politics.

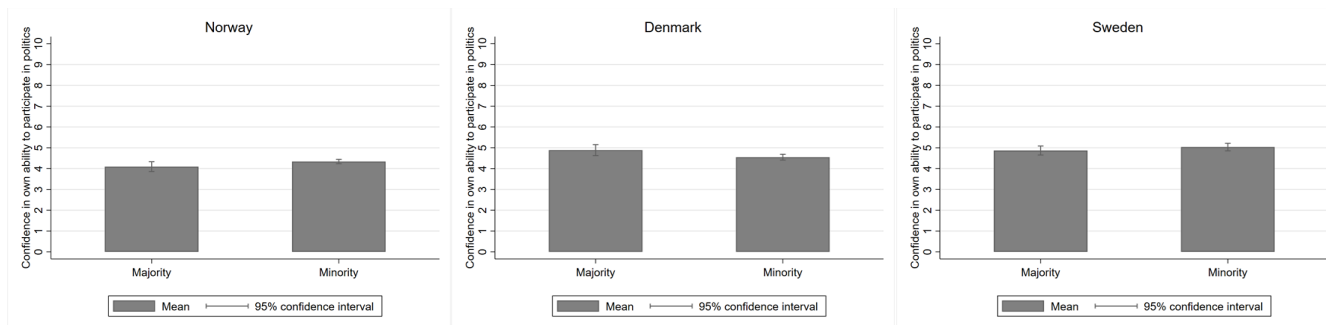


Figure 163

In Norway (Figure 164), Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Somali and Pakistani immigrants are slightly but significantly more confident about their ability to participate in politics than native majority Norwegians. The only subgroup that is significantly less confident than native majority Norwegians is Polish immigrants. Descendants of Somali immigrants are significantly more confident than Somali immigrants. There are no other significant differences between subgroups.

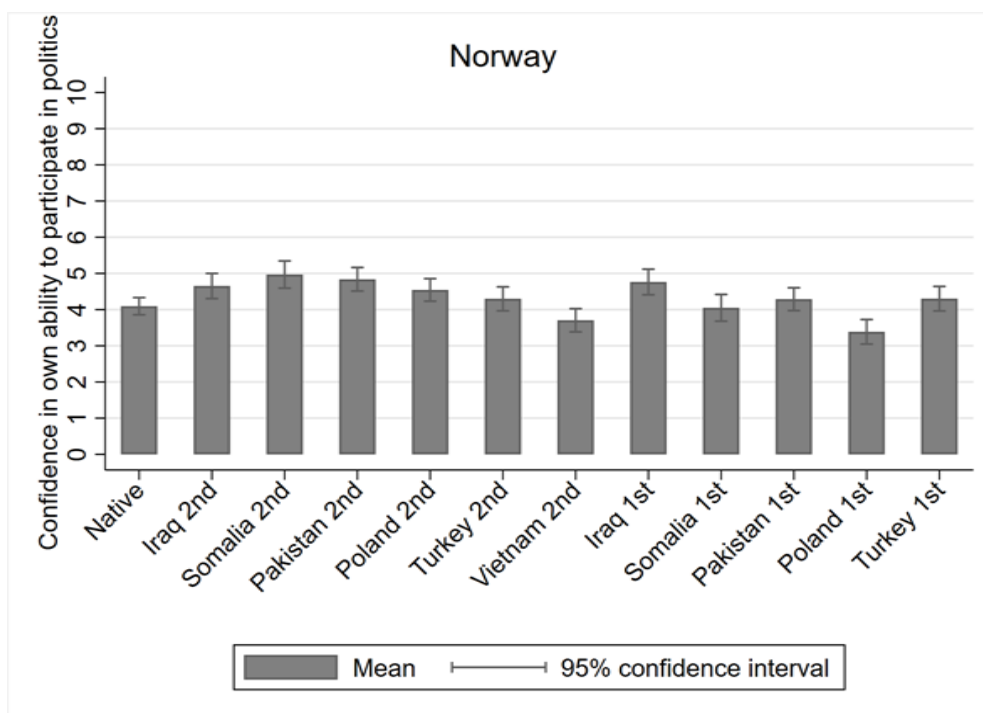


Figure 164

Most respondents in Denmark (shown in Figure 165) express a neutral opinion on how confident they are about participating in politics. Only Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Vietnamese immigrants are significantly less confident than native majority Danes. There are no other significant differences between subgroups.

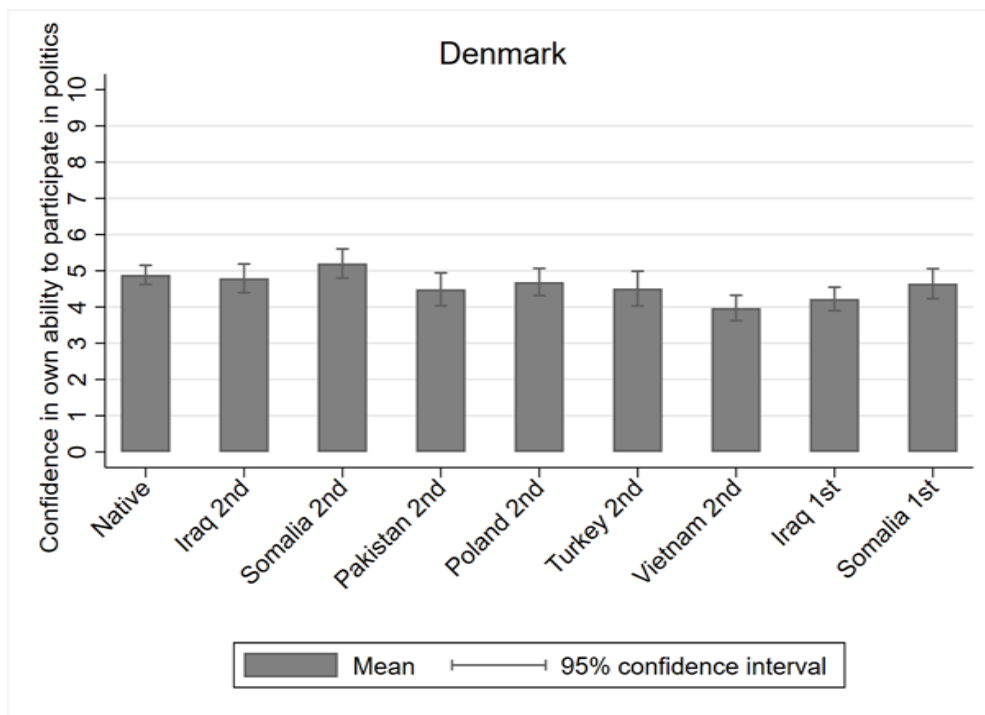


Figure 165

Figure 166 displays the results from the Swedish sample. Overall, there are no significant differences between subgroups, as they mostly express a neutral opinion on how confident they are about participating in politics: the only exception is the descendants of Vietnamese immigrants, who are significantly less confident than any other subgroup.

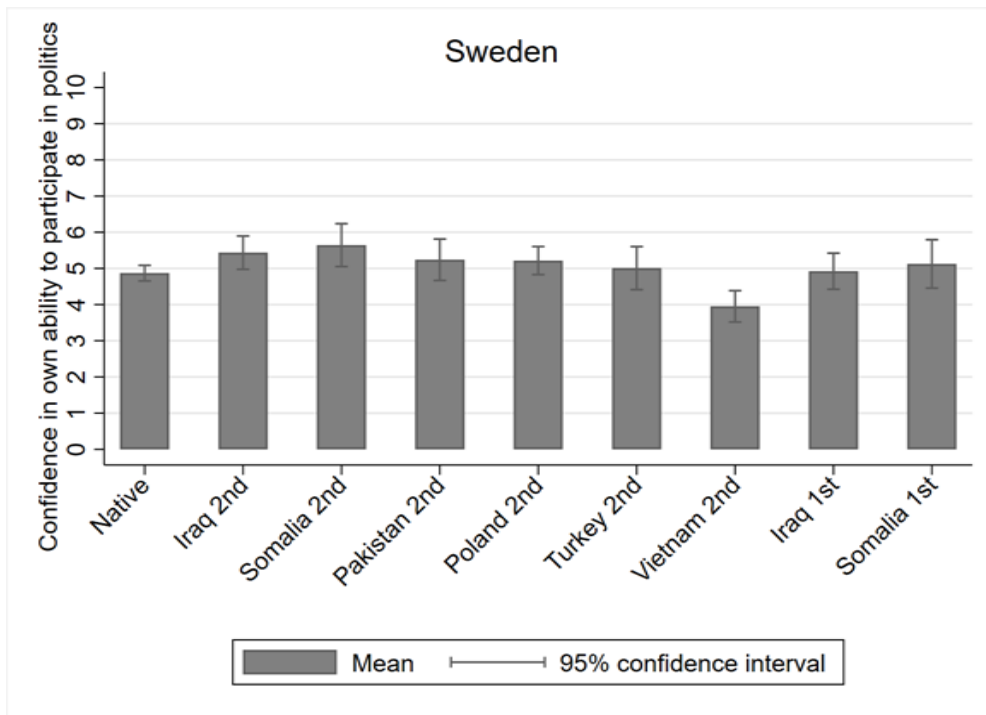


Figure 166

### 8.3.5. Politicians care about what people say

In the fifth subsection, respondents were asked to express their opinion on whether politicians care about what people say on a scale of 0 (not at all) to 10 (a great deal).

All the groups in Norway, Denmark and Sweden (Figure 167) express disagreement with the statement that politicians care about what people say. Of all groups, the minorities in Denmark are the most in disagreement with this statement. There are no other significant differences.

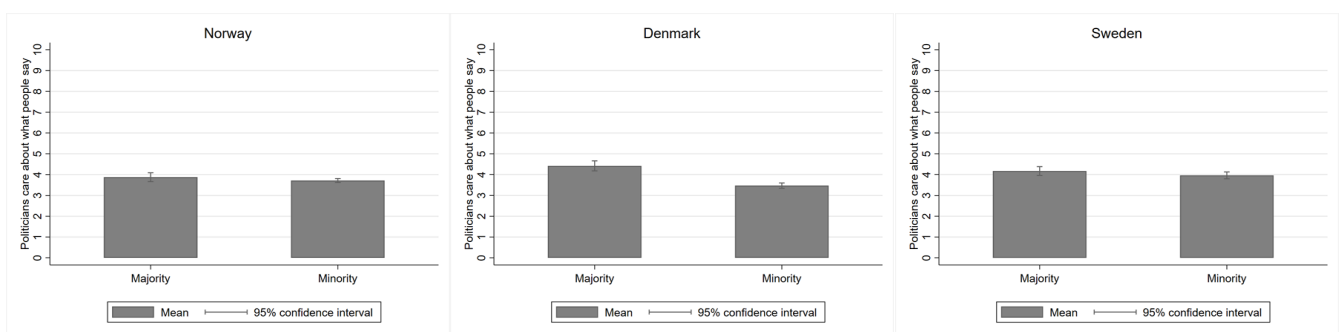


Figure 167

All the subgroups in the Norwegian sample (Figure 168) are in disagreement with the statement that politicians care about what people say. Descendants of Pakistani, Turkish, and Somali immigrants are the only subgroups significantly more in disagreement than native majority Norwegians. Turkish immigrants are slightly less in disagreement than descendants of Turkish immigrants. There are no other significant differences between the other subgroups.

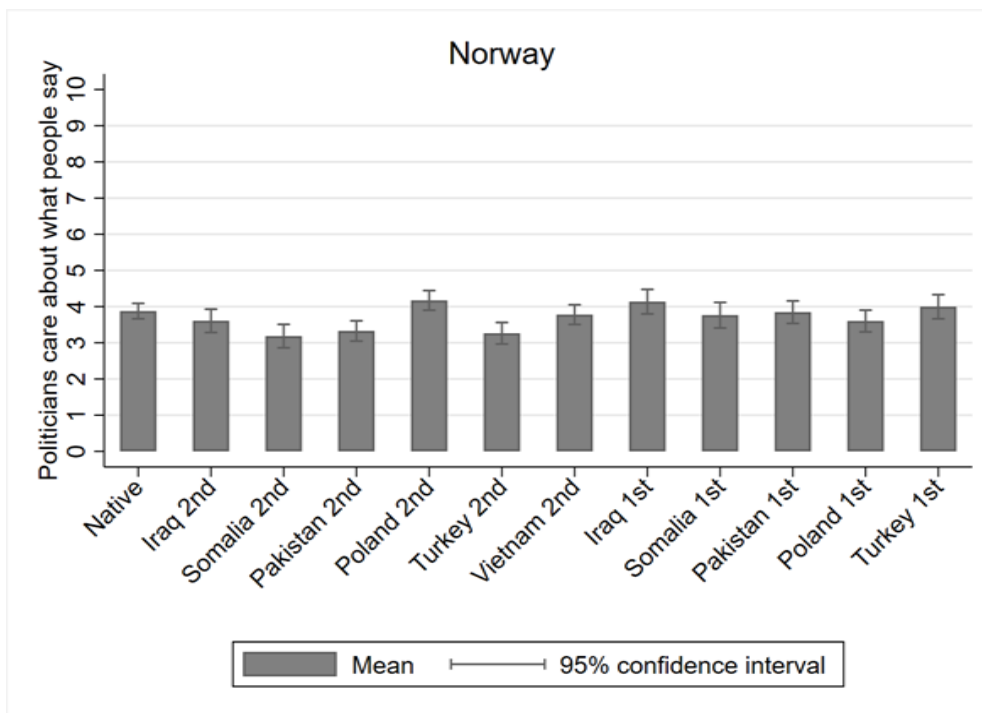


Figure 168

Most of the subgroups in the Danish sample (shown in Figure 169) are in disagreement with the statement that politicians care about what people say. Apart from descendants of Polish and of Vietnamese immigrants, native majority Danes are significantly less in disagreement than any other subgroup. There are no other significant differences.

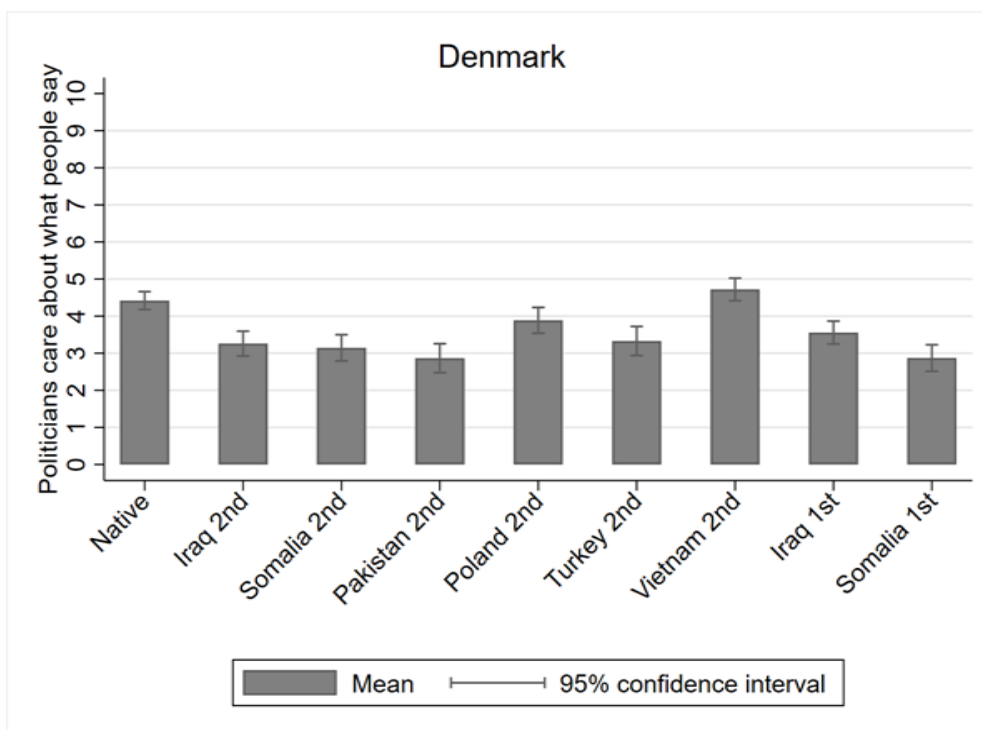


Figure 169

In the Swedish sample (Figure 170), all of the subgroups are in more or less strong disagreement with the statement that politicians care about what people say. Only descendants of Polish immigrants are



significantly more in disagreement than native majority Swedes. There is no other significant difference between subgroups.

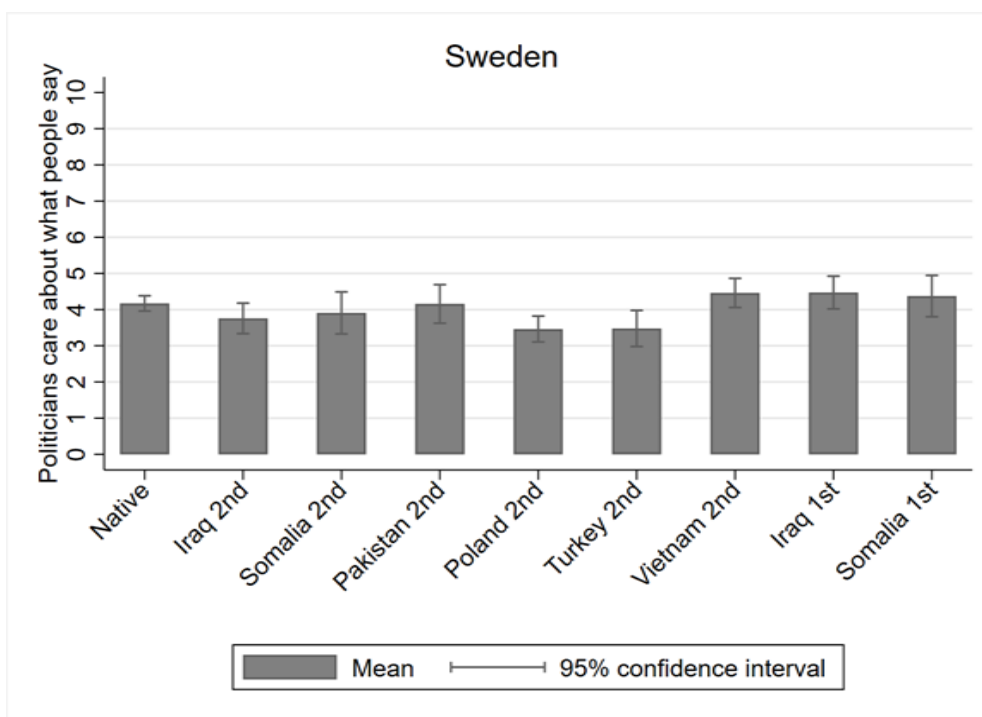


Figure 170

### 8.3.6. Political self-efficacy (index)

The sixth subsection presents the results from the political self-efficacy index. The index is based on the previous five questions. 0 indicates no political self-efficacy, while 10 indicates complete political self-efficacy.

All the groups in Norway, Denmark and Sweden (Figure 171) display an intermediate or slightly low level of political self-efficacy. Self-efficacy is highest among native majority Danes, minorities in Sweden, and native majority Swedes. Native majority Norwegians and minorities in Norway have the lowest level of political self-efficacy.

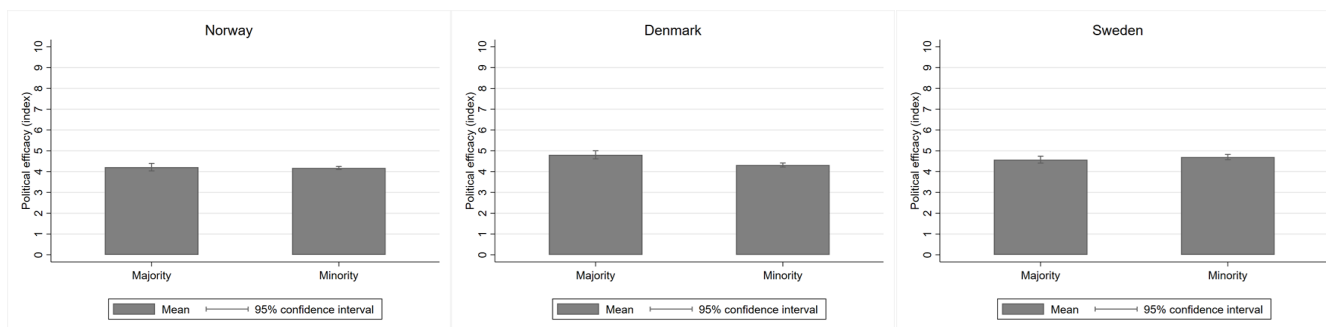


Figure 171

There is little difference within the Norwegian sample (Figure 172), as most groups display a slightly low level of political self-efficacy. Only Polish immigrants are less politically self-efficient than native majority Norwegians. There is no other significant difference.

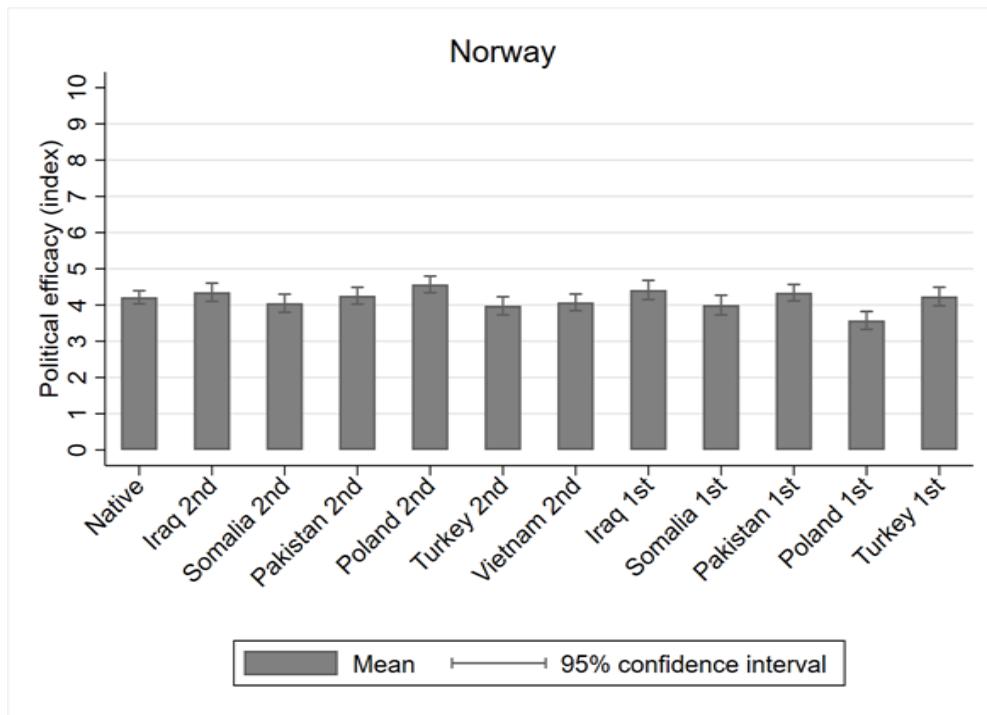


Figure 172

The Danish sample (pictured in Figure 173) is slightly more politically self-efficient than the Norwegian sample. Descendants of Vietnamese immigrants are slightly more self-efficient than most other subgroups, apart from native majority Danes and descendants of Polish immigrants. Somali immigrants and descendants of Iraqi, Pakistani, and Turkish immigrants are significantly less self-efficient than native majority Danes.

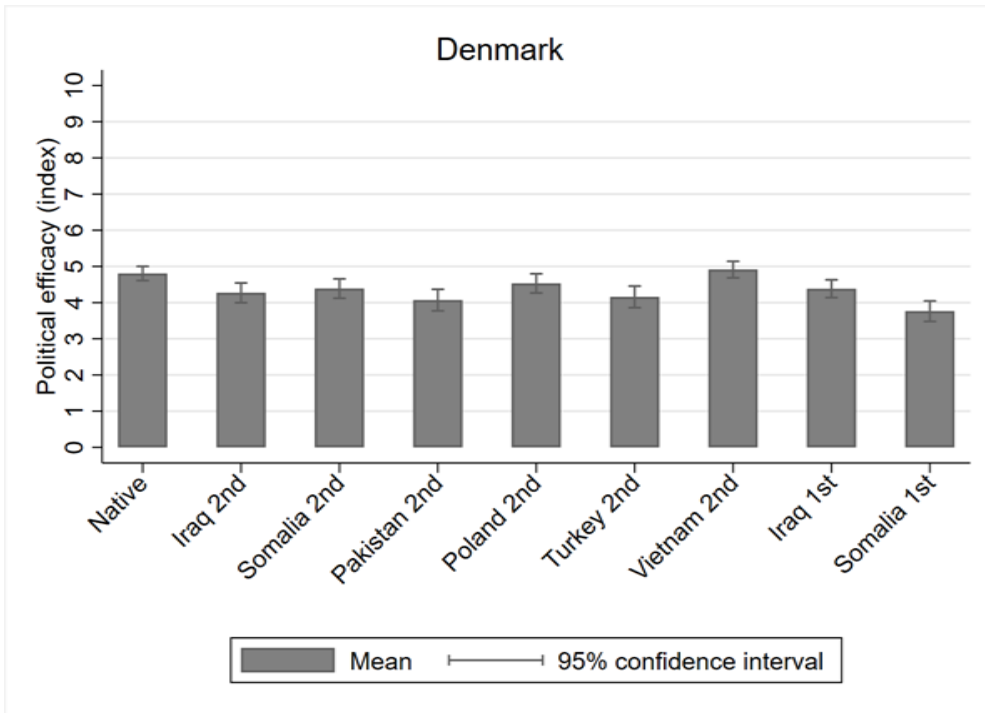


Figure 173

There is no significant difference between subgroups in the Swedish sample (Figure 174), as they all tend to express an intermediate level of political self-efficacy.

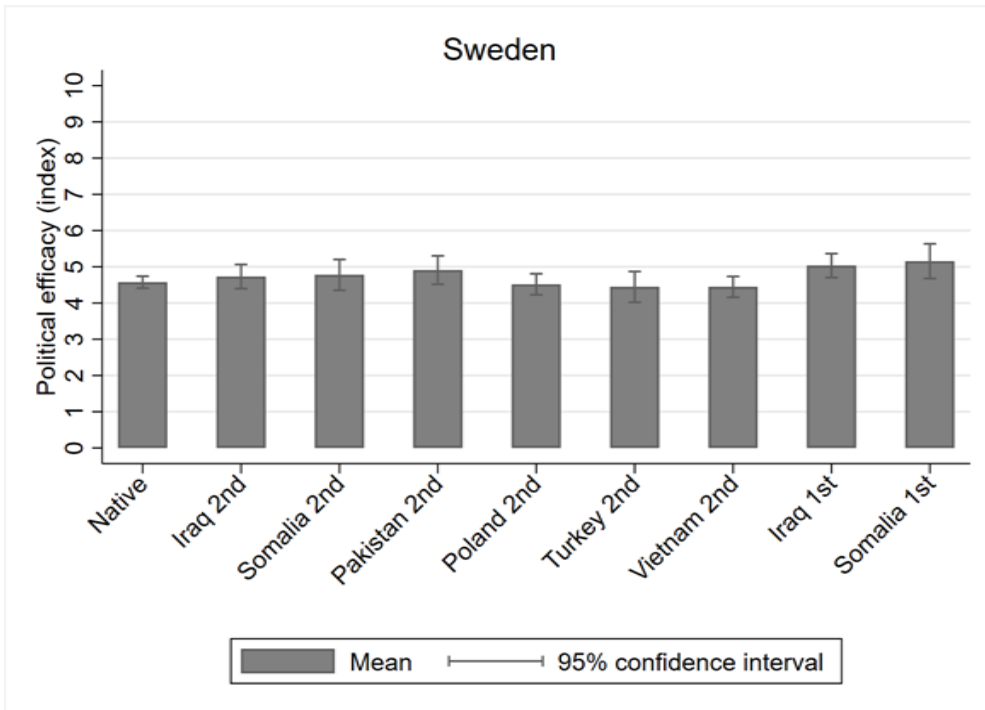


Figure 174

## 8.4. Chapter summary

Chapter 8 presented the respondents' political ideology, interest in politics, and political self-efficacy. In terms of political ideology, there is little difference between the various groups in the three countries, as, on the whole, they tend to place themselves near the centre of the political spectrum; minorities are slightly more to the left than native majorities. In terms of interest in politics, there is little difference between the different groups in the three countries, as most of the respondents tend to be either hardly or quite interested. There is also little difference between groups in terms of political self-efficacy, as they all tend to have an intermediate or slightly low level of political self-efficacy.

## 9. Self-esteem (or well-being) index

Chapter 9 focuses on self-esteem (or subjective well-being). What this chapter presents is a self-esteem index consisting of five items: at times I think I am no good at all; I certainly feel useless at times; I am able to do things as well as most other people; on the whole I am satisfied with myself; I feel I have a number of good qualities. The index goes from 0 (low self-esteem) to 1 (high self-esteem). All the other results are presented in graphs showing the means and their 95%-confidence intervals.

Comparing the index across Norway, Denmark and Sweden (Figure 175), it can be said that the general level of self-esteem is rather high. In particular, a similar trend can be noted: in each country, the minorities display a marginally yet significantly higher level of self-esteem than the native majorities. Minorities in Denmark display the highest level of self-esteem of any other group. Among the native majorities, the Danish sample has the highest level of self-esteem.

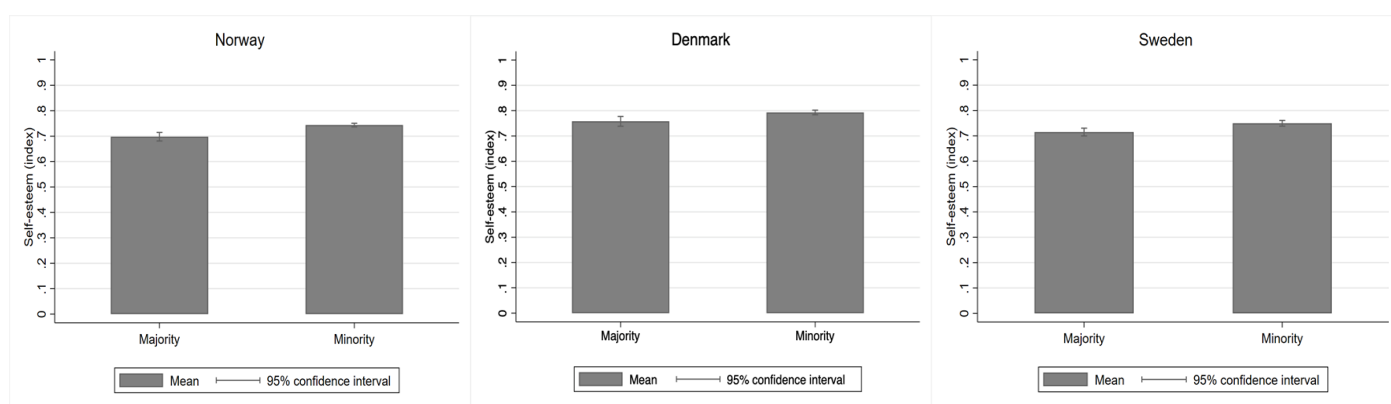


Figure 175

Within the Norwegian sample (Figure 176), all the subgroups generally display a high level of self-esteem. Descendants of Iraqi, Somali, Polish and Turkish immigrants have a significantly higher level of self-esteem than native majority Norwegians. Descendants of Vietnamese immigrants have a significantly lower self-esteem than any other subgroup, apart from native majority Norwegians. Somali, Polish and Pakistani immigrants have a significantly higher self-esteem than native majority Norwegians. Polish immigrants have a significantly higher self-esteem than descendants of Polish immigrants, while Turkish immigrants have a substantially lower self-esteem than descendants of Turkish immigrants.

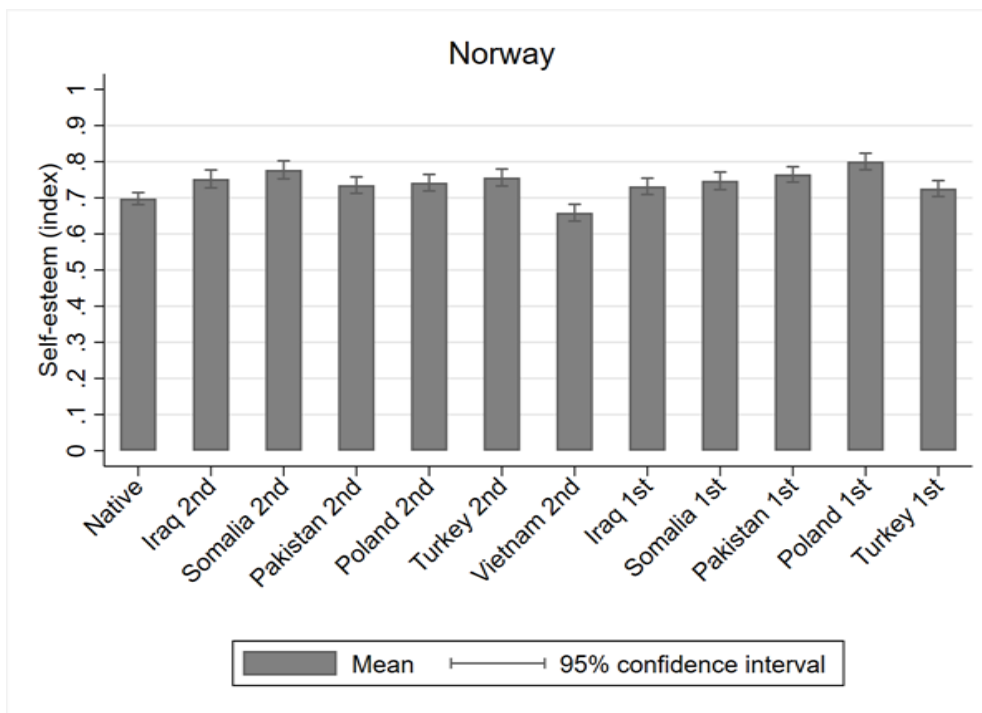


Figure 176

As in the case of the Norwegian sample, in Denmark (Figure 177) all the subgroups tend to show a high level of self-esteem. Iraqi and Somali immigrants and descendants of Somali and Turkish immigrants have a significantly higher self-esteem than native majority Danes. As in Norway, descendants of Vietnamese immigrants have a substantially lower degree of self-esteem than any other subgroup.

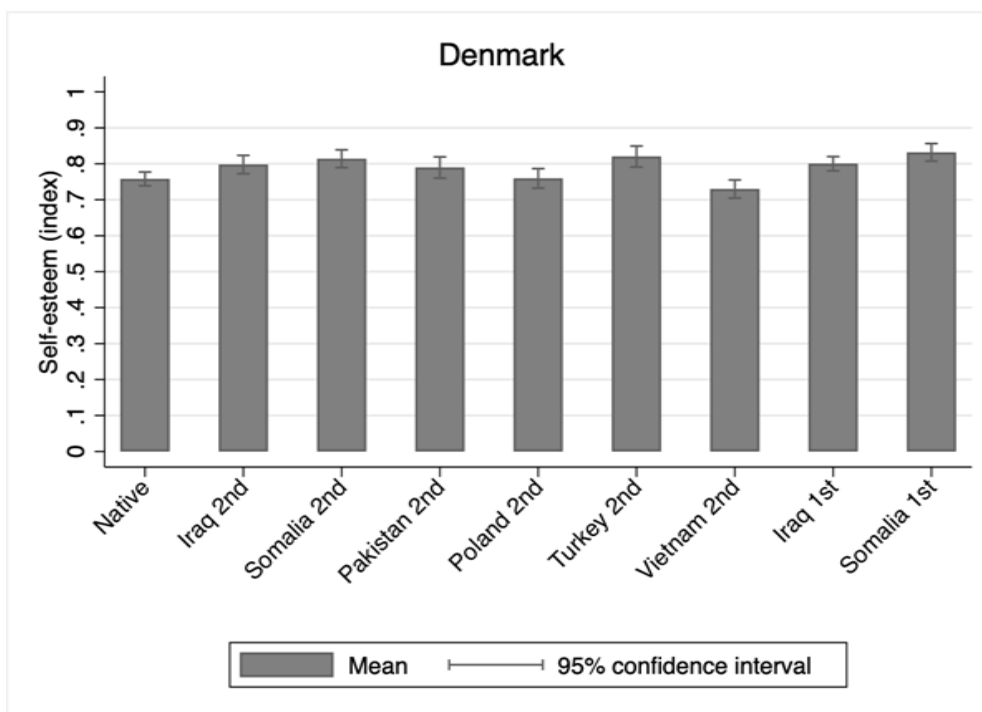


Figure 177

As in Norway and Denmark, all the subgroups in the Swedish sample (Figure 178) show a generally high level of self-esteem, though the Swedish sample is overall more similar to the Norwegian sample than to the Danish. Similar to the other two countries, descendants of Vietnamese immigrants have a

significantly lower level of self-esteem than any other subgroup. Iraqi and Somali immigrants and descendants of Somali and Turkish immigrants have a significantly higher self-esteem than native majority Swedes.

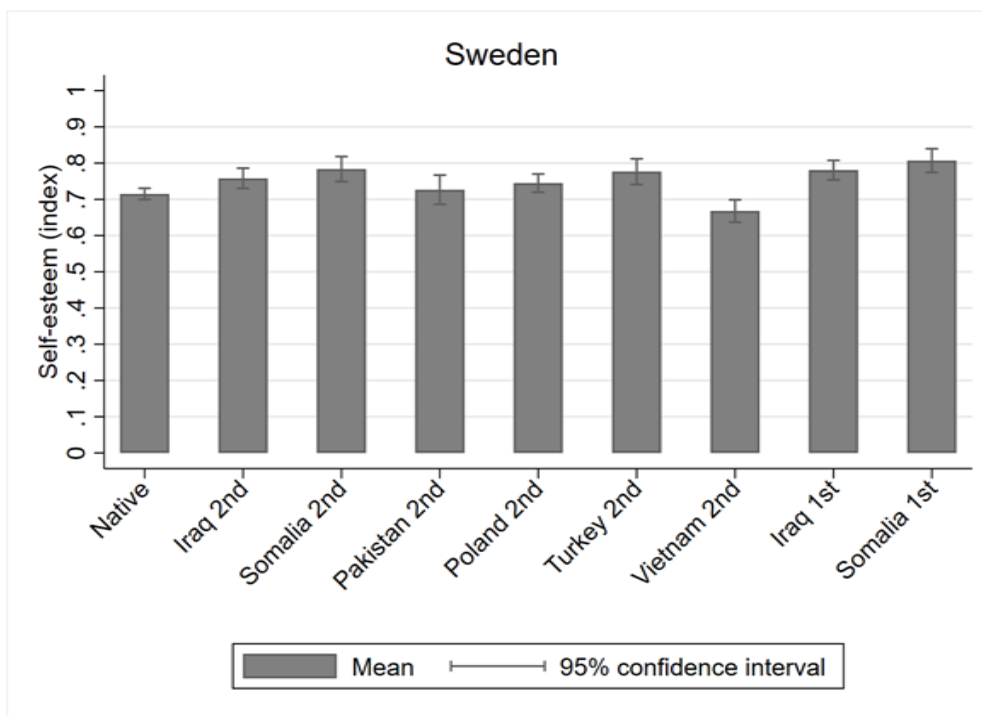


Figure 178

## 10. Identification and attachment

Chapter 10 presents the results on the respondents' feelings of identification and attachment. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section is about respondents' feelings of identification: it measures the perceived importance of being Norwegian, Danish or Swedish, as well as that of being part of the family's ethnic or national group. The second section is about the respondents' attachment to their countries of residence and origin, respectively. All the results are presented in graphs showing the means and their 95%-confidence intervals.

### 10.1. Identification

The first section of Chapter 10 looks at the respondents' identification with the country of residence and of origin. The section is divided into two subsections: the first is about the importance of being Norwegian, Danish or Swedish, while the second section is about the importance of being part of the family's ethnic or national group among the minority groups.

#### 10.1.1. Importance of being Norwegian, Danish or Swedish

In the first subsection, respondents were asked to rate how important it is to identify with their respective country of residence on a scale from 0 (not at all important) to 10 (very important).

As shown in Figure 179, there is little difference between Norway and Denmark, where identification with the country of residence is rather high among both native majorities and minorities. Native majority Swedes rate the importance of being Swedish at a substantially lower level than the other native majorities do their respective nationalities, and to a significantly lower degree than minorities in Sweden. In Norway, there is no statistically significant difference between majority and minority. In Denmark, minorities rate the importance of identifying with the country of residence to a significantly higher level than native majority Danes.

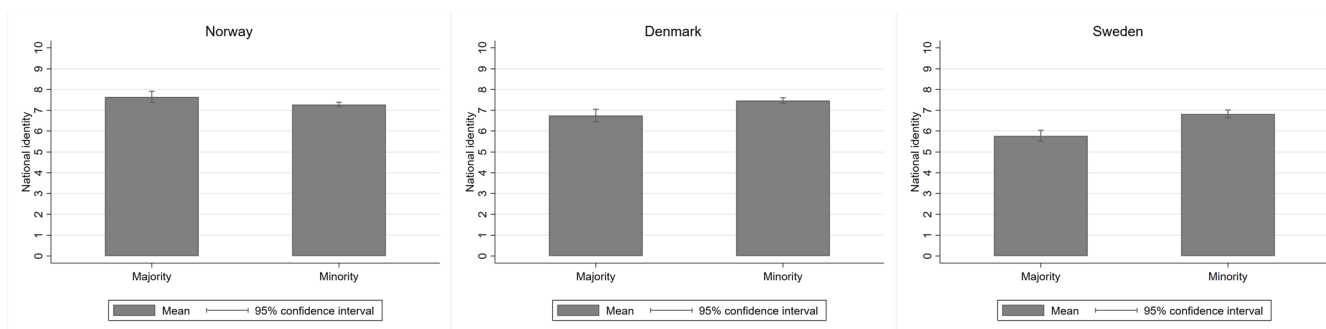


Figure 179

In Norway (Figure 180), all groups express a rather high level of identification with Norway, apart from Polish and Turkish immigrants, who rate it with a significantly lower level of importance than any other subgroup.



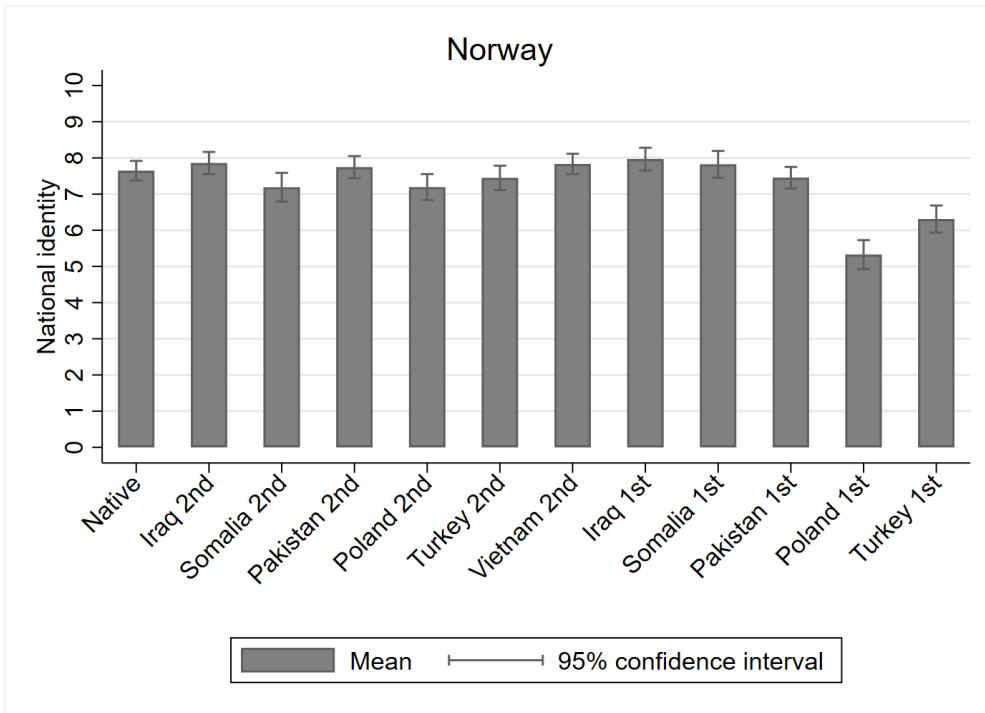


Figure 180

In Denmark (Figure 181), there is generally a lower feeling of identification with the country of residence than in Norway. Native majority Danes have a lower feeling of national identification than Iraqi and Somali immigrants and descendants of Vietnamese and Iraqi immigrants. Differences are otherwise minimal.

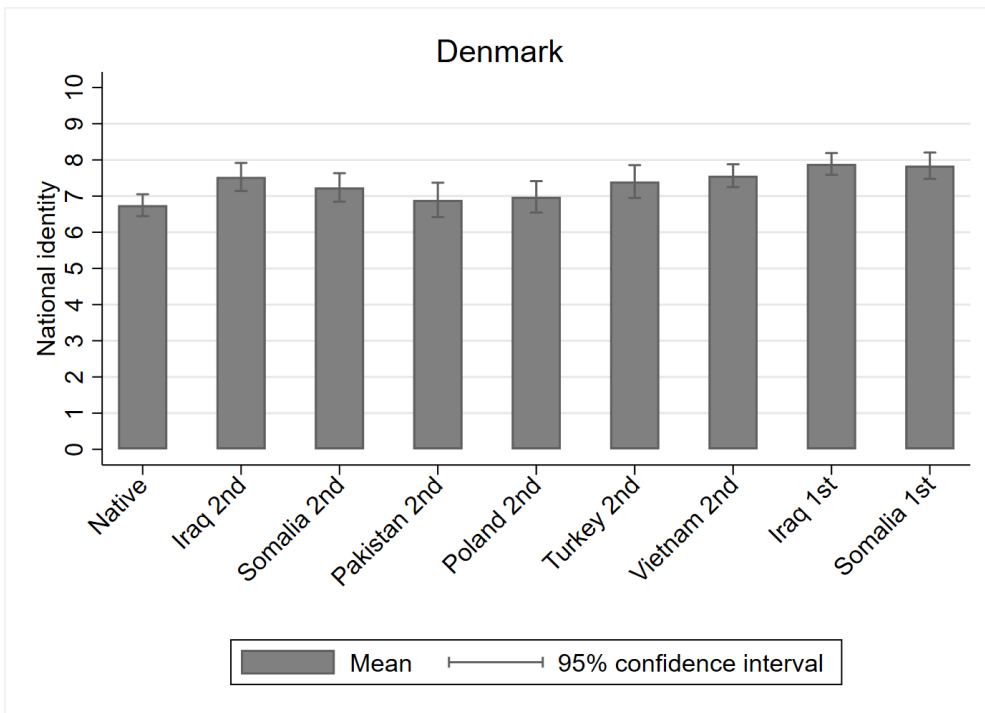


Figure 181

The differences in the Swedish sample are more evident (Figure 183). To Iraqi and Somali immigrants, as well as descendants of Somali, Pakistani and Turkish immigrants, it is significantly more important to identify as Swedish than it is to native majority Swedes. Descendants of Polish immigrants rate the

importance of identifying as Swedish the lowest, at a comparable level to native majority Swedes. Iraqi and Somali immigrants rate the importance of identifying as Swedish to a higher extent than descendants of Iraqi and Somali immigrants.

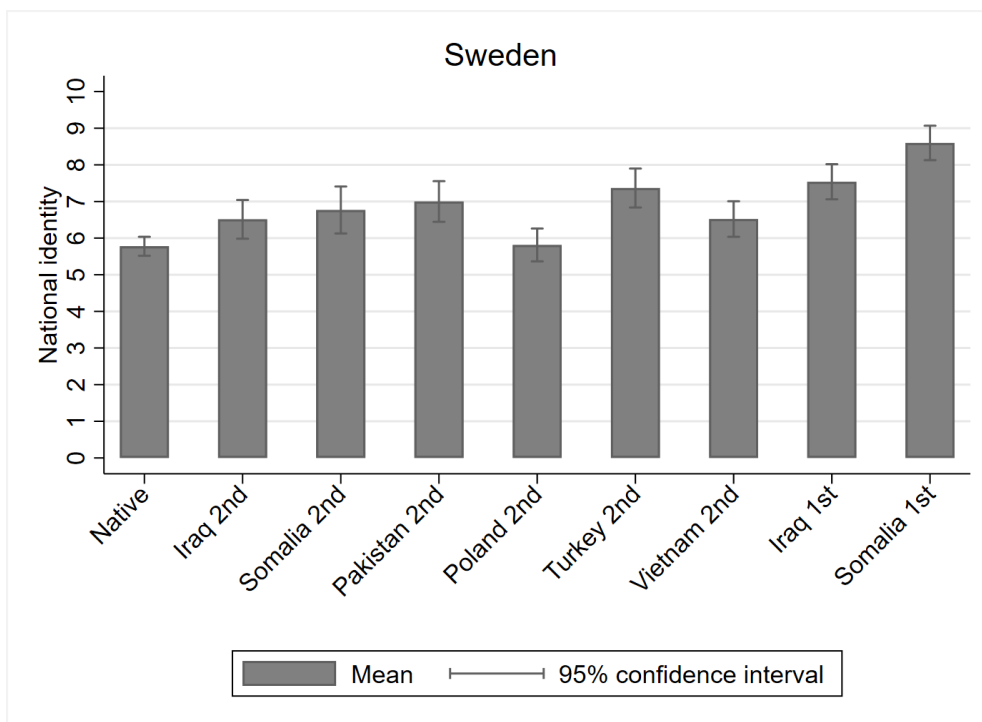


Figure 182

### 10.1.2. Importance of being part of the family’s ethnic or national group

In the second subsection, respondents were asked how they would see the importance of identifying with their country of origin on a scale of 0 (not important at all) to 10 (very important).

In Norway (Figure 183), Polish immigrants rate the importance of being part of the family’s ethnic or national group to a significantly higher extent than descendants of Polish immigrants, while the relationship is the reverse among respondents with Turkish origin – descendants of Turkish immigrants rate the importance of identification with the country of origin to a higher extent than Turkish immigrants. Apart from Turkish and Iraqi immigrants, the other subgroups generally rate the importance of being part of the family’s ethnic or national group to a higher extent than descendants of immigrants from the same countries.

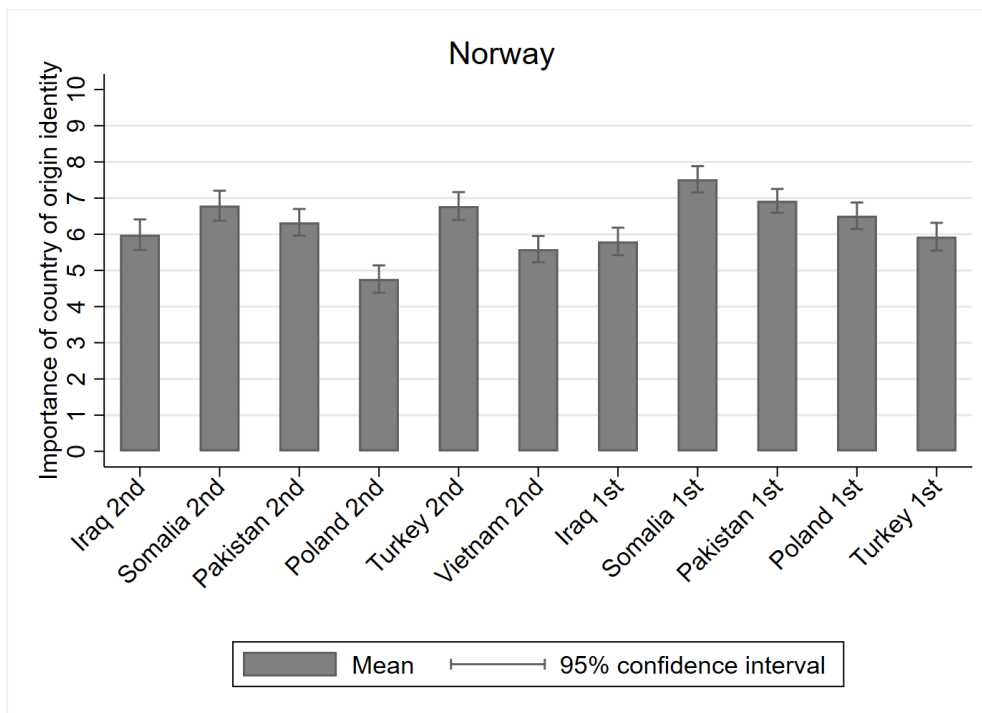


Figure 183

In Denmark (Figure 184), there is little difference between subgroups, as they mostly express a neutral or slightly positive opinion about the importance of identification with the country of origin. Descendants of Somali immigrants rate the identification with the country of origin the highest, while descendants of Polish immigrants rate it the lowest.

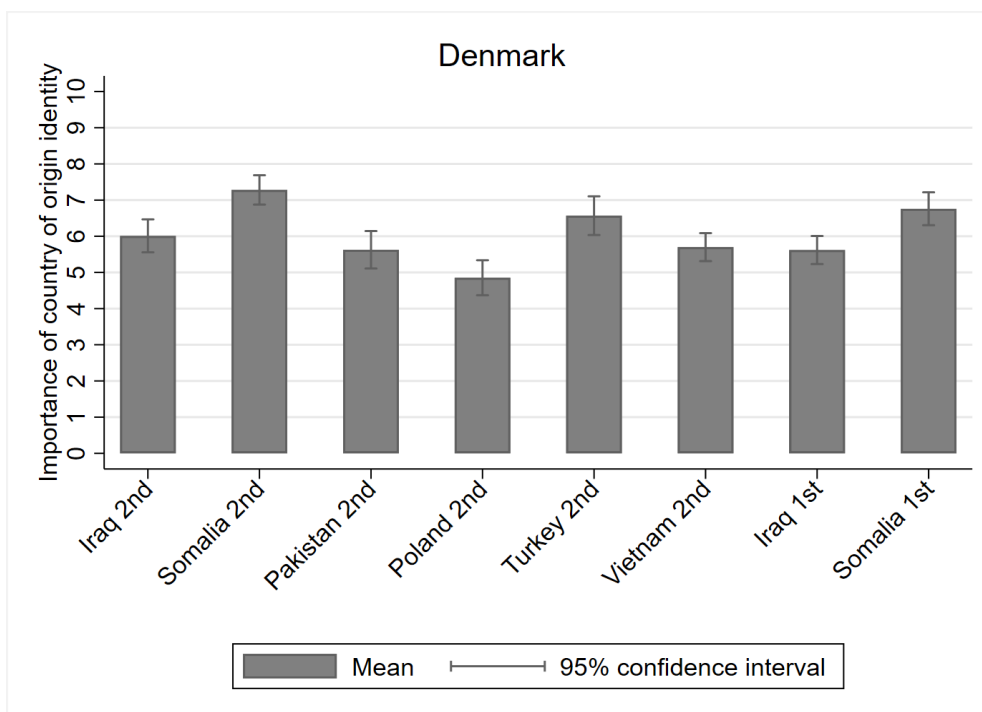


Figure 184

In Sweden (Figure 185), both Somali immigrants and descendants of Somali immigrants rate the identification with the country of origin as very important: both these groups have significantly higher means than any other subgroup. Descendants of Polish and Vietnamese immigrants rate it the lowest.

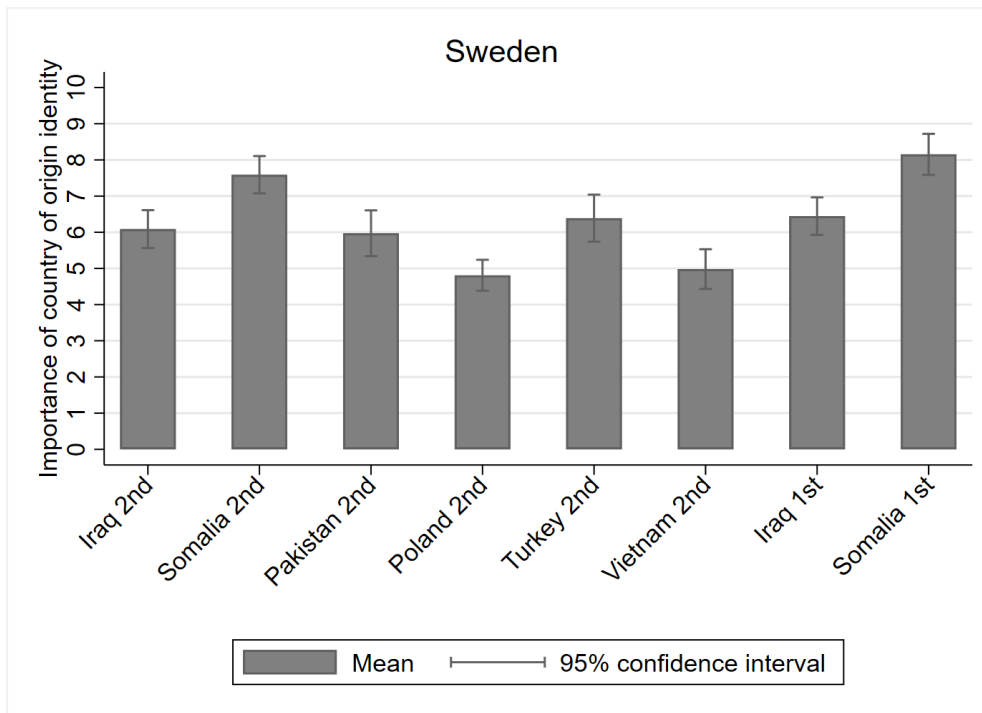


Figure 185

## 10.2. Attachment

The second section of Chapter 10 looks at the respondents' attachment to the country of residence and of origin. The section is divided into two subsections: the first is about attachment to the country of residence, while the second is about attachment to the country of origin.

### 10.2.1. Attachment to the country of residence

In the first subsection, respondents were asked to rate their attachment to the country of residence on a scale from 0 to 10, with 0 indicating no attachment and 10 a strong attachment.

Figure 186 shows the results from Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Respondents indicate that the attachment to the country of residence is generally very high among all groups. Native majorities are significantly more attached than minorities in all three countries, though the difference in Denmark especially is quite small. The difference between the native majority and minorities is statistically significant in Norway. The largest gap is found between the native majority and minority in Sweden.

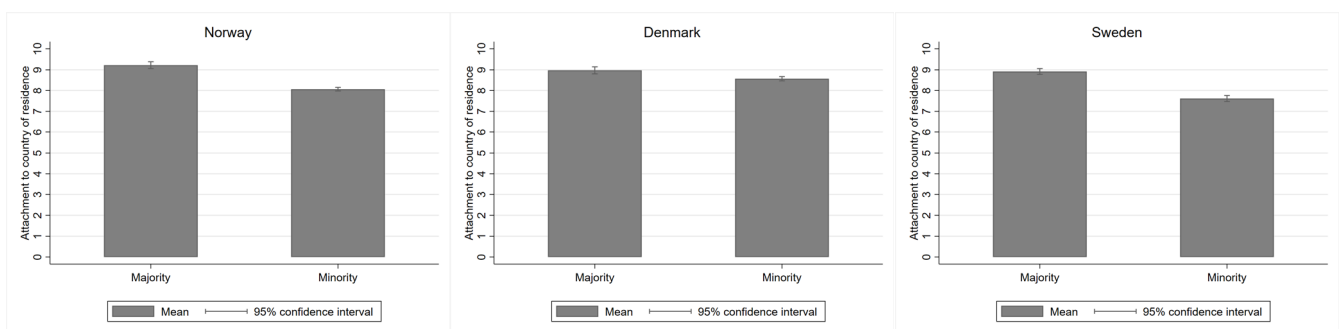


Figure 186

In Norway (Figure 187), all groups responded with a high attachment to Norway, with the native majority registering the highest of all subgroups. Polish immigrants have the lowest attachment to Norway than any other subgroup. Descendants of Turkish, Polish, and Iraqi immigrants are significantly more attached to Norway than Turkish, Polish, and Iraqi immigrants, and the difference between descendants of Pakistani immigrants and Pakistani immigrants is very close to significant.

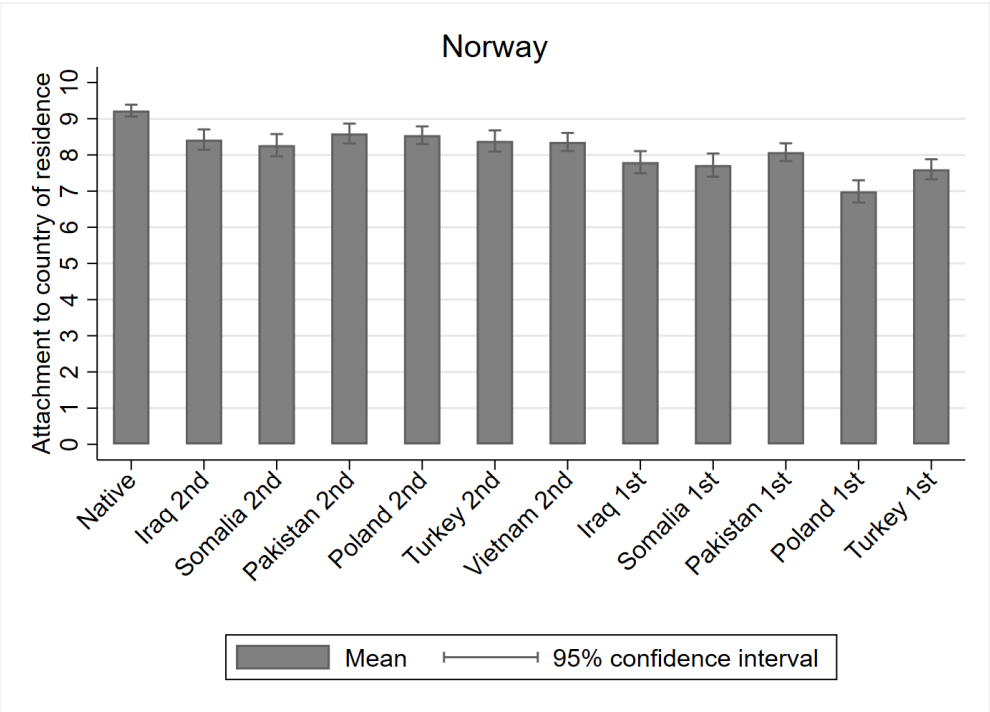


Figure 187

In Denmark (Figure 188), the difference between subgroups is minimal, as they all feel strongly attached to Denmark. Only Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Somali and Vietnamese immigrants are significantly less attached than native majority Danes.

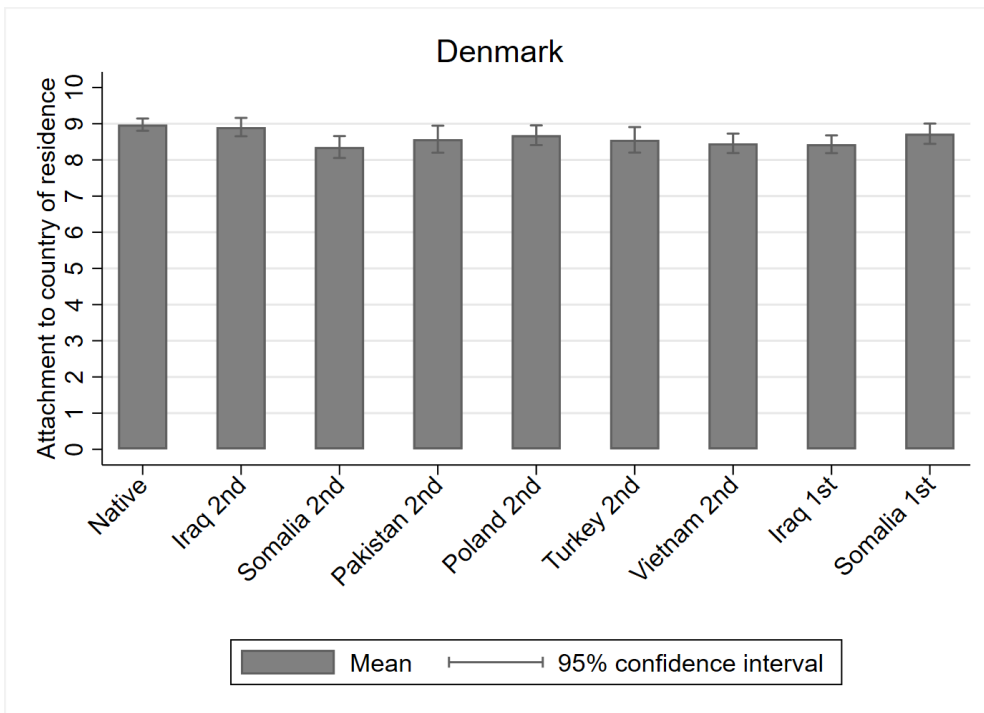


Figure 188

In Sweden (Figure 189), there is more variety in respondents' responses than in Norway and Denmark, although most subgroups express a high attachment to Sweden. Native majority Swedes indicate the highest attachment to Sweden, while descendants of Somali immigrants have the lowest rate of attachment of all subgroups, closely followed by Somali immigrants.

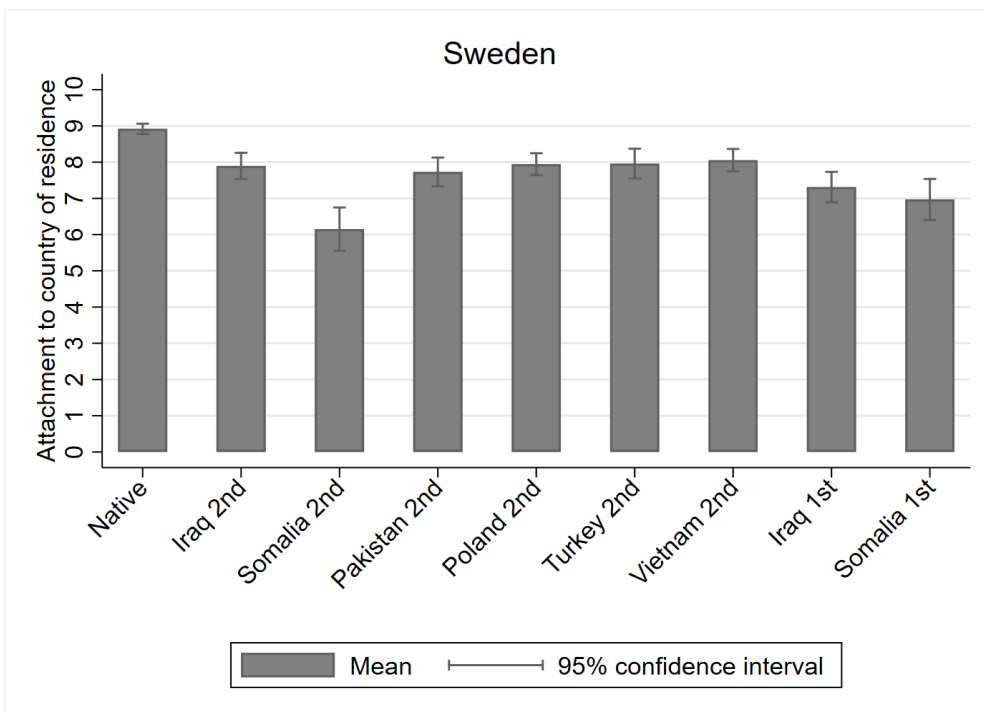


Figure 189

## 10.2.2. Attachment to the country of origin

In the second subsection, minority respondents were asked to rate their attachment to the country of origin on a scale of 0 (no attachment) to 10 (strong attachment).

In the Norwegian sample (displayed in Figure 190), most of the immigrants' subgroups display a greater sense of attachment to their countries of origin than the descendants of immigrants from the same country: the only two exceptions are Iraqi and Turkish immigrants, for whom there is no substantial difference from the descendants of Iraqi and Turkish immigrants. Descendants of Vietnamese immigrants are significantly less attached to their country of origin than any other group.

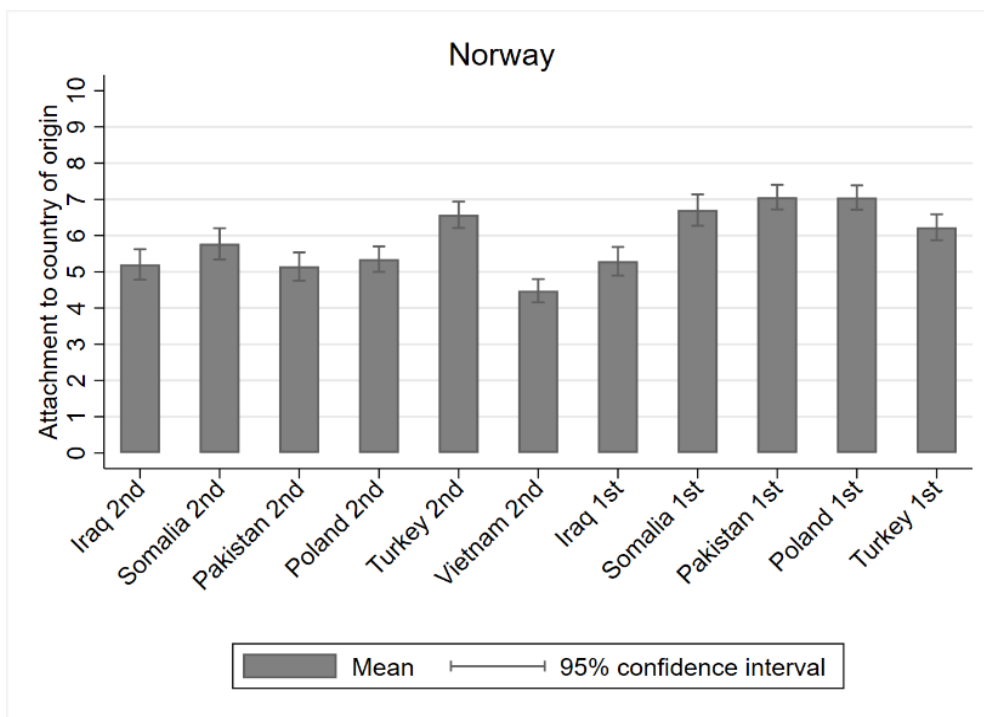


Figure 190

Minority subgroups in Denmark (Figure 191) are generally not very attached to their countries of origin. Descendants of Turkish and Polish immigrants have a stronger attachment to their countries of origin than the other subgroups.

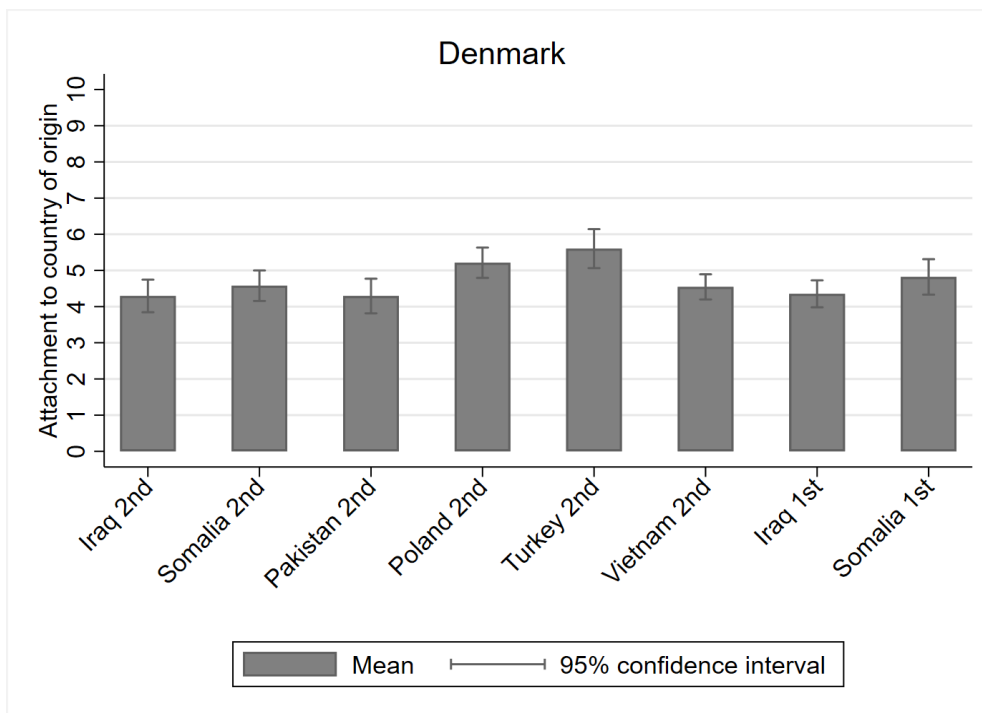


Figure 191

In Sweden (Figure 192), most minority groups have an overall neutral feeling of attachment to their countries of origin. Somali immigrants are substantially more attached than most other groups, while descendants of Vietnamese and Turkish immigrants are the least attached to their countries of origin.

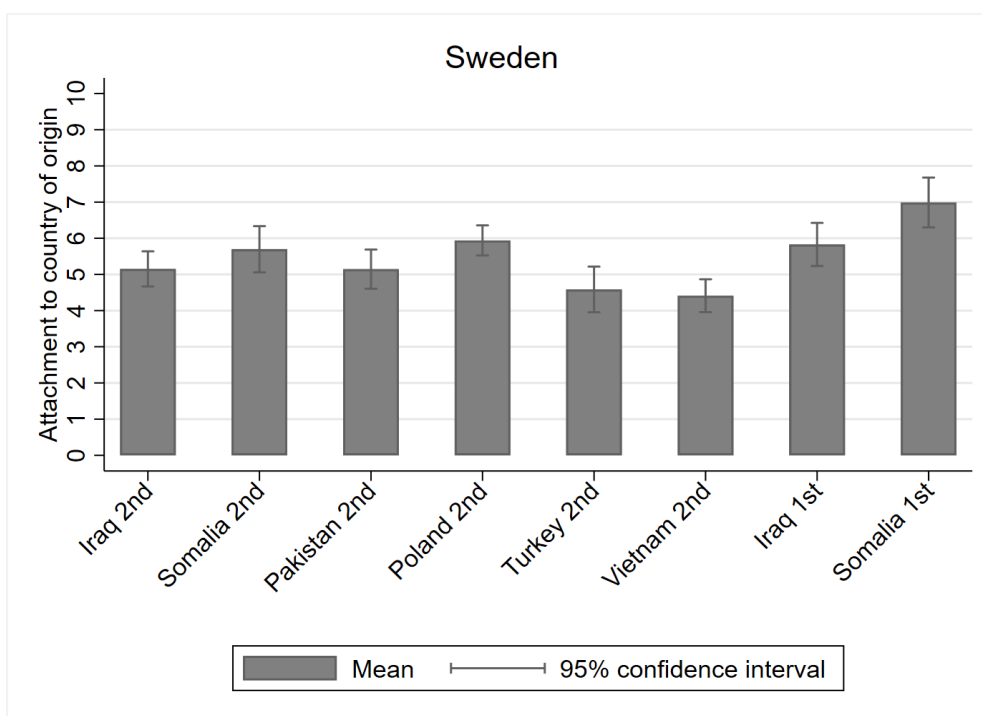


Figure 192

### 10.3. Chapter summary

Chapter 10 presented the results on respondents' identification and attachment to the countries of residence and of origin. In terms of identification, most respondents agree that it is important to identify



with being Norwegian, Danish or Swedish: only native majority Swedes are less in agreement with this than other groups. Between the minority groups, there are some noticeable differences in the reported importance of being part of the family's ethnic or national group, though most groups tend to find it neither important nor unimportant, or find it important only to a slight degree. In terms of attachment to the country of residence, all groups express a high attachment, which is slightly higher among native majorities. There are differences among the levels of attachment to the countries of origin, which vary from neutral to strong.

## II. Discrimination

Chapter 11 looks at the theme of discrimination and is divided into two sections: perceived discrimination and experienced discrimination.

### II.1. Perceived discrimination (based on ethnic and/or religious background)

In this section, the dependent variable is perceived discrimination, which is measured by the question: how often do you think people with your religion or ethnic background are discriminated against in this country? The figure below indicates how the different groups are distributed regarding this question. Results are shown in percentages.

As shown in Figure 193, native majorities in Scandinavia rarely or never report a perception of perceived discrimination. In Norway, descendants of immigrants perceive discrimination very often, more than the immigrant population, while in Sweden and Denmark the difference is smaller. In each country, most of the minority subgroups perceive that their religious or ethnic groups are discriminated against in society fairly or very often.

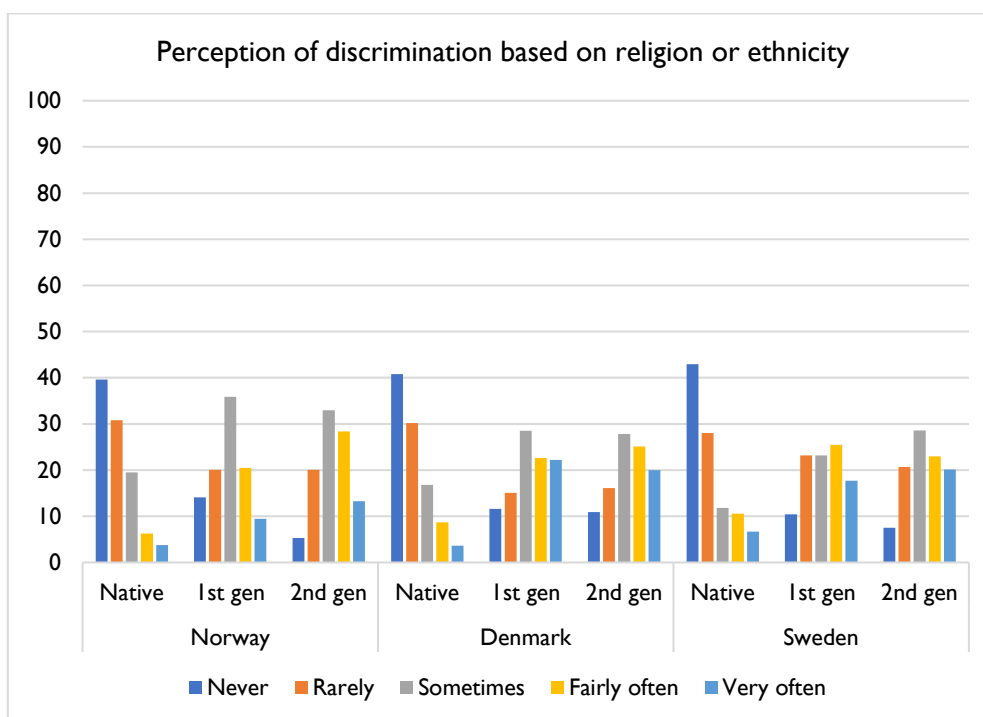


Figure 193

In Norway (Figure 194), native majority Norwegians responded 'never' to perceived discrimination to a much higher degree than the minority groups. Indeed, the minority subgroups perceive discrimination sometimes or fairly often. Exceptions to this are descendants of Somali immigrants, who report perceived discrimination very often, and descendants of Vietnamese immigrants who, in turn, perceive discrimination based on religion or ethnicity more rarely than any other subgroup.

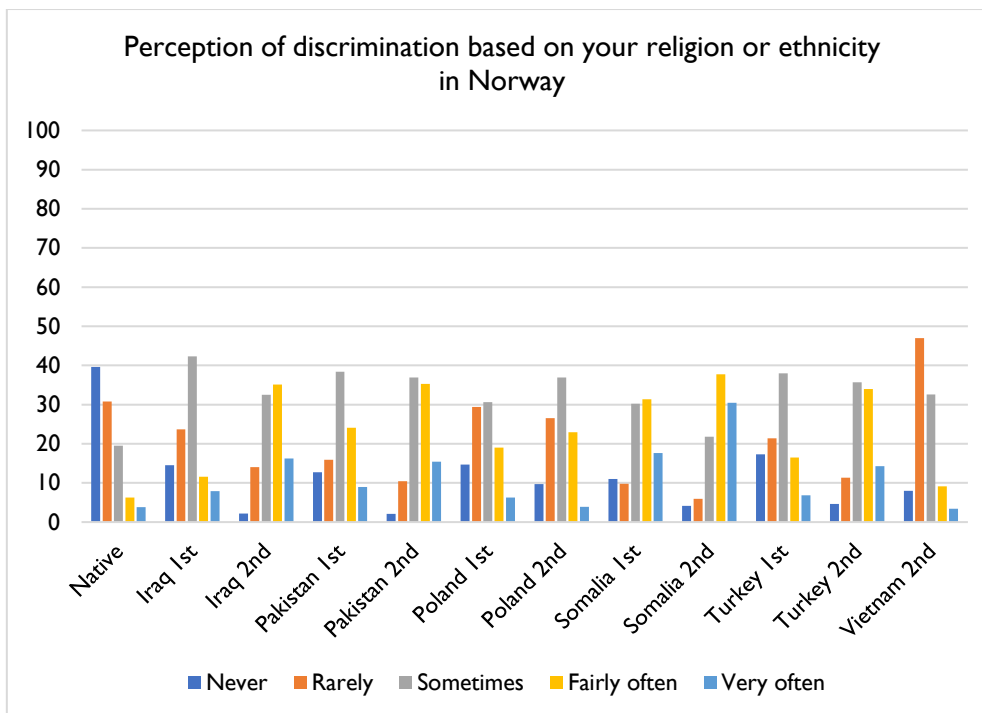


Figure 194

In Denmark (Figure 195), as in Norway, native majority Danes report the highest percentage of never experiencing perceived discrimination based on ethnic and/or religious background. The minority groups in Denmark report perceived discrimination fairly or very often to a higher degree than minorities in Norway. As in Norway, descendants of Somali immigrants report the most frequent perception of discrimination, while descendants of Vietnamese immigrants report the rarest.

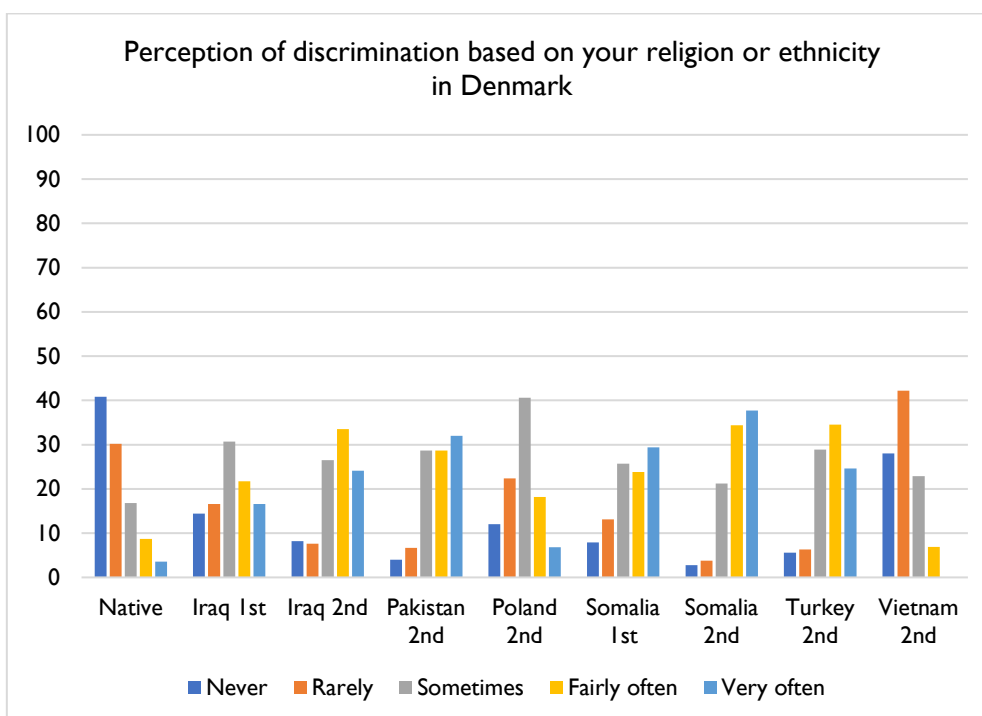


Figure 195

In Sweden (Figure 196), the replies are overall more similar to the Danish sample than the Norwegian, though the percentage of native majority respondents claiming never to have perceived discrimination

on the basis of their ethnic or religious background is almost equal across the Scandinavian countries. Descendants of Somali immigrants report perceiving discrimination very often, and do so to a higher degree than in Norway and Denmark (nearly 50% of respondents). Descendants of Vietnamese immigrants in Sweden perceive more discrimination than those in Denmark and Norway.

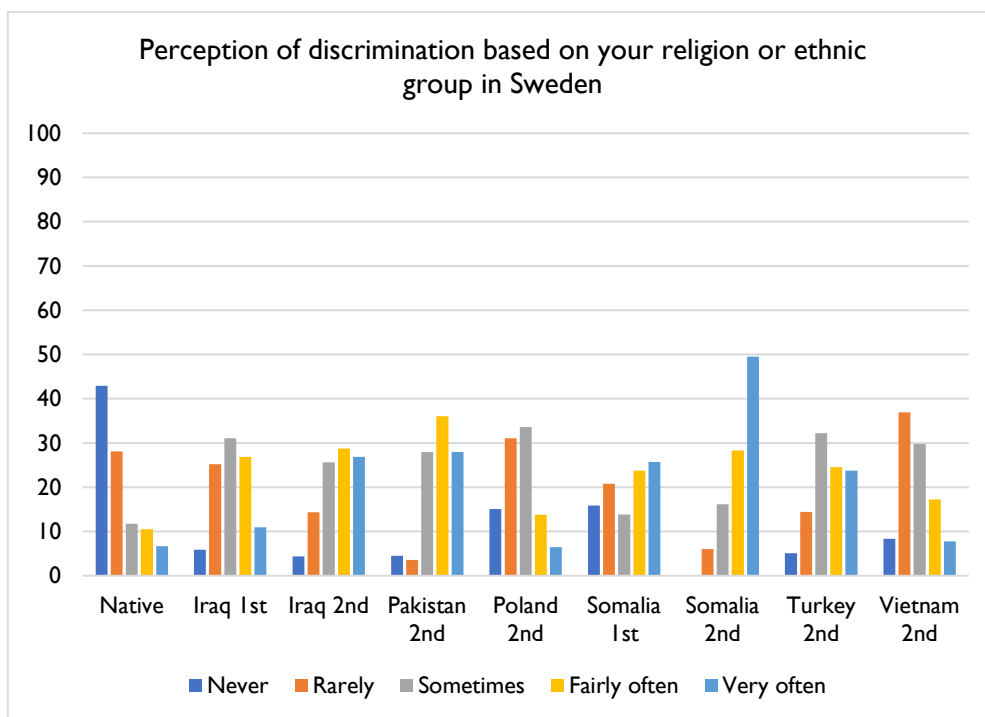


Figure 196

## 11.2. Experienced discrimination

In the second section of this chapter, results on the respondents' experience of discrimination in the previous 12 months are presented. The section is divided into eight subsections. The first seven are about the experience of discrimination in several situations: in contact with the police; by employees in the public sector; at the place of work or study; in cafés and restaurants; in shops and banks; on public transport; and on the street. In these seven subsections, results are shown in percentages. The last subsection presents a measure that combines the results of the previous seven subsections. Results are presented in graphs showing the means and their 95%-confidence intervals.

### 11.2.1. Discrimination in contact with the police

In this subsection, respondents were asked whether they experienced discrimination in contact with the police. The graphs show the percentage of respondents who experienced it.

As shown in Figure 197, overall less than 10% of respondents in each group have experienced discrimination in contact with the police. The percentage is smallest among native majorities. Minorities in Denmark and Sweden report a similar percentage of discrimination by the police, both of which are higher than the percentage from minorities in Norway.

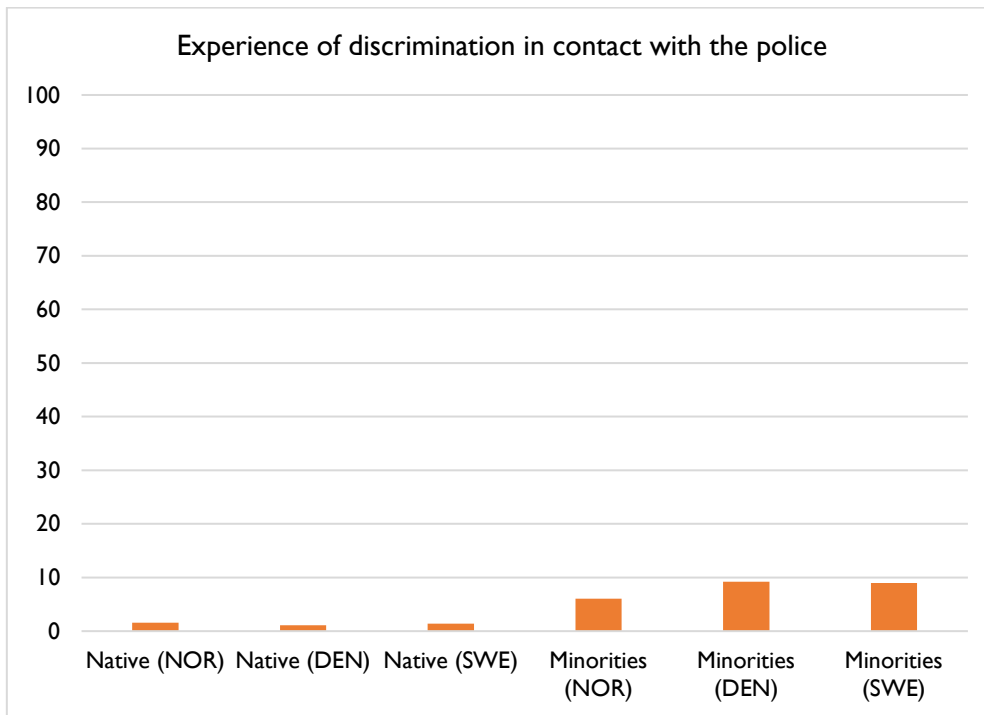


Figure 197

Among respondents in Norway (Figure 198), the native majority reports the lowest experienced discrimination in contact with the police, followed by Polish, Pakistani, and Turkish immigrants, and descendants of Vietnamese immigrants. The groups with the highest percentage of reported discrimination in contact with police are descendants of Somali and of Turkish immigrants (higher than 10%). With the exception of Iraqi immigrants, all the other immigrant subgroups have experienced discrimination in contact with the police less than descendants of immigrants from the same countries.

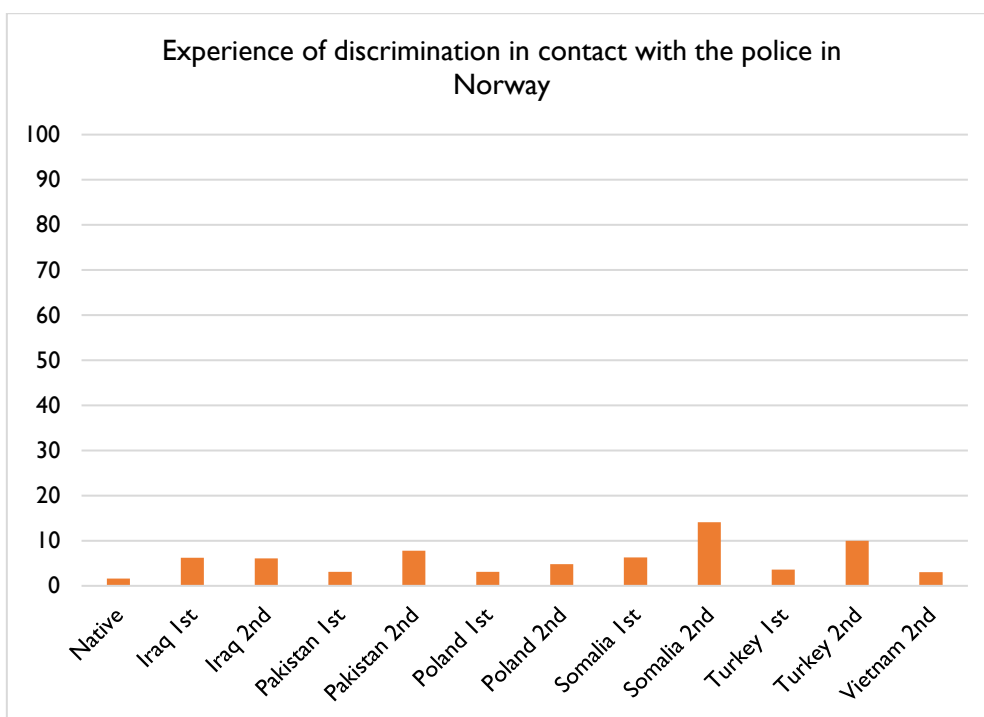


Figure 198

In Denmark (Figure 199), native majority Danes and descendants of Polish immigrants experienced discrimination in contact with police the least. More than 10% of descendants of Pakistani, Turkish and Somali immigrants experienced discrimination. As in Norway, descendants of immigrants have experienced discrimination more often than immigrants from the same country.

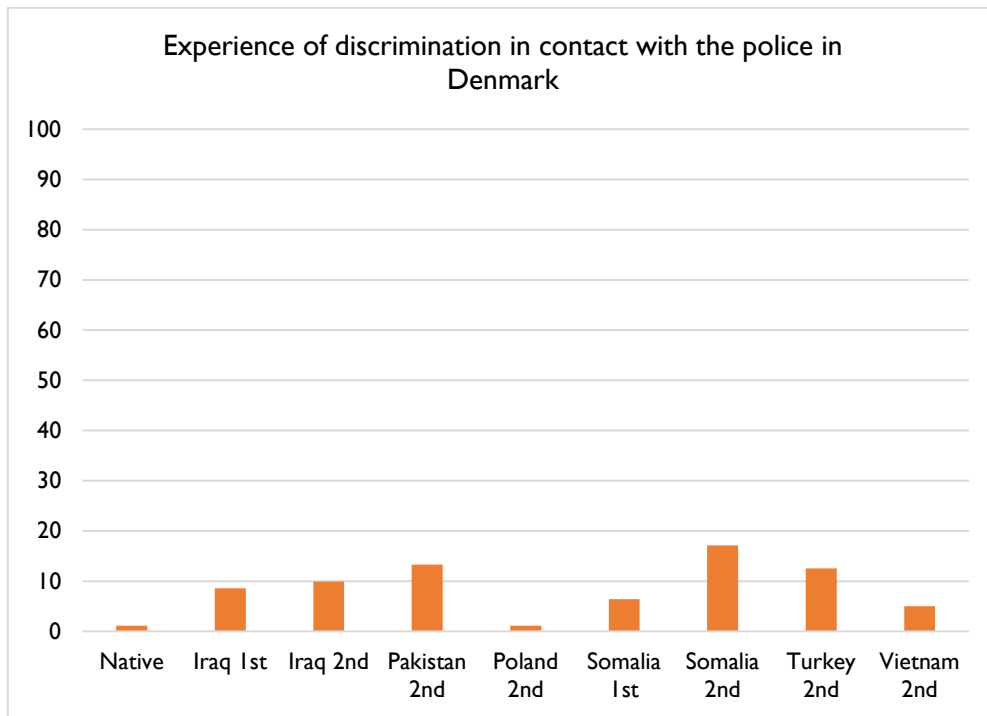


Figure 199

In Sweden (Figure 200), native majority Swedes experienced the least discrimination in contact with the police, followed by descendants of Polish immigrants. More than 10% of respondents among Iraqi immigrants and descendants of immigrants from Iraq, Pakistan and Turkey have experienced discrimination. As in both Norway and Denmark, the largest percentage of experienced discrimination in contact with the police is found among descendants of Somali immigrants.

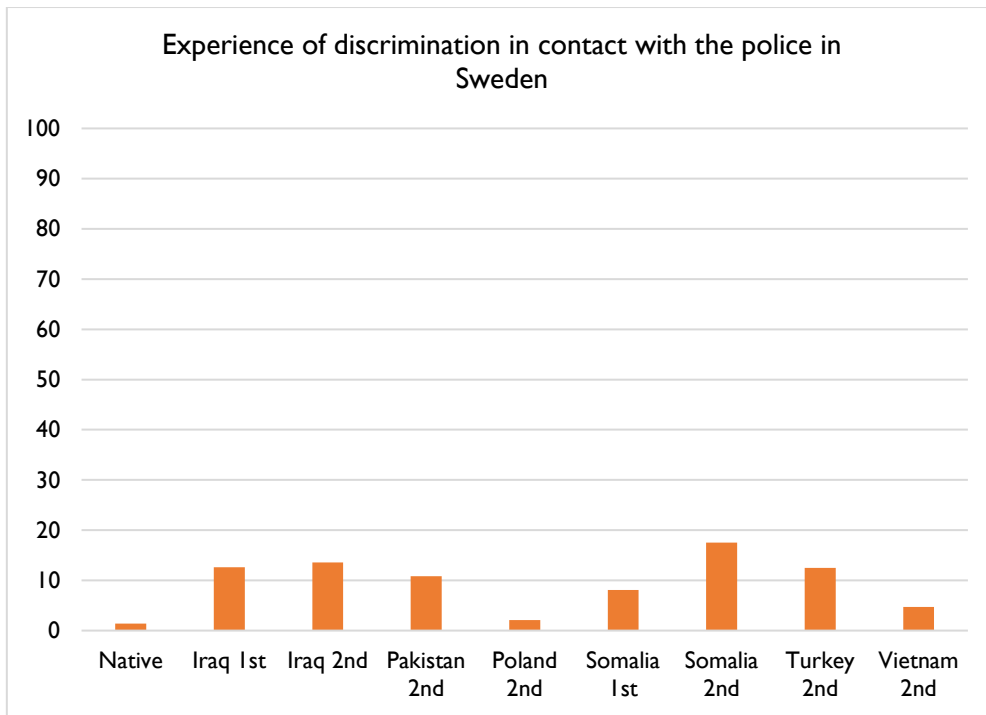


Figure 200

### 11.2.2. Discrimination by employees in a public office or service

In this subsection, respondents were asked whether they experienced discrimination by employees of public offices.

Figure 201 compares the results from Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Native majorities have experienced discrimination by employees of public offices the least. Among minority groups, between 10% and 20% of respondents have experienced discrimination: the rate is similar in Norway and Sweden, while it is higher in Denmark.

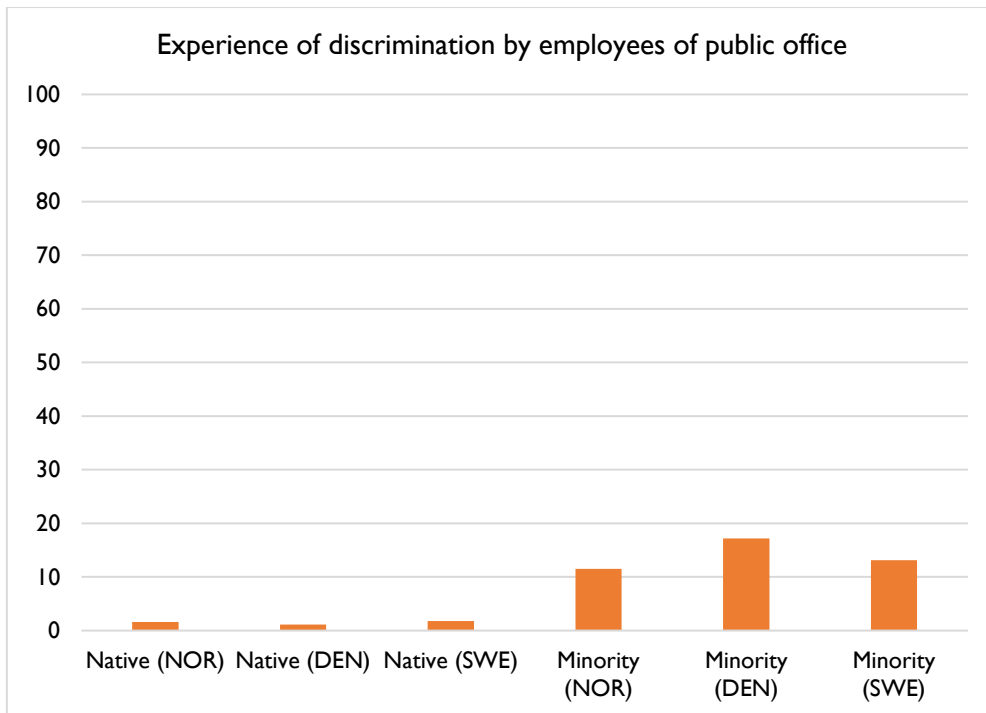


Figure 201

In Norway (shown in Figure 202), discrimination by employees in a public office or service is more widely experienced than discrimination from the police, as noted in the previous section. Native majority Norwegians have mostly not experienced it, while the rate is higher among minorities. After native majority Norwegians, the group that experienced the least discrimination is Turkish immigrants, while the groups responding with the highest percentage are the descendants of Iraqi, Pakistani and Somali immigrants. All the groups of descendants of immigrants have experienced discrimination by employees in a public office more than the immigrants from the same country.

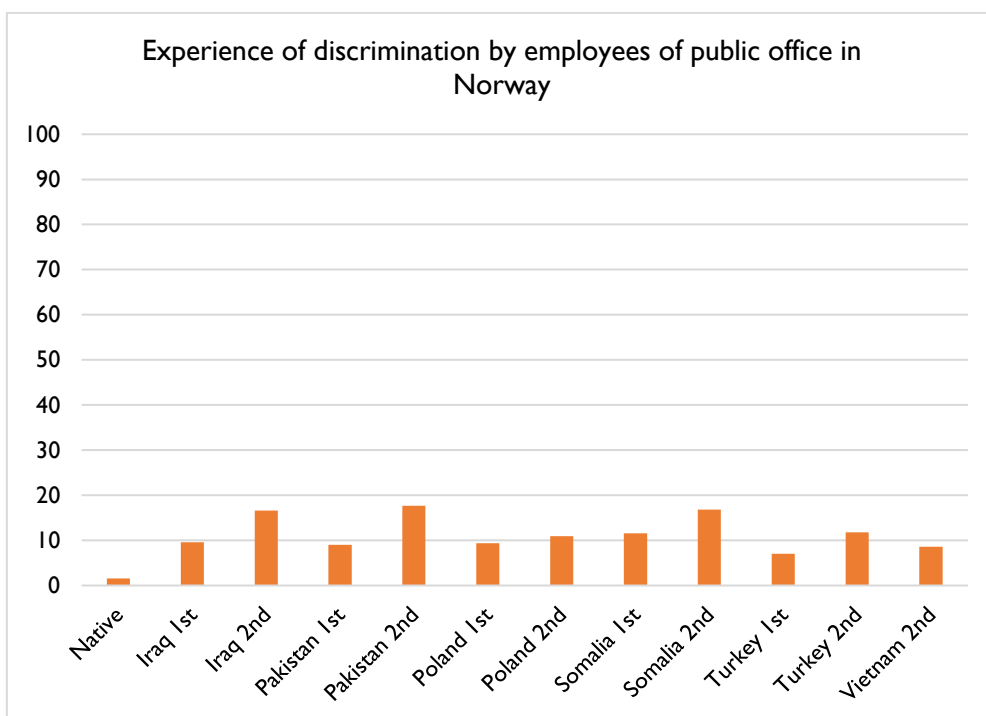


Figure 202



In Denmark (Figure 203), the percentage of respondents having experienced discrimination by employees of public office is higher than in Norway: 20% or more of the descendants of Iraqi, Pakistani, Somali and Turkish immigrants have experienced it. The minority groups with the lowest percentage of experiences of discrimination are descendants of Polish and of Vietnamese immigrants.

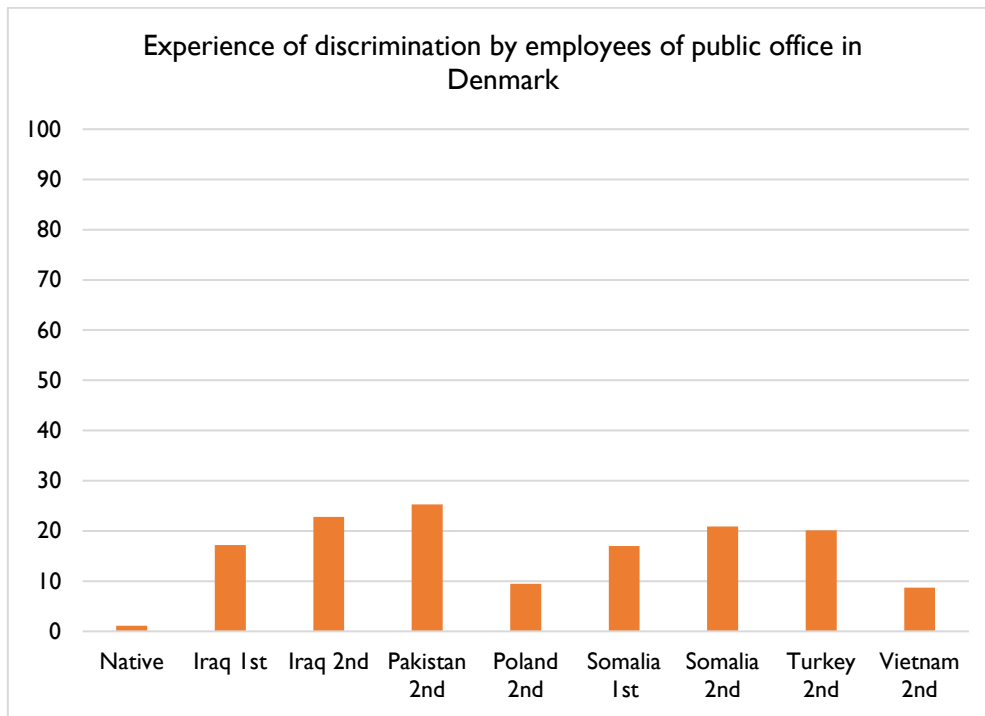


Figure 203

In Sweden (Figure 204), the percentage of experienced discrimination by employees of public office is more varied than in Norway and Denmark. Apart from native majority Swedes, the lowest percentage of experienced discrimination by employees in public offices is given by descendants of Polish immigrants, while more than 20% of descendants of Somali immigrants have experienced it. Nearly a fifth of descendants of Pakistani immigrants and of Somali immigrants have experienced discrimination by employees of public offices.

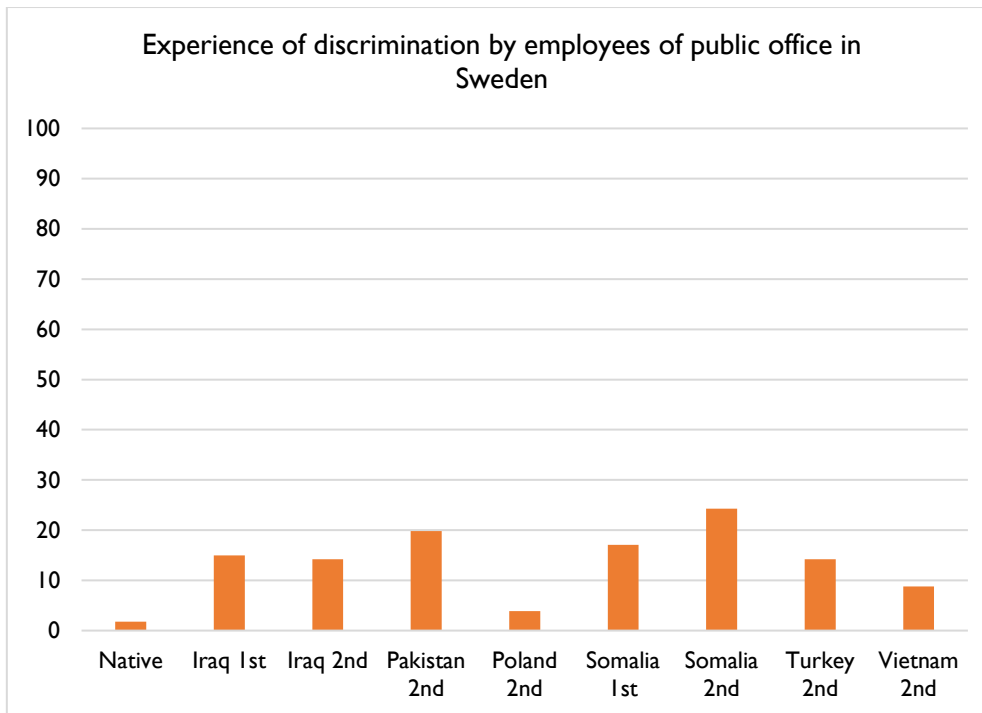


Figure 204

### 11.2.3. Discrimination at the place of work or study

In this subsection, respondents were asked about their experience of discrimination at their places of work or study.

Figure 205 compares the results from Norway, Denmark and Sweden. A low percentage of native majorities perceived discrimination at their places of work or study. Minorities in Norway, Denmark and Sweden report a significantly higher percentage of discrimination, ranging from close to 20% in Norway to close to 30% in Sweden.

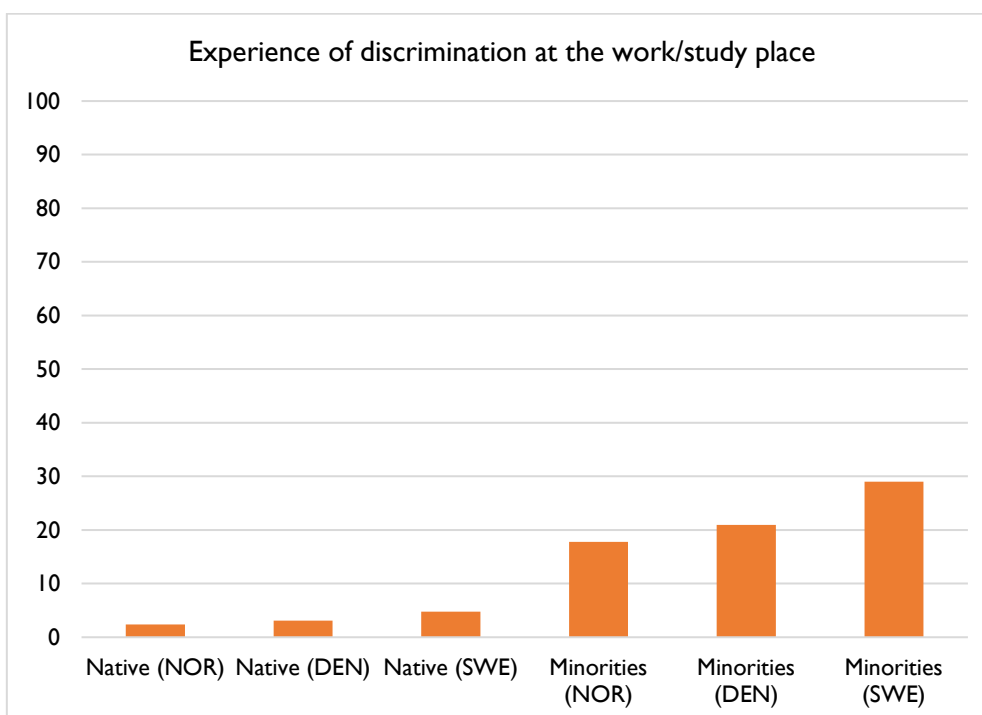


Figure 205

In Norway (Figure 206), the native majority has the lowest percentage of respondents having experienced discrimination in the place of work or study, while descendants of Iraqi, Somali and Turkish immigrants have the highest, exceeding 20%. The remaining minority groups experienced discrimination within the 10–20% range. Turkish immigrants register the lowest percentage among minority groups.

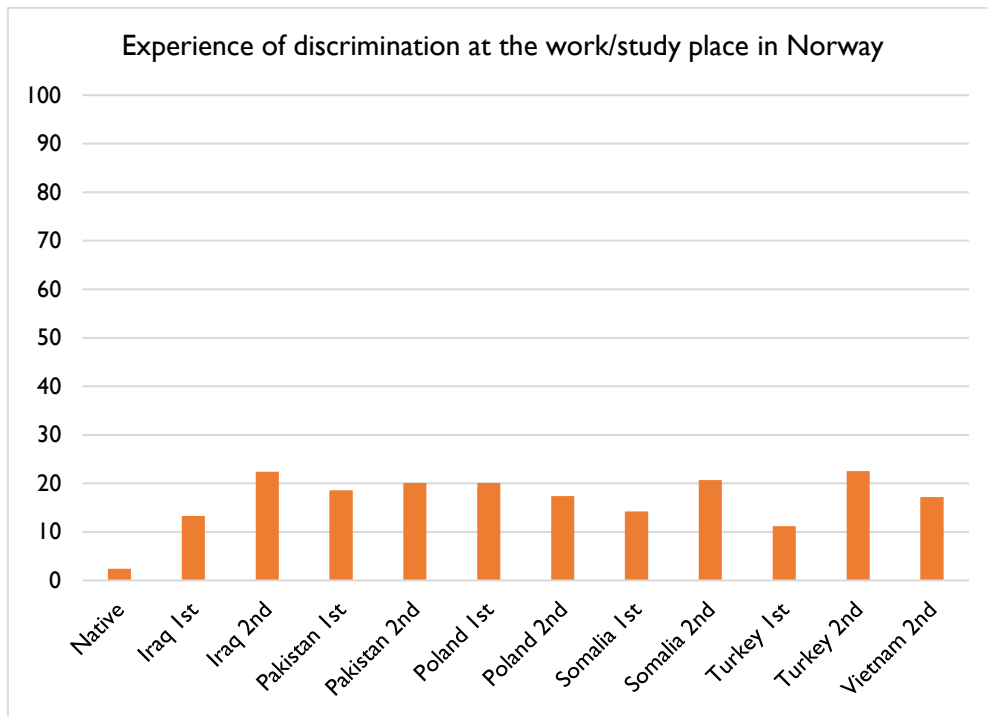


Figure 206

In Denmark (Figure 207), the native majority has the lowest percentage of answers confirming discrimination, while Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Iraqi, Somali and Turkish immigrants have the highest. All of the minority groups have a percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination within the 15–25% range, except for descendants of Vietnamese immigrants, who have the lowest percentage of experienced discrimination among minority groups.

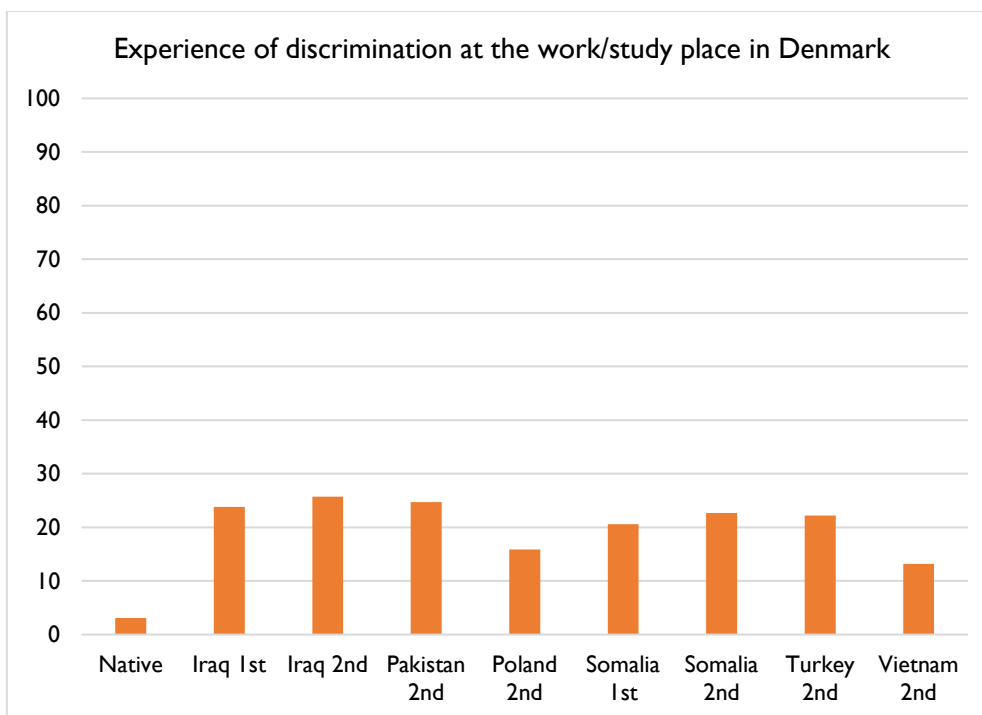


Figure 207

In Sweden (Figure 208), the native majority has the lowest percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination at the place of work or study, while descendants of Pakistani and Somali immigrants have the highest. Descendants of Polish immigrants have the lowest percentage of experienced discrimination among minority groups. All the minority groups have a percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination higher than in Norway or Denmark.

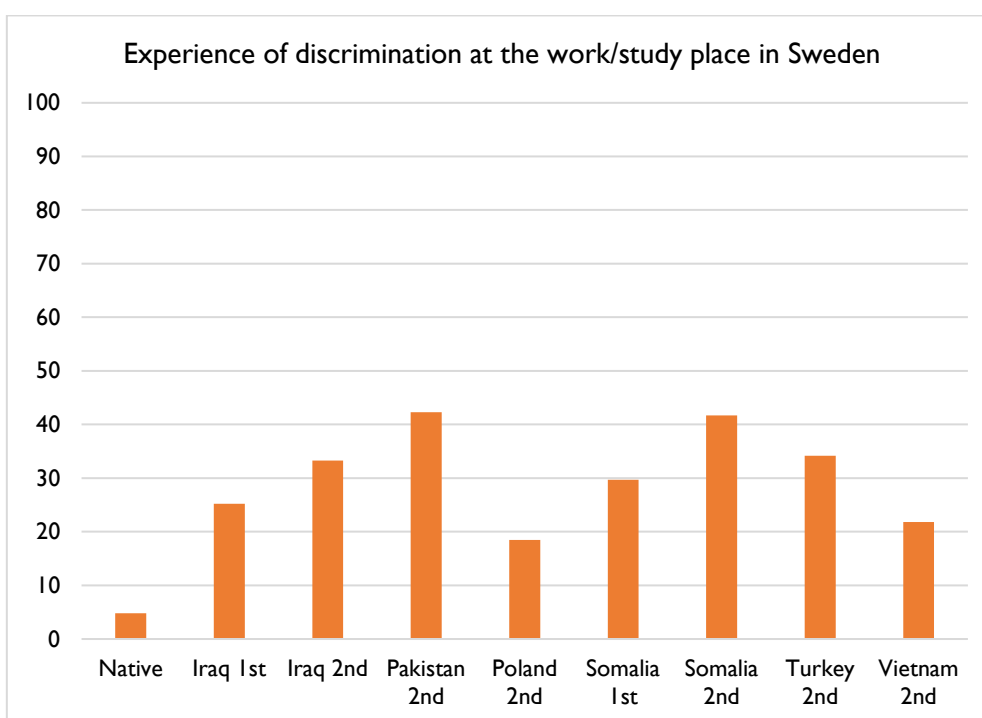


Figure 208

#### 11.2.4. Discrimination in restaurants, cafés, or similar spaces

In this subsection, respondents were asked about their experience of discrimination in restaurants, cafés, or similar spaces.

Figure 209 compares the results from Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Experienced discrimination is very low among native majorities. Immigrants experienced discrimination to a much higher extent than native majorities, ranging from close to 10% in Norway to nearly 20% in Sweden.

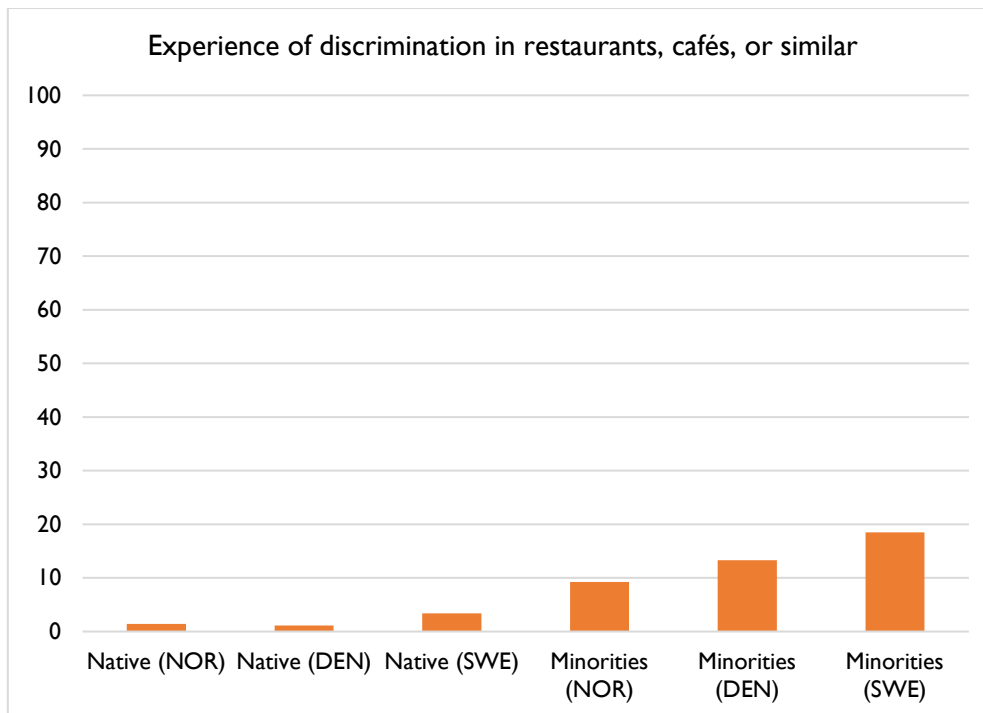


Figure 209

In Norway (Figure 210), the native majority has the lowest percentage of respondents that experienced discrimination, while descendants of Iraqi, Pakistani, Somali, Turkish and Vietnamese immigrants have the highest, exceeding 10%. Discrimination was experienced more among the descendants of immigrants than among immigrants from the same countries. Polish immigrants and descendants of Polish immigrants register the lowest percentage among minority groups.

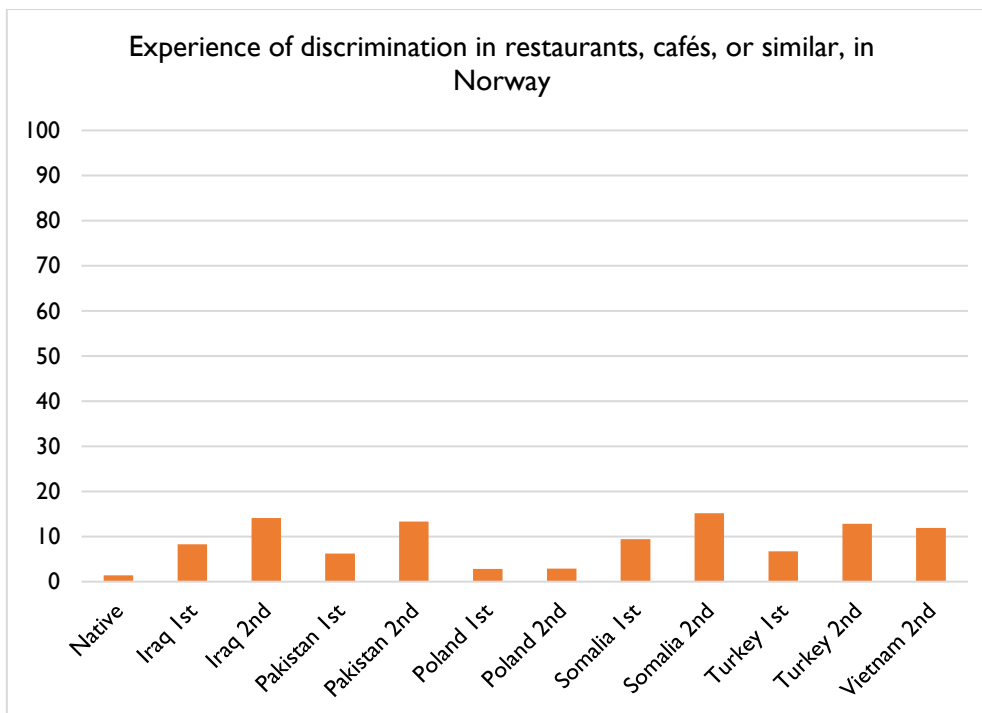


Figure 210

In Denmark (Figure 211), the native majority also has the lowest percentage of respondents that experienced discrimination, while descendants of Pakistani and Somali immigrants have the highest. The remaining minority groups have a percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination between 10% and 20%, except for the descendants of Vietnamese and Polish immigrants. The latter have the lowest percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination among minority groups. In general, experienced discrimination in restaurants, cafés, or similar spaces is higher than in Norway.

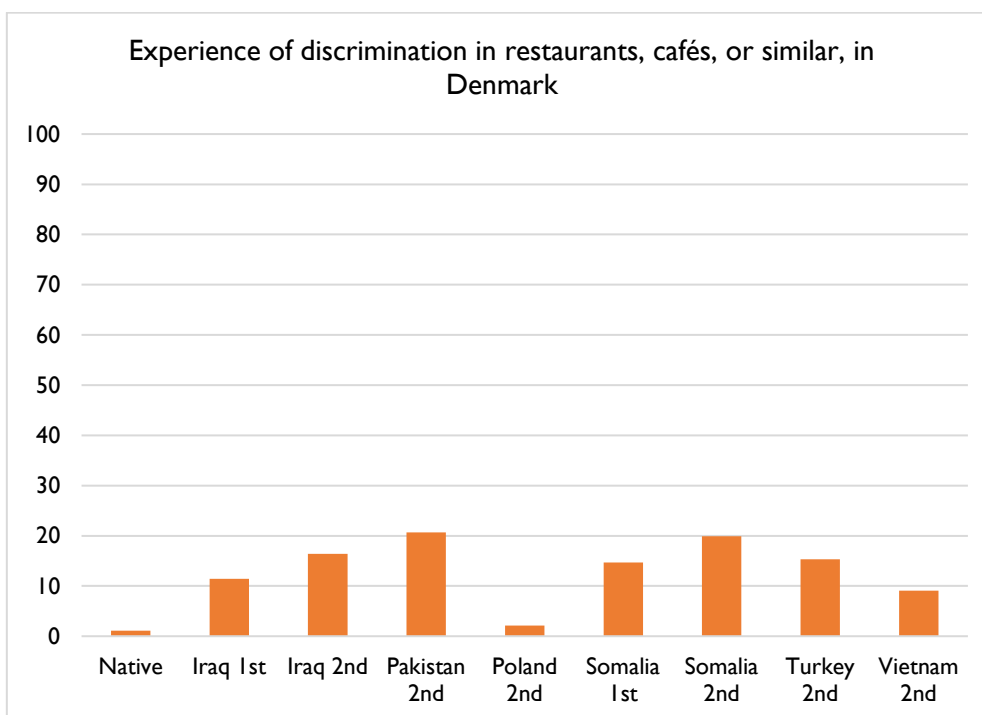


Figure 211

In Sweden (Figure 212), the native majority has the lowest percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination, while descendants of Pakistani and Somali immigrants have the highest. Descendants of Polish immigrants experienced discrimination less than any other subgroup, including native majority Swedes. In general, experienced discrimination in restaurants, cafés, or similar spaces is higher than in Norway and Denmark.

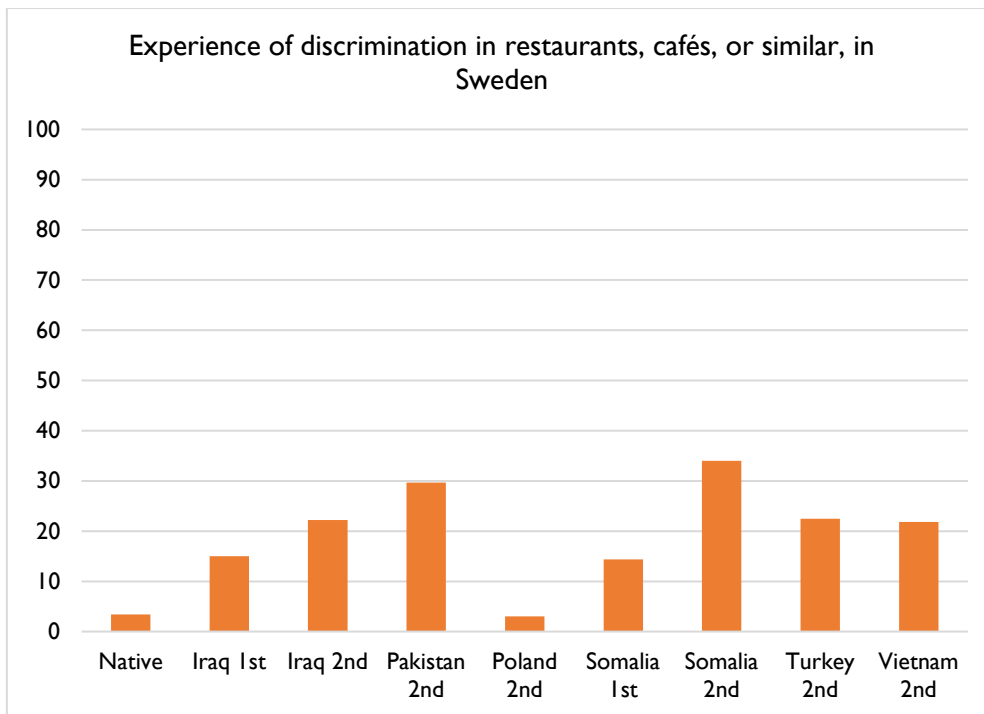


Figure 212

### 11.2.5. Discrimination in a shop or a bank

In this subsection, we asked the respondents about their experience of discrimination in a shop or a bank. Figure 213 compares the results from Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Native majorities, especially Norwegians, experienced less discrimination than minorities. Experienced discrimination is highest among minorities in Sweden.

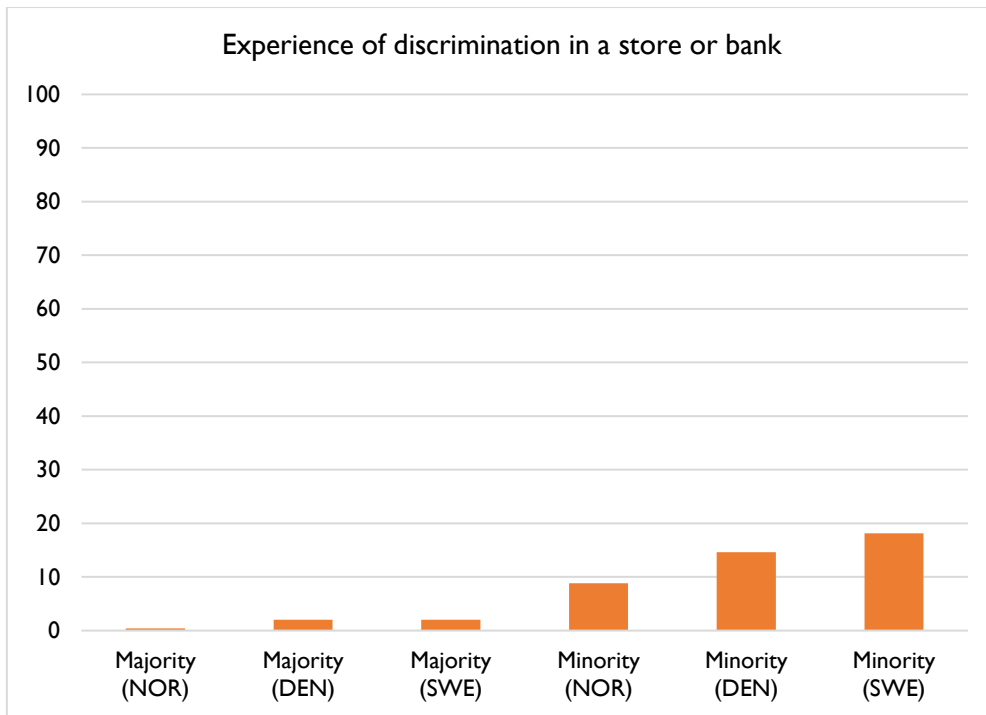


Figure 213

In Norway (Figure 214), the native majority has the lowest percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination, while descendants of Iraqi, Pakistani, Somali and Vietnamese immigrants have the highest, exceeding 10%. The remaining minority groups have a percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination below 10%, with Polish immigrants and descendants of Polish immigrants registering the lowest percentage among minority groups.

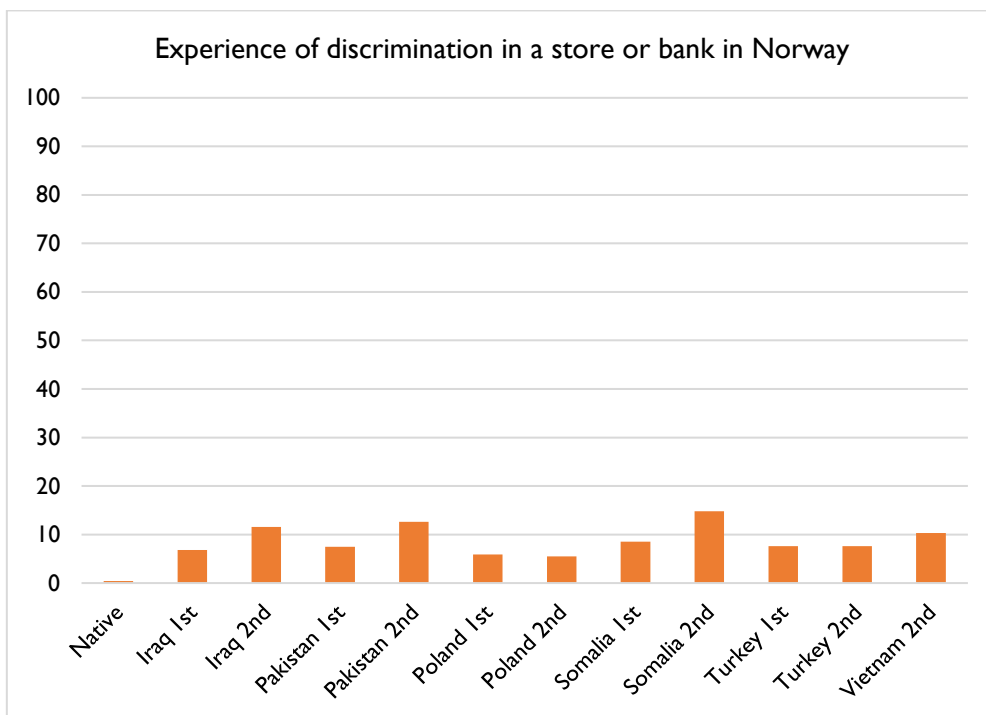


Figure 214

In Denmark (Figure 215), the native majority has the lowest percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination. Descendants of Pakistani, Somali and Turkish immigrants have the highest, close to or



slightly exceeding 20%. The descendants of Polish immigrants have a lower percentage of experienced discrimination than the other minority groups. In general, experienced discrimination in restaurants, cafés, or similar spaces is higher than in Norway.

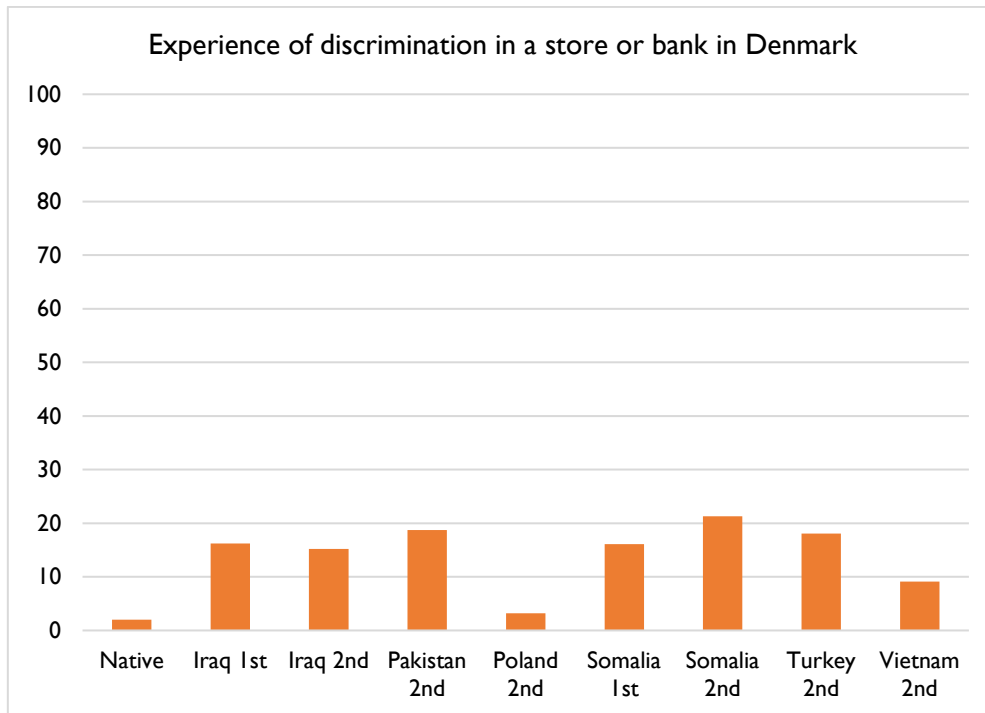


Figure 215

In Sweden (Figure 216), the native majority has the lowest percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination. Descendants of Pakistani and Somali immigrants have the highest, both exceeding 30%. The remaining minority groups have a percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination close to or exceeding 20%, except for Somali immigrants, descendants of Vietnamese and Polish immigrants. The latter have the lowest percentage of experienced discrimination among all minority groups. In general, experienced discrimination in a store or bank is at a higher level than in Norway and Denmark.

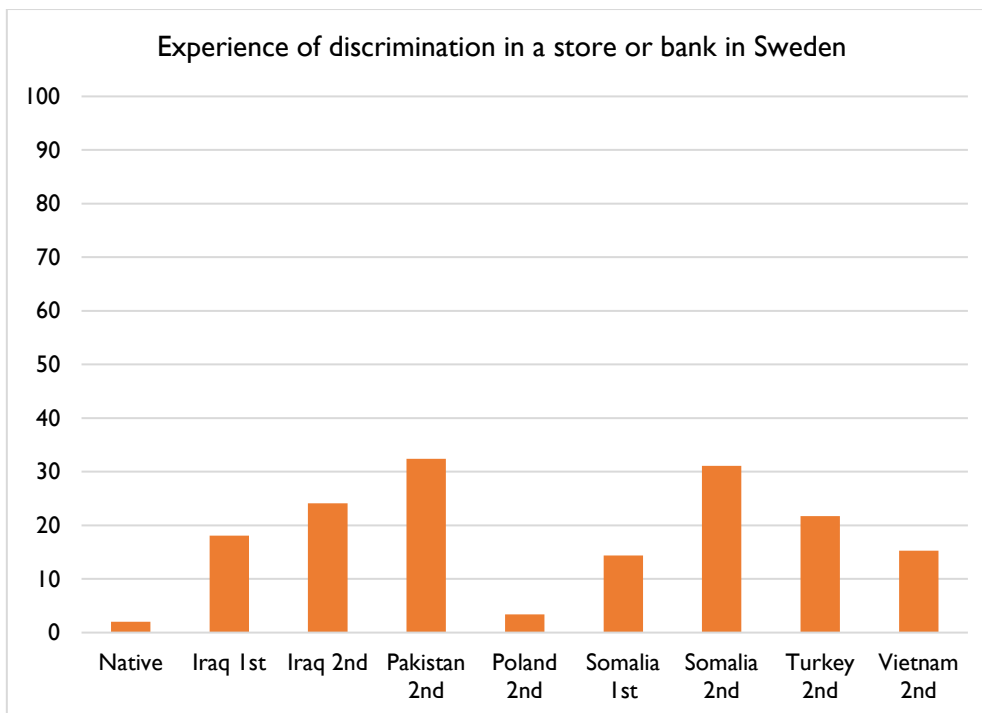


Figure 216

### 11.2.6. Discrimination on public transport

In this subsection, respondents were asked about their experience of discrimination on public transport.

Figure 217 compares the results from Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Native majorities, especially Norwegians, experienced less discrimination than minorities. Experienced discrimination is highest among minorities in Sweden.

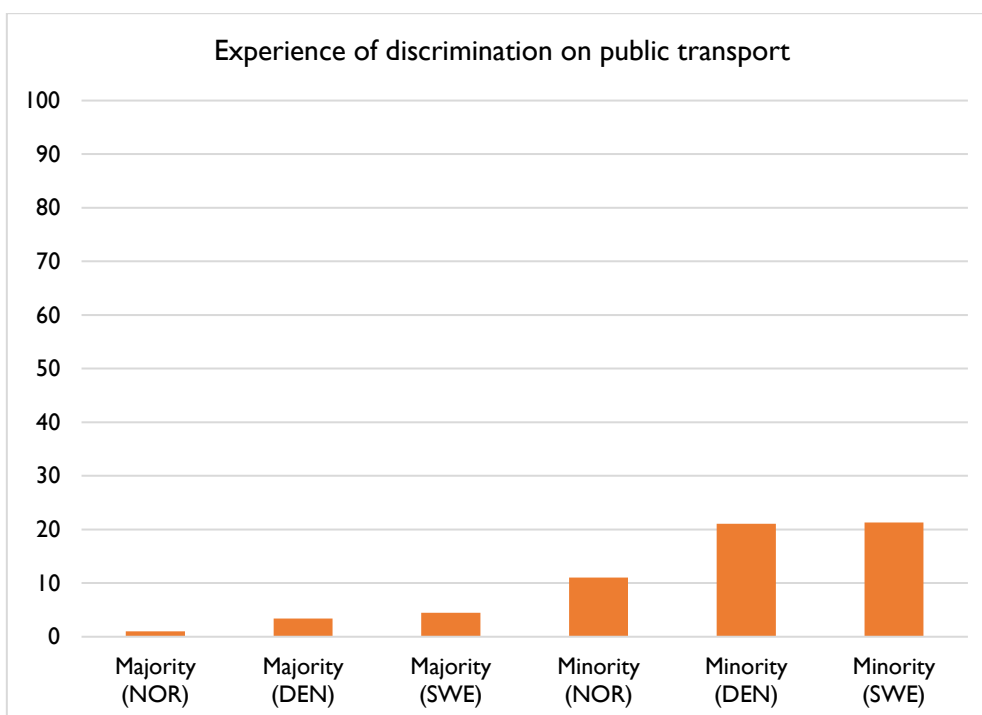


Figure 217

In Norway (Figure 218), the native majority has the lowest percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination, closely followed by the descendants of Polish immigrants. Somali immigrants, as well as descendants of Iraqi, Pakistani and Somali immigrants, have the highest percentage: in particular, 25% of descendants of Somali immigrants experienced discrimination. The remaining minority groups have a percentage of answers reporting experienced discrimination around or below 10%.

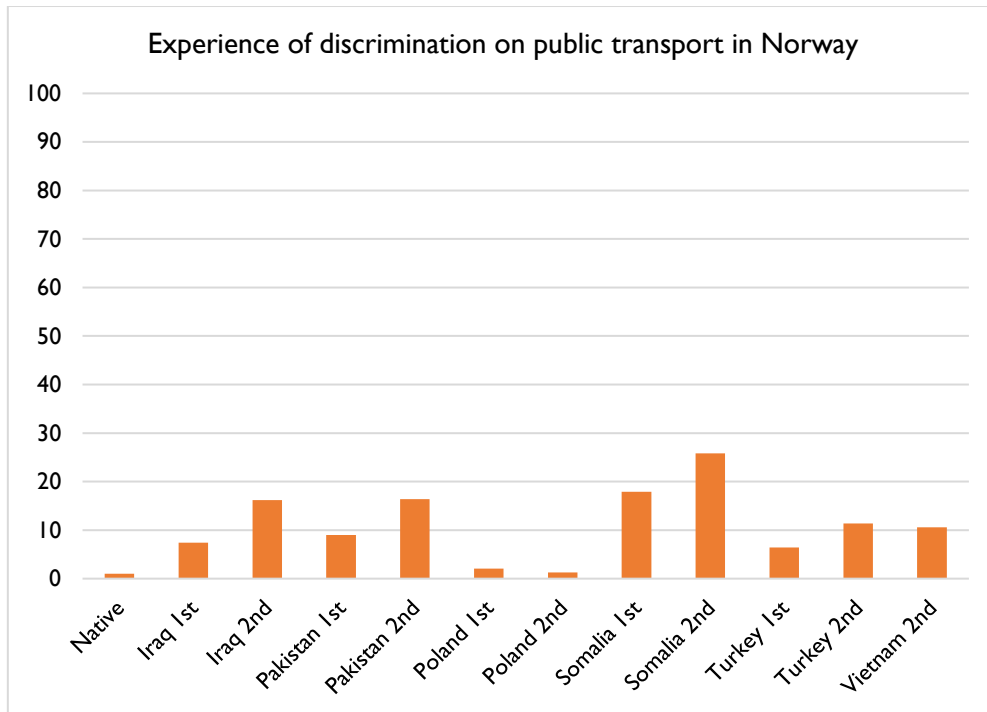


Figure 218

In Denmark (Figure 219), the native majority has the lowest percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination, while descendants of Iraqi, Pakistani and Somali immigrants have the highest, close to or exceeding 30%. The remaining minority groups have a percentage of answers reporting experienced discrimination from 22% and below, with the descendants of Polish immigrants having a lower percentage of experienced discrimination than the remaining minority groups. In general, experienced discrimination is higher than in Norway.

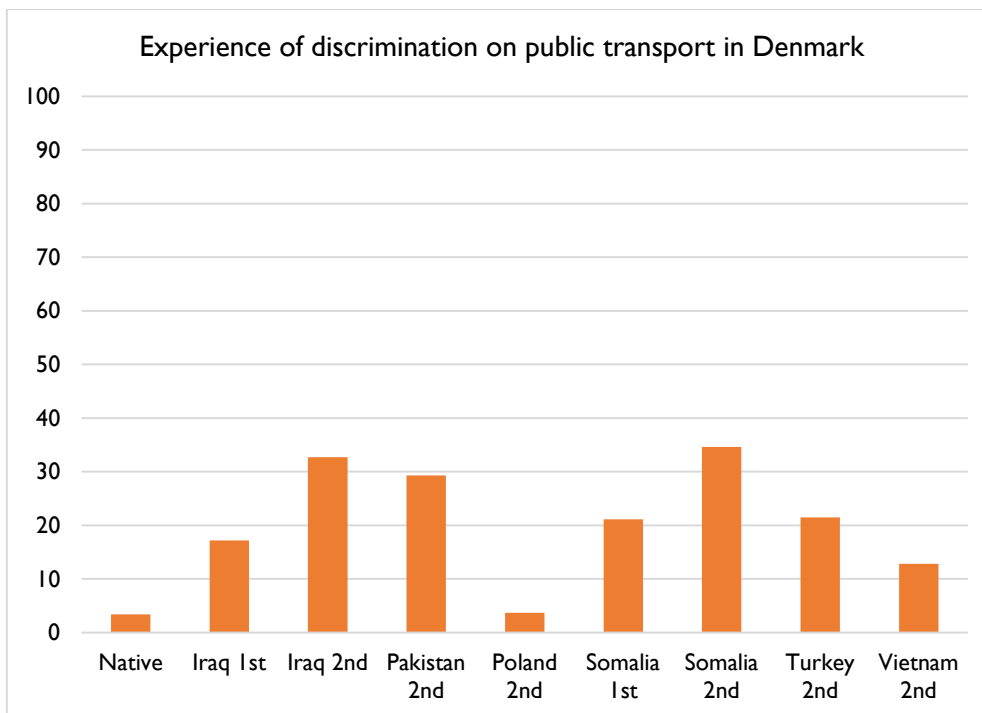


Figure 219

In Sweden (Figure 220), the native majority has the lowest percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination, while descendants of Pakistani and Somali immigrants have the highest (33% and 46% respectively). The remaining minority groups have a percentage of answers reporting experienced discrimination below 30%. Descendants of Polish immigrants have the lowest percentage of experienced discrimination among all minority groups. In general, experienced discrimination on public transport is higher in Sweden than in Norway and Denmark.

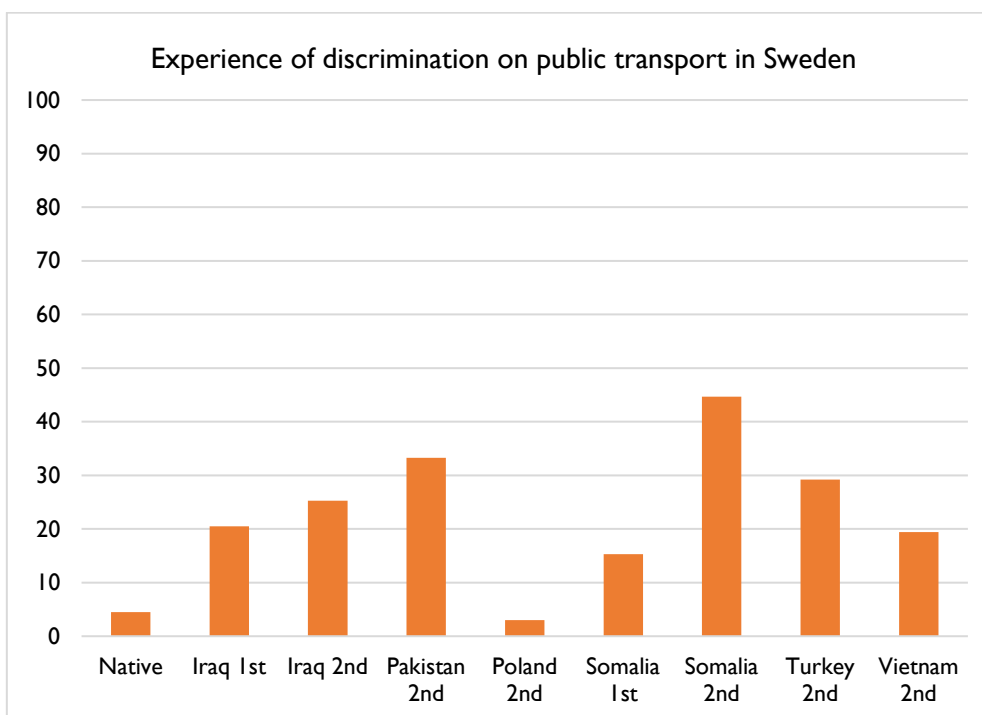


Figure 220

### 11.2.7. Discrimination on the street or in other public spaces

In this subsection, respondents were asked about their experience of discrimination on the street or in other public areas.

Figure 221 compares the results from Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Native majorities, especially Norwegians, experienced less discrimination than minorities. Experienced discrimination is highest among minorities in Sweden and Denmark.

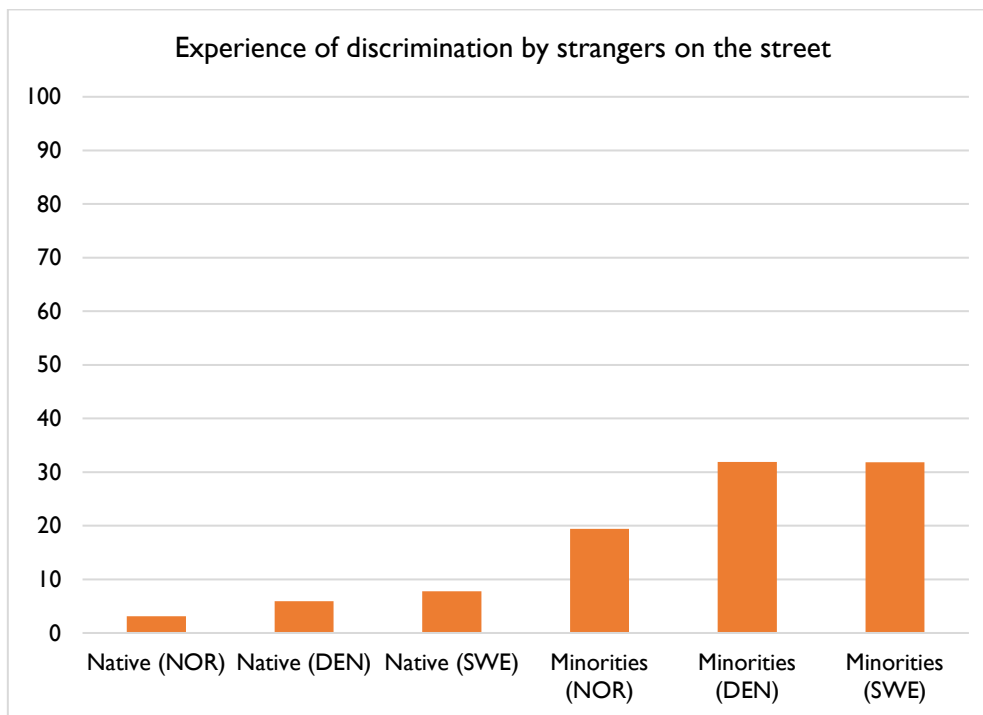


Figure 221

In Norway (Figure 222), the native majority has the lowest percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination. Descendants of Iraqi, Pakistani, Somali and Turkish immigrants have the highest, all between 25% and 30%. The remaining minority groups have a percentage of answers confirming experienced discrimination around or below 25%, with descendants of Polish immigrants responding with the lowest percentage of discrimination among minorities at 6%.

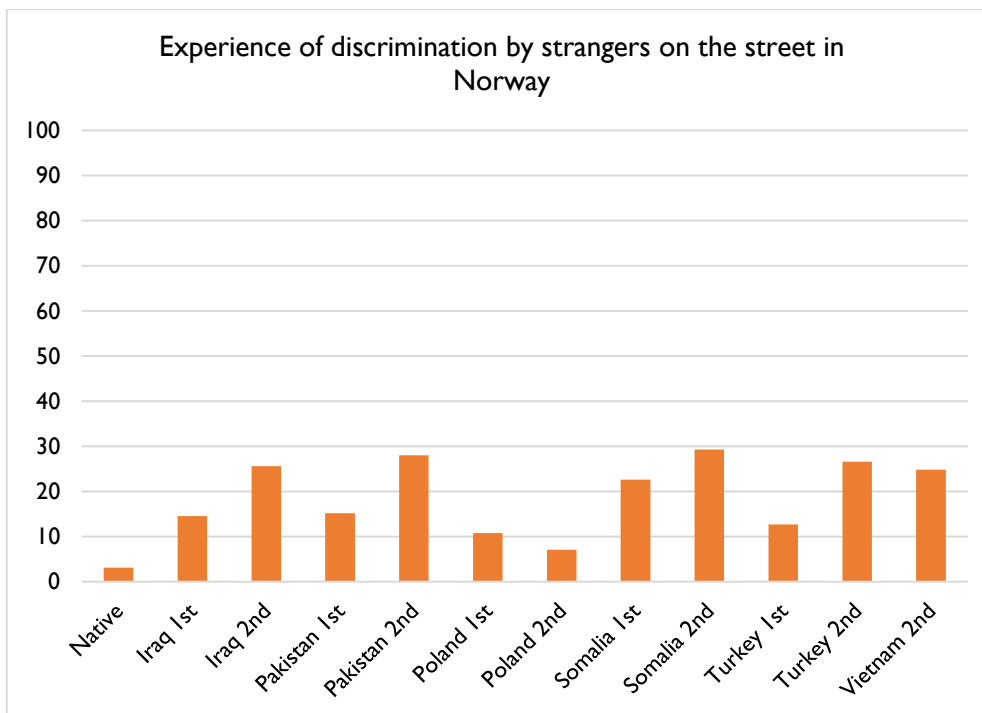


Figure 222

In Denmark (Figure 223), the native majority has the lowest percentage of answers confirming discrimination, while descendants of Iraqi, Pakistani, Somali and Turkish immigrants have the highest, all exceeding 40%. In the case of descendants of Pakistani immigrants, this reaches as high as 46%. The remaining minority groups have a percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination from 32% and below, with the descendants of Polish immigrants having a lower percentage of experienced discrimination than the remaining minority groups. In general, experienced discrimination in Denmark is higher than in Norway.

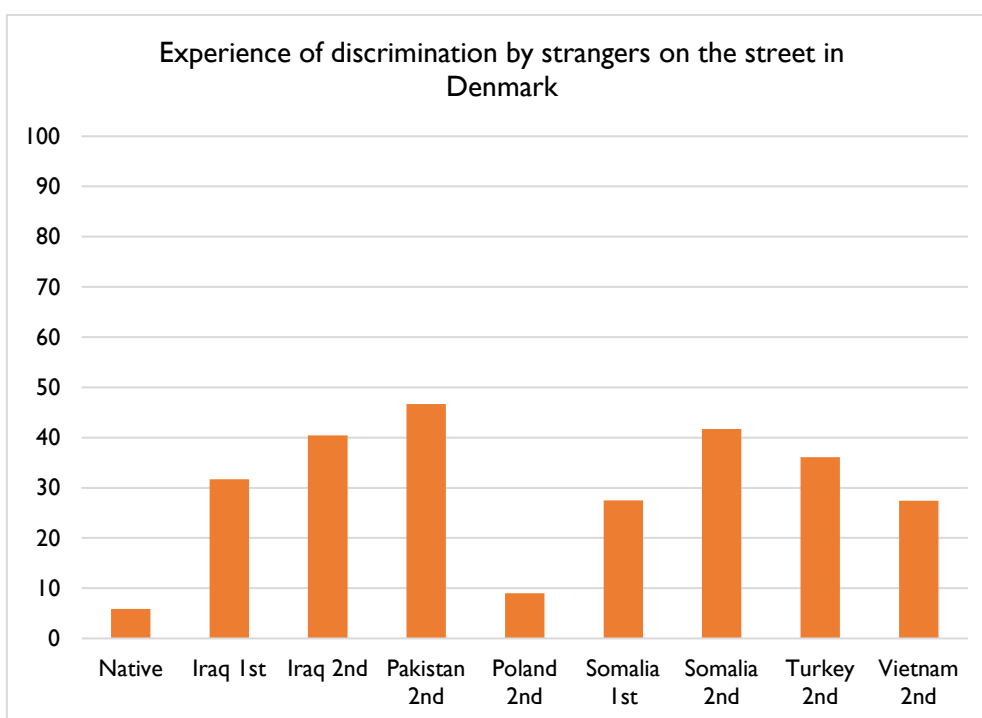


Figure 223

In Sweden (Figure 224), the native majority has the lowest percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination, while descendants of Iraqi, Pakistani, Somali, Turkish and Vietnamese immigrants have the highest, all exceeding 30%. Nearly 50% of descendants of Pakistani immigrants experienced discrimination by strangers on the street. The remaining minority groups have a percentage of respondents who experienced discrimination below 30%, with the descendants of Polish immigrants having a lower percentage of experienced discrimination than the remaining minority groups. In general, experienced discrimination in Sweden is higher than in both Norway and Denmark.

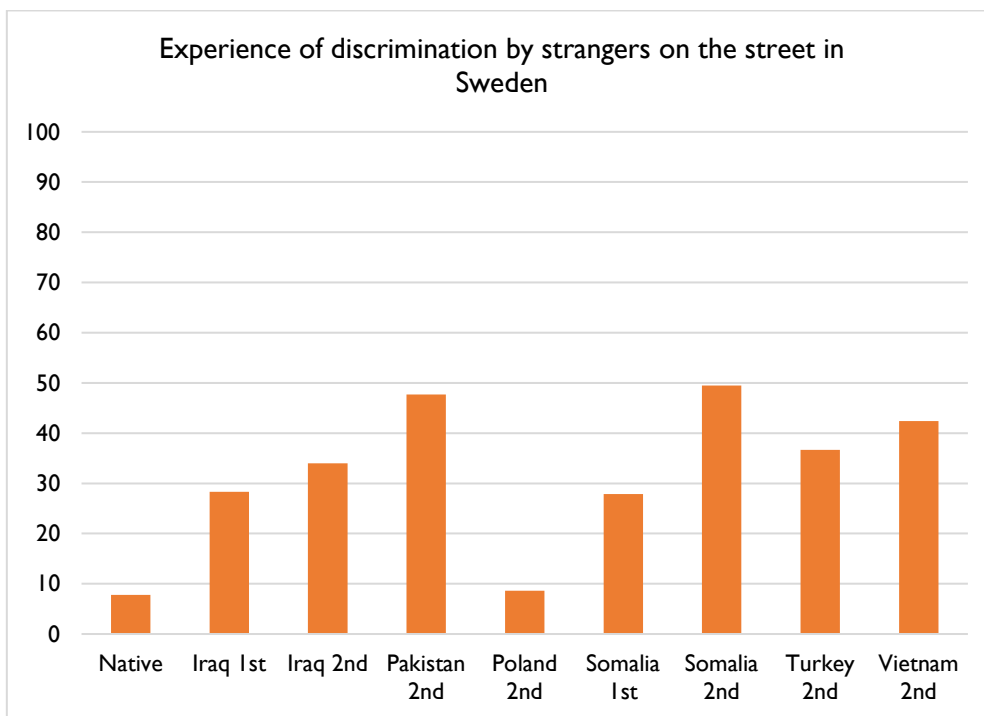


Figure 224

### 11.2.8. Experienced discrimination (index)

In this subsection, the seven categories above are collapsed into one measure. Respondents have been given the value 0 if they have not experienced discrimination in any of the situations. Respondents who have experienced discrimination in one or more of the above situations are given the value 1. The measure thus shows the proportion within each group who have experienced discrimination in one or more of the above-mentioned situations.

Figure 225 shows the experienced discrimination index in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. What emerges is that the native majorities in all Scandinavian countries significantly and quite substantially experienced less discrimination compared to the minority groups. Minority groups in Sweden and Denmark have comparable mean levels, whereas the Norwegian minority group have experienced discrimination to a somewhat lower extent.

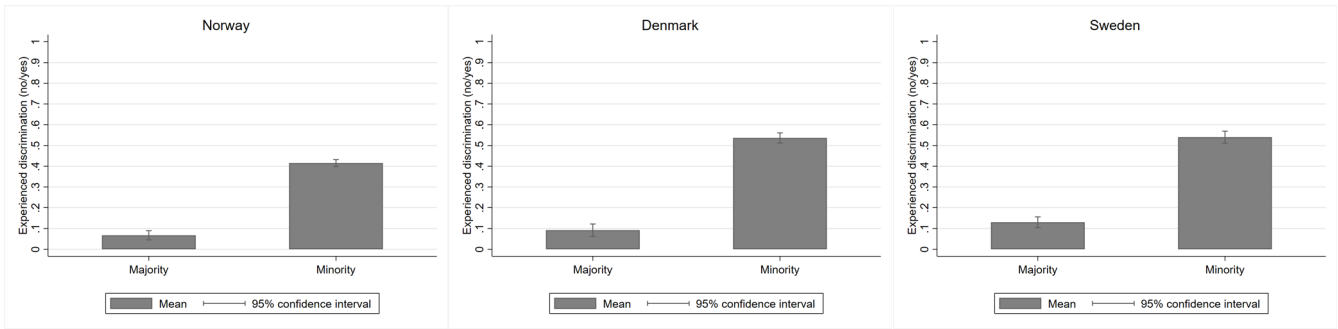


Figure 225

In Norway (Figure 226), the native majority has the lowest rate of experienced discrimination. Among the minority groups, descendants of Somali, Iraqi, Pakistani and Turkish immigrants have the highest, while descendants of Polish immigrants have the lowest. All minority groups have a significantly higher degree of experienced discrimination than the native minority. With the exception of descendants of Polish immigrants, the other descendants of immigrants have a higher level of experienced discrimination than immigrants from the same countries.

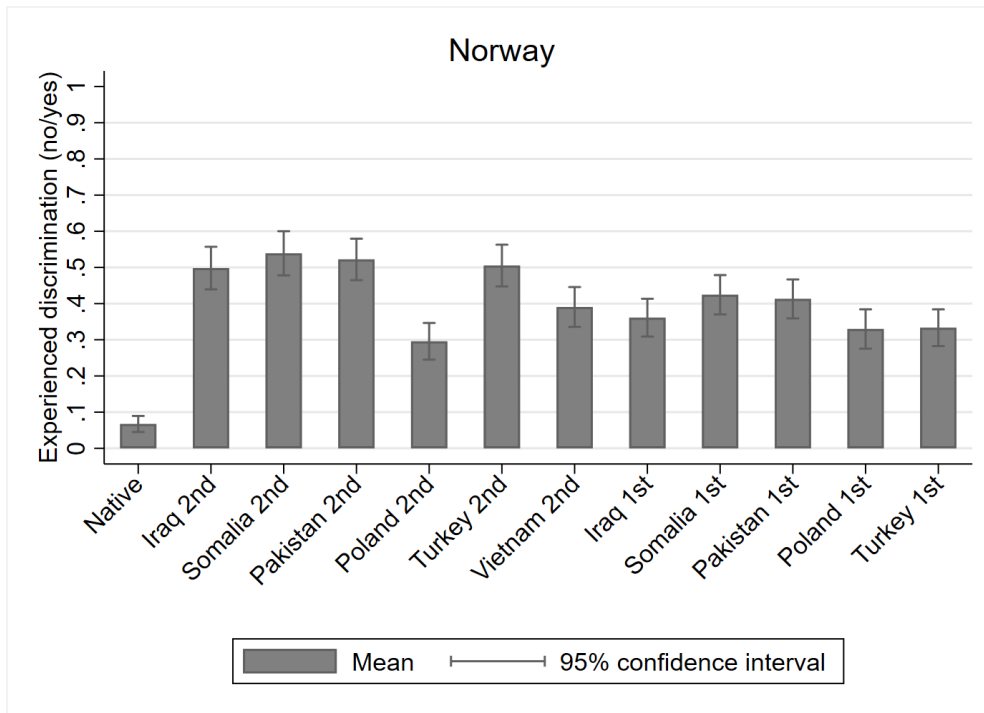


Figure 226

In Denmark (Figure 227), the native majority has the lowest rate of experienced discrimination. Among the minority groups, descendants of Somali immigrants have the highest, while descendants of Polish immigrants have the lowest rate. All minority groups have a significantly higher degree of experienced discrimination than the native minority. There is generally a higher proportion of people who experience discrimination in Denmark compared to Norway.



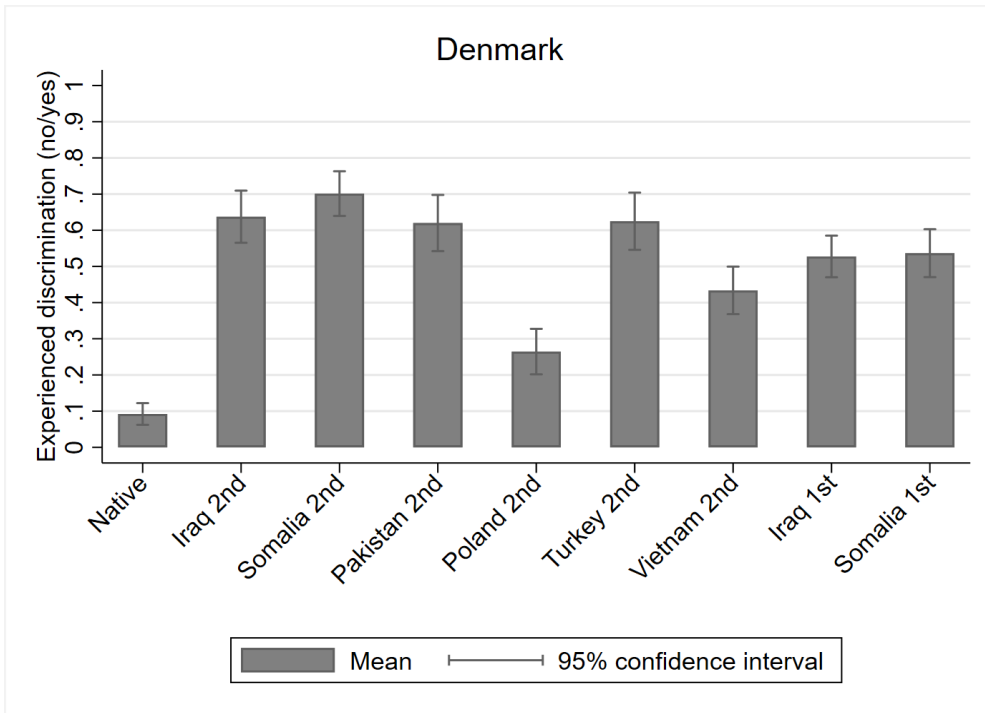


Figure 227

In Sweden (Figure 228), the native majority has the lowest rate of experienced discrimination. Among the minority groups, descendants of Somali immigrants have the highest, and indeed the highest experienced discrimination rate among all subgroups in Norway, Denmark and Sweden. By contrast, descendants of Polish immigrants have the lowest rate of experienced discrimination in Sweden. All minority groups have a significantly higher degree of experienced discrimination than native majority Swedes.

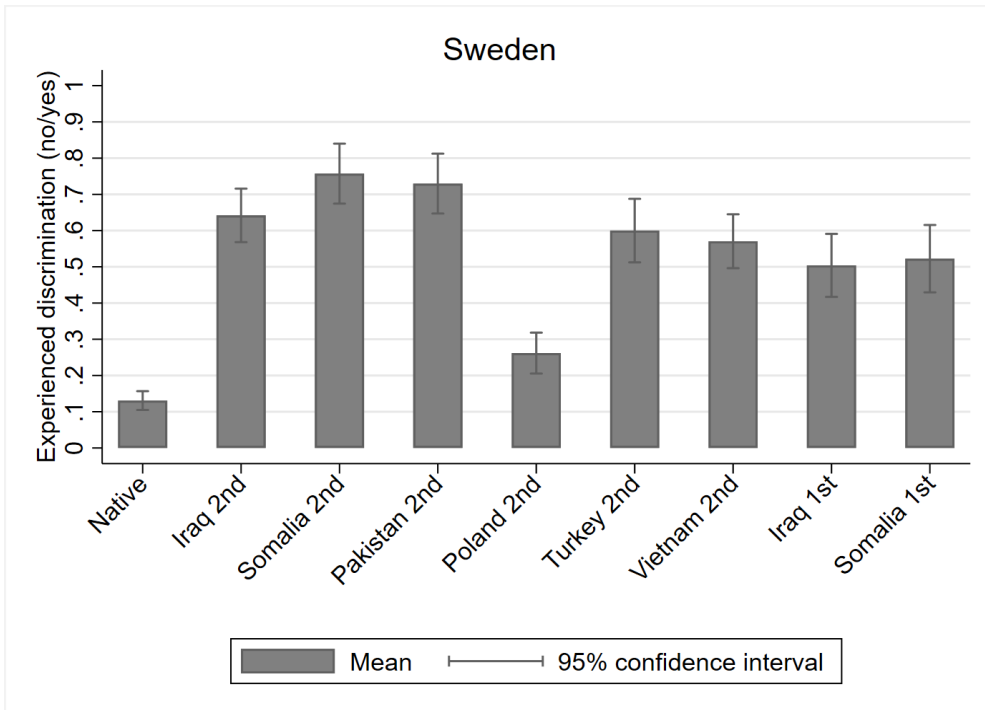


Figure 228

### 11.3. Chapter summary

Chapter 11 presented the results on discrimination. In terms of perceived discrimination, native majority groups on the whole never or rarely perceive discrimination. Minority groups perceive it noticeably more often, with no particular difference between immigrants' groups and descendants of immigrants' groups. Perceived discrimination among minorities in Norway is slightly rarer than in Denmark and Sweden. In terms of experienced discrimination, minority groups experience it overwhelmingly more often than native majorities, though they mostly tend to indicate it as neither seldom nor often. Generally, Polish immigrants and descendants of Polish immigrants tend to experience discrimination to a lesser extent than other minority groups.

## 12. Media coverage in the country of residence

Chapter 12 focuses on the respondents' perception of how the media in Norway, Denmark and Sweden cover various social groups. These groups are: Eastern Europeans; refugees; and Muslims. Respondents have answered the questions on a scale from 0 (the media coverage is very negative) to 10 (the media coverage is very positive). Results are presented in graphs showing the means and their 95%-confidence intervals.

### 12.1. Perception of media coverage of Eastern Europeans

Figure 229 indicates that the variance in perception of media coverage of Eastern Europeans between the native majority and minority groups is generally small in substantial terms. Nonetheless, native majorities in the three countries generally think that the media coverage of Eastern Europeans is more negative than the minority groups do, with the largest gap between majority and minority found in Sweden.

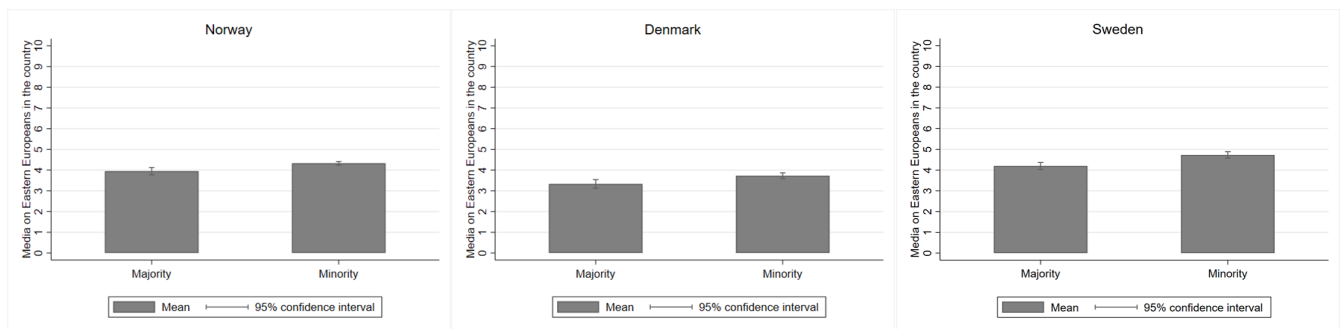


Figure 229

Figure 230 shows the results from the Norwegian sample. All subgroups tend to consider the media coverage of Eastern Europeans to be slightly negative. With little difference between subgroups, immigrants tend to consider the media coverage of Eastern Europeans in a slightly less negative way than descendants of immigrants.

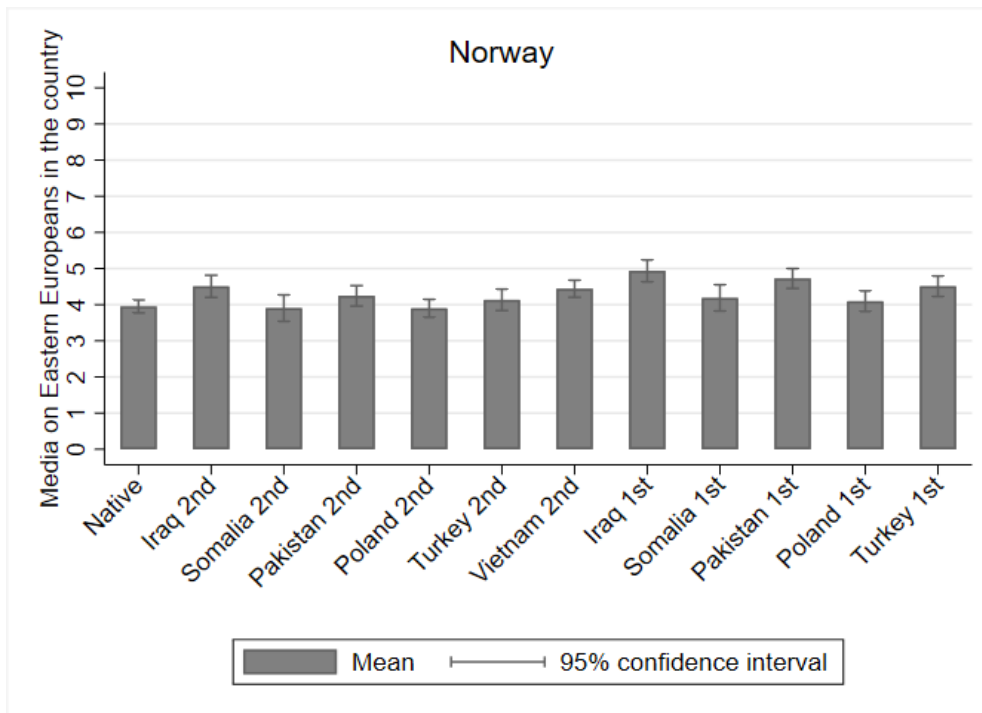


Figure 230

In Denmark (Figure 231), all the subgroups consider the media coverage of Eastern Europeans as slightly negative. Descendants of Polish immigrants responded with the most negative perception. Iraqi immigrants have the least negative perception of how the media cover Eastern Europeans in the country: the Iraqi immigrants' perception is significantly more positive than the perception held by native majority Danes and descendants of Iraqi, Somali, Polish and Vietnamese immigrants.

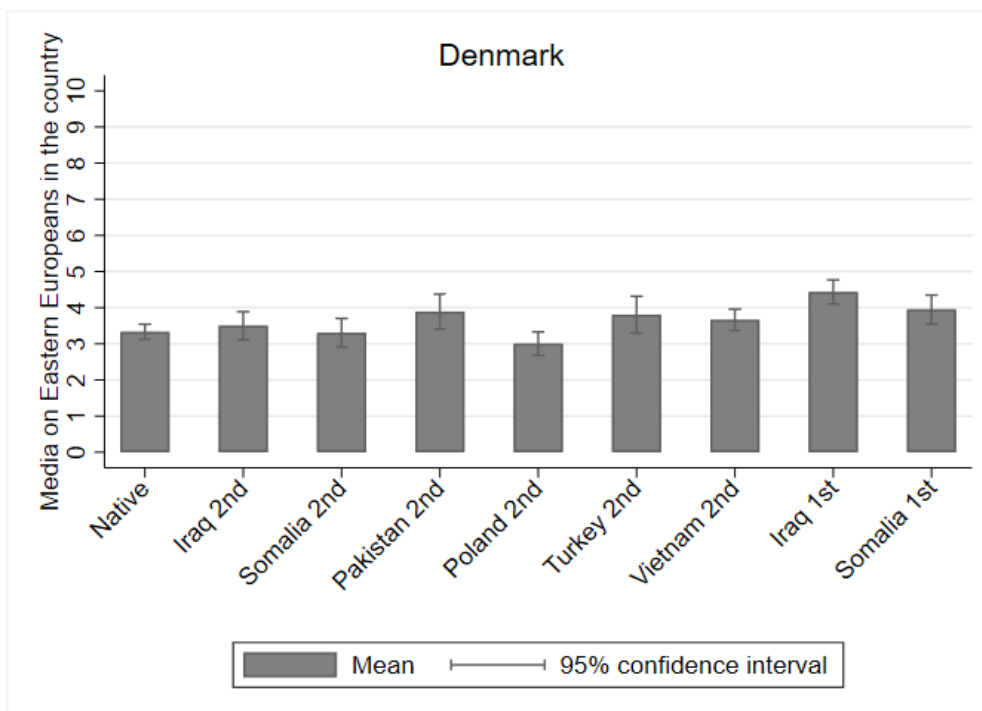


Figure 231

In Sweden (Figure 232), respondents have a slightly better perception of media coverage of Eastern Europeans than in Denmark. Descendants of Polish immigrants and native majority Swedes have the most negative perception of how the media cover Eastern Europeans. Somali and Iraqi immigrants have the least negative perception of how the media cover Eastern Europeans in the country.

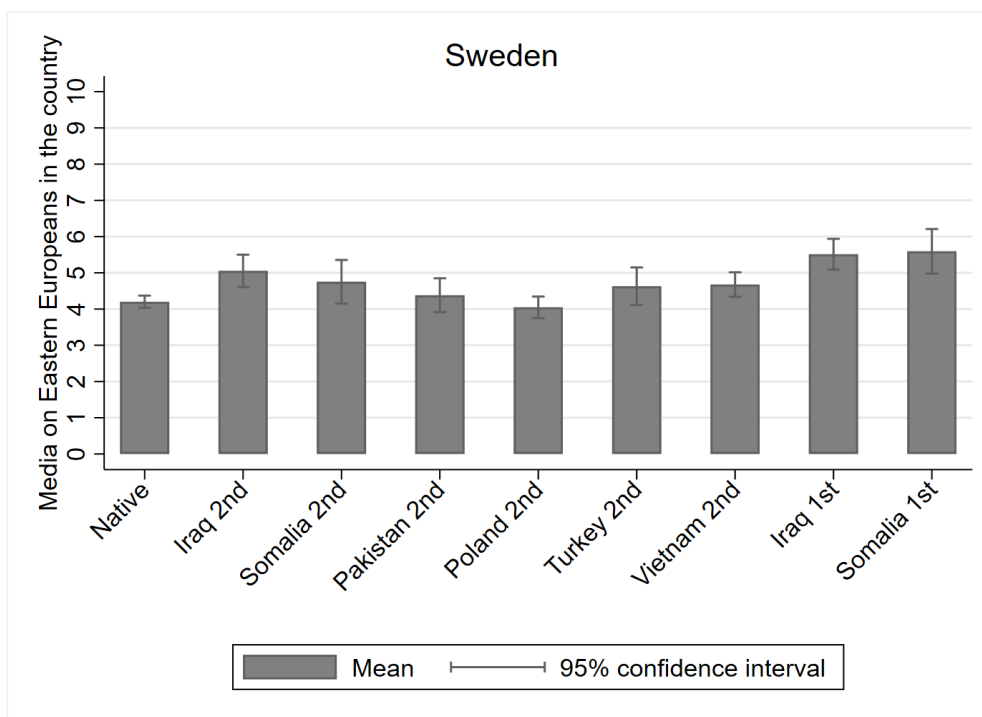


Figure 232

## 12.2. Perception of media coverage of refugees

Figure 233 shows how native majorities and minorities in Norway, Denmark and Sweden perceive the media coverage of refugees. Generally, the perception of media coverage of refugees is rather negative, especially in Denmark. In Norway, the native majority and the minority have approximately the same slightly negative perception. In Denmark, the native majority perceives the media coverage of refugees to be less negative than the minority. In Sweden, there is the largest difference between the native majority's response and the minority's response, the former seeing the media coverage of refugees as less negative than the latter.

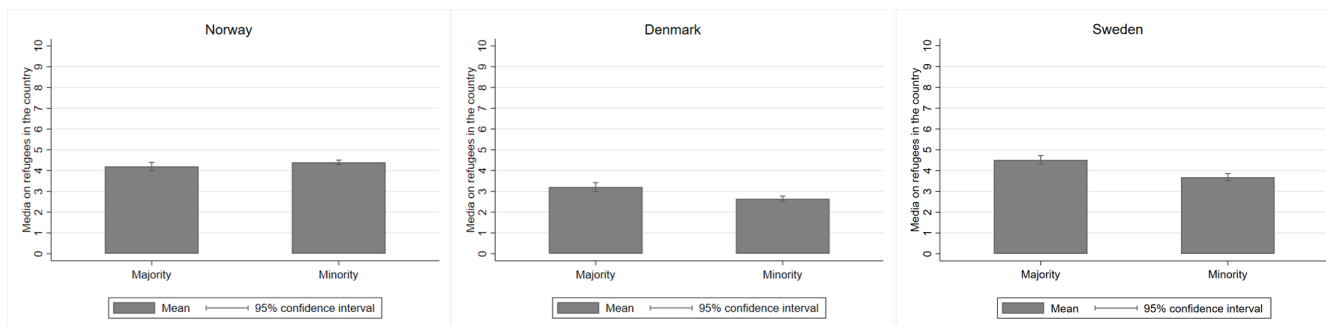


Figure 233

In Norway (Figure 234), the perception of media coverage of refugees is more negative among descendants of immigrants than among immigrant subgroups. Descendants of Somali immigrants have the most negative perception, which is significantly more negative than the perception of native majority Norwegians and descendants of Iraqi, Polish and Vietnamese immigrants, as well as of all the immigrant subgroups. Iraqi immigrants have the most positive perception of how the media covers refugees in the country.

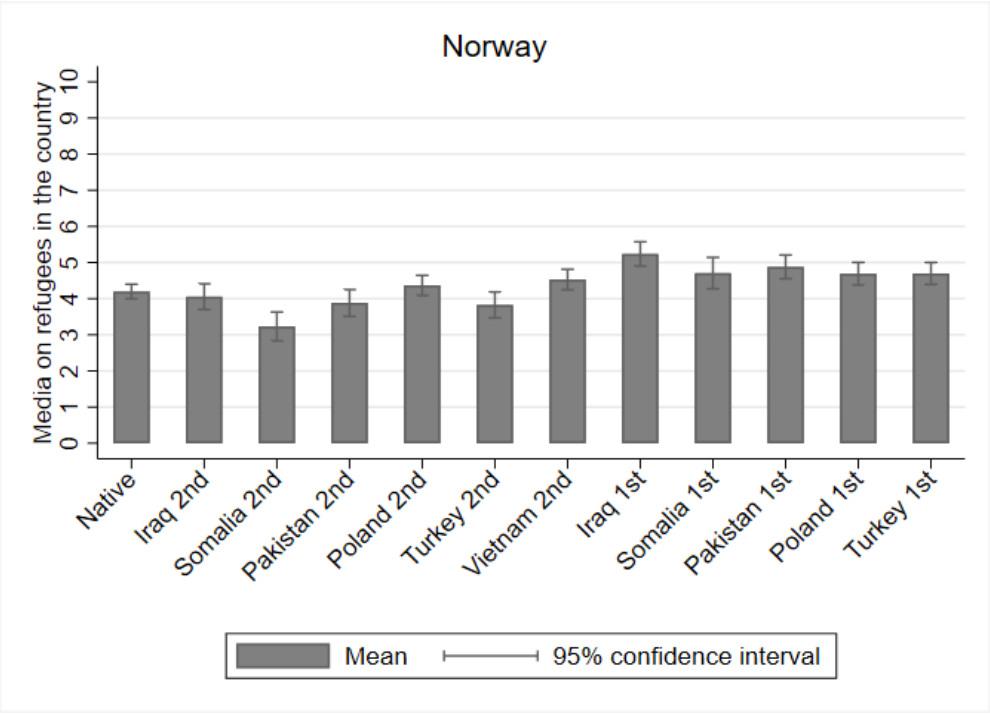


Figure 234

Figure 235 shows the results from the Danish sample. Overall, the perception of media coverage of refugees in Denmark is negative. Native majority Danes, Iraqi immigrants, and the descendants of Vietnamese immigrants have the least negative perception. The minority group with the most negative perception of how the media covers refugees is the descendants of Somali immigrants. Iraqi immigrants have a significantly less negative perception than descendants of Iraqi immigrants.

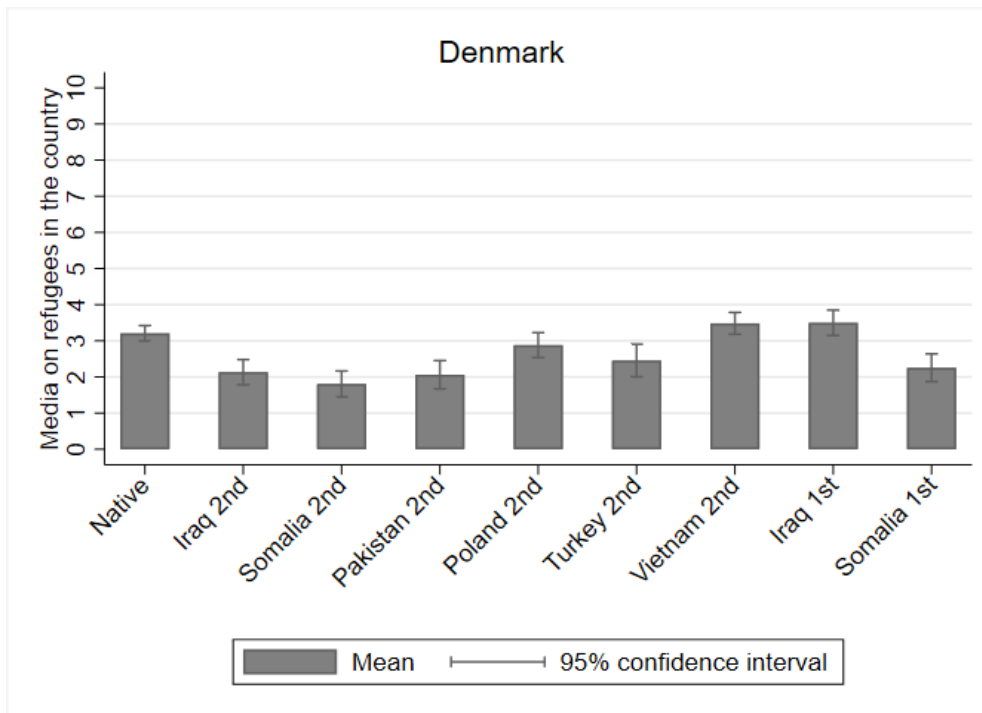


Figure 235

In Sweden (Figure 236), the perception of media coverage of refugees is negative overall. Native majority Swedes have a significantly less negative perception than any of the descendants of immigrants' subgroups, except for descendants of Polish immigrants. Descendants of Polish immigrants have the least negative perception: their perception is significantly less negative than any other descendants of immigrants' subgroup. Iraqi and Somali immigrants have a significantly less negative perception of the media coverage of refugees than descendants of Iraqi and Somali immigrants.

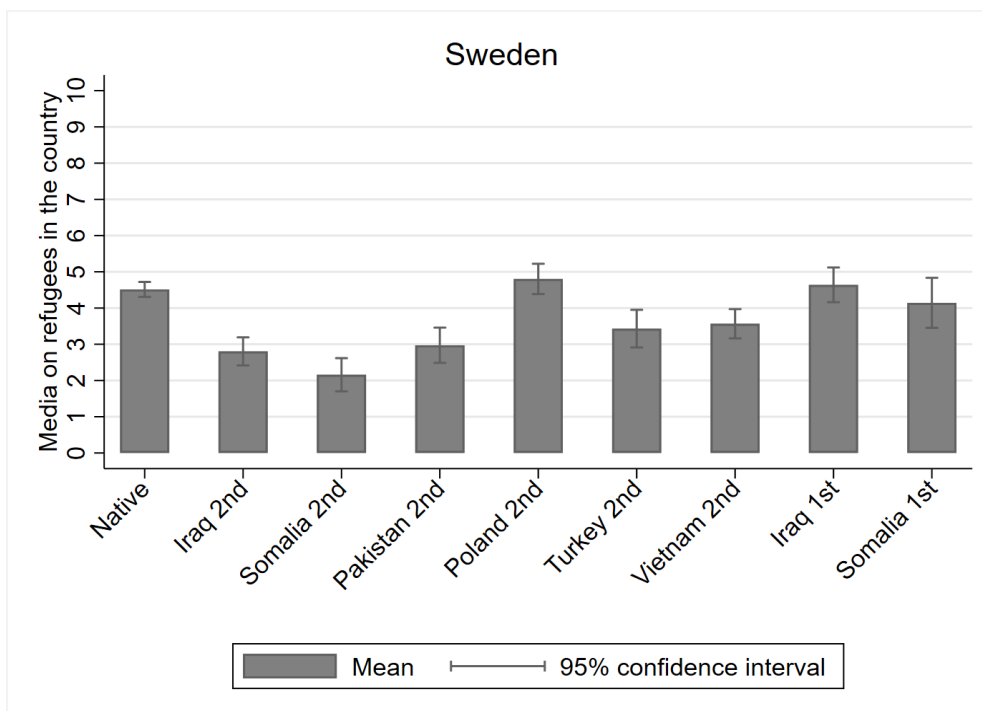


Figure 236

### 12.3. Perception of media coverage of Muslims

Figure 237 shows how native majorities and minorities in Norway, Denmark and Sweden perceive the media coverage of Muslims: the perception is generally negative in all countries. In Norway, the minorities have the least negative perception, while the opposite is true in Denmark and Sweden. In Sweden, we find the largest difference between the native majority's response and the minority's response, while in Denmark both the native majority and the minority groups have a more negative perception of the media's coverage of Muslims than in Norway and Sweden.

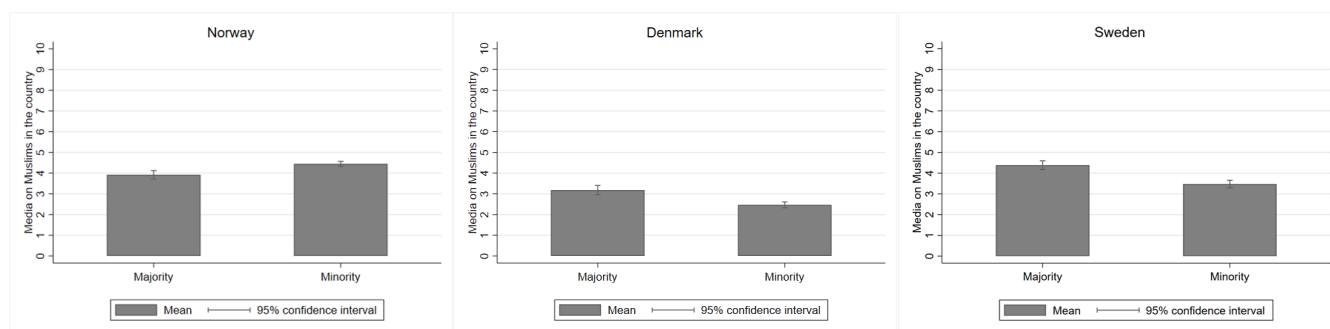


Figure 237

In Norway (Figure 238), the perception of media coverage of Muslims is more negative among descendants of immigrants and native majority Norwegians than among immigrants. Descendants of Somali immigrants have a substantially more negative perception than all other subgroups, followed by descendants of Pakistani and Iraqi immigrants. Pakistani immigrants have a significantly more positive perception of media coverage of Muslims than any other subgroup, closely followed by Turkish and Iraqi immigrants. Native majority Norwegians have a significantly more negative perception, than all the immigrant subgroups.



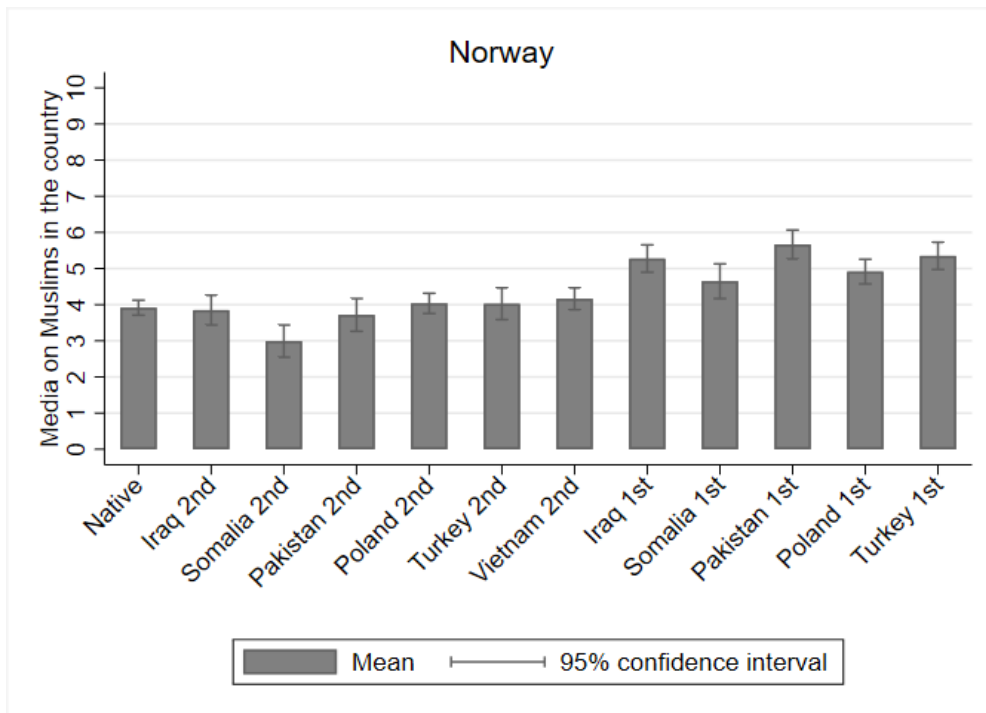


Figure 238

In Denmark (Figure 239), the perception of media coverage of Muslims is negative. Iraqi immigrants, the descendants of Vietnamese immigrants and native majority Danes have the least negative perception. Descendants of Somali, Iraqi, and Pakistani immigrants have the most negative perception.

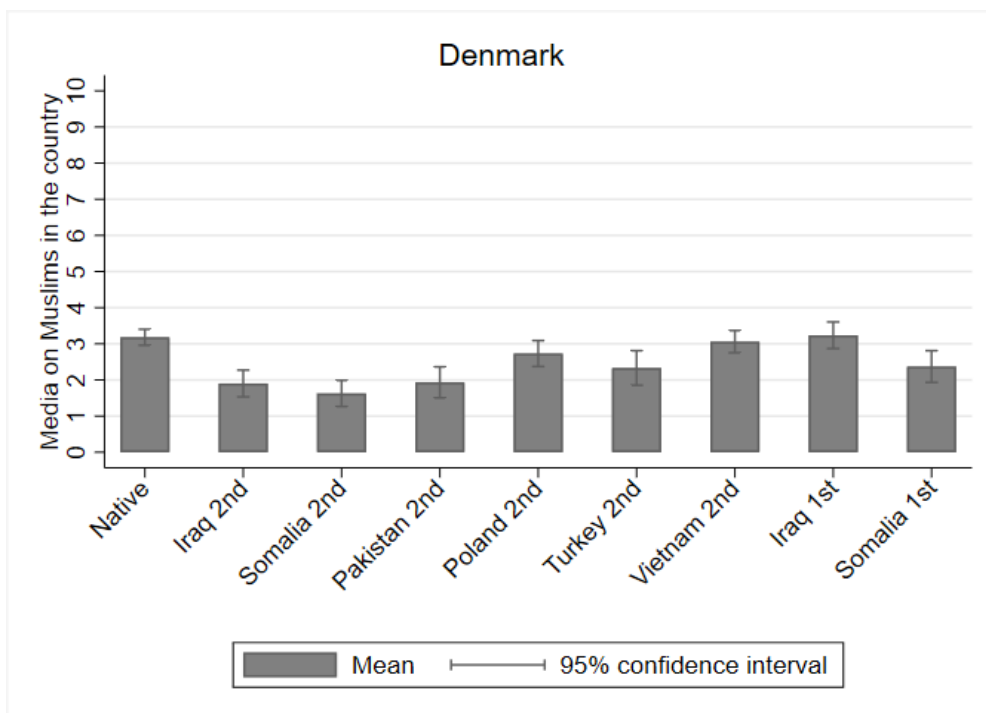


Figure 239

As shown in Figure 240, the perception of media coverage of Muslims in Sweden is rather negative. Iraqi and Somali immigrants, as well as descendants of Polish immigrants and native majority Swedes, have a similar perception of media coverage of Muslims. The perception of descendants of Iraqi, Somali and

Pakistani immigrants is significantly more negative than that of native majority Swedes: their perception is also substantially more negative than that of the remaining groups.

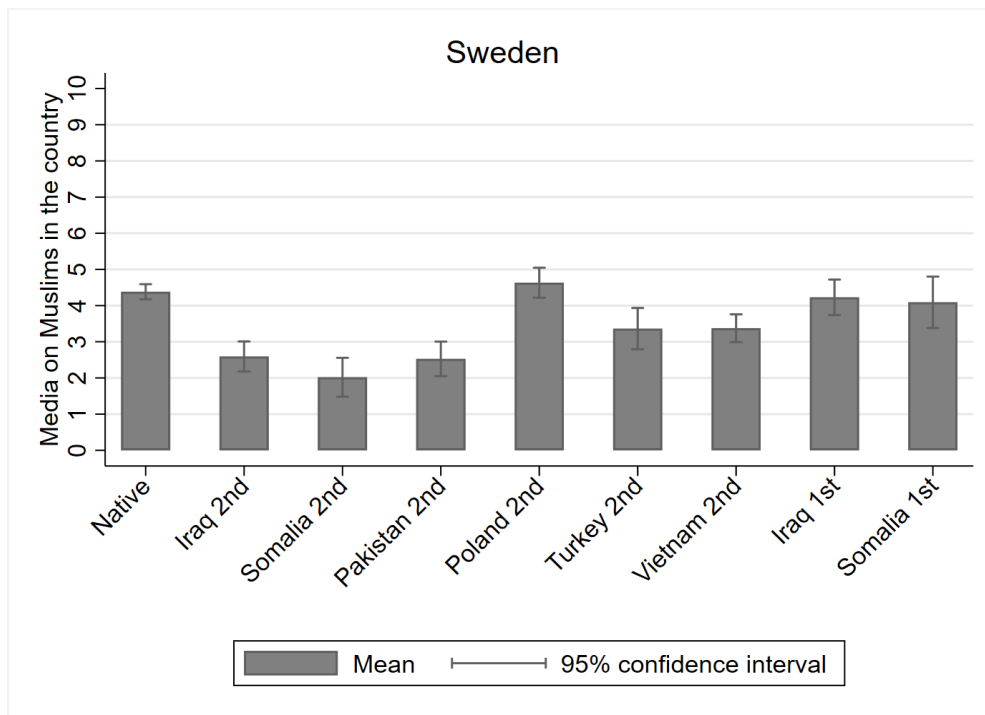


Figure 240

## 12.4 Chapter summary

Chapter 12 presented the data about media coverage of certain groups of people (Eastern Europeans, refugees, and Muslims). Respondents in each of the countries perceive the media coverage of Eastern Europeans to be slightly negative, with minorities perceiving it in a slightly more positive way than native majorities. Perception of media coverage of refugees is on a similar level to the media coverage of Eastern Europeans in Norway and Sweden, but it is lower in Denmark. Perception of media coverage of Muslims is on a similar level to the media coverage of refugees in all the countries.

### 13. Politicians' attitudes towards different groups living in the country of residence attitudes in the country of residence

Chapter 13 focuses on the respondents' perception of how politicians in Norway, Denmark and Sweden see different groups living in the country. These groups are again: Eastern Europeans; refugees; and Muslims. Respondents have answered the questions on a scale of 0 (very negative) to 10 (very positive). Results are presented in graphs showing the means and their 95%-confidence intervals.

#### 13.1. Politicians' attitudes towards Eastern Europeans

Figure 241 compares the results from Norway, Denmark and Sweden. The general perception of politicians' attitudes towards Eastern Europeans is slightly negative, especially in Denmark. Respondents in Sweden have a more neutral opinion. Differences between native majorities and minorities are minimal in each of the countries.

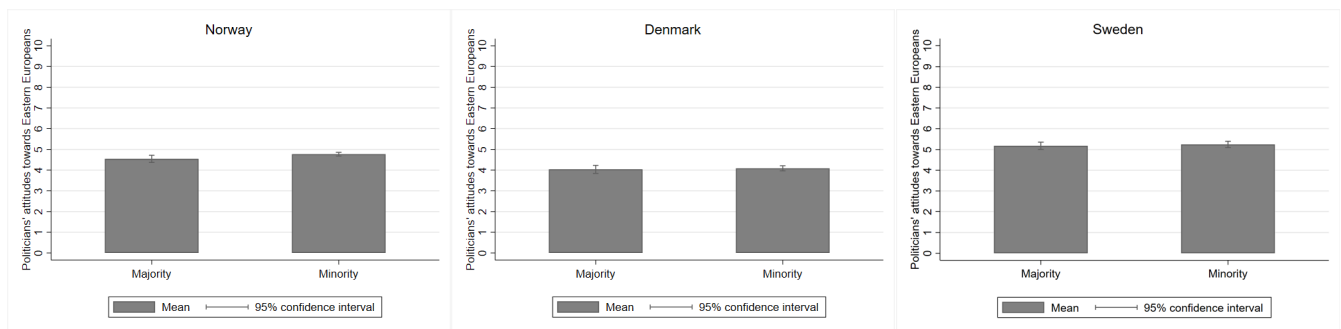


Figure 241

Figure 242 shows the results from the Norwegian sample. Generally, respondents perceive the politicians' attitudes towards Eastern Europeans as somewhat negative. Iraqi, Pakistani and Turkish immigrants have a significantly more neutral opinion than native majority Norwegians. Differences are otherwise minimal.

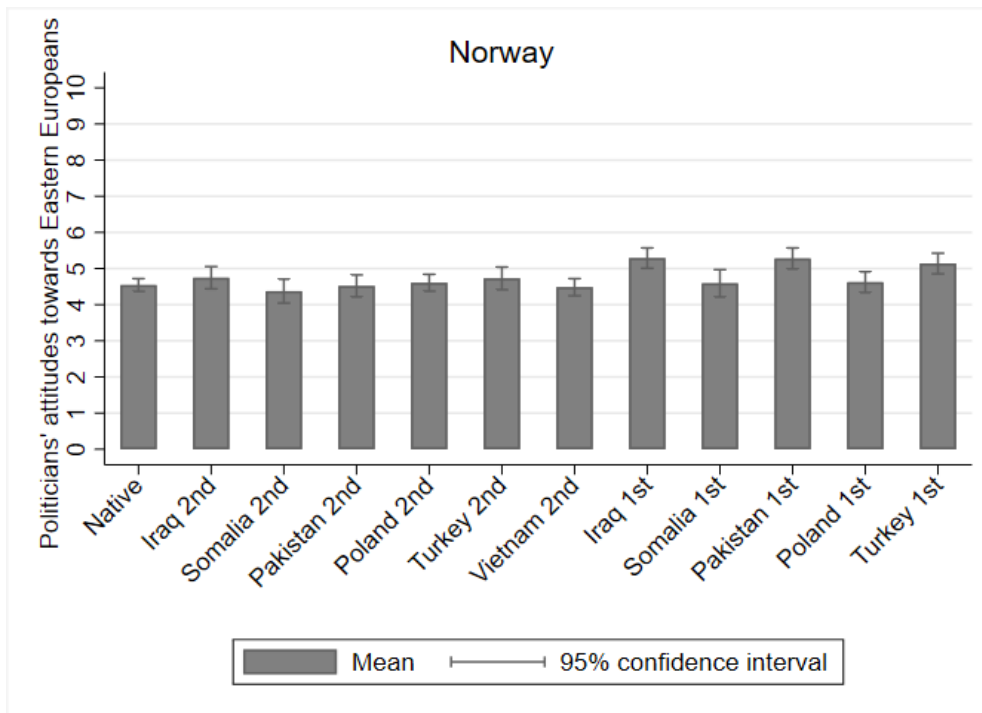


Figure 242

In Denmark (Figure 243), the respondents' perception of politicians' attitudes towards Eastern Europeans is generally more negative than in Norway. Iraqi immigrants have a significantly less negative perception than native majority Danes and descendants of Iraqi immigrants. Somali immigrants have a marginally less negative perception than descendants of Somali immigrants. Differences are otherwise minimal.

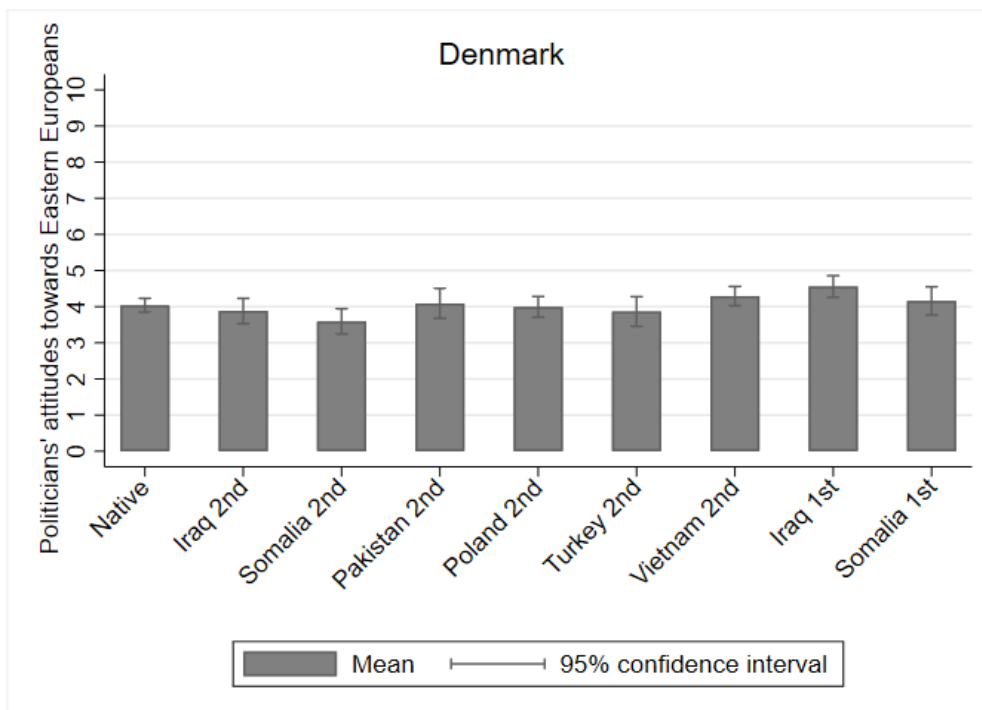


Figure 243

As shown in Figure 244, respondents in Sweden have an overall more neutral perception of politicians' attitudes towards Eastern Europeans than respondents in Norway and Denmark. Somali and Iraqi immigrants as well as descendants of Somali and Iraqi immigrants have marginally more positive

perceptions than other subgroups. Descendants of Polish immigrants have a slightly more negative perception than other groups. Differences are otherwise minimal.

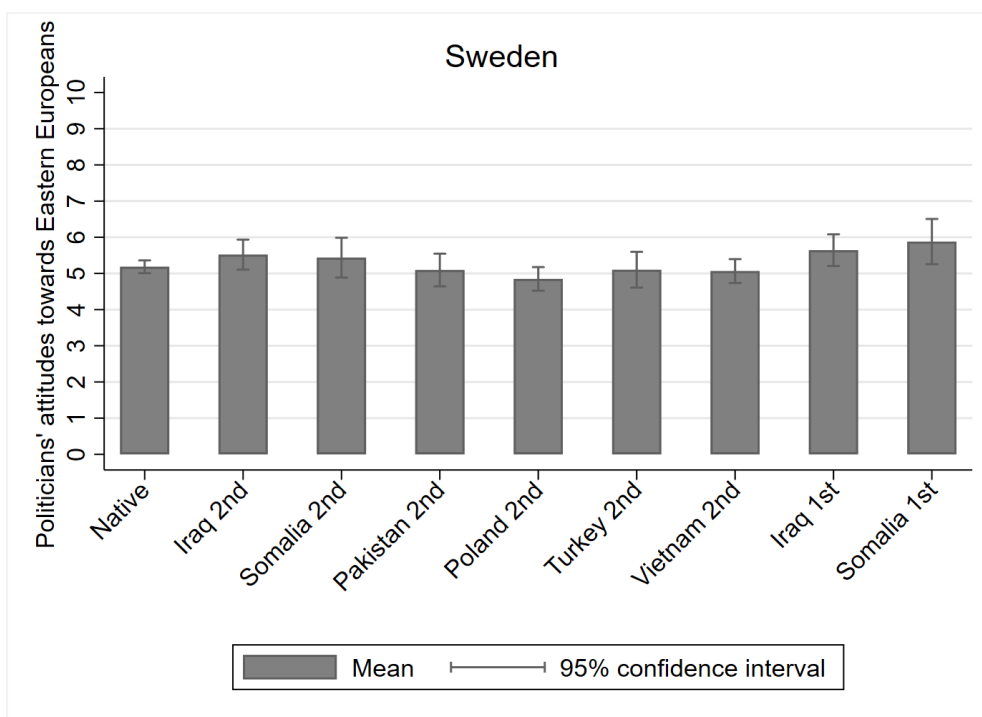


Figure 244

### 13.2. Politicians' attitudes towards refugees

Figure 245 compares the results from Norway, Denmark and Sweden. The overall perception of politicians' attitudes towards refugees is somewhat negative: the most negative perceptions are found in the Danish sample, while respondents in the Swedish sample tend to have a less negative perception. In both Denmark and Sweden, native majorities have a significantly less negative perception than minorities, while there is no such difference in the Norwegian sample.

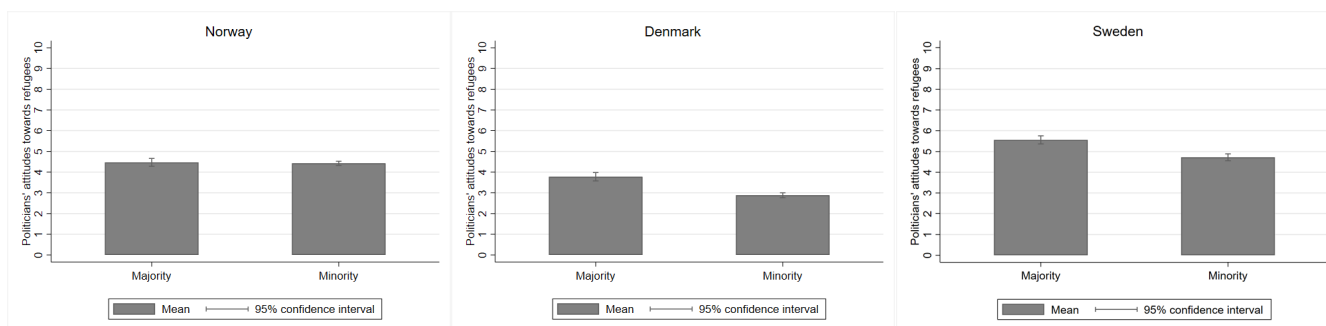


Figure 245

In Norway (shown in Figure 246), the overall perception of politicians' attitudes towards refugees is somewhat negative. Descendants of immigrants tend to have a more negative perception than immigrant subgroups. In particular, descendants of Somali immigrants have a significantly more negative

perception than native majority Norwegians, as well as descendants of Vietnamese and Polish immigrants and all the immigrant subgroups. By contrast, Polish immigrants have a significantly less negative perception than any other subgroup. Iraqi immigrants have a significantly less negative perception than all the descendants of immigrants' subgroups, as well as native majority Norwegians.

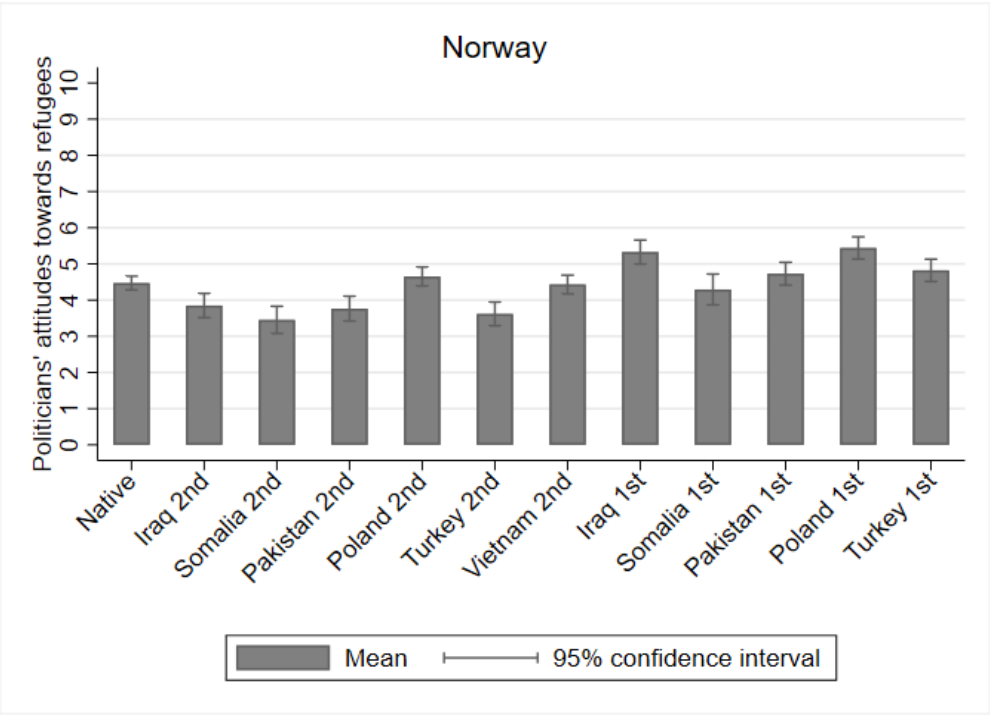


Figure 246

Figure 247 shows that respondents in Denmark have a negative perception of politicians' attitudes towards refugees. Iraqi immigrants, native majority Danes, as well as descendants of Vietnamese and Polish immigrants all display a significantly less negative perception than any other subgroup. The minority group with the most negative perception of how the media covers refugees are descendants of Somali immigrants.

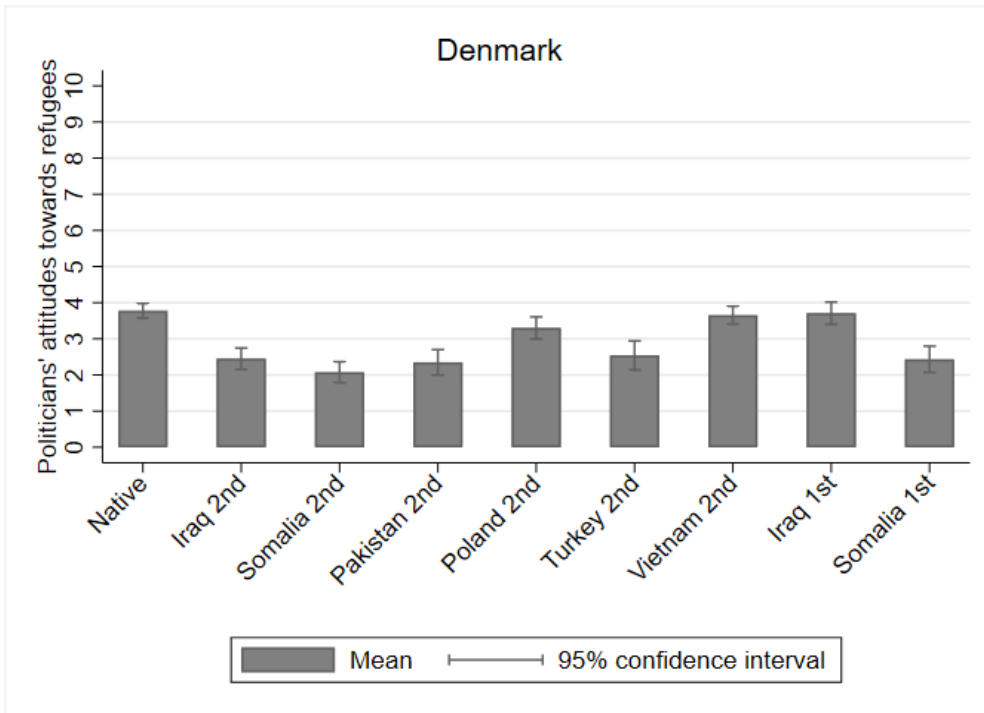


Figure 247

Perceptions of politicians' attitudes towards refugees in Sweden (Figure 248) are generally less negative than in Norway and Denmark. Descendants of Polish immigrants and native majority Swedes have a slightly positive perception. Descendants of Iraqi, Somali and Pakistani immigrants hold the most negative perception.

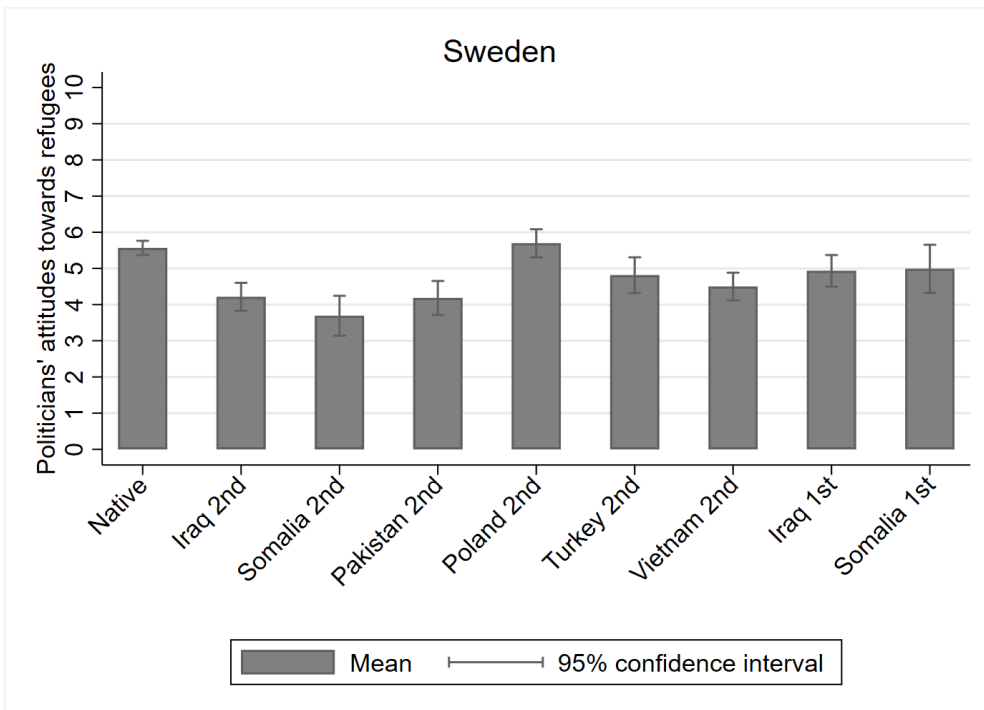


Figure 248

### 13.3. Politicians' attitudes towards Muslims

As shown in Figure 249, respondents' perception of politicians' attitudes towards Muslims in Norway and Denmark is somewhat negative. Respondents in Sweden have a slightly less negative perception. There are no substantial differences in Norway between the native majority the minority groups, while native majority Danes and Swedes have a significantly less negative perception than minority groups in Denmark and Sweden.

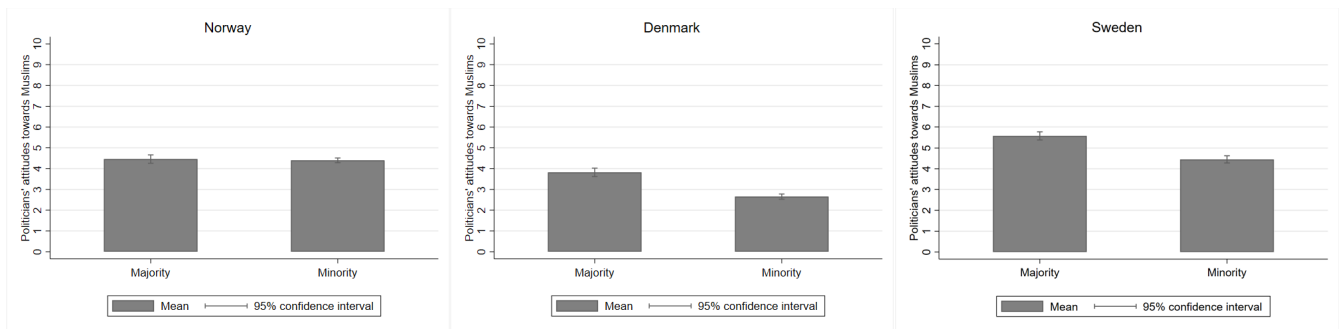


Figure 249

In Norway (Figure 250), respondents' perceptions of politicians' attitudes towards Muslims are somewhat negative. Generally, immigrant subgroups have a more neutral perception than both native majority Norwegians and descendants of immigrants. Descendants of Somali immigrants have the most negative perception, which is significantly more negative than that of all immigrant groups, as well as that of native majority Norwegians. Polish, Iraqi, Pakistani and Turkish immigrants have a significantly less negative perception than native majority Norwegians.

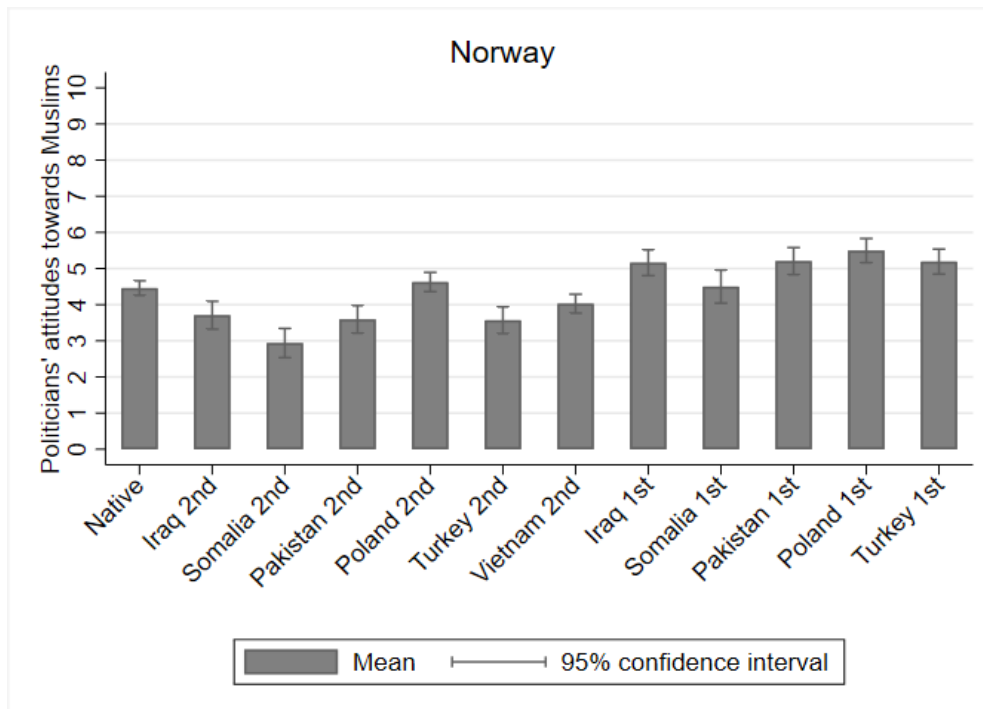


Figure 250



In Denmark (Figure 251), respondents' perception of politicians' attitudes towards Muslims is overall negative. Native majority Danes have a substantially less negative perception than any other subgroup, closely followed by Iraqi immigrants. Descendants of Somali, Iraqi and Pakistani immigrants have the most negative perception.

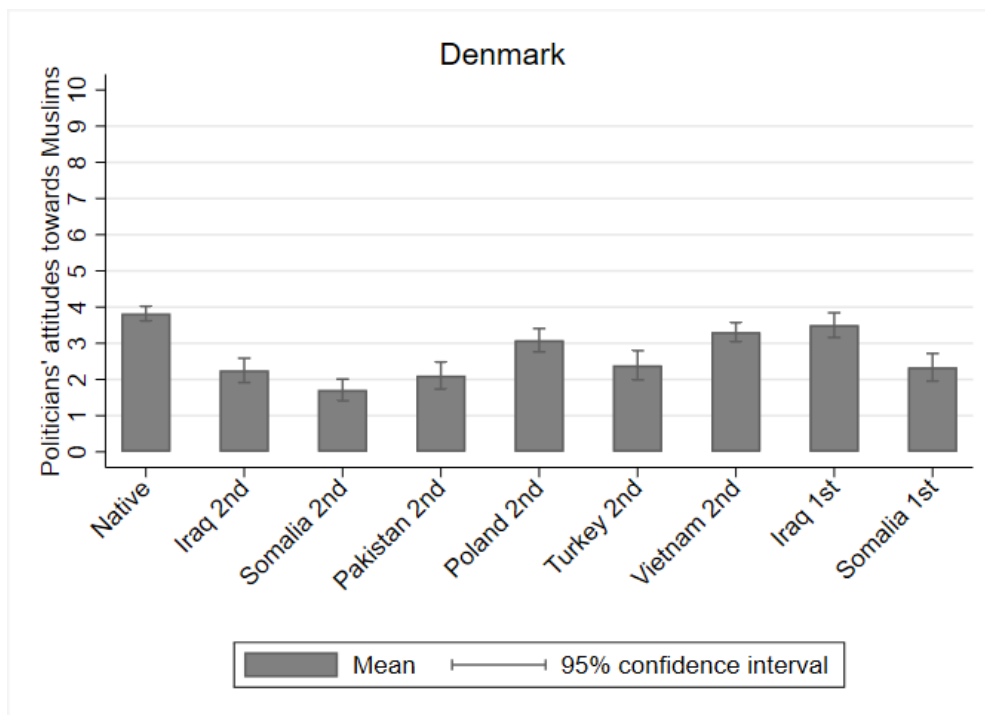


Figure 251

As shown in Figure 252, in the Swedish case, respondents' perception of politicians' attitudes towards Muslims is somewhat negative. Native majority Swedes have a significantly more positive perception than any other subgroup, while descendants of Polish immigrants also have a slightly positive perception. Descendants of Somali immigrants have the most negative perception, followed by descendants of Iraqi and Pakistani immigrants.

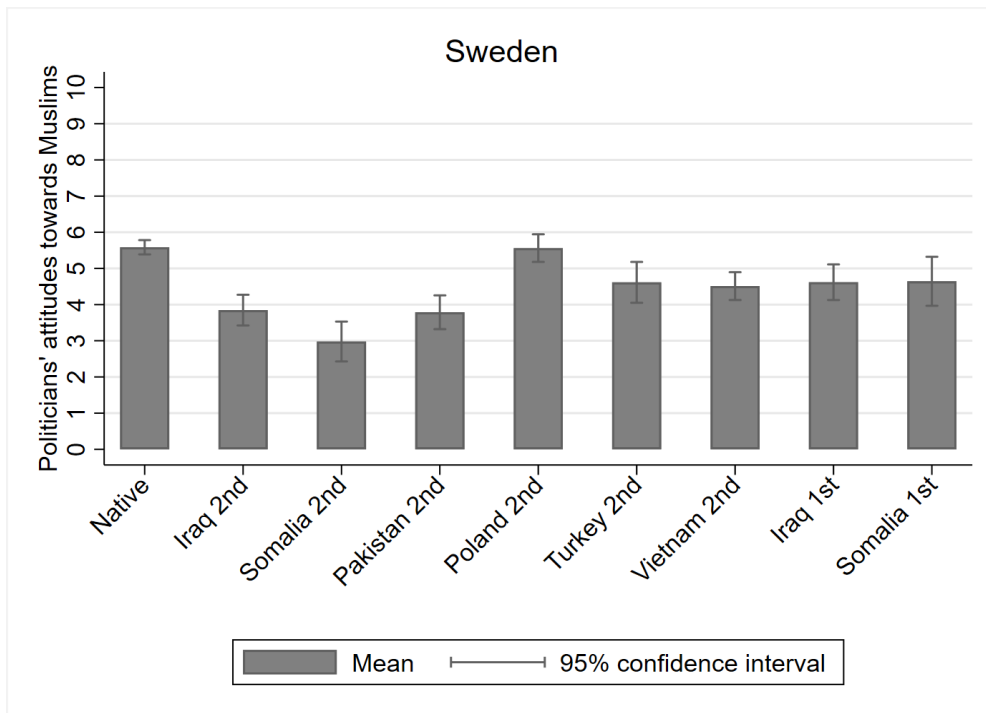


Figure 252

### 13.4. Chapter summary

Chapter 13 presented the results about the respondents' perceptions of politicians' attitudes towards Eastern Europeans, refugees, and Muslims. In Sweden, the respondents' perception of politicians' attitudes towards Eastern Europeans slightly leans towards positive, while it is more negative in Norway, and the most negative in Denmark. Politicians' attitudes towards refugees are seen as most positive in Sweden and most negative in Denmark, with Norway in between the two. A very similar pattern holds true for the perception of politicians' attitudes towards Muslims.

## 14. Values

Chapter 14 presents the respondents' attitudes to four general values. The first asks how respondents view the importance of freedom to criticise any culture or authority, even if it is insulting; the second asks whether men are more qualified than women to be political leaders; the third asks whether homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children; and the fourth asks whether people should be allowed to freely exercise their religion and wear religious symbols. The questions have been answered on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Results are presented in graphs showing the means and their 95%-confidence intervals.

### 14.1. Freedom to criticise any culture or authority, even if it is insulting

In the first section, respondents were asked to indicate on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) to what extent they agree with the following statement: it is important that people have the freedom to criticise any culture or authority, even if it insults others.

Figure 253 compares the results from the Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish samples. There are statistically significant differences between the native majorities and the minority groups in each of the three countries, as the native majorities are more in agreement with the statement than the minorities. The difference is more pronounced in Norway and Denmark than in Sweden. The group that agrees the most is native majority Danes, while the difference between minorities in the three countries is small.

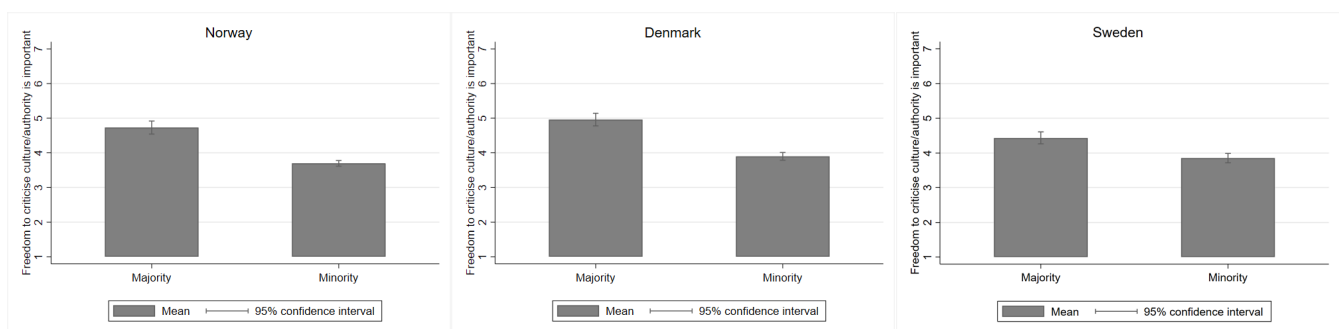


Figure 253

In Norway (Figure 254), native majority Norwegians and descendants of Polish immigrants are most in agreement with the statement that freedom to criticise any culture or authority, even if it is insulting, is important. Pakistani immigrants, as well as descendants of Turkish and Pakistani immigrants, are the subgroups that disagree the most. Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Vietnamese immigrants have a neutral opinion.

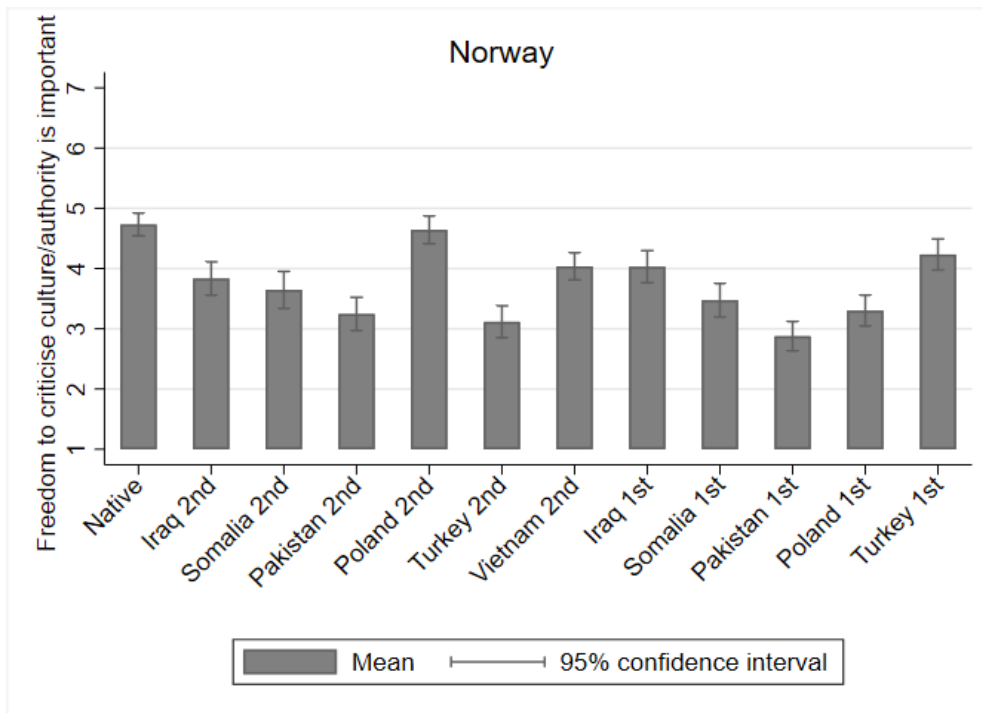


Figure 254

In Denmark (Figure 255), native majority Danes and descendants of Polish and Vietnamese immigrants agree significantly more than any other subgroup. The groups most in disagreement are descendants of Somali, Turkish, Iraqi and Pakistani immigrants. Iraqi and Somali immigrants generally have a neutral opinion.

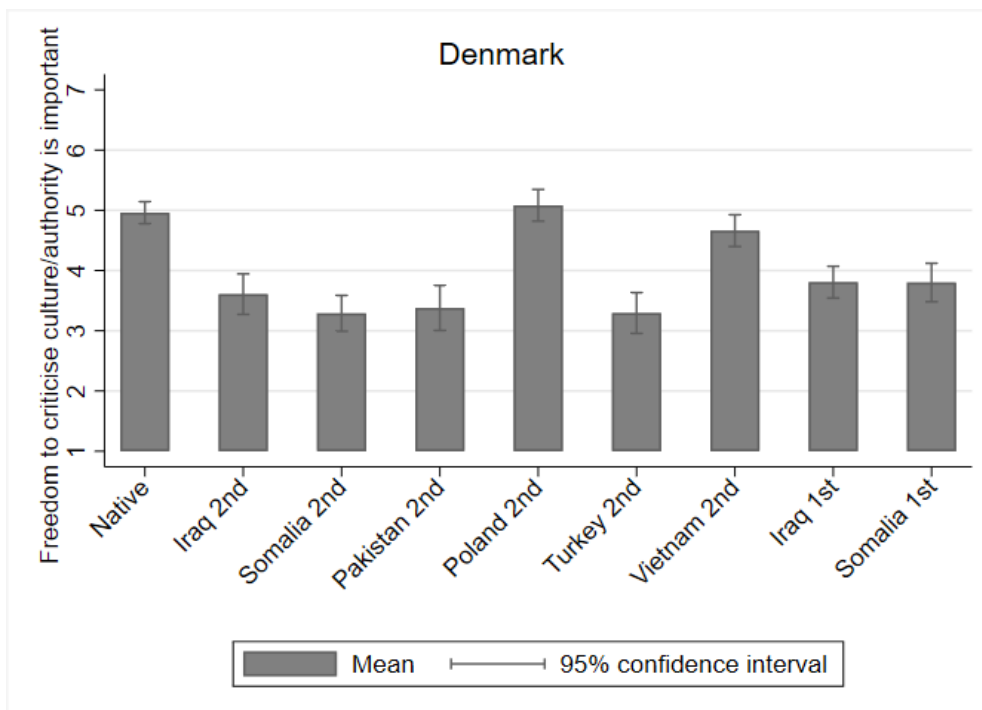


Figure 255

Similar to Denmark and Norway, in Sweden (Figure 256) native majority Swedes and descendants of Polish immigrants are the subgroups that agree significantly more than any other subgroup. Descendants of Somali, Iraqi and Pakistani immigrants disagree the most.

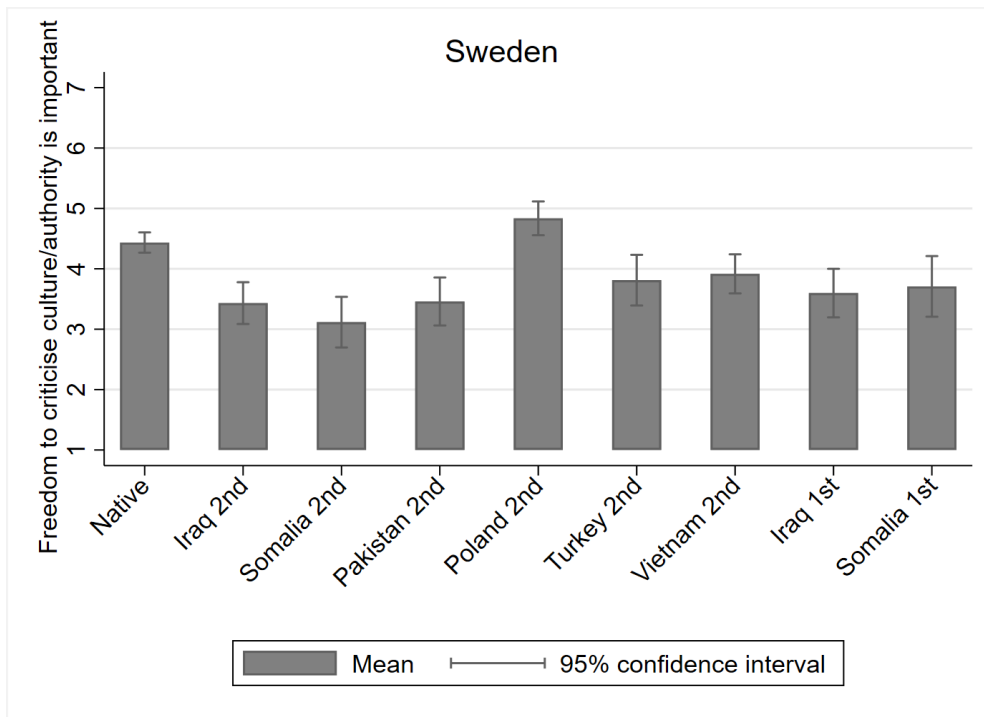


Figure 256

#### 14.2. Men are more qualified than women to be political leaders

In the second section, respondents were asked to indicate on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) to what extent they agree with the following statement: men are more qualified to be political leaders than women. Note that this question is ‘reversed’, i.e. lower values indicate a higher level of disagreement.

Figure 257 compares the results from the Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish samples. Overall, respondents in the three countries strongly disagree, but there are statistically significant differences between native majorities and the minority groups in each country: native majorities are more in disagreement with the statement. The difference is more pronounced in Norway than in Denmark and Sweden. Native majority Swedes are the group that disagrees the most, while minorities in Norway are the group that disagrees the least.

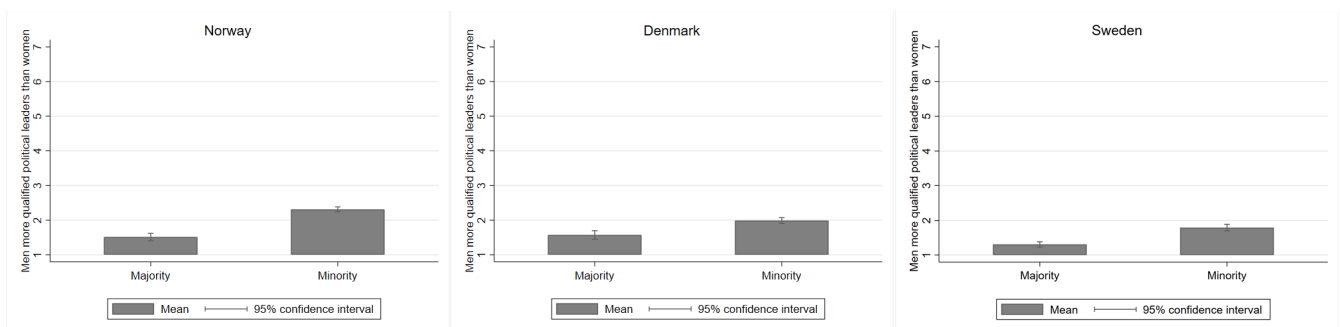


Figure 257

As shown in Figure 258, respondents in Norway are in disagreement with the statement that men are more qualified to be political leaders than women. Native majority Norwegians disagree the most, followed by descendants of Polish immigrants. Iraqi, Somali, Pakistani and Turkish immigrants are least in disagreement. Generally, immigrant subgroups are less in disagreement than descendants of immigrants.

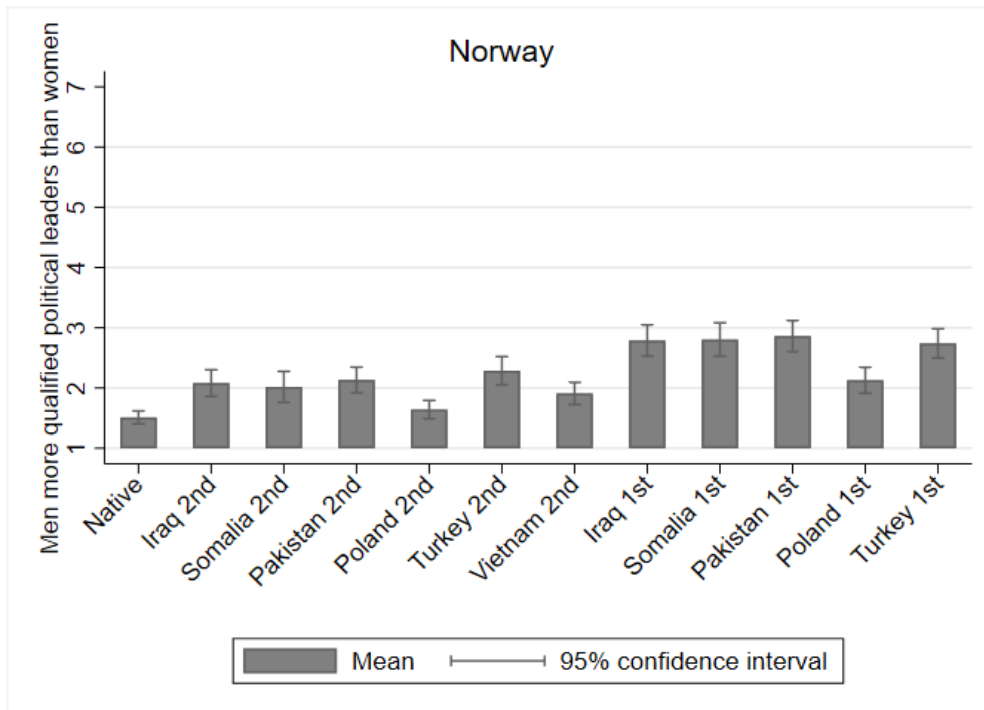


Figure 258

In Denmark (Figure 259), all subgroups express a rather strong disagreement with the statement that men are more qualified to be political leaders than women, with overall small differences between subgroups. The groups least in disagreement are Iraqi and Somali immigrants.

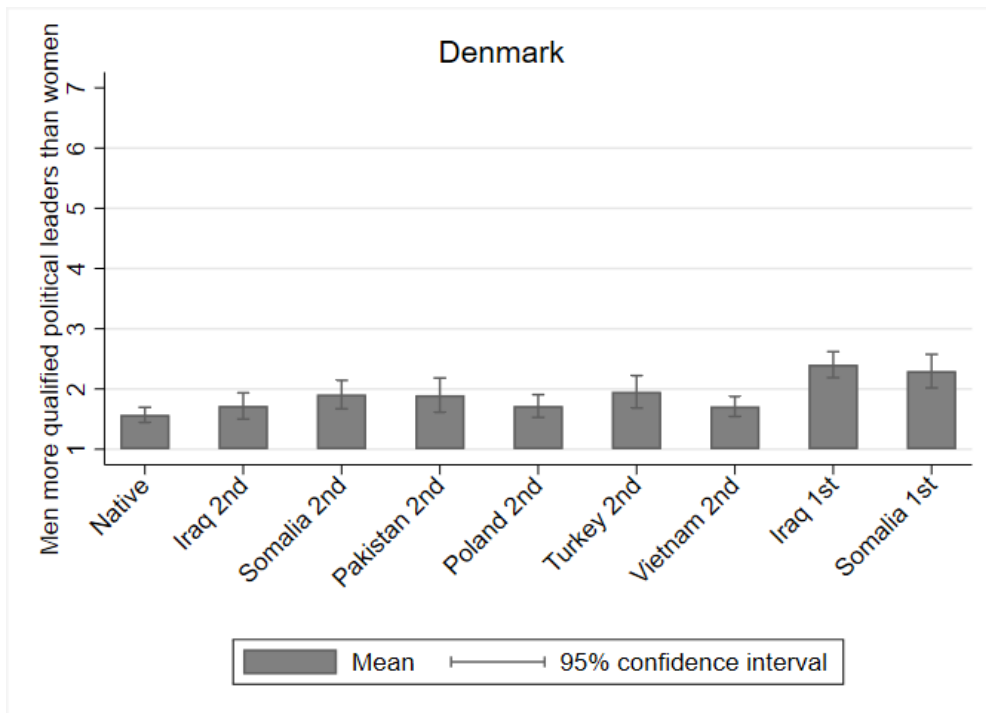


Figure 259

In Sweden (Figure 260), respondents tend to be in strong disagreement with the statement that men are more qualified to be political leaders than women, as noticed also in Norway and Denmark. Native majority Swedes are the subgroup most in disagreement, followed by descendants of Somali, Pakistani and Vietnamese immigrants. Iraqi and Somali immigrants are the subgroups that disagree the least.

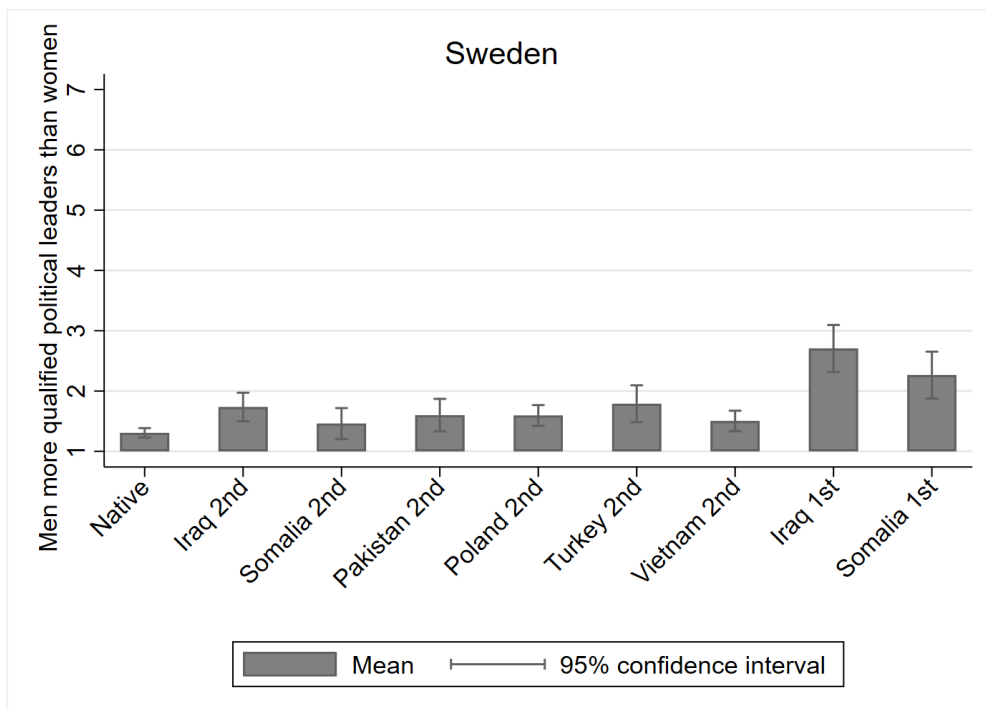


Figure 260

### 14.3. Homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children

In the third section, respondents were asked to indicate on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) to what extent they agree with the following statement: homosexual couples should have the right to adopt children.

Figure 261 compares the results from the Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish samples. There are statistically significant differences between the native majorities and the minority groups in all the Scandinavian countries: native majorities are significantly more in agreement than the minorities. The difference is more pronounced in Norway and Denmark than in Sweden. Native majorities are in strong agreement, while the picture is more complex for minorities: in Sweden they tend to agree, while in Denmark and especially in Norway they tend to have a more neutral opinion.

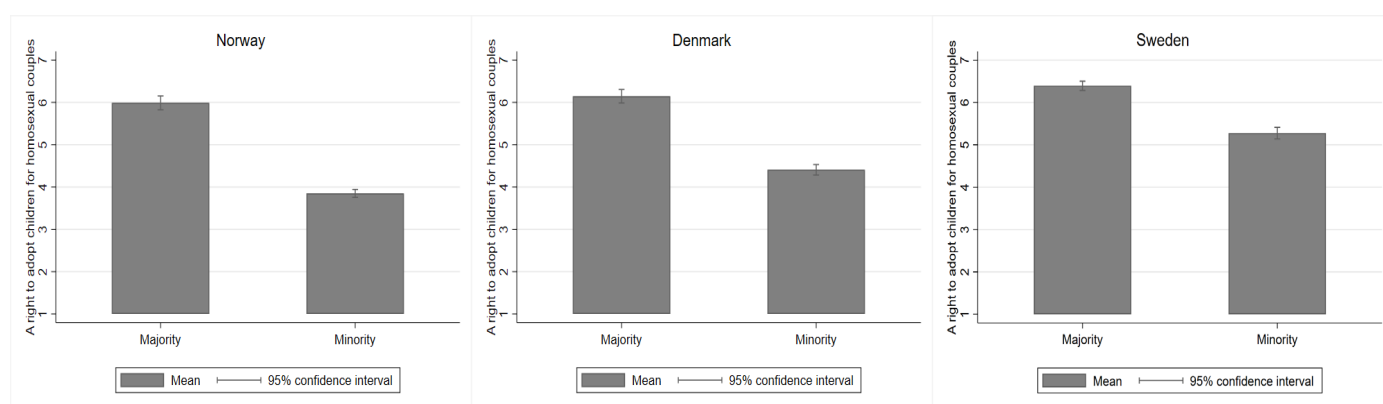


Figure 261

Figure 262 shows the results from the Norwegian sample. Native majority Norwegians and descendants of Vietnamese and Polish immigrants are significantly more in agreement with the statement that homosexual couples should have the right to adopt children, than any other subgroups. Descendants of immigrants agree significantly more than the immigrants from the same countries.



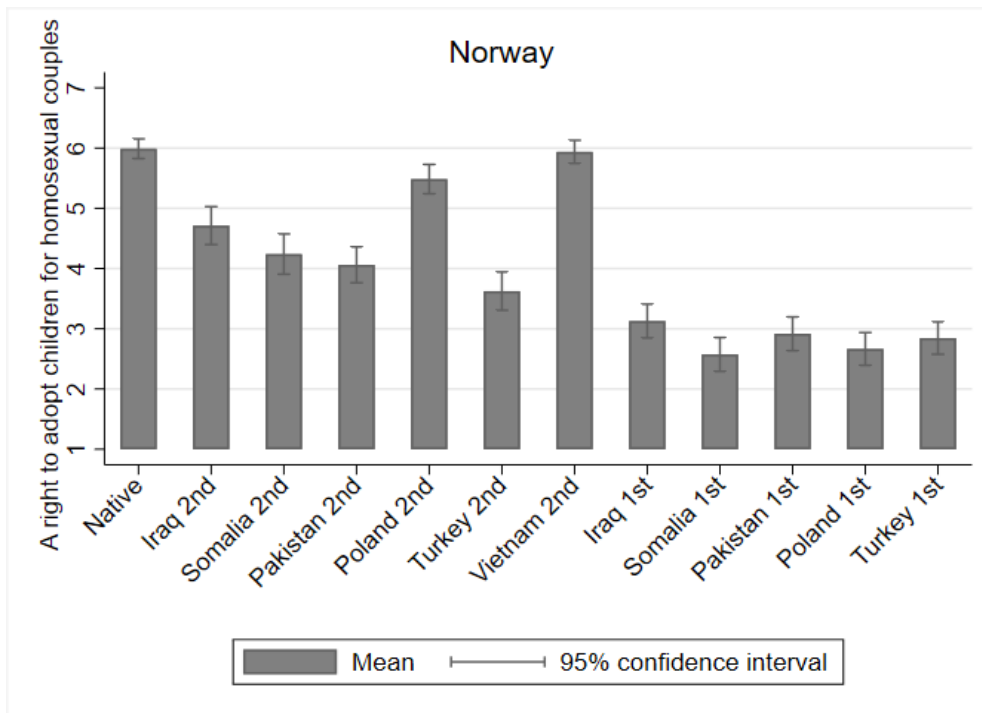


Figure 262

In Denmark (Figure 263), subgroups tend to agree more with the statement that homosexual couples should have the right to adopt children than in Norway. As in Norway, native majority Danes and descendants of Vietnamese and Polish immigrants agree the most. The other descendants of immigrants lean towards a slight agreement, whereas Iraqi and Somali immigrants are the only two subgroups that express a rather strong disagreement.

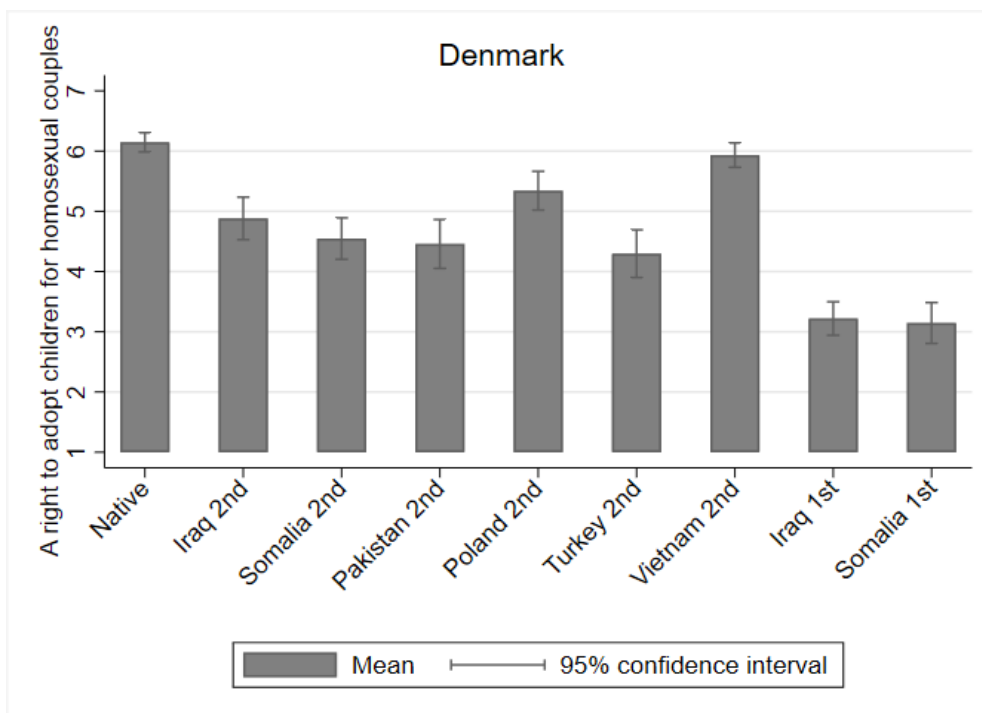


Figure 263

The overall picture in Sweden (Figure 264) is similar to that in Denmark. Native majority Swedes and descendants of Vietnamese immigrants agree with the statement that homosexual couples should have

the right to adopt children significantly more than any other subgroup. All the other descendants of immigrants' subgroups express a rather strong agreement. Iraqi immigrants tend to have a neutral opinion, while Somali immigrants are in disagreement.

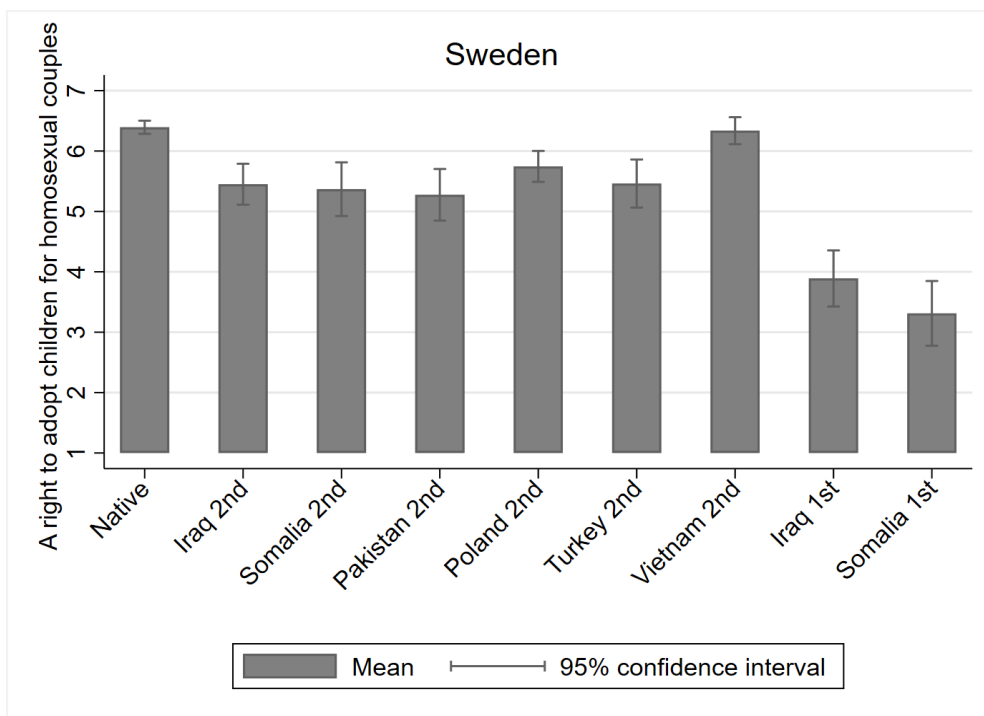


Figure 264

#### 14.4. People should be freely allowed to exercise their religion and wear religious symbols

In the fourth section, respondents were asked to indicate on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) to what extent they agree with the following statement: it is important that all people in Norway/Denmark/Sweden have the possibility to freely exercise their religion and to wear religious symbols and clothing.

Figure 265 compares the results from the Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish samples. There are statistically significant differences between the native majorities and the minorities in each of the Scandinavian countries: minority groups are more in agreement with the statement than native majorities. The difference is more pronounced in Norway and Denmark than in Sweden. Minorities in Denmark agree the most, while native majority Norwegians agree the least.

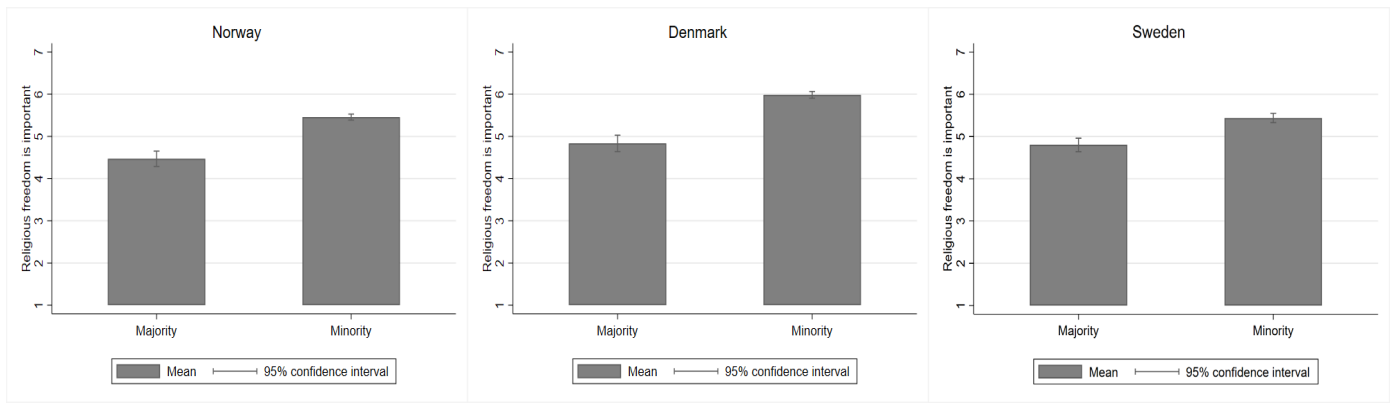


Figure 265

In Norway (Figure 266), the majority of the subgroups agree with the statement that people should be allowed to freely exercise their religion and wear religious symbols and clothing. Descendants of Somali immigrants agree significantly more than any other subgroup. Polish immigrants are significantly more in disagreement than any other subgroup, and they are the only subgroup who leans towards a slight disagreement. Native majority Norwegians and descendants of Polish immigrants are only in slight agreement.

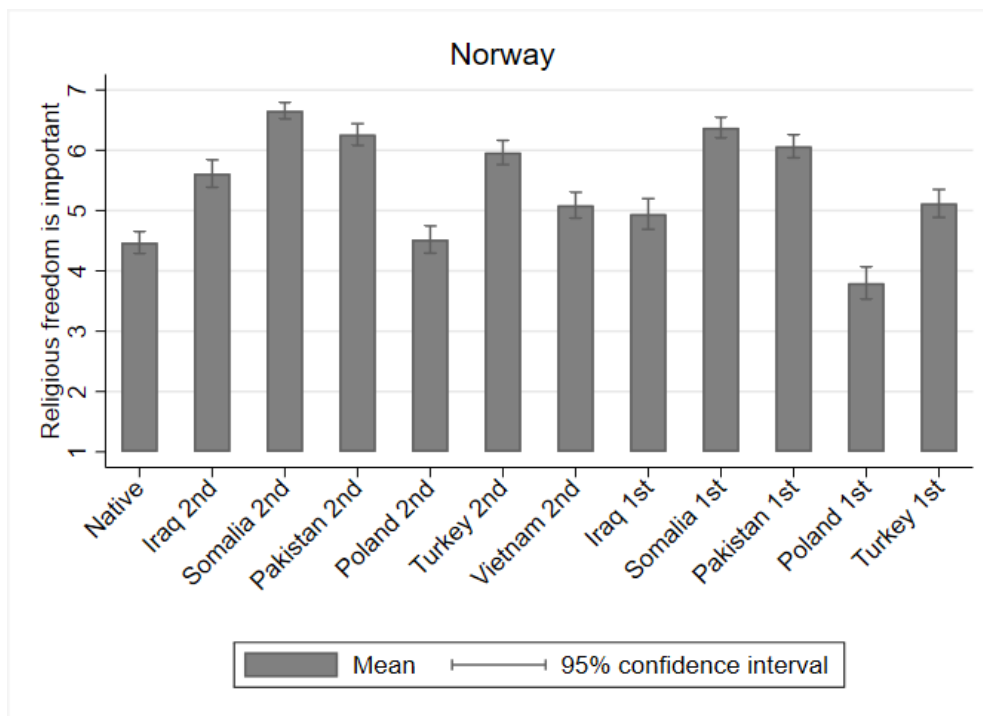


Figure 266

In Denmark (Figure 267), there is overall a general agreement with the statement that people should be allowed to freely exercise their religion and to wear religious symbols and clothing. Somali immigrants as well as descendants of Somali, Pakistani and Iraqi immigrants are most in agreement. Native majority Danes and descendants of Polish immigrants agree with the statement the least.

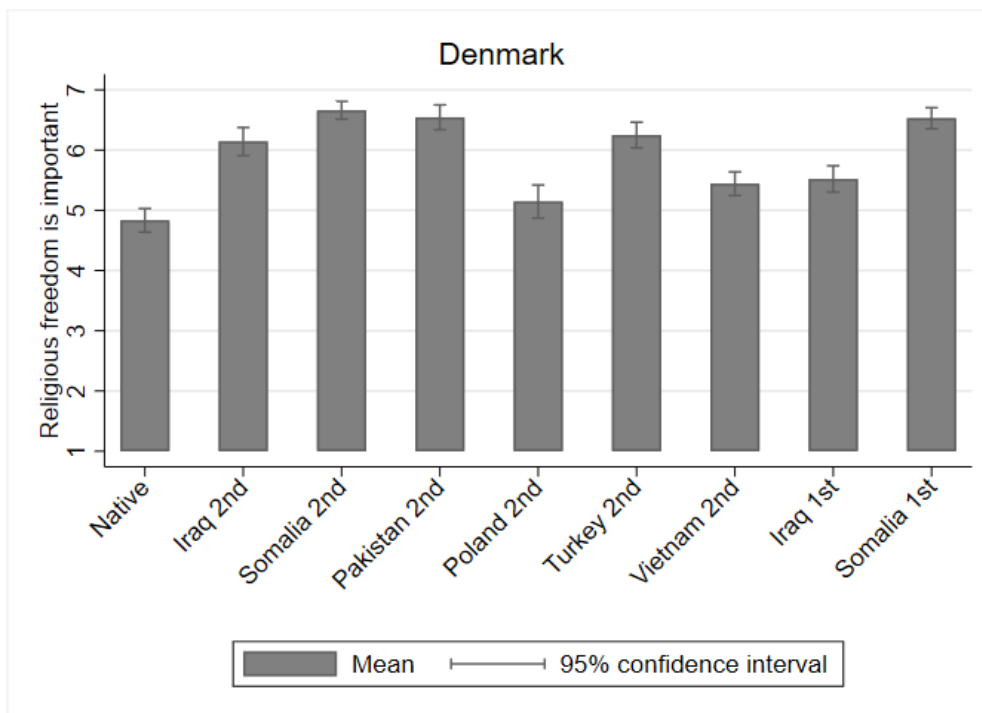


Figure 267

As in Denmark, in Sweden (Figure 268) there is also overall a general agreement with the statement that people should be allowed to freely exercise their religion and to wear religious symbols and clothing. Somali immigrants and descendants of Somali immigrants are most in agreement. Descendants of Polish immigrants and native majority Swedes are the subgroups that are in least agreement.

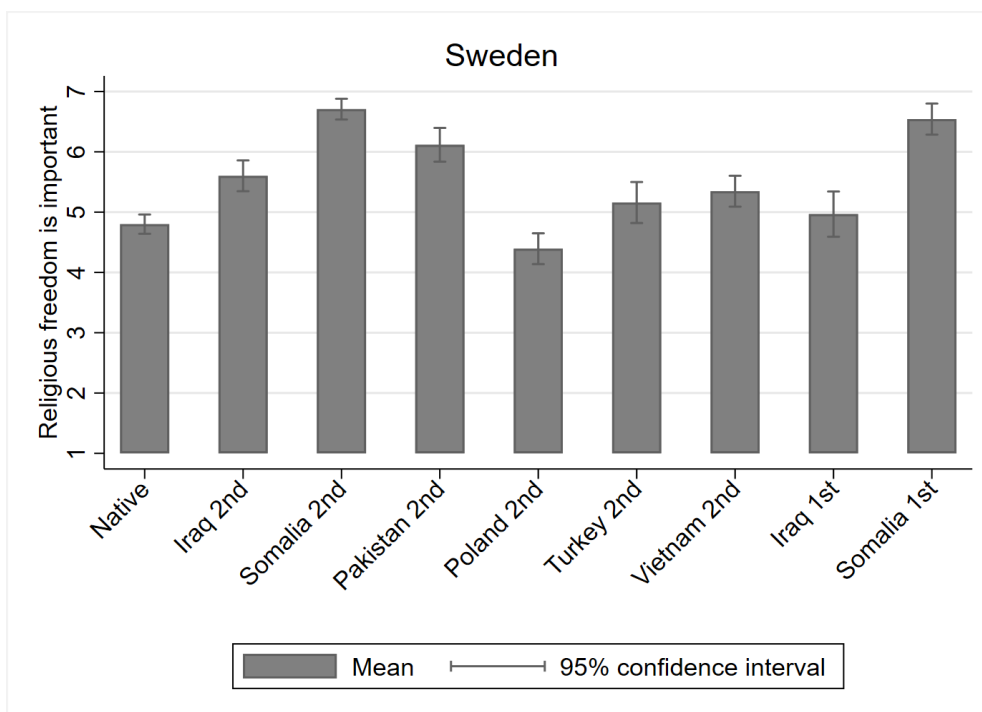


Figure 268

## 14.5. Chapter summary

Chapter 14 presented the respondents' opinions on four general values. In terms of freedom to criticise any culture or authority, even if it is insulting, native majorities in the three countries express a general agreement, while minorities tend to have a more negative opinion on the matter. In terms of men being more qualified than women to be political leaders, the disagreement is strong among all groups, though minorities tend to have a slightly weaker disagreement than native majorities. On whether homosexual couples should be able to adopt children, native majorities are strongly in favour, while minorities have a more complex view: in Sweden, they are generally in favour, while in Norway they express a neutral opinion, with Denmark in between. In terms of freedom to exercise religion and to wear religious symbols, there is a general agreement, though it is considerably higher among minorities.

## 15. School experience

In Chapter 15, we present how respondents rated their experience in school. In the first section, respondents are asked how negative or positive their experience of school was. Then, they respond to a series of related statements concerning their school experience. The statements are: my teachers accepted me as I was; my classmates accepted me as I was; I felt like I needed to be a different person at school than I was at home; my teachers respected all students equally, regardless of their cultural background; my teachers tried to give all students the opportunity to express their culture; and my teachers put students with immigrant backgrounds in the same category. In the first seven sections, results are presented in percentages, while the eighth section (Section 15.8. School experience (index)) presents an index of the results of the school experience in graphs showing the means and their 95%-confidence intervals.

### 15.1. Experience of time at school (negative or positive)

In this subsection, respondents were asked to rate the experience of their time in school on a scale of very negative to very positive.

Figure 269 compares the results of the Norwegian, Danish and Swedish samples. Overall, the majority of respondents in the three countries have a mostly or very positive experience of their time in school. Immigrants in Norway and Sweden have a more positive experience than descendants of immigrants, while in Denmark the difference is considerably smaller.

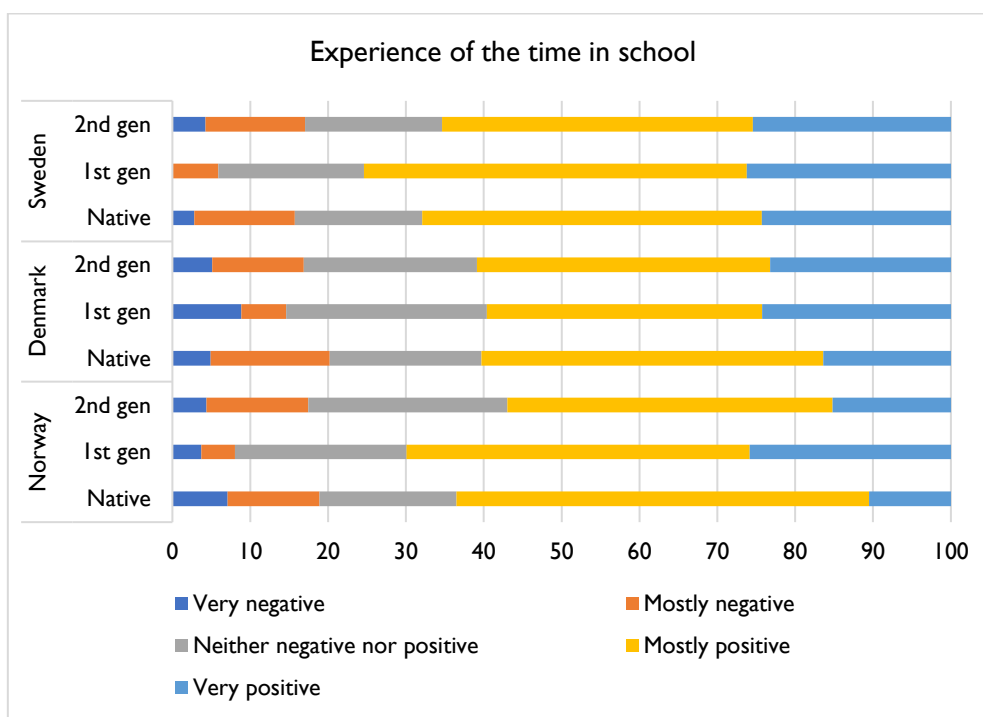


Figure 269

In Norway (Figure 270), the majority of the respondents in each subgroup express a positive experience of school. Pakistani and Polish immigrants had the most positive experience. Descendants of Turkish

and Iraqi immigrants had the least positive experience of time in school: in particular, nearly 30% of descendants of Iraqi immigrants had a very or mostly negative experience. Overall, immigrants had a better experience of their time in school than the descendants of immigrants from the same countries.

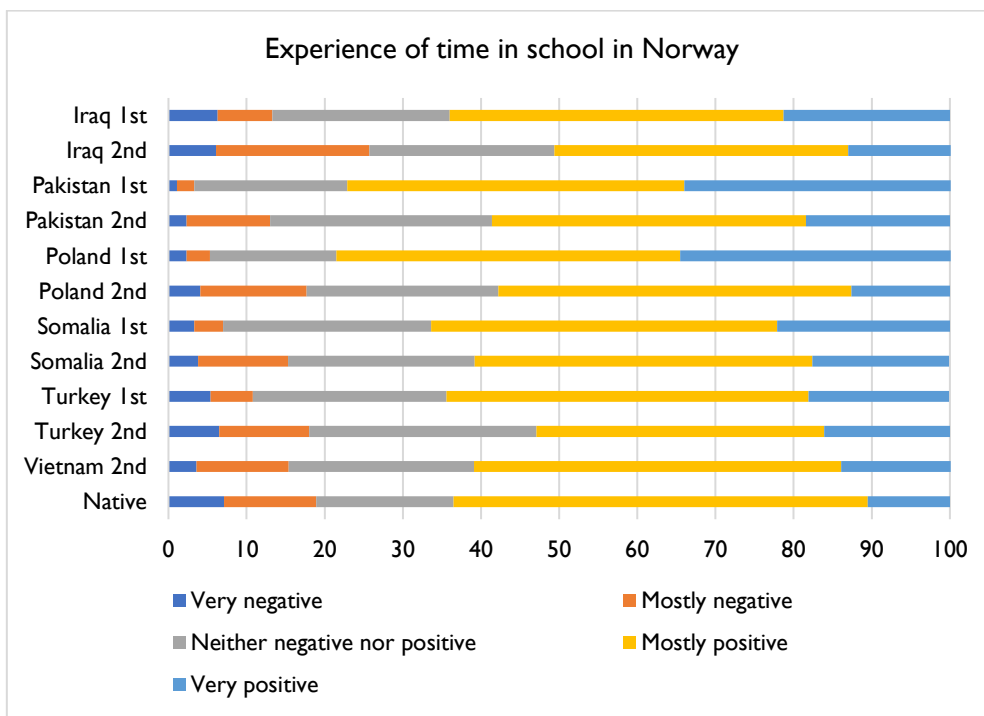


Figure 270

As in Norway, in Denmark (Figure 271) the majority of respondents in all the subgroups expressed a positive experience of their time in school. Descendants of Somali immigrants have highest percentage of respondents with a positive experience. Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Iraqi and Turkish immigrants have the lowest percentage of respondents with a positive experience.

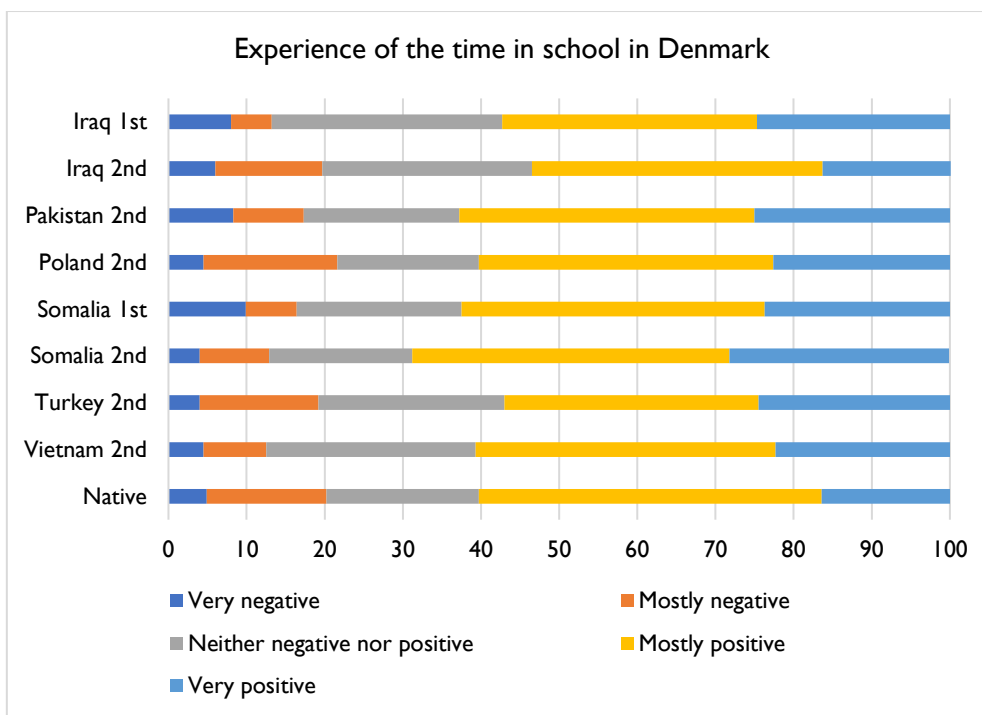


Figure 271

In Sweden (Figure 272), as in Denmark and Norway, most of the respondents in each subgroup express an overall positive experience of their time in school. In particular, more than 80% of the descendants of Somali immigrants had a positive experience: this is considerably higher than any other subgroup. By contrast, descendants of Polish immigrants have the lowest proportion of respondents with a positive experience of their time in school.

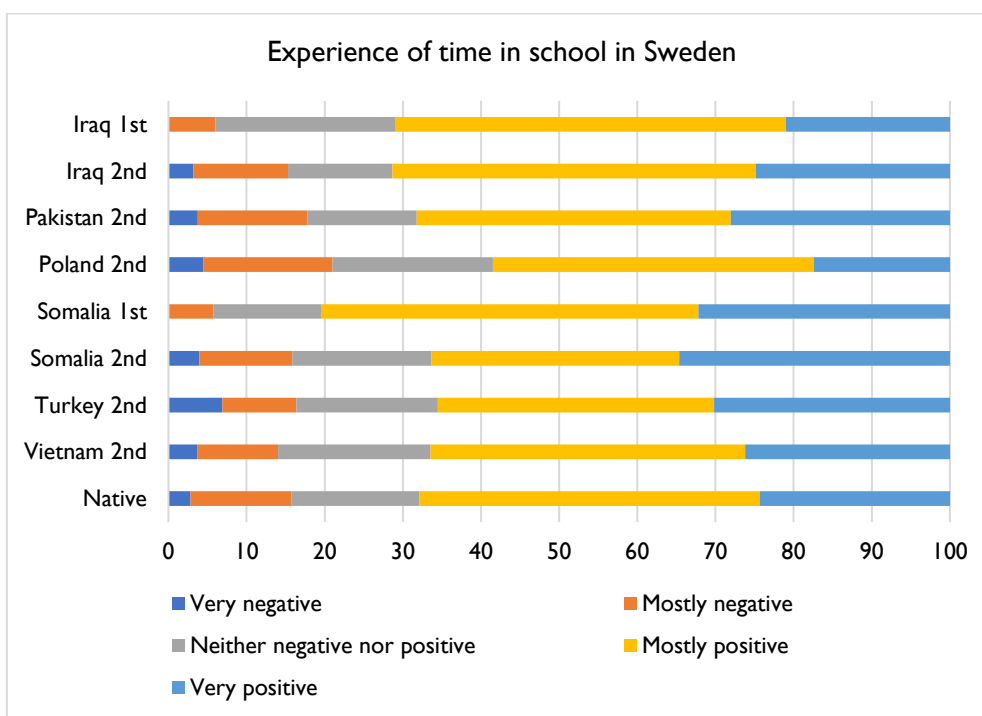


Figure 272



## 15.2. Teachers' acceptance

In this subsection, respondents were asked to indicate their teachers' acceptance of them as they are on a scale of never to very often.

Figure 273 compares the results from the Norwegian, Danish and Swedish samples. Generally, most respondents in each country were accepted by their teachers very often or most of the time. Overall, respondents in Sweden have the highest percentage of replies indicating that teachers accepted them very often or most of the time. By contrast, immigrants in Denmark were accepted by their teachers the least often. Native majorities in the three countries were accepted by their teachers more often than the minorities: among the minorities, descendants of immigrants were accepted by their teachers more often than immigrants.

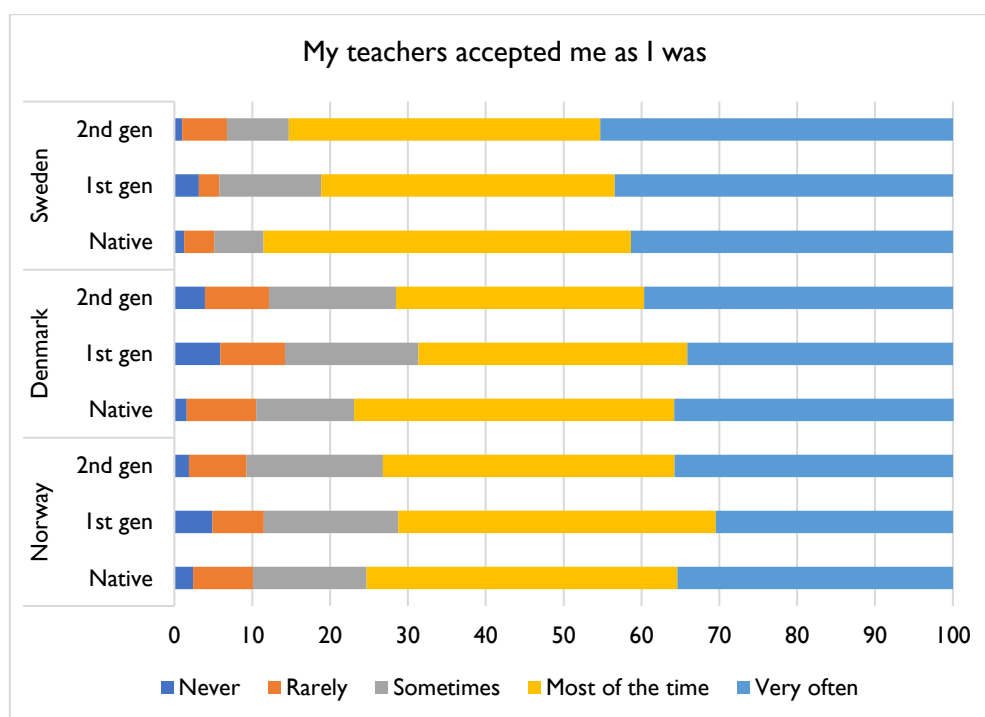


Figure 273

In Norway (Figure 274), most of the respondents were accepted by their teachers most of the time or very often. Descendants of Pakistani, Polish and Vietnamese immigrants have the highest percentage of respondents being accepted by their teachers very often. Iraqi immigrants have the highest percentage of respondents who were never accepted by their teachers. Descendants of Iraqi and Somali immigrants have the lowest levels of teachers' acceptance.

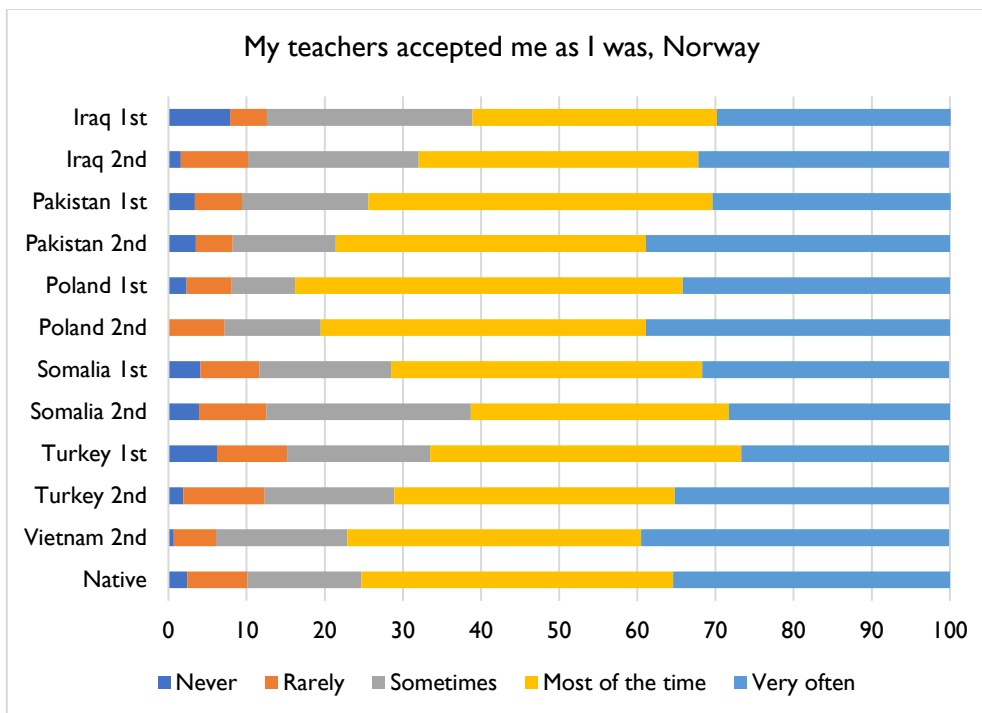


Figure 274

In Denmark (Figure 275), most of the respondents were accepted by their teachers most of the time or very often. Descendants of Vietnamese immigrants and native majority Danes report the highest levels of teachers' acceptance. By contrast, the remaining subgroups have rather similar rates of teachers' acceptance.

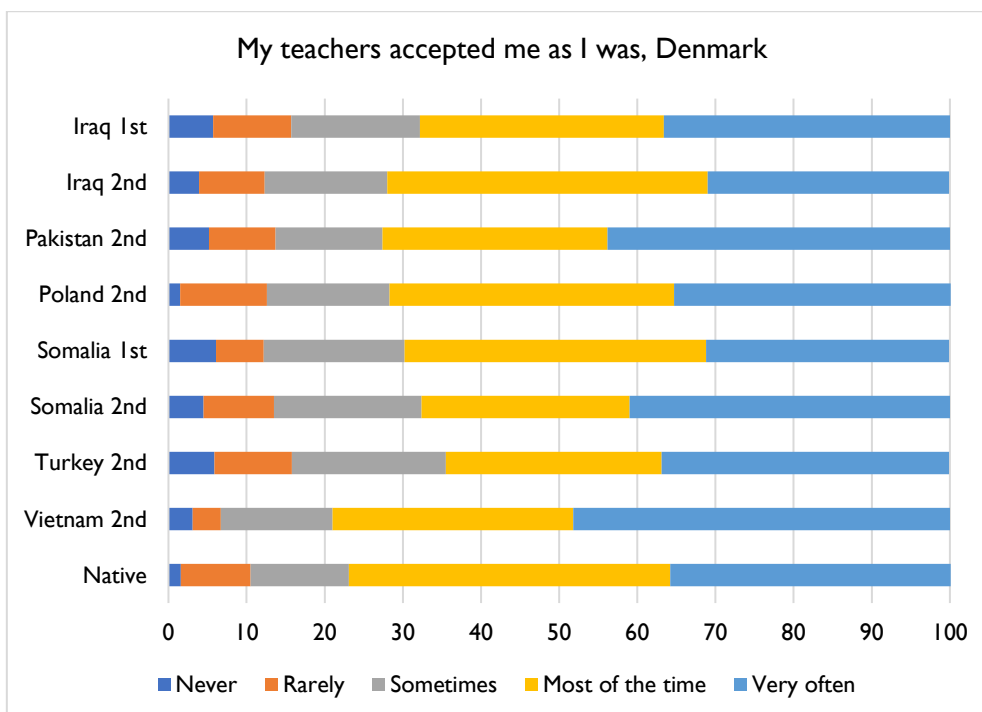


Figure 275

In Sweden (Figure 276), most of the respondents were accepted by their teachers most of the time or very often: respondents in Sweden report receiving their teachers' acceptance more often than respondents in Norway and Denmark. Descendants of Vietnamese immigrants have the highest percentage of

respondents who have been accepted by their teachers very often or most of the time. By contrast, descendants of Somali immigrants report the least acceptance by their teachers.

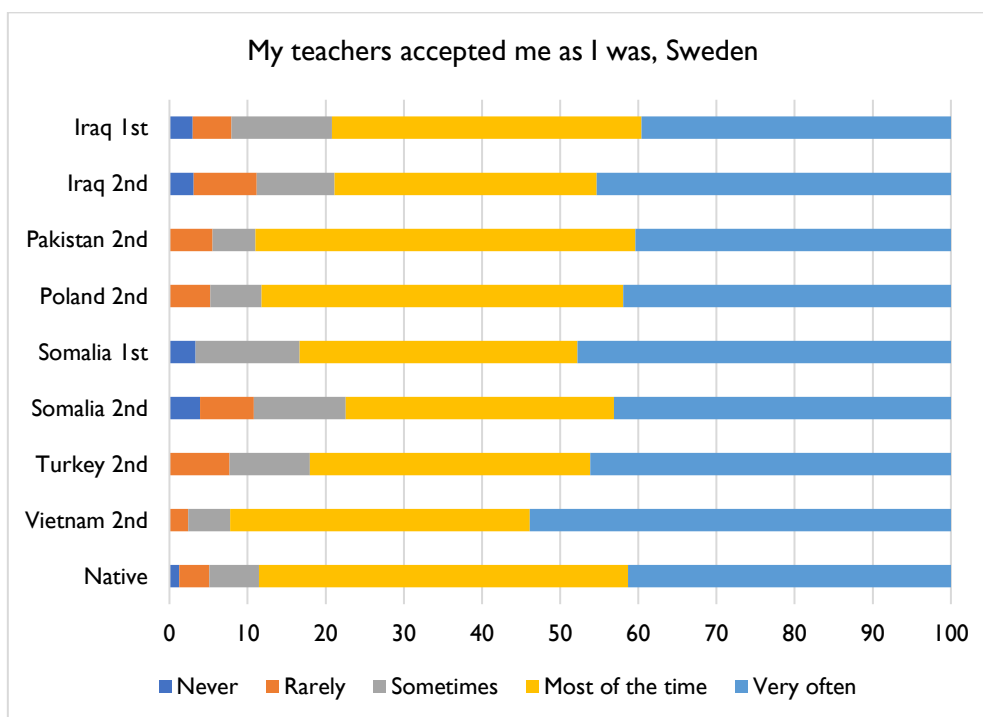


Figure 276

### 15.3. Classmates' acceptance

In this subsection, respondents were asked to indicate their classmates' acceptance of them on a scale of never to very often.

Figure 277 compares the results from the Norwegian, Danish and Swedish samples. Generally, most of the respondents were accepted by their classmates very often or most of the time. Descendants of immigrants in Denmark have the highest percentage of respondents who were very often accepted by their classmates. Immigrants in Norway reported more acceptance from their classmates than native majority Norwegians, while native majority Danes have the highest proportion of responses indicating never or rarely having been accepted by their classmates among all groups.

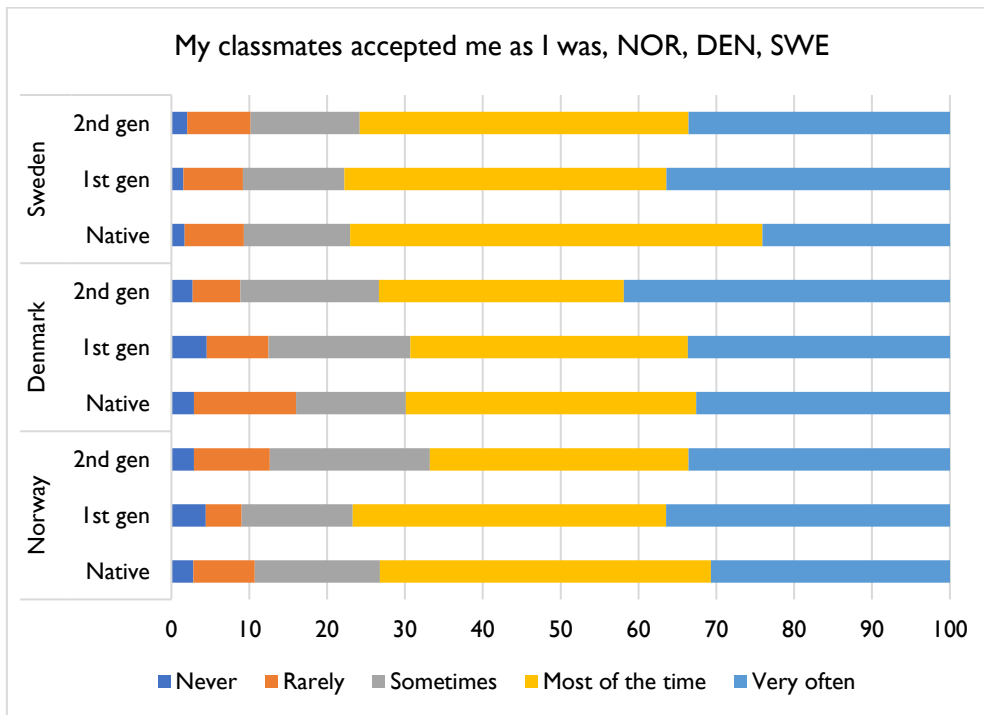


Figure 277

In Norway (Figure 278), most of the respondents were accepted by their classmates very often or most of the time. Polish and Pakistani immigrants as well as descendants of Turkish immigrants have the highest percentage of respondents accepted by their classmates very often or most of the time. Iraqi immigrants have the highest percentage of respondents who never experienced their classmates' acceptance, and, together with the descendants of Iraqi immigrants, are the subgroups who reported the least acceptance from their classmates.

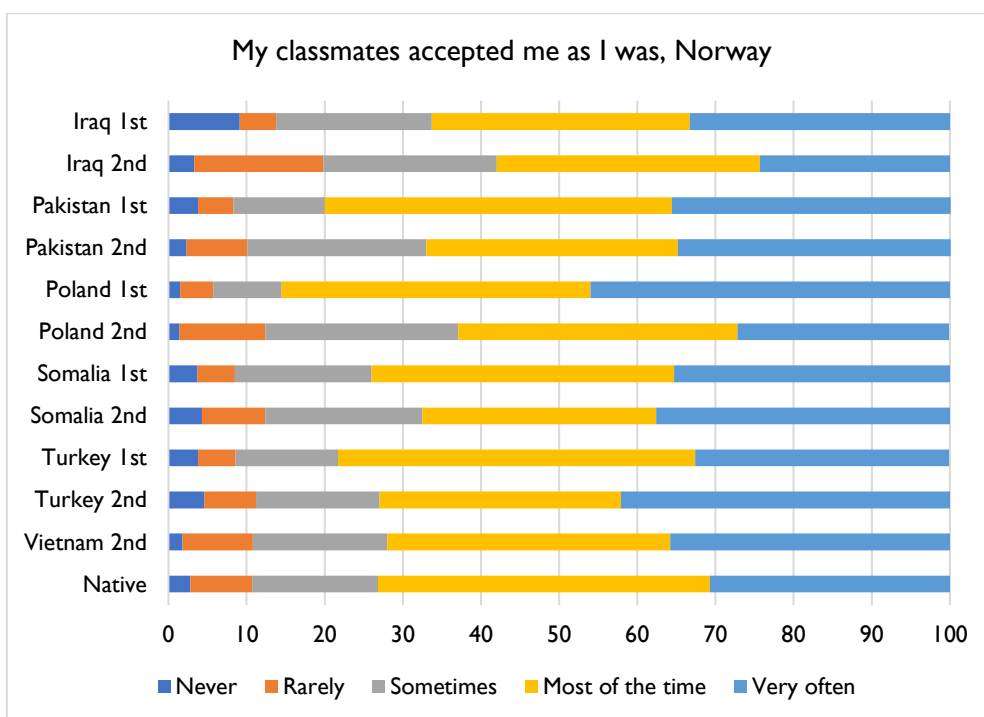


Figure 278

In Denmark (Figure 279), most of the respondents were accepted by their classmates very often or most of the time. Descendants of Vietnamese and Somali immigrants have the highest rate of classmates' acceptance: in particular, more than half of descendants of Somali immigrant reported that they were accepted by their classmates very often. By contrast, Iraqi immigrants and native majority Danes are the subgroups that most reported being never or rarely accepted.

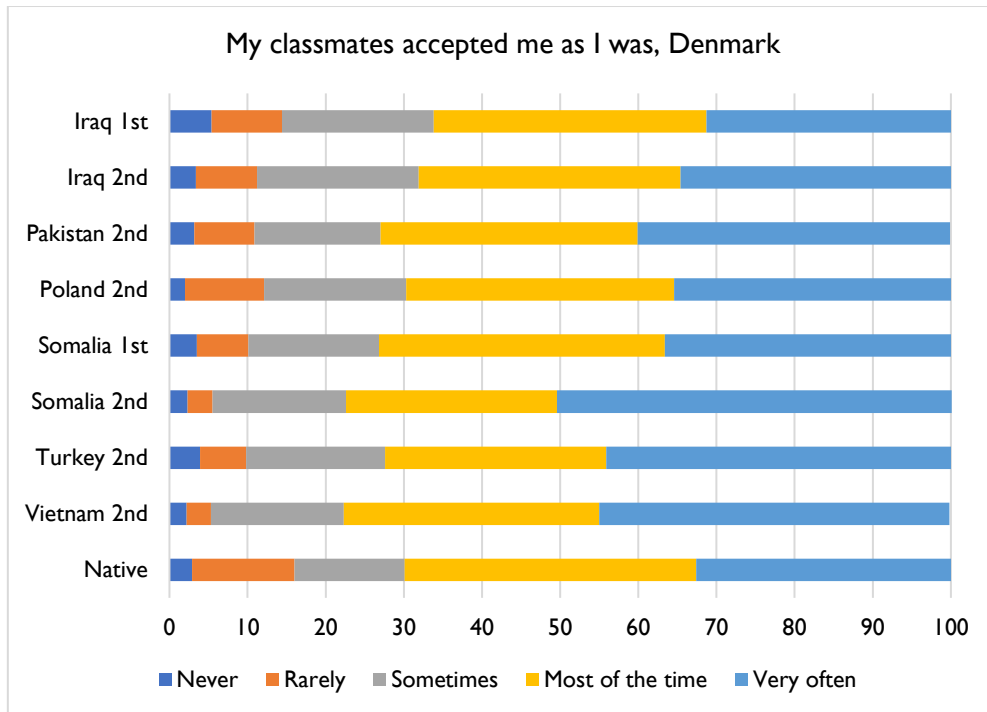


Figure 279

In Sweden (Figure 280), most of the respondents were accepted by their classmates very often or most of the time. Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Vietnamese immigrants are the only two subgroups where there are no respondents who have never been accepted by their classmates.

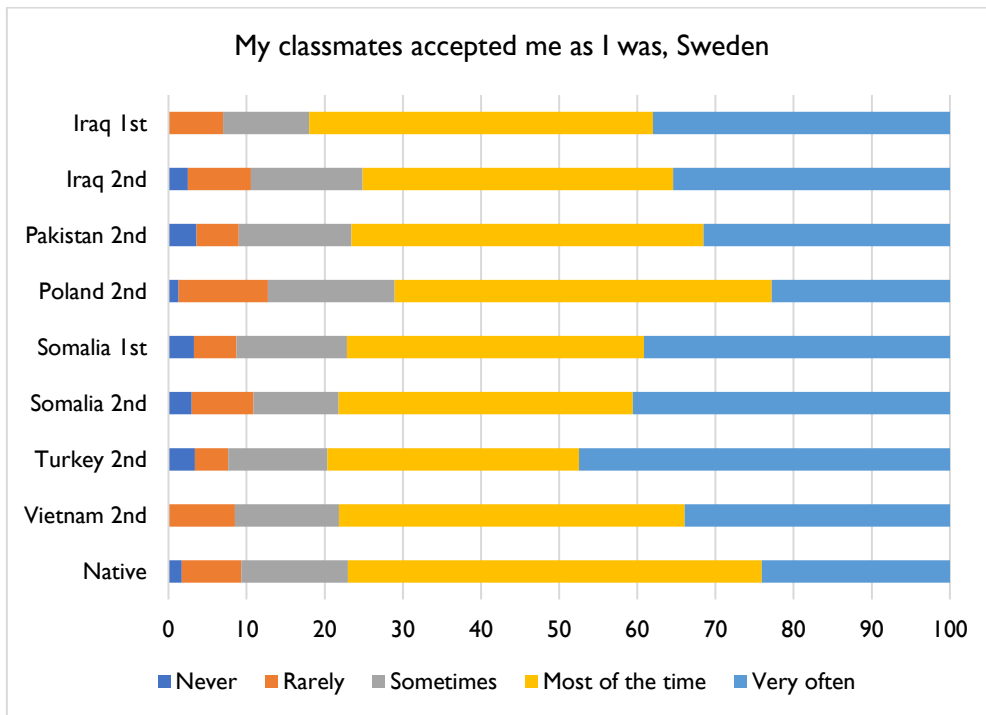


Figure 280

#### 15.4. I felt I needed to be a different person at school than I was at home

In this subsection, respondents were asked to indicate whether they felt the need to be a different person at school than at home, on a scale of never to very often.

Figure 281 compares the results from the Norwegian, Danish and Swedish samples. Results are generally similar across the three countries, as the majority of the respondents in all groups rarely or never felt the need to be a different person at school than at home. On the whole, native majorities felt the need to be different at school less than minority groups.

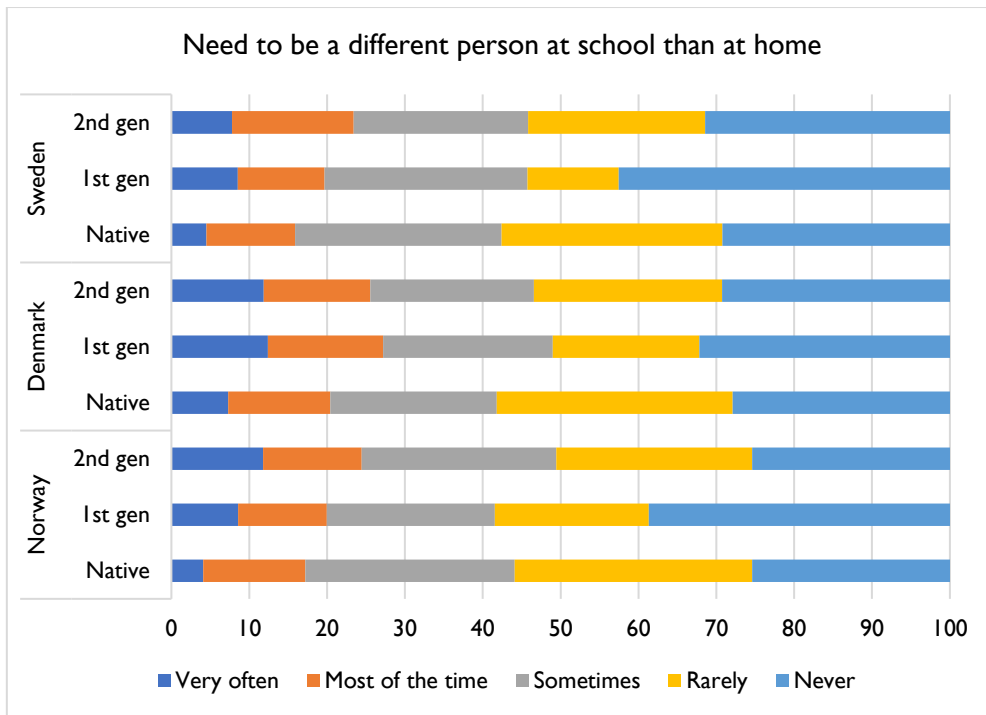


Figure 281

In Norway (Figure 282), there are noticeable differences between subgroups. An overwhelming majority of Polish immigrants never or rarely felt the need to be a different person at school than at home, while less than half of descendants of Vietnamese, Pakistani and Iraqi immigrants, as well as Iraqi immigrants, never or rarely felt the need to be a different person at school. Nearly a third of the descendants of Iraqi immigrants felt very often or most of the time the need to be a different person at school than at home.

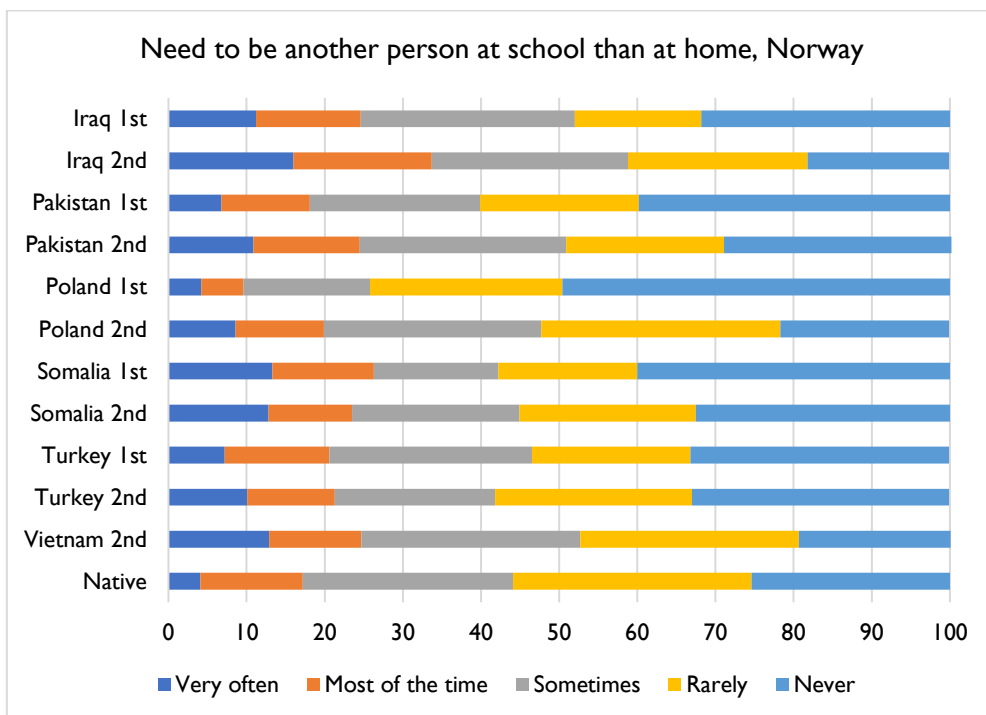


Figure 282

In Denmark (Figure 283), there are less differences between groups than in Norway. Only Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Iraqi immigrants are the subgroups in which less than half of the respondents never or rarely felt the need to be different at school.

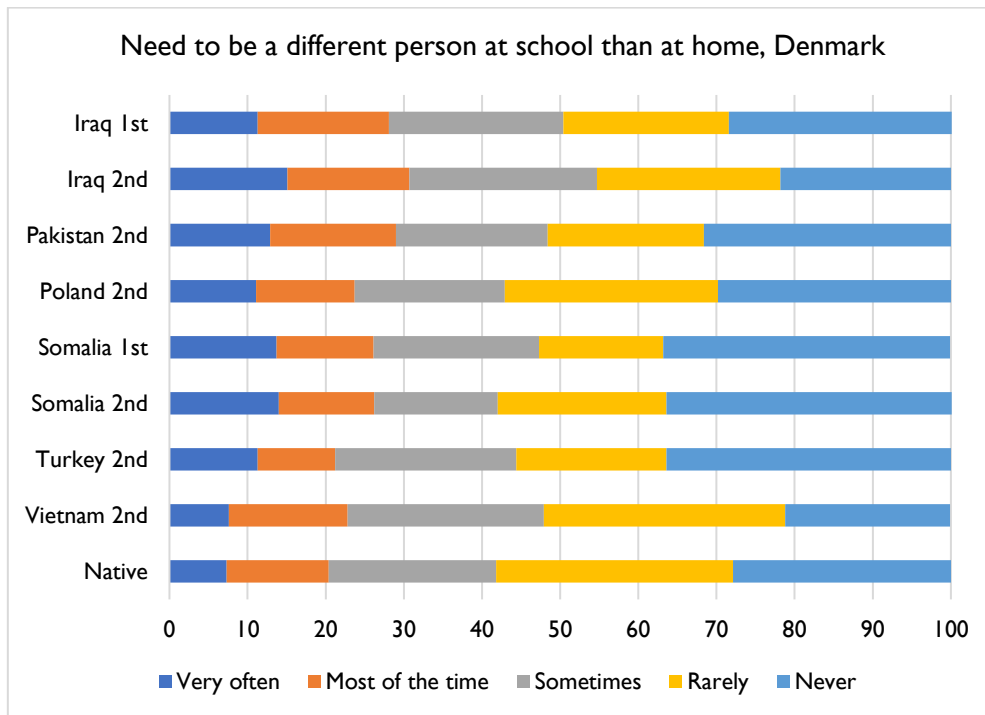


Figure 283

In Sweden (Figure 284), the only subgroups in which less than half of the respondents never or rarely felt the need to be a different person at school are Iraqi immigrants and descendants of Pakistani immigrants. By contrast, more than half of Somali immigrants never felt the need to be different at school. Nearly a third of the descendants of Pakistani immigrants felt very often or most of the time the need to be different at school.



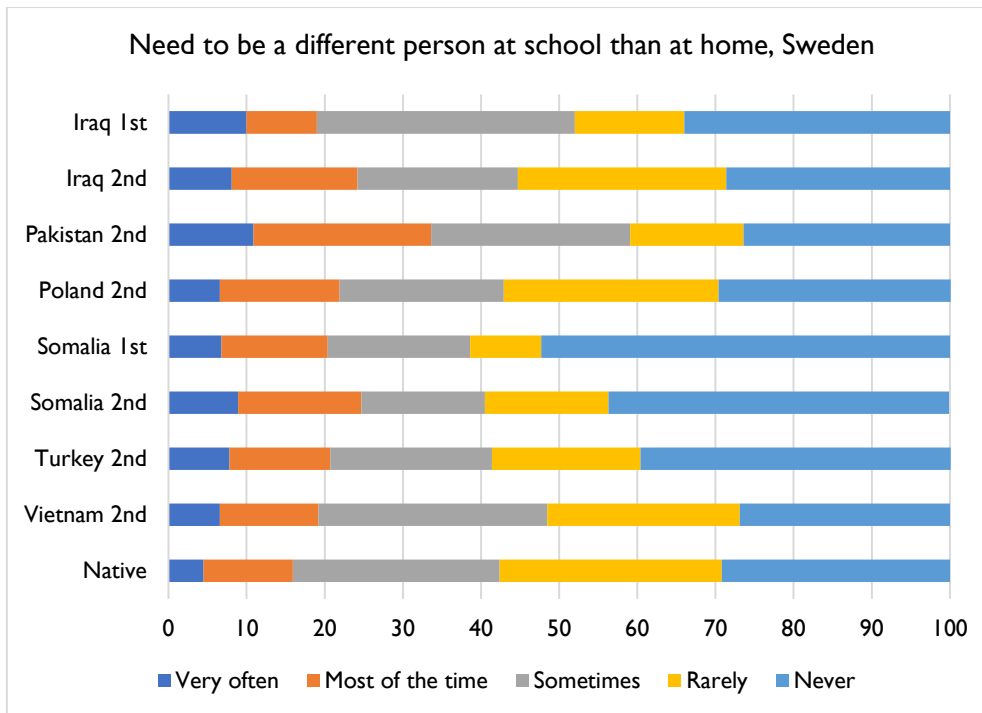


Figure 284

### 15.5. The teachers respected all students equally

In this subsection, respondents were asked to indicate on a scale of never to very often how often their teachers respected all students equally, regardless of their cultural background.

Figure 285 compares the results from the Norwegian, Danish and Swedish sample. Overall, the majority of the respondents in the three countries stated that their teachers respected all students very often or most of the time. Subgroups in the Swedish sample, in particular, reported a higher level of teachers' respect than in Denmark and Norway.

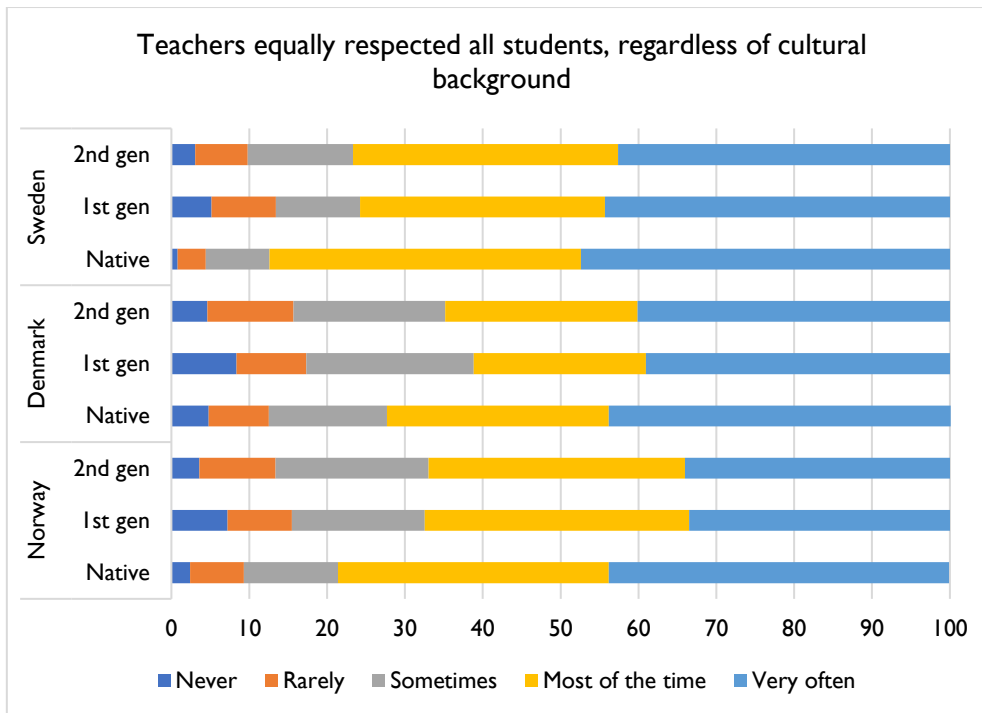


Figure 285

In Norway (Figure 286), the majority of respondents indicated that their teachers respected all students equally in all the subgroups. Native majority Norwegians and descendants of Polish immigrants are the subgroups in which respondents reported their teachers' respect for all students most frequently. By contrast, nearly a fifth of Turkish immigrants and descendants of Somali immigrants reported that their teachers never or rarely respected all students equally.

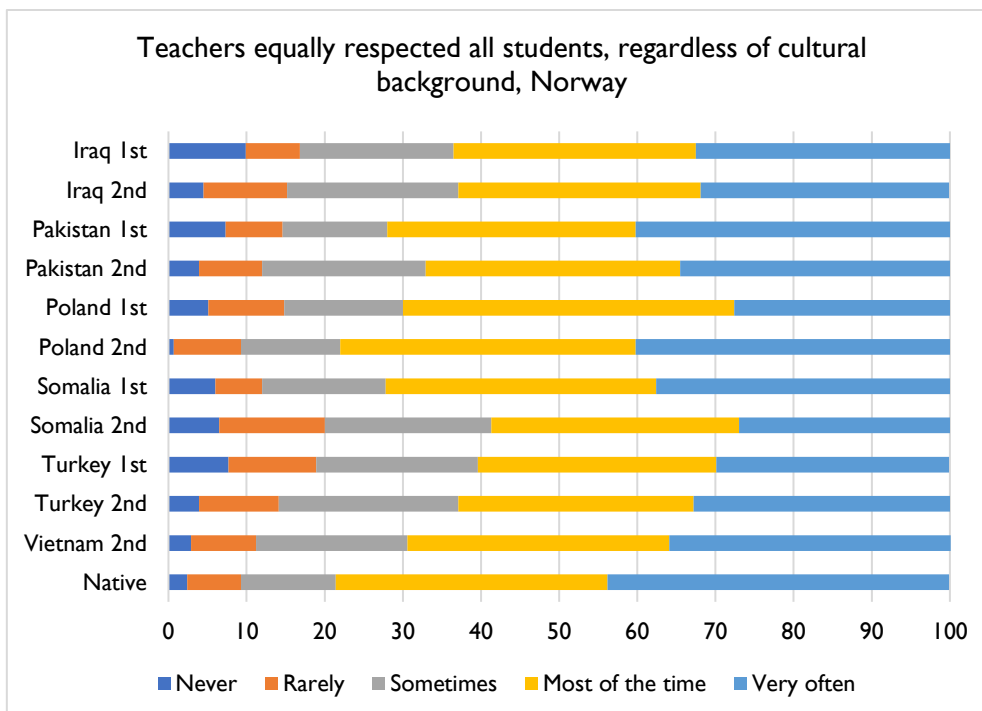


Figure 286

In Denmark (Figure 287), respondents experienced that their teachers treated all students with equal respect less often than respondents experienced in Norway: however, the majority of respondents in each subgroup nonetheless reported that their teachers treated all students equally very often or most of the time. More than a fifth of descendants of Turkish immigrants indicated that their teachers never or rarely treated all students equally.

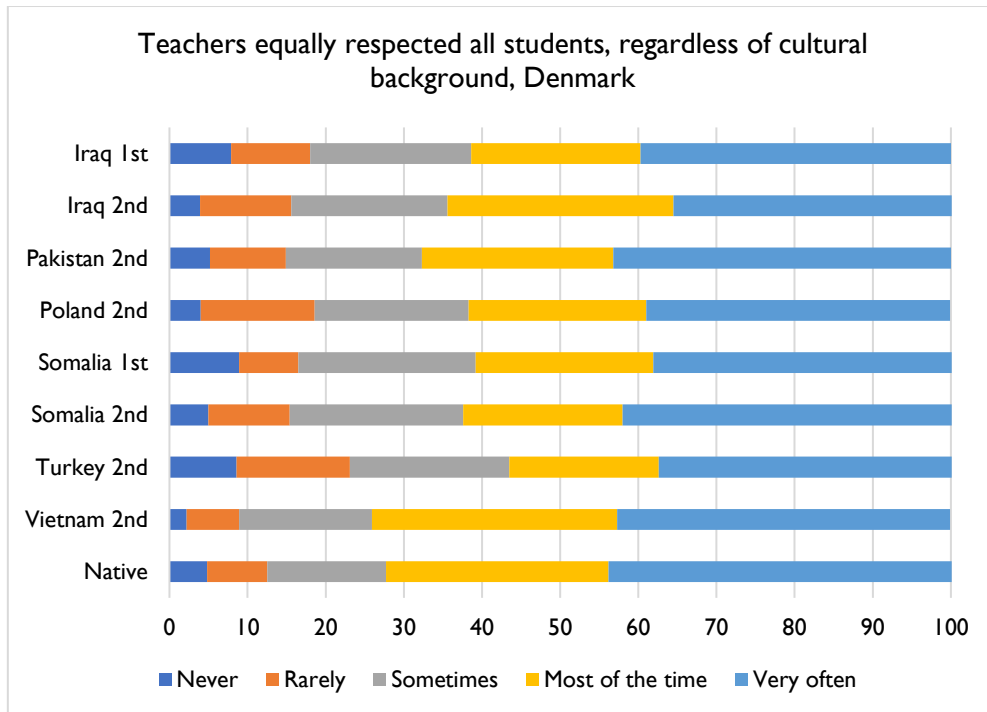


Figure 287

Overall, respondents in Sweden (Figure 288) reported that teachers equally respected all students to a higher extent than respondents in Norway and Denmark. More than 80% of native majority Swedes and descendants of Vietnamese and Polish immigrants reported that their teachers treated all students equally very often or most of the time. By contrast, more than 30% of descendants of Somali immigrants reported that their teachers never or rarely respected all students equally.

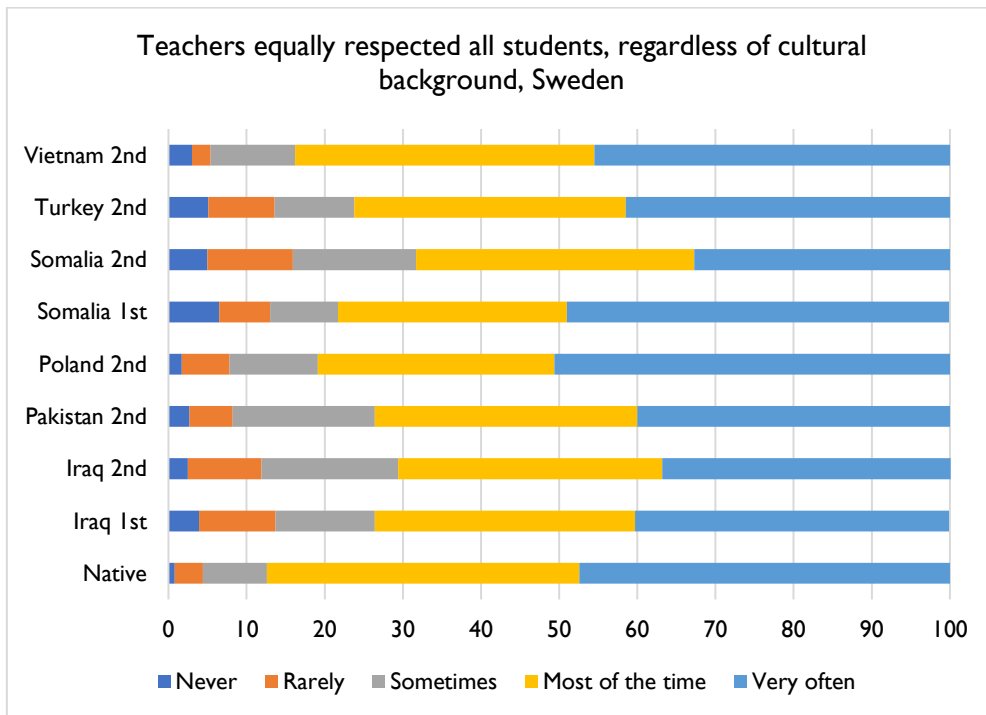


Figure 288

### 15.6. The teachers gave all the students the opportunity to express their culture

In this subsection, respondents were asked to indicate on a scale of never to very often how often their teachers tried to give all students opportunities to express their culture.

Figure 289 compares the results from the Norwegian, Swedish and Danish samples. Generally, the majority of respondents in all countries stated that their teachers very often or most of the time gave all students opportunities to express their culture. However, minorities in Denmark and Norway reported it less often than minorities in Sweden.

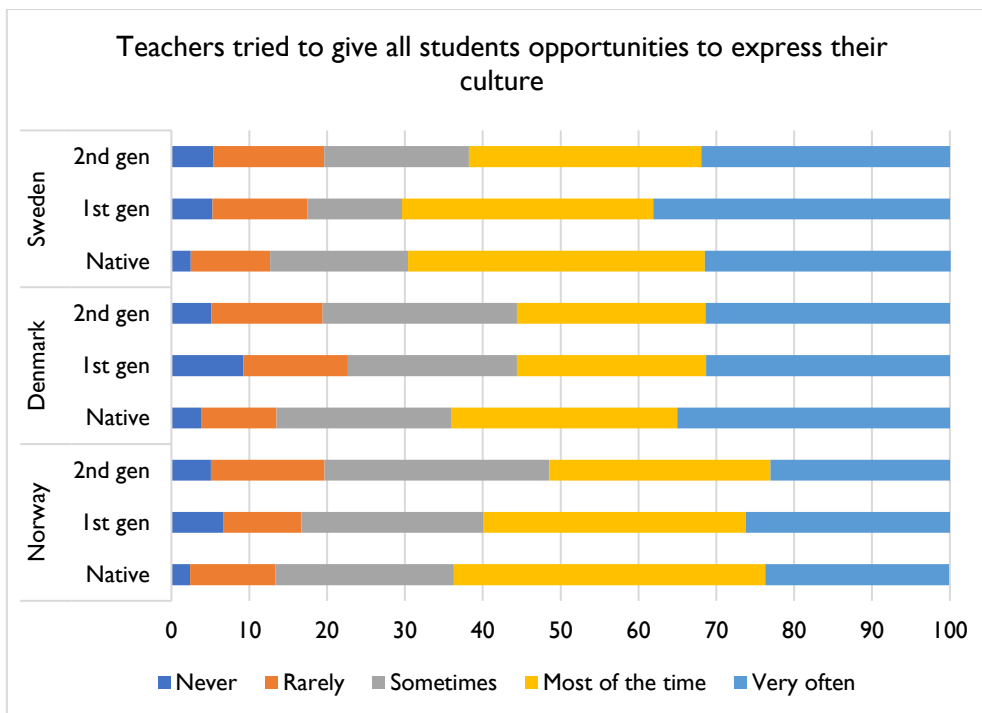


Figure 289

In Norway (Figure 290), there are some noticeable differences between subgroups. Only less than half of respondents among descendants of Iraqi and Somali immigrants said that their teachers gave all students opportunities to express their cultures. Pakistani and Polish immigrants, as well as native majority Norwegians, reported it very often or most of the time. Overall, immigrants stated that teachers gave all students the opportunity to express their culture more often than descendants of immigrants from the same countries.

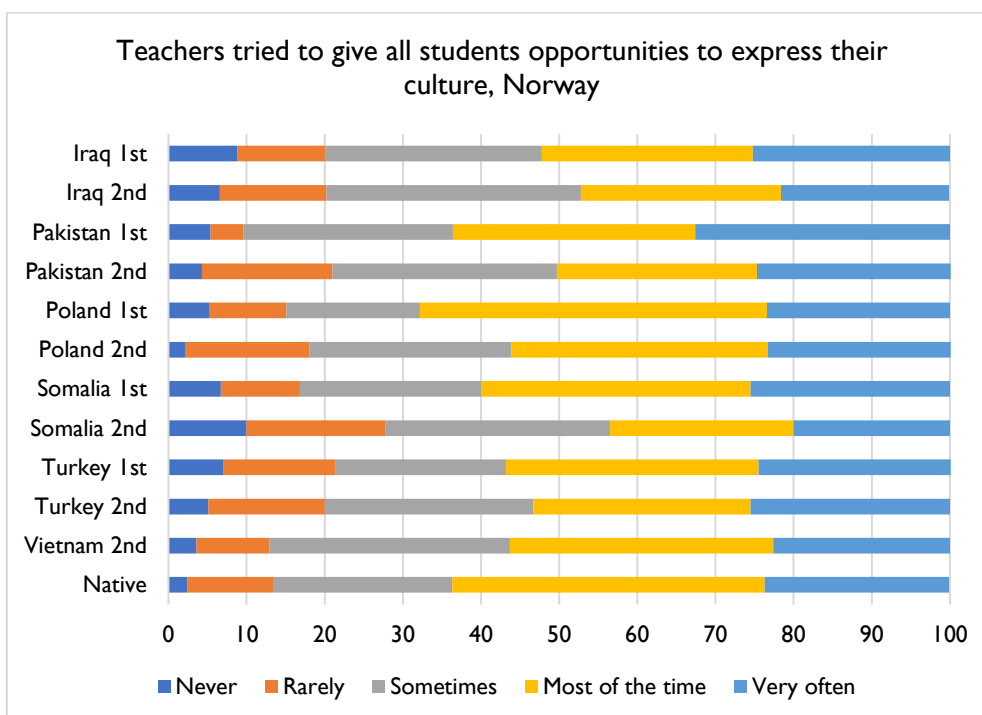


Figure 290

In Denmark (Figure 291), over half of the respondents in all the subgroups reported that their teachers gave all students opportunities to express their cultures: the only exception is Somali immigrants. The highest percentage of respondents who stated that their teachers never or rarely gave all students opportunities to express their culture is found among Somali immigrants and descendants of Turkish immigrants.

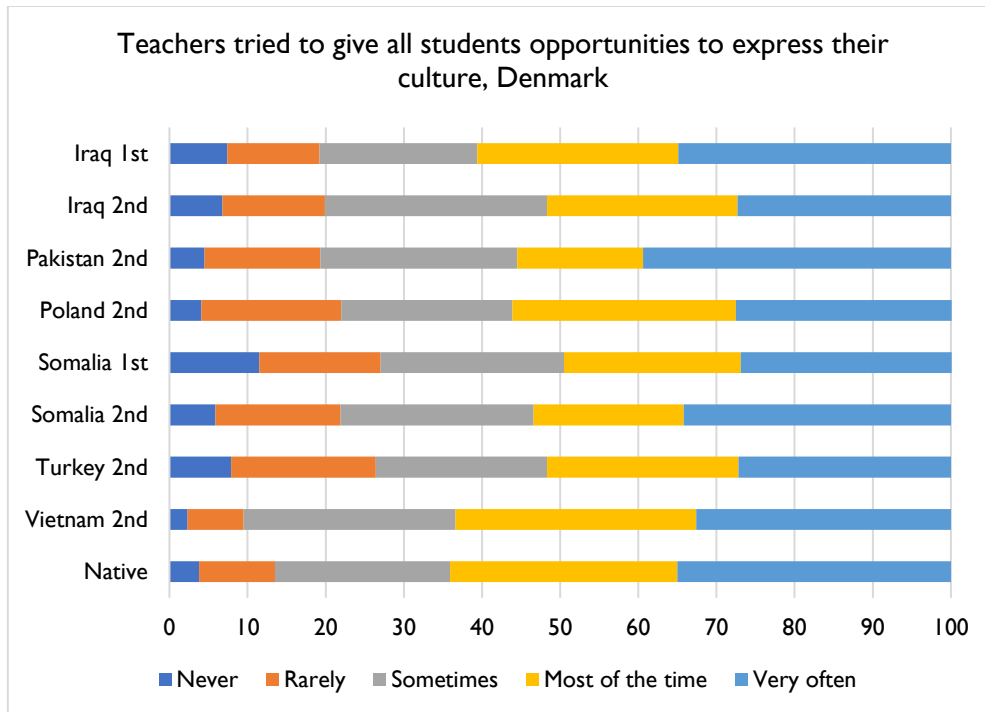


Figure 291

In Sweden (Figure 292), respondents overall reported that their teachers gave all students opportunities to express their culture more than the respondents in Norway and Denmark. Iraqi and Somali immigrants, as well as descendants of Vietnamese immigrants and native majority Swedes, are the subgroups in which most respondents reported that their teachers gave all students opportunities to express their culture most often. By contrast, descendants of Pakistani, Turkish and Somali immigrants are the subgroups in which most respondents stated that their teachers never or rarely gave all students opportunities to express their culture.

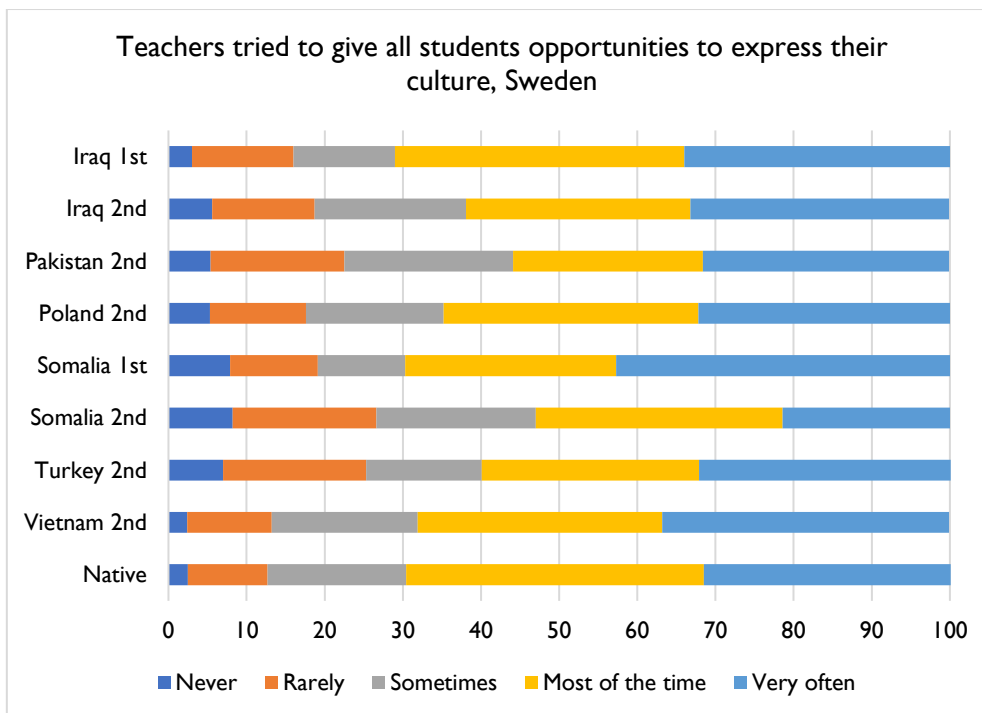


Figure 292

### 15.7. The teachers put students with immigrant backgrounds in the same category

In this subsection, respondents were asked to indicate on a scale of never to very often how often their teachers put students with immigrant backgrounds in the same category.

Figure 293 compares the results from the Norwegian, Danish and Swedish samples. The differences between groups are more marked than in the previous sections of this chapter. Overall, native majorities stated that teachers never or rarely put students with migrant background in the same category more than minorities. In Sweden, fewer respondents than in Norway and Denmark reported that their teachers put students with migrant background in the same category. In Denmark and Norway, only a minority of immigrants and descendants of immigrants reported that teachers never or rarely put students with migrant background in the same category.

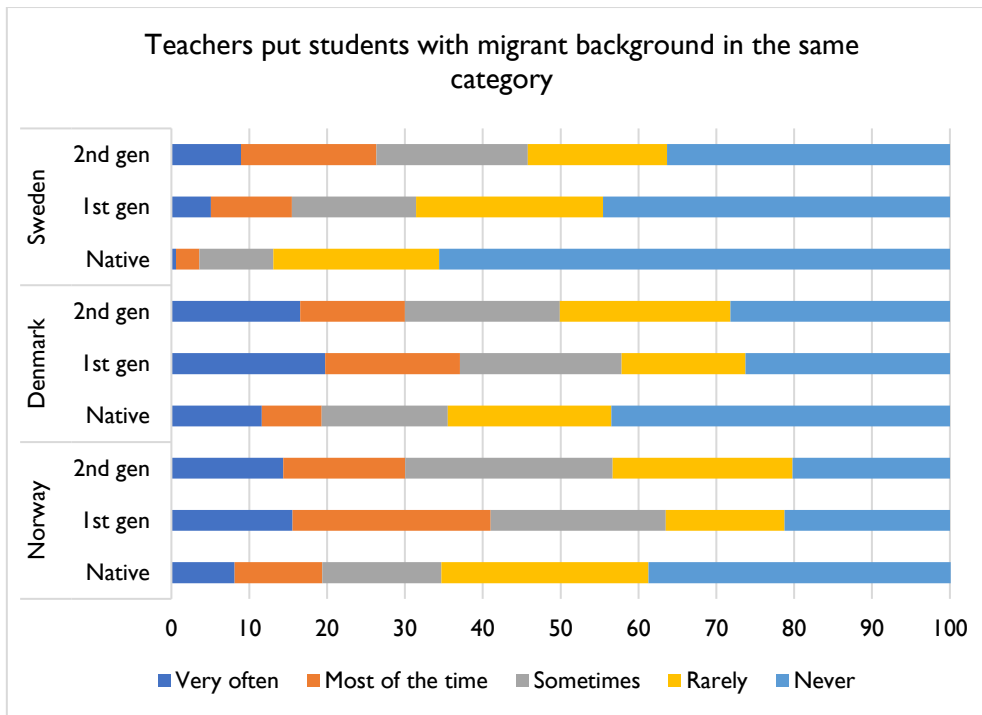


Figure 293

In Norway (Figure 294), the only subgroups where more than 50% of respondents reported that their teachers never or rarely put students with migrant background in the same category were native majority Norwegians and descendants of Vietnamese and Polish immigrants. By contrast, more than half of Pakistani immigrants and nearly half of Polish immigrants stated that it happened very often or most of the time: overall, immigrants stated that this happened more often than the descendants of immigrants from the same countries. Apart from native majority Norwegians, more than 10% of respondents of all the other subgroups stated that it happened very often.



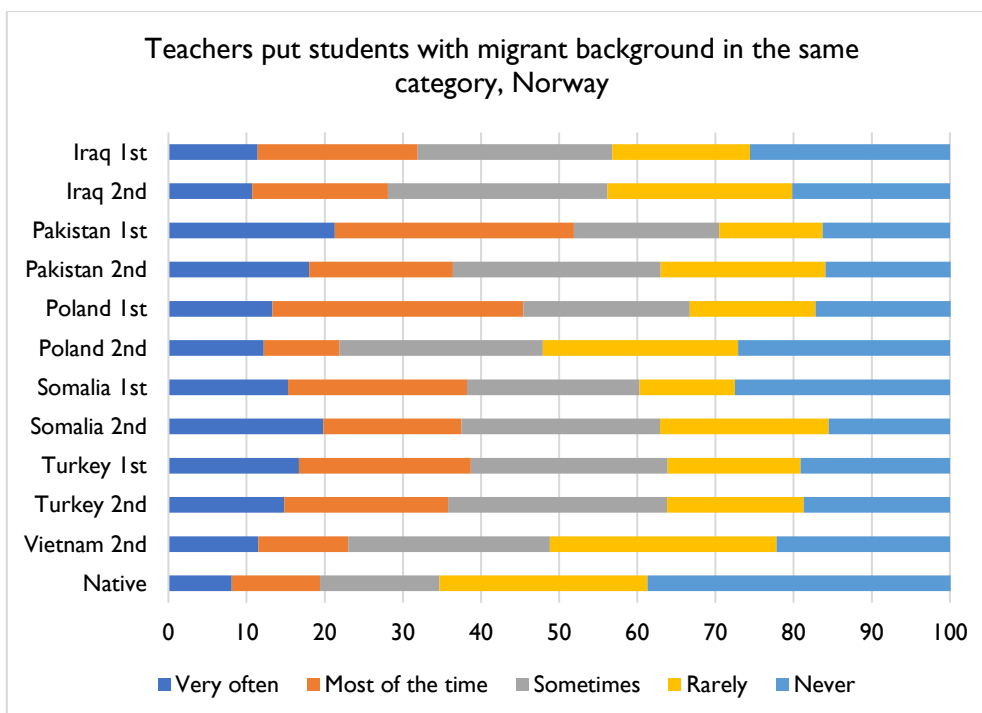


Figure 294

In Denmark (Figure 295), less than half of respondents among Iraqi and Somali immigrants, as well as descendants of Somali and Turkish immigrants, reported that their teachers never or rarely put students with migrant background in the same category. Apart from native majority Danes and descendants of Vietnamese and Polish immigrants, around 20% of respondents among the other subgroups stated that it happened very often.

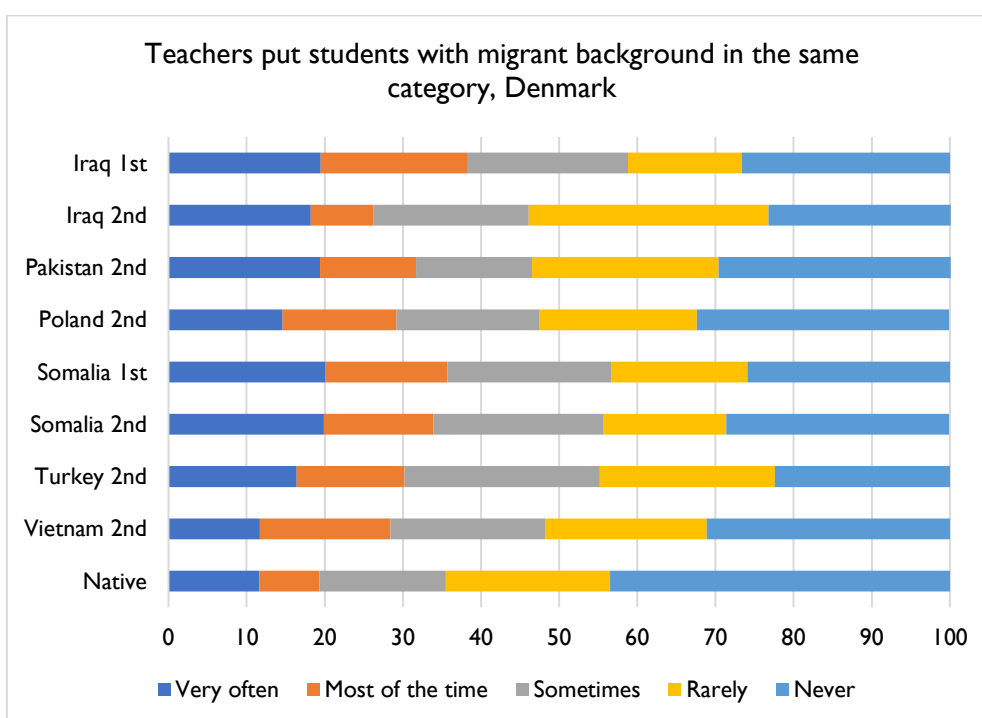


Figure 295

In Sweden (Figure 296), respondents overall stated that their teachers put students with migrant background in the same category less often than respondents in Norway and Denmark. Over 80% of

respondents among native majority Swedes and descendants of Polish immigrants stated that it rarely or never happened. By contrast, Somali and Iraqi immigrants, as well as descendants of Somali immigrants, witnessed it more often than the other subgroups.

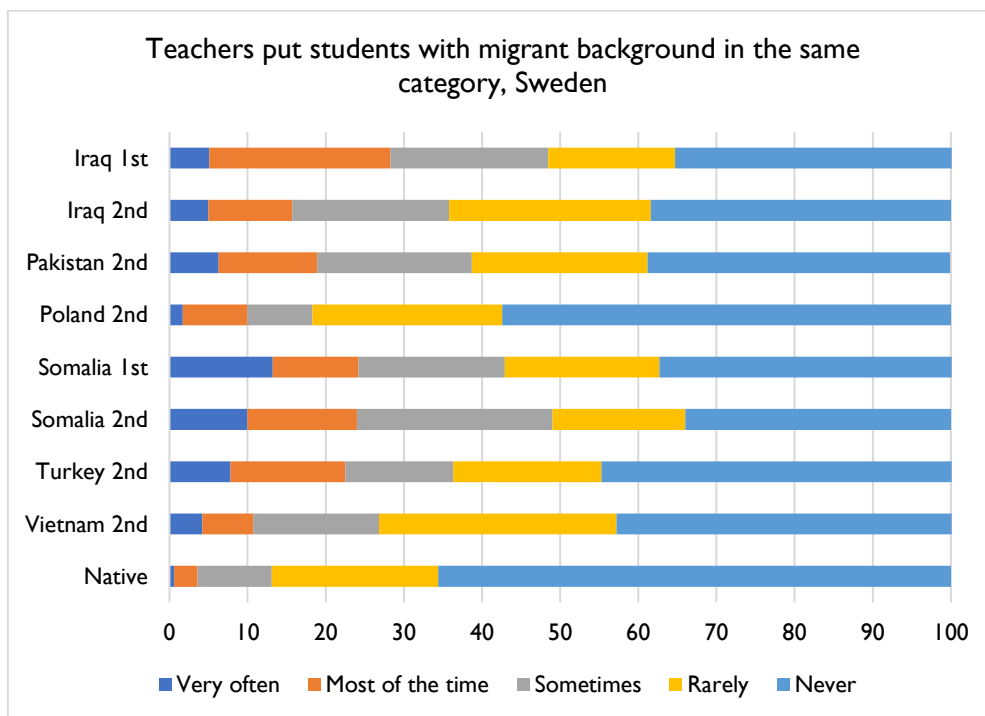


Figure 296

### 15.8. School experience (index)

In this section, we present an index based on all the above responses, apart from the responses to the statement ‘my teachers put students with immigrant backgrounds in the same category’.<sup>7</sup> The index measures the overall school experience on a scale of 0 (a very negative experience) to 1 (a very positive experience).

As shown in Figure 297, there is a quite clear similarity in the three countries across the different groups with no substantial differences: generally, respondents had a positive school experience.

<sup>7</sup> This question has been excluded as it does not seem to reflect the same latent concept of general school experience as the other six questions taken together do. Because of statistical reasons, the reliability of the final index would be reduced if the question was included.

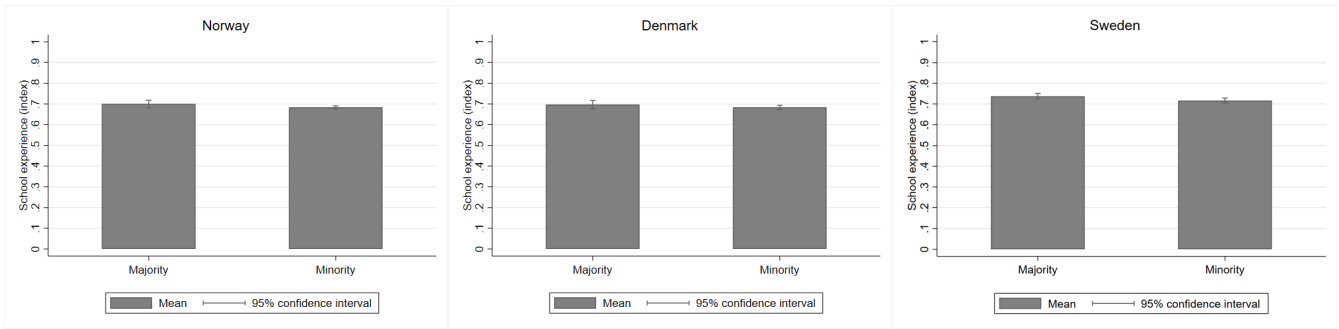


Figure 297

In Norway (Figure 298), all the subgroups had comparably positive school experiences. Polish and Pakistani immigrants, as well as native majority Norwegians, had the most positive school experiences. Only descendants of Iraqi and Somali immigrants had a significantly less positive school experience than native majority Norwegians.

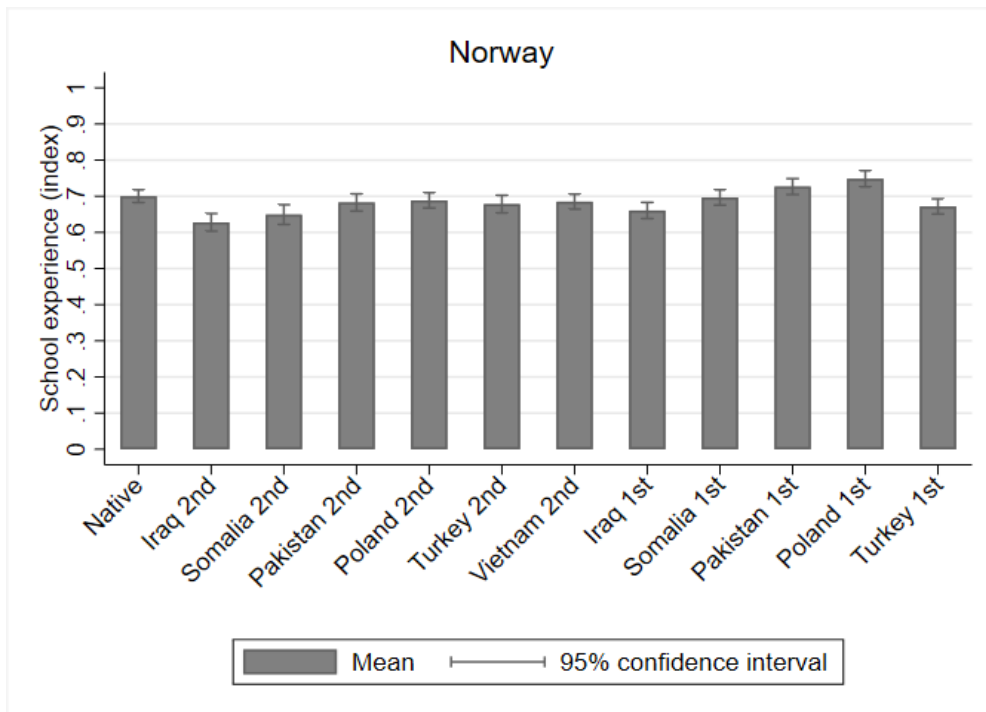


Figure 298

As emerges from Figure 299, most subgroups in Denmark had a rather positive school experience, with very little differences between subgroups.

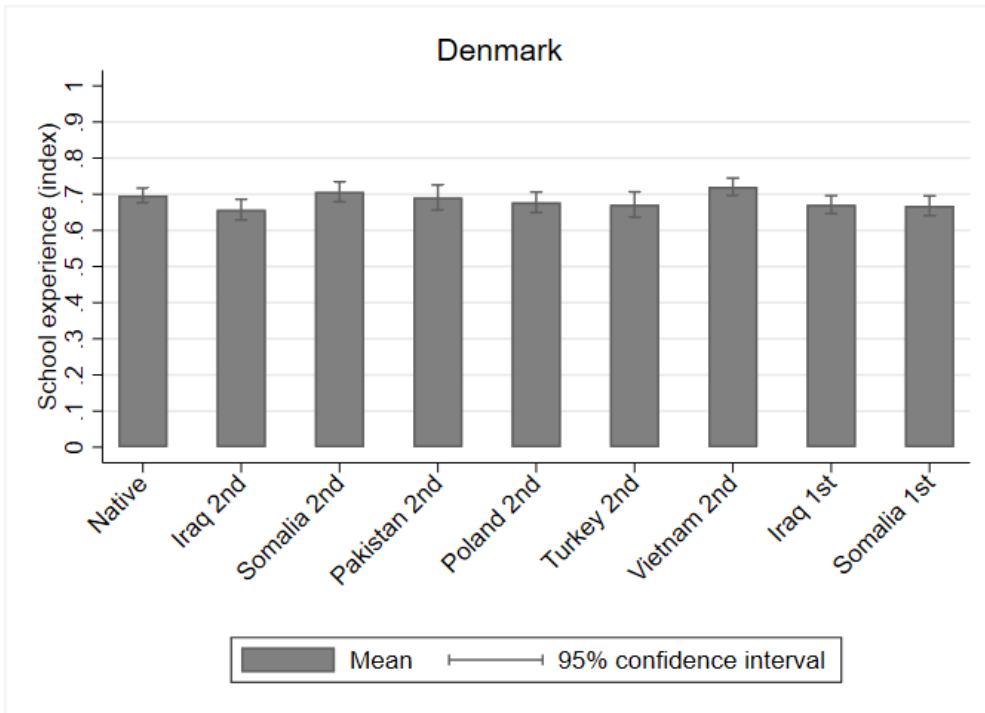


Figure 299

As in Norway and Denmark, in Sweden (Figure 300) all the subgroups had a rather positive school experience, with little difference between subgroups.

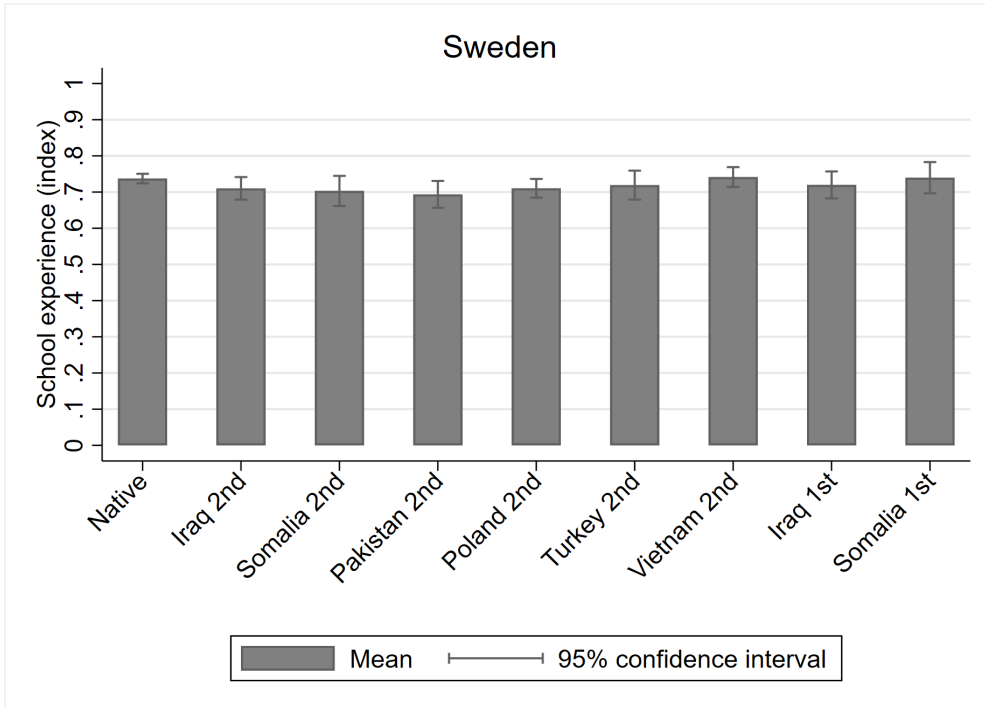


Figure 300

## 15.9. Chapter summary

Chapter 15 presented the respondents' experience of their time in school. There is very little difference between native majorities and minorities in the three countries, as they mostly express a positive experience of their time in school.

## 16. Others' perception of me

In Chapter 16, respondents were asked about their opinions on others' perception of them. They were asked to agree or disagree with the following statements: people at my work or studies treat me with the same respect as they do others; people in public places treat me with the same respect as they do others; and it seems like most people I meet see me as Norwegian/Danish/Swedish. The scale goes from 0 (completely disagree) to 10 (completely agree).

### 16.1. People in the work/study space treat me with the same respect as others

Figure 301 compares the results from the Norwegian, Danish and Swedish samples. Despite an overall agreement, there are statistically significant differences between the native majorities and the minority groups in each country, as native majorities agree with the statement more than the minorities. The difference is more pronounced in Norway and Sweden than in Denmark. The group that agrees the most is native majority Danes, while the group that agrees the least is the minority in Norway.

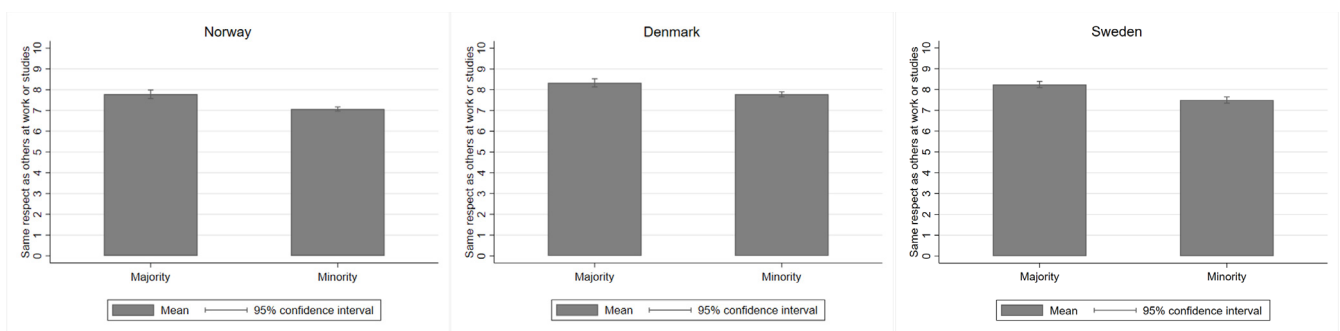


Figure 301

In Norway (Figure 302), all subgroups agree with the statement that they are treated with the same respect as others in the work or study place. Descendants of Polish and Vietnamese immigrants, as well as native majority Norwegians, are most in agreement with the statement. Apart from the descendants of Pakistani immigrants, all the other subgroups of descendants of immigrants tend to be slightly more in agreement than the immigrants from the same countries.

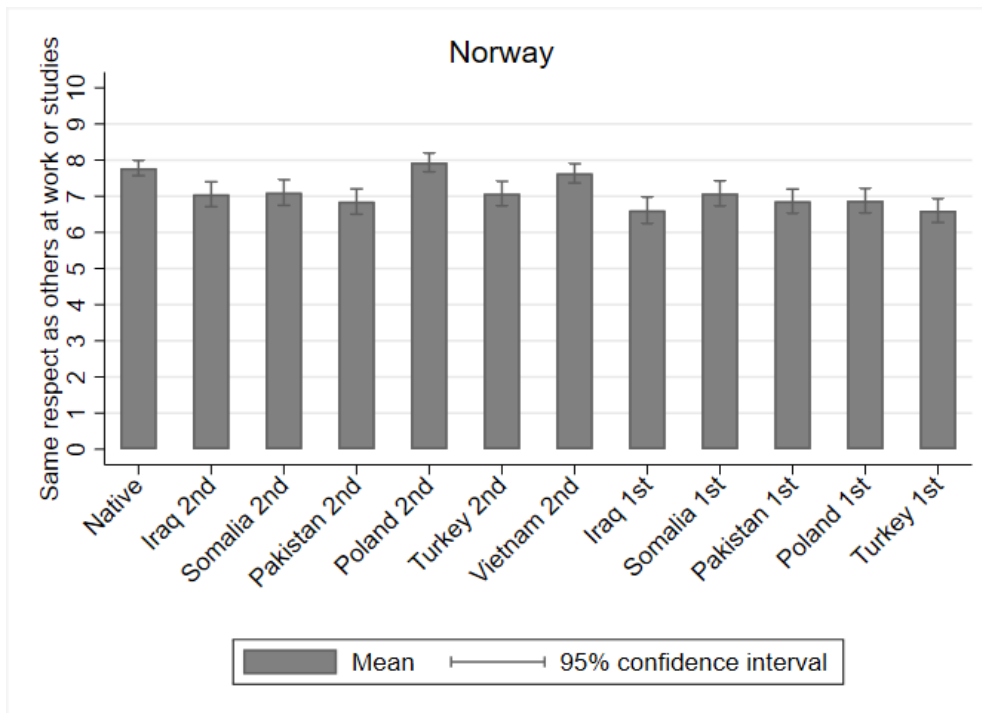


Figure 302

In Denmark (Figure 303), all subgroups agree with the statement that they are treated with the same respect as others in the work or study place, and they do so to a higher degree than in Norway. As in Norway, also in Denmark descendants of immigrants tend to agree slightly more than immigrants from the same countries. Native majority Danes and descendants of Polish immigrants are the subgroups that are most in agreement.

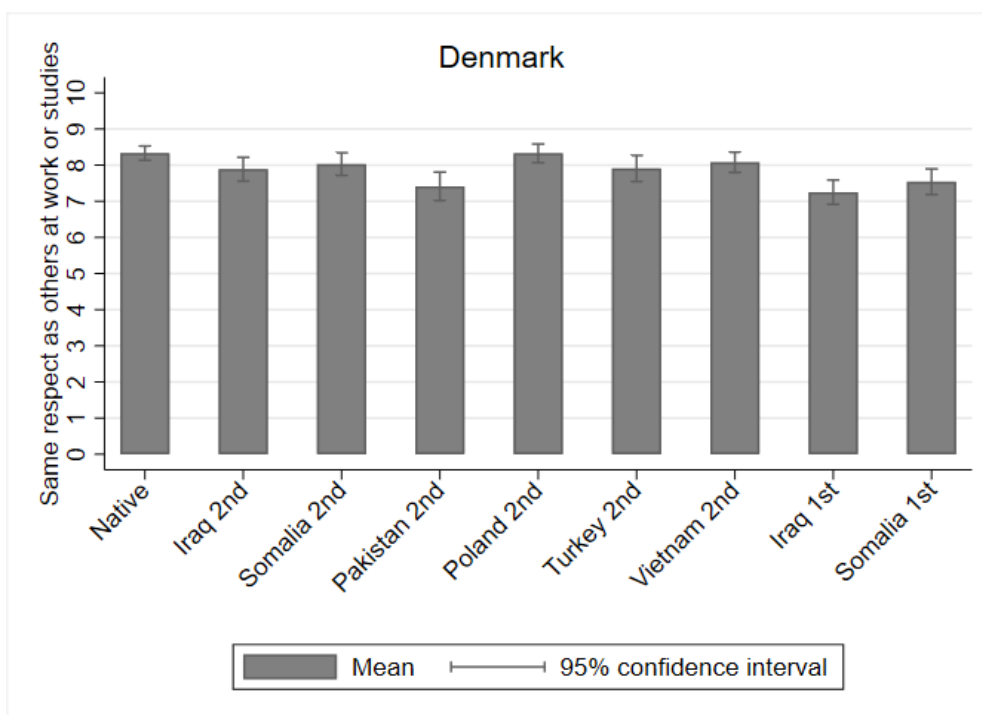


Figure 303

As in Denmark and Norway, also in Sweden (Figure 304) all subgroups agree with the statement that they are treated with the same respect as others in the work or study place. Native majority Swedes are

the subgroup that agrees the most, while descendants of Somali immigrants are the subgroup that is in least agreement. As in Norway and Denmark, in Sweden descendants of immigrants tend to agree slightly more than immigrants from the same countries.

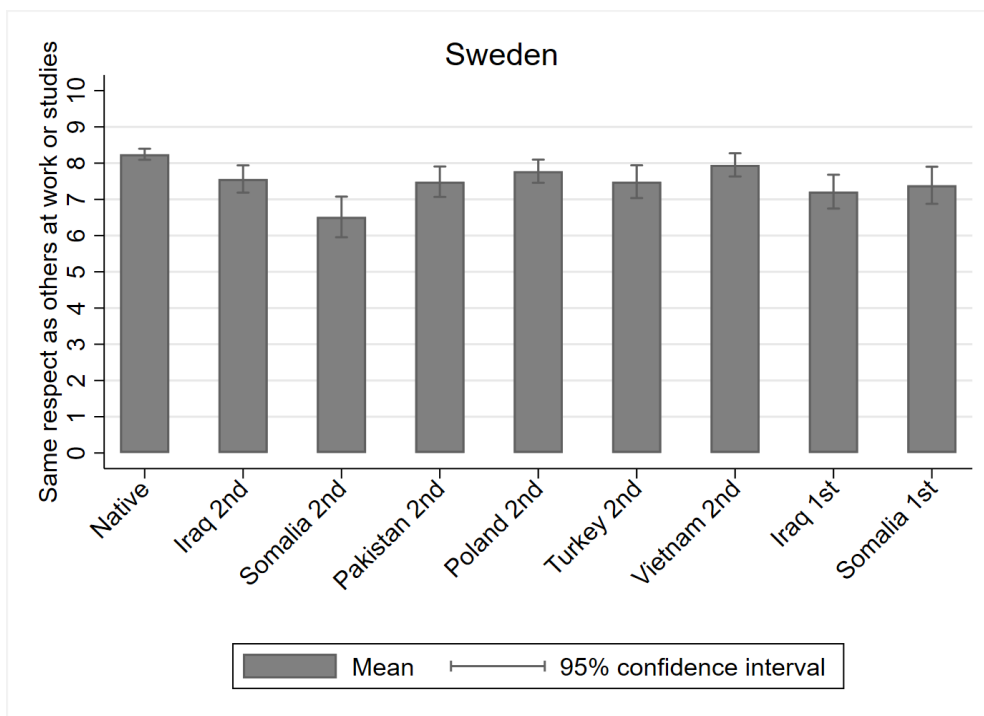


Figure 304

## 16.2. People in public spaces treat me with the same respect as others

Figure 305 compares the results from the Norwegian, Danish and Swedish samples. Despite an overall agreement, there are statistically significant differences between the native majorities and the minority groups in each country, as native majorities agree with the statement more than the minorities.

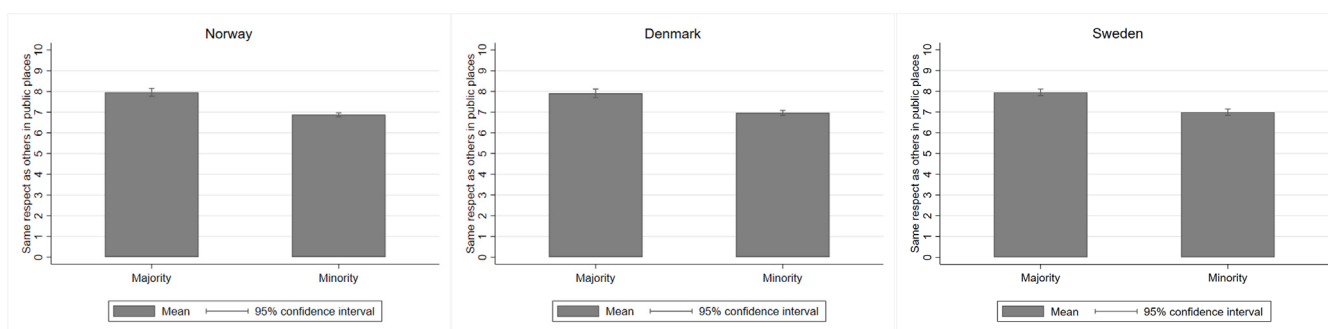


Figure 305

In Norway (Figure 306), all subgroups tend to agree with the statement that they are treated with the same respect as others in public spaces. In particular, native majority Norwegians and descendants of Polish immigrants are the subgroups who are significantly more in agreement than any other subgroup.



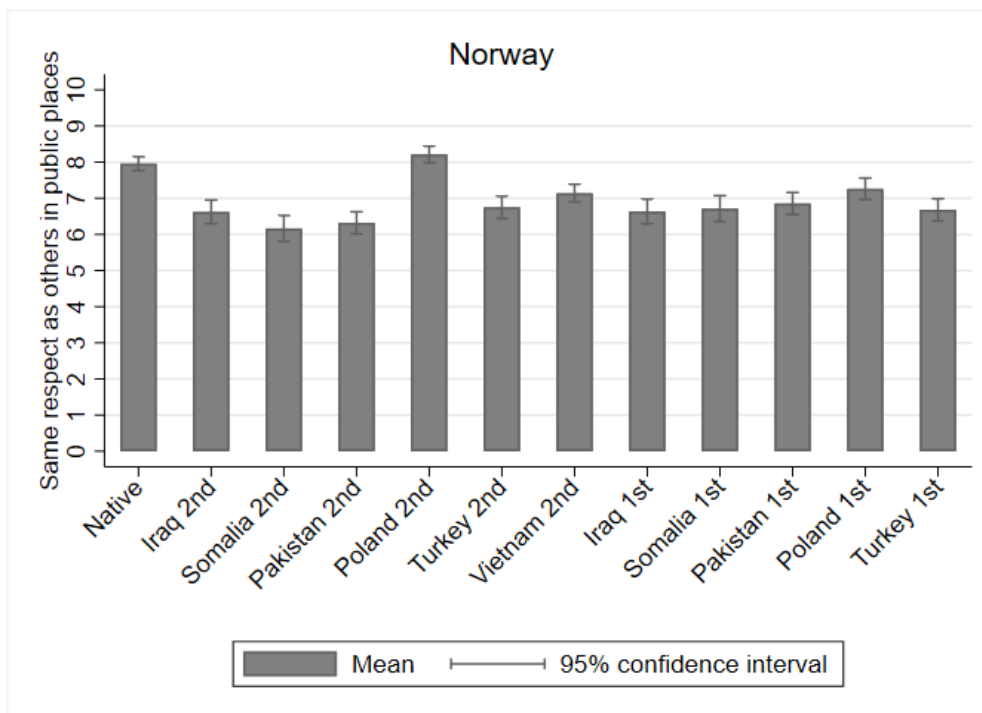


Figure 306

In Denmark (Figure 307), all subgroups tend to agree with the statement that they are treated with the same respect as others in public spaces. As in Norway, descendants of Polish immigrants and native majority Danes are most in agreement, closely followed by descendants of Vietnamese immigrants.

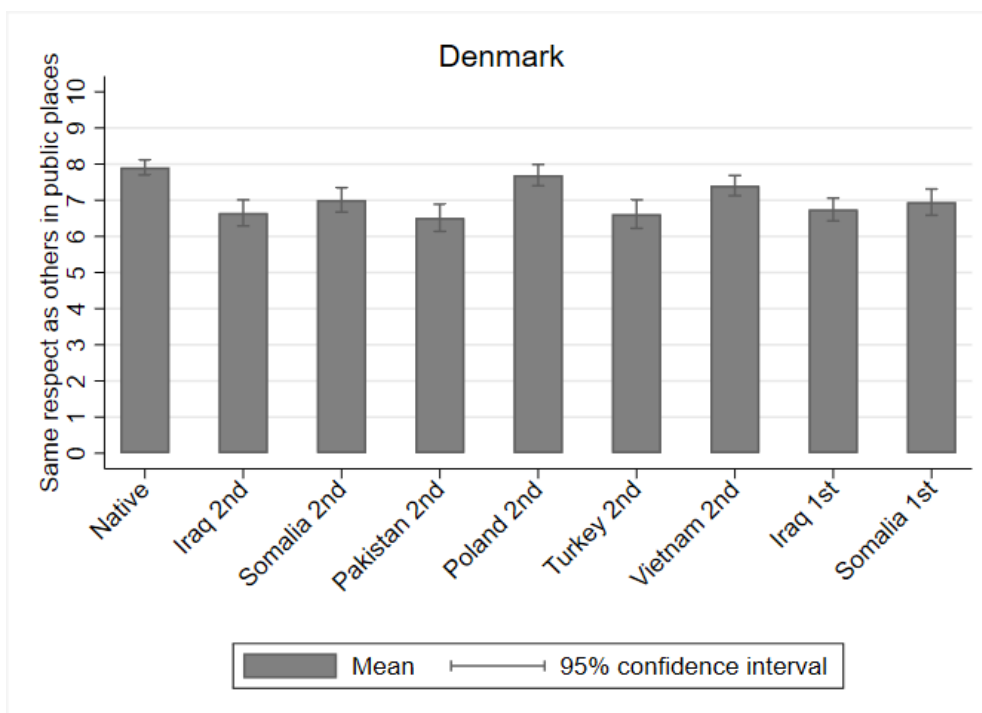


Figure 307

The picture in Sweden (Figure 308) is similar to those in Norway and Denmark. All the subgroups overall agree that they receive the same respect as other people in public spaces. As in Norway and Denmark, native majority Swedes and descendants of Polish immigrants are most in agreement with the statement, closely followed by Somali immigrants. Descendants of Somali immigrants are significantly less in agreement than Somali immigrants.

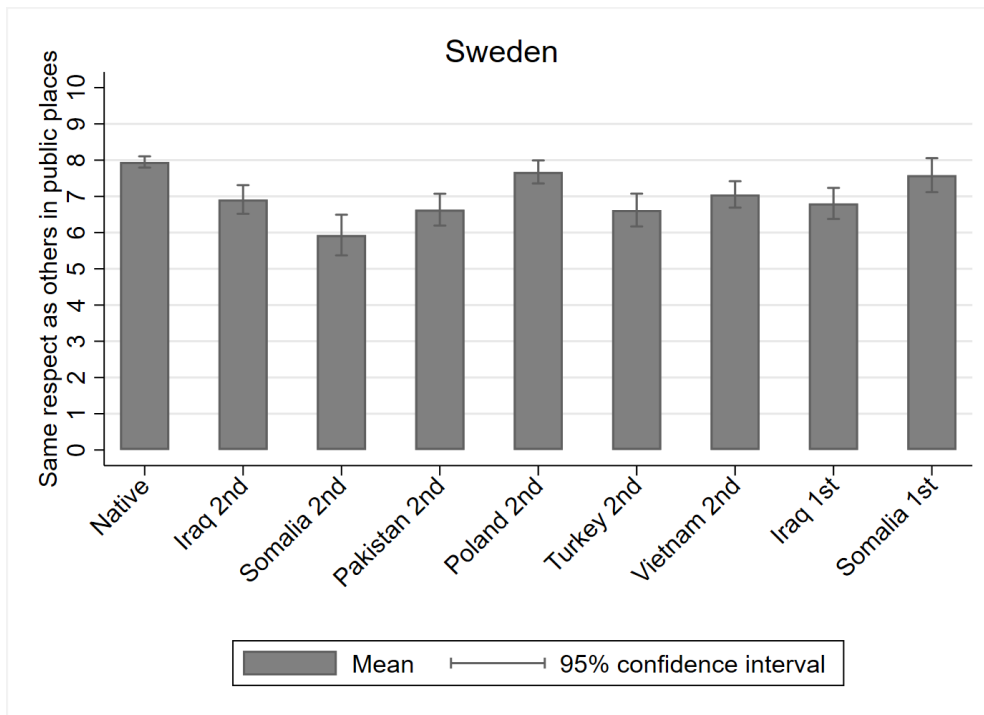


Figure 308

### 16.3. Most people I meet see me as Norwegian/Danish/Swedish

Figure 309 compares the results from the Norwegian, Danish and Swedish samples. The pattern across the three countries is very similar: native majorities are significantly more in agreement with the statement that most people see them as Norwegian/Danish/Swedish than minorities: in fact, minorities tend to express a neutral opinion.

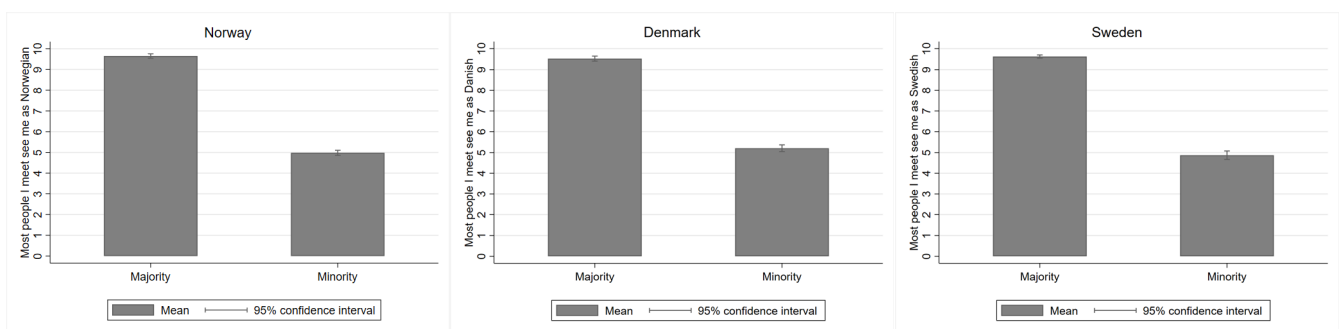


Figure 309

In Norway (Figure 310), there are noticeable differences between subgroups. Native majority Norwegians express a significantly stronger agreement than any other group, followed by the descendants of Polish immigrants, while descendants of Vietnamese immigrants express a milder agreement. The remaining subgroups either have a neutral opinion or are in disagreement. In particular, Somali and Pakistani immigrants, as well as descendants of Somali immigrants, are the subgroups that express the strongest disagreement.

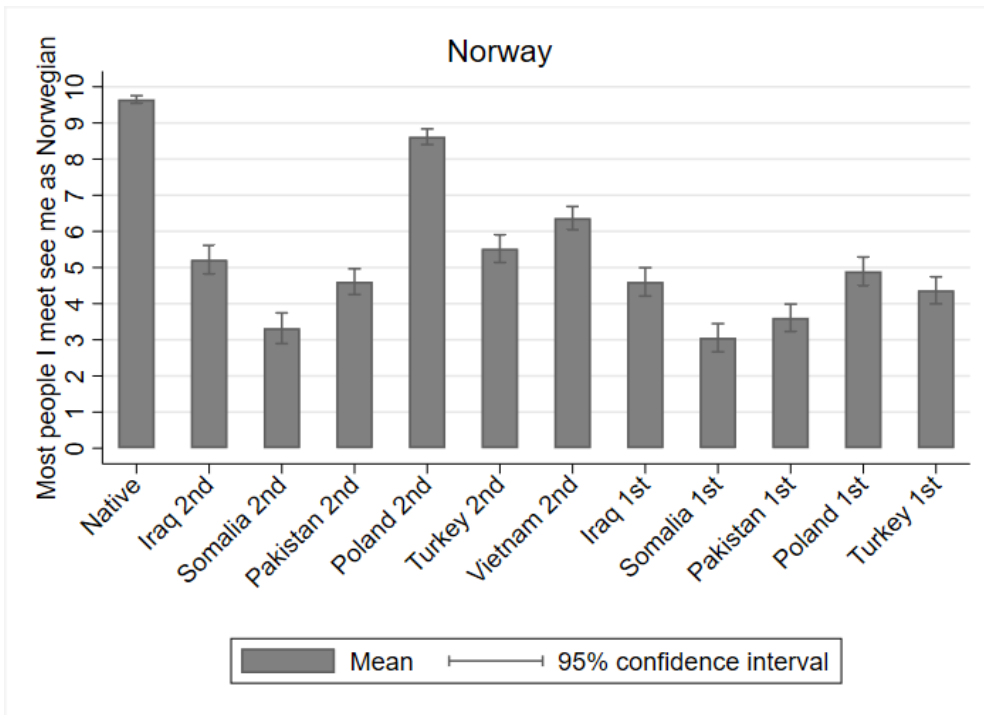


Figure 310

In Denmark (Figure 311), there is a similar pattern to Norway. Native majority Danes express a significantly stronger agreement than any other group, followed by the descendants of Polish immigrants and the descendants of Vietnamese immigrants. Immigrant subgroups are generally more in disagreement than descendants of immigrants from the same countries. In particular, Somali immigrants express the strongest disagreement.

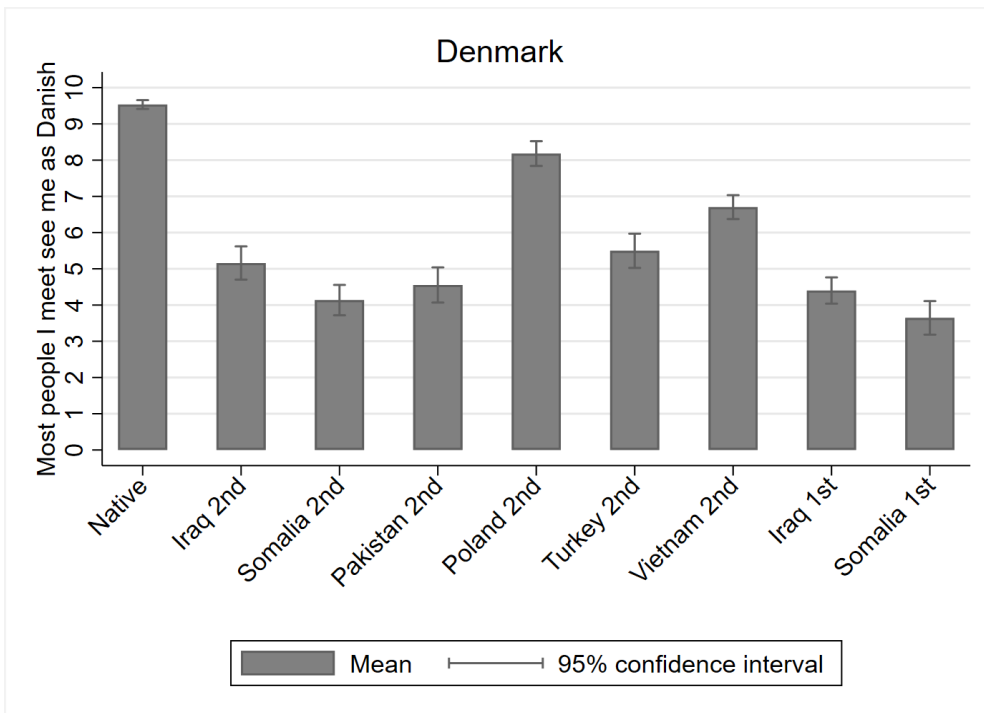


Figure 311

As in Norway and Denmark, in Sweden (Figure 312) native majority Swedes express a significantly stronger agreement than any other group, followed by the descendants of Polish immigrants. Descendants of Vietnamese immigrants have a more neutral opinion than in Denmark and Norway. In contrast to the Danish case, Iraqi and Somali immigrants in Sweden are less in disagreement than, respectively, descendants of Iraqi and Somali immigrants. In particular, descendants of Somali immigrants are substantially more in disagreement than the other subgroups.

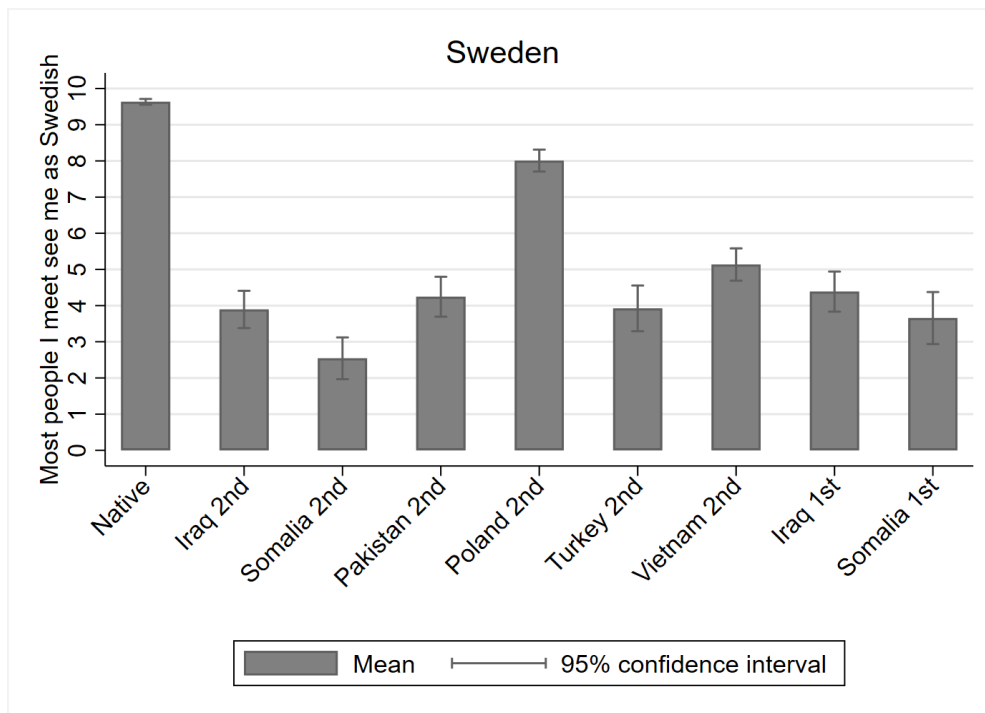


Figure 312

#### 16.4. Chapter summary

Chapter 16 presented the respondents' opinion on how other people perceive them. Treatment in the study or work place is overall perceived as respectful in the three countries, though perceived respect is higher among native majorities than minorities. The same holds true also for treatment in public spaces. The difference between native majorities and minorities is strongest in terms of how the respondents see other people's perception of their Norwegianness/Danishness/Swedishness. While native majorities express a very high level of agreement with the statement that most people they meet see them as Norwegian/Danish/Swedish, minorities overall tend to neither agree nor disagree with the statement. There are, however, very noticeable differences between the results from the different minority subgroups: generally, among the minorities, descendants of Polish and Vietnamese immigrants are most in agreement with the statement.

## 17. Concluding remarks

The Scandinavian countries have developed strikingly different approaches to immigration, integration and citizenship over the past two decades. Based on existing knowledge about immigration, integration and citizenship in Scandinavia, we would expect these differences to be reflected in the experiences, values and perceptions found among populations. With regards to perceptions of the current citizenship regimes in Scandinavia, we would expect clear group differences between the native majority populations, on the one hand, and the minority groups, on the other. Building on prevailing assumptions in the research literature on naturalisation and citizenship acquisition in Europe, we would expect immigrants to be more in favour of less arduous naturalisation requirements than both native majorities and descendants of immigrants, as immigrants are by far the most likely to be directly affected by these rules.

Overall, however, the results from our representative survey among young adults of diverse origins in the three Scandinavian countries point in a different direction. We find few significant differences between the three countries, and in terms of perceptions of ideal and current rules of citizenship acquisition, we hardly find any differences between native majority populations and the various minority groups. Of course, looking in depth at group disparities, we do find some important differences. Yet the overall pattern is one of *similarity*, not difference, across both countries and groups.

How can we account for this result? First, the similarities we find between the Scandinavian *countries* put in question the idea of a clear and strong relationship between state policies and individuals' attitudes and lived experiences 'on the ground'. Indeed, the reported attitudes and experiences among the young adults in this survey suggest that life across the three Scandinavian countries is quite similar and perhaps is shaped more strongly by other institutions – such as schools, systems of higher education, labour markets and health care availability – than by citizenship and naturalisation policies. Of course, laws and policies aiming at managing the access to formal membership in the national political community would be expected to work in conjunction with other policies and the institutional landscape as a whole. Yet, the lack of difference, given the contrast between these policies in Norway, Denmark and Sweden, is nevertheless surprising.

Second, the similarities we find between the diverse immigrants, descendants of immigrants, and native majority *groups* questions the idea of a strong relationship between attitudes, values and perceptions, on the one hand, and the degree of 'affectedness' on the other. Perhaps our results rather indicate a shared sense of what it should take to *become a member in the political community of a nation-state*. To summarise, this amounts to both demanding integration requirements, and ensuring that these are not *too* tough, across all the groups in our survey.

These overarching similarities in attitudes toward citizenship, and what are seen as reasonable requirements to place on newcomers in order for them to become members of the political community, are important to note, especially given the expectation that there would be clear differences between countries and groups. However, when looking at key issues, such as *institutional trust* and *experiences of discrimination*, we do find substantial differences between native majorities and minority groups, in all three countries. We also find quite substantial differences *between* minority groups, suggesting that everyday life in Scandinavia is not equal for all.

Meanwhile, the striking and overarching finding from this Scandinavian survey among young adults on the issues of citizenship, participation and belonging is the high degree of similarity found, across the three Scandinavian countries, and between groups (native majorities, immigrants and descendants of immigrants). This is especially interesting in the context of contrasting citizenship policies, which are

not reflected in parallel contrasting views on what legitimate citizenship criteria should be among Scandinavian populations. Instead, there is a substantial degree of consensus among our respondents when it comes to demands for obtaining citizenship.

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# Citizenship, Participation and Belonging in Scandinavia

*Results from a survey among young adults of diverse origins in Norway, Sweden and Denmark*

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While immigration and integration are heated topics in public debate across Scandinavia, and citizenship and naturalisation policies have increasingly come into the limelight, we know very little about how people actually conceive of citizenship and its importance. The purpose of this 2018 survey is to uncover the ways in which inhabitants of Norway, Denmark and Sweden experience, perceive and reflect upon the citizenship institution. The three countries are frequently compared with one another, but they have developed

strikingly different approaches to immigration, integration and citizenship over the past two decades. Based on existing knowledge about immigration, integration and citizenship in Scandinavia, we would expect these differences to be reflected in the experiences, values and perceptions found among populations. However, the striking and overarching finding from this Scandinavian survey among young adults on the issues of citizenship, participation and belonging is the high degree of similarity found, across the three

Scandinavian countries, and between groups (native majorities, immigrants and descendants of immigrants).

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**Marta Bivand Erdal**

**Davide Bertelli**

**Mathias Kruse**

**Mathias Hatleskog Tjønn**

**Arnfinn H. Midtbøen**

**Grete Brochmann**

**Pieter Bevelander**

**Per Mouritsen**

**Emily Cochran Bech**

**Kristian K. Jensen**

