

The Roots of Civic Cooperative Behavior

The Roles of Trust, Shared Identity and Diversity

Bachelor Thesis

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Management Summary

Civic cooperation can range from small things such as voting to generously volunteering in support of the community. However, research confirms that generous cooperation beyond kinship cannot be taken for granted and is bound to conditions such as reciprocity, trust, and shared identity. Scholars such as Harvard scientist Robert Putnam and economist Paul Collier raised concern that increasingly ethnically heterogeneous societies might threaten virtues such as mutual trust and civic engagement.

This research investigated how a participant's civic cooperation such as volunteering was associated with his/her levels of mutual trust and a shared identity. It addressed the concerns on the possible adverse effects of contemporary migration on civic cooperation. It was examined whether increased local ethnic diversity was associated with lower levels of local trust, national identification, and civic cooperation. The working hypothesis was that due to Switzerland's history as an immigration country and its ethnolinguistic diversity, the negative hypotheses indicated by the literature could be rejected.

The study was conducted in form of a survey. Civic cooperative behavior was measured on multiple dimensions and a score calculated for each participant. Students were asked how much they identified with their local community, as Swiss, as a European or a World Citizen. How much they trusted people locally, nationally, and in general. Furthermore, students were asked how important it is to assimilate to Swiss culture (ethnic nationalism) or respect Switzerland's laws and institution (civic nationalism), and whether they lived in a diverse neighborhood.

The results show that only those participants who identify stronger as Swiss indicate statistically significant higher levels of civic cooperation. That social trust is positively and significantly associated with higher levels of civic cooperation. That neighborhood diversity is associated with lower levels of local trust and national identification, with both correlations being statistically significant, and consequently implying lower levels of civic cooperation. The direct correlation between ethnic diversity and civic cooperation is, however, only slightly negative and non-significant in the general sample. Though, strong demographic differences in the reception of ethnic diversity were observed.

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The negative results were most pronounced in Swiss non-Secondo Females, followed by Swiss Secondo Males, Swiss Secondo Females and least affected being Swiss non-secondo Males. Furthermore, the results show that civic nationalism increases national identification without adversely affecting threat perception as ethnic nationalism does.

The study has shown that social trusts, as well as national identification, are associated with higher levels of civic cooperation. That the concerns about possible adverse effects of ethnic diversity on mutual trust, national identity, and civic cooperation cannot entirely be dismissed. Therefore, it is recommended to target demographic trust, and to favor an inclusive civic form of nationalism to enhance civic cooperation.

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1 Introduction

About every four months each Swiss citizen receives an envelope; around half will dutifully fill out the questions and participate in the ballot. Civic cooperation can range from such small things to generously donating and volunteering time to support the community. However, the scale of human cooperation is generally seen as puzzling from an evolutionary perspective (Boyd & Richardson, 2009). Great western philosopher Thomas Hobbes already in the 17th century highlighted that without a common power, there are no such things as industry, society, arts, and life being brutish nasty and short (Hobbes, 1651/2009). Contemporary evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins seems to share Hobbes view on human nature and highlighted that in order to build a society where people cooperate unselfishly towards a common good one can expect little from biological nature (Dawkins, 1976/2006). Nonetheless, humans frequently do cooperate far beyond kinship, often very generously so. Evolutionary models show that cooperative behavior can evolve beyond kinship, though only under conditions such as reciprocity (Nowak, 2006). Therefore, humans have the biological equipment necessary for mutual cooperation, though the enactment of cooperative behavior might be bound to environmental conditions and not be taken for granted. Economic games such as the prisoner dilemma, tragedy of the commons, generally show the dilemma of cooperation; and that once cooperation is established, it might be a fragile construct.

Hence, the investigation of the conditions necessary to foster and maintain high levels of cooperation among non-kin is an important topic, this paper will primarily focus on the civic dimension, as cooperative acts towards the fellow citizen. There might be a myriad of such conditions, the emphasis of this research will be on mutual trust, shared identity, and diversity. The ability to trust in others to reciprocate, hold up their end of the bargain is crucial. Furthermore, to know whom to trust, avoid defectors and develop mutual regard, the development of a shared identity is important as well. This paper's focus on mutual trust, shared identity and diversity was influenced by the works of Harvard scholar Robert Putnam on social capital as well as economist Paul Collier's book *Exodus*. Putnam raised concerns that immigration and ethnic diversity are associated with lower levels of social solidarity and social capital, especially in regards to trust, community cooperation and fewer friends (Putnam, 2007). Collier focused on immigration and multiculturalism in the 21st century and raised similar concerns (Collier, 2013).

Though such adverse effects can as well be influenced by further factors such as whether an inclusive civic or exclusive ethnic nationalism is practiced, ethnic nationalism generally being associated with less social capital (Reeskens & Wright, 2013).

However, social solidarity and social capital can be rather wide and sometimes blurry concepts. Therefore, the paper contributed to this important discussion by majorly focusing on civic cooperative behavior, which is close to the civic engagement components of social capital, such as voting and volunteering, as had been investigated by Putnam (2007). Cooperation in this study was measured with clear questions on civic cooperative behavior. The inquiry at the heart of this research was whether mutual trust and a shared identity could be considered as the roots of civic cooperative behavior, and what the possible effects of contemporary diversity and migration were on mutual trust, shared identity, and civic cooperation. The working hypothesis was that due to Switzerland's history as an immigration country and its ethnolinguistic diversity and civic nationalism, the negative hypotheses indicated by the literature could be rejected. No such study had been previously done in Switzerland.

Furthermore, important additional measures such as a participant's threat perception about migration as well as his civic and ethnic nationalism attitude were included in this research. All the measures were comprised into a comprehensive framework to show the most significant associations between the primary measures taken. Such a framework had not been developed yet and is a further contribution to the topic and enhances its understanding. Therefore, the paper's distinguished approach of measuring civic cooperative behavior, the implementation of the research in ethnolinguistically diverse Switzerland, the development of a comprehensive framework and the inclusion of further measures into the investigation such as the civic and ethnic nationalism dimensions were valuable contributions to this field of study.

The paper starts with an extensive review of the literature on human cooperation, mutual trust, shared identity, and diversity. Then, the framework, as well as the research hypotheses, will be introduced. The methodology section will give an overview of the instruments that had been applied to conduct this empirical research. Consequently, the results will be presented and discussed; a particular focus will be given to the significant demographic differences observed in this study. Then the further findings are presented,

and limitations of this study provided. Eventually, a conclusion with the most important takeaways is drawn.

2 Literature Review

This section will cover important literature to investigate this paper's topic of civic cooperation further. It will start with a broad outline on the dilemma of cooperation. The chapter will show how cooperation is a fragile construct and might not be taken for granted. That reciprocity, mutual trust, and defined groups might be of crucial significance for cooperation to be an evolutionarily stable strategy. The preceding chapter will analyze trust and a shared in-group identity as possible roots of civic cooperation. Then, the topic will be analyzed in regards of ethnic diversity in order to investigate the concerns issued by distinguished scholars such as Paul Collier and Robert Putnam that increasingly heterogeneous societies and immigration might have adverse effects on mutual trust, a shared common identity and thus might adversely affect cooperation. Finally, the research contribution will be further defined and the comprehensive framework, as well as the research hypotheses, introduced.

2.1 The Dilemma of Cooperation

This section on the dilemma of cooperation will investigate the roots of cooperation by first investigating cooperation in the context of human nature and elaborate on the conditions for cooperation to emerge. Afterward, this section will examine the economic perspective, especially in regards to the game theory models of the prisoner's dilemma and tragedy of the commons. This section's aim is to highlight that generous cooperation among non-kin cannot be taken for granted, is fragile and bound to conditions such as mutual trust.

2.1.1 Human Nature and Cooperation

There Is Always Warre of Everyone Against Everyone... during the time where men live without a common Power ... there is no place for industry ... no knowledge of the face of the earth; no account of time; no arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short. (Hobbes, 1651/2009)

This is how enlightenment philosopher Thomas Hobbes described the natural condition of mankind in his book Leviathan, one of the major works of western political philoso-

phy. This negative description of the human condition might have partly come from Hobbes' experiences of the English civil war in 1642-1651. Other influential philosophers such as Jean-Jacque Rousseau were known to have had a far more benevolent picture of the human condition. Though, renowned economist Paul Collier discussing trust and cooperation in his Book Exodus remarked that trust and cooperation do not arise naturally and "Jean-Jacques Rousseau was spectacularly wrong" (Collier, 2013, p. 64).

Hobbes' concerns about the natural state of human nature are as well shared by some contemporary scientists, such as evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins. In his Book the Selfish Gene (1976/2006) he argued that:

A society based simply on the gene's law of universal ruthless selfishness would be a very nasty society... Be warned that if you wish, as I do, to build a society in which individuals cooperate generously and unselfishly towards a common good, you can expect little help from biological nature...because we are born selfish. (Dawkins, 1976/2006, p.3)

The dilemma is that based on evolution, only those genes coding for a trait (also including behavior; as for instance, Pinker (2002), Wilson (1980, 2001), argued¹), that foster their replication can be sustained in the long-run (see Dawkins, 1976/2006). Nonetheless, since no one gene by itself is an organism, cooperation is as well necessary by nature. Though, eventually, this cooperation is only evolutionary stable if it helps the organisms and genes long-term replication (Dawkins, 1976).

Therefore, cooperation from a biological and evolutionary perspective must be subject to certain conditions and cannot be taken for granted. For instance, Harvard biologist Nowak (2006) defined five rules for the evolution of cooperation: Kin Selection, Direct Reciprocity, Indirect Reciprocity, Network Reciprocity and Group Selection (Nowak, 2006). Cooperation with kin is evident, and evolutionary stable regarding the implied genetics. Though, to explain the evolution of cooperation among non-kin, the other four

¹ For clarification, there is no such thing as a cooperation gene, but many genes together can and must code for the equipment necessary that enables cooperative behavior. This in strong interaction with the environment (e.g., also culture) (See for instance: Sapolsky, 2018, especially chapter 9). Hence, while the equipment for cooperation is highly likely a universal human trait, it is as well subject to essential cultural conditions (e.g., mutual trust, in-group identity), required to activate cooperative behavior.

elements are crucial. According to Nowak, direct cooperation can evolve through frequent encounters of the same individuals as long as the cost of cooperation for each one is smaller than the net benefit. Indirect cooperation can arise through reputation and gossip, limiting cooperation to individuals who have a reputation for being helpful. This direct and indirect cooperation will create cluster networks of cooperators, excluding defectors. Through group selection the cluster networks of cooperators will have more evolutionary fitness, and be more successful (i.e., getting more resources, hence, more replications) than groups of defectors (Nowak, 2006).

This theory has as well has been proven by evolutionary models such as applied by Macy and Skvoretz, indicating that mutual trust among strangers might first evolve in small, local settings (e.g., through enough frequent interactions to build trust). These mutual trust groups can cooperate better and out-compete less cooperative groups. Eventually, only most cooperative smaller groups remain and as a result of that, cooperation can as well emerge in-between the local groups and might make universal cooperation possible (Macy & Skvoretz, 1998). Furthermore, another important aspect of fostering cooperation is the ability to sanction defectors and enforce social norms (Fehr & Fischbacher, 2004; Henrich & Boyd, 2000).

This literature review on human nature and cooperation has shown that generous and unselfish cooperation towards a common good might not be taken for granted. However, it has as well argued that cooperation might evolve as an evolutionarily stable strategy under certain conditions, and be evoked by environmental settings. Among these conditions especially are reciprocity and the creation of cooperative in-groups, which can allow for the establishment of mutual trust, help to avoid defection and efficient sanctioning of those still not cooperating. The following section will further elaborate on the dilemma of cooperation by looking at the prisoner's dilemma, the problem of the commons, and why non-cooperation can be costly in many circumstances.

2.1.2 The Economics of Cooperation

The prisoner's dilemma is often introduced in the context of game theory and is a good example of how cooperation might be challenging to achieve in an isolated situation without frequent interaction, and in the absence of mutual trust. Generally, the dilemma is illustrated as follows; two prisoners get caught for a crime they had committed and

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are questioned separately without the ability to communicate. This scenario can lead to the following option matrix:

	Prisoner B Cooperation (<u>no</u> confession)	Prisoner B Defection (confession)
Prisoner A Cooperation (<u>no</u> confession)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Each prisoner gets 0.5 years sentence for the stolen goods.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Prisoner B gets free.• Prisoner A gets a 5 years sentence.
Prisoner A Defection (confession)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Prisoner A gets free.• Prisoner B gets a 5 years sentence.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Both confess, each one gets a 2 years sentence.

Figure 1 Prisoner's Dilemma Matrix

Note: Matrix adapted from Rapoport's (1989; as cited in Eatwell, 1989, p. 199) written example.

Both Prisoners have to individually decide whether they will cooperate with their fellow partner in crime or not. Each one can either cooperate and not confess, or defect and confess. If both cooperated, and none would confess to the robbery, both convictions would be marginal, and each one would only get a sentence of 0.5 years. Though, each one in this scenario is offered with the incentive to enhance his individual outcome by defecting while the other one cooperates. Thus this leads to the following consideration for each prisoner:

- By defection one either gets to be free or a 2 years sentence if the other one defects as well.
- By cooperation, one either gets 0.5 years or a 5-year sentence if the other one defects.

The former option of defection is rationally the best choice for each one if he cannot fully trust the other prisoner to cooperate as well. Therefore, in this scenario, both will likely defect and be convicted for 2 years. If they had trusted each other and cooperated, both would have been better off with a sentence of 0.5 years. Though, the prisoner's example as well illustrates that mere cooperation must not necessarily be beneficial to society.

The prisoner's dilemma applied to more than two players and applied to the public domain is often referred to as the tragedy of the commons (Hardin, 1968). A simple exam-

ple², a community has a common ground where sheep can harvest, if everyone just puts two sheep on the ground, the common can be sustained for many generations. However, by defecting and putting more than two sheep on the ground, each individual can have additional gains. The ones who do not will miss out. Thus, if there is no trust that others as well will adhere to the rules and cooperate, the best option is to defect. The common ground will soon be depleted.

Recent research highlights the fragility of cooperation in a prisoner's dilemma context and concludes mutual defection to be generally more stable (Monterosso, Ainslie, Pamela Toppi Mullen, & Gault, 2002). Some scholars highlighted the importance of including trust and reciprocity into game theory models such as the prisoner's dilemma, to measure it as an essential component (Berg, Dickhaut, & McCabe, 1995). Furthermore, experimental evidence has highlighted that in dilemma situations, a promise to cooperate is indicated by group-identification (Dawes, Van De Kragt, & Orbell, 1988).

This part on the dilemma of cooperation has shown that while on a purely evolutionary biological basis, generous cooperation beyond non-kin might at first be somewhat puzzling, such cooperation can be beneficial to the individual as well as the community, such as in the maintenance of public goods. Furthermore, it was highlighted that such cooperation might significantly depend on mutual trust as well as non-defection and can be further enhanced by group-identification.

2.2 Roots of Civic Cooperation

This part on the roots of civic cooperation will further elaborate on the most important conditions identified for cooperation from the previous section. First, the focus will be on mutual trust. Afterward, group dynamics in the context of shared identities will be discussed. This section aims to establish the significant connections between trust, shared identity, and cooperation.

2.2.1 Mutual Trust

The previously discussed literature has shown that cooperation might be a fragile construct and be subject to favorable conditions to be evoked. One of these conditions is mutual trust. Numerous scholars argued that trust is a key ingredient for societies to

² This example has been inspired by a Yale University open course on the Philosophy and the Science of Human Nature thought by Tamar Gendler (2011) <https://oyc.yale.edu/philosophy/phil-181/lecture-20>

thrive (e.g., Coleman, 2000; Fukuyama, 1996). The concept of trust itself might be seen as a web of different dimensions such as reliability, predictability, expectation, cooperation, and goodwill (Hawley, 2012). Generally, social trust is often derived from people's social interactions within their close social networks of family and close friends (Fukuyama, 1996; Putnam, 1993).

However, there are sociology scholars who discard the importance of trust in modern societies. For instance, Portes and Vickstrom argued, regarding the classical sociological literature of Durkheim, that rather organic solidarity and the overreaching of rules and institutions with a complex division of labor might be more important for a viable, modern society than mutual trust (Portes & Vickstrom, 2011). Though, such organic solidarity does as well have its economic cost. The establishment and enforcement of such overreaching rules might be costly, and economically inefficient. For instance, Thöni in his review article on trust and cooperation argued that if full contracting was the only option, many gains from interaction would be left unexploited (Thöni, 2017).

Distinguished political scientist Francis Fukuyama, especially famous for his research on political institutions, as well emphasized the importance of trust in a society and argued that one of the most important lessons about a nation's wealth and its ability to compete is conditioned by a single pervasive cultural characteristic, the level of trust inherent in the society (Fukuyama, 1996). This relationship between trust and economic growth is as well supported by empirical evidence that found positive relationships between a countries trust levels and its economic performance (Horváth, 2013; Beugelsdijk, 2004; Zak & Knack, 2001). The connection between trust and cooperation is well supported by empirical evidence (e.g., Gächter, Herrmann, & Thöni 2004; Balliet & Van Lange, 2013).

Furthermore, empirical evidence given by Thöni proofed the micro-level relevance of the trust question, and hat the answers given to the World Value Survey question on general trust are a good predictor about an individual acting cooperatively in public goods game (Thöni, 2017). Thöni's study as well served as a meta-analysis on the previous literature about trust and cooperation and he concluded that cooperative behavior in behavioral experiments do relate to the expressed trust in survey questions and that this is valid at an individual level and for societies (Thöni, 2017).

Though, a problematic aspect in regards to generalized trust is the complexity and multidimensionality of what trust means to different persons in different contexts. For instance, Nannestad suggested in his review on generalized trust that the varying inclusiveness of people's moral communities makes responses on general trust challenging to compare (Nannestad, 2008). Hence, one might not trust a stranger as much as the people from his home city, or fellow citizens. This research and example indicate that the general trust question might be improved by measuring the participants' trust on multiple levels such as on a general, national and local one.

Summarizing, this assessment of the literature on trust and cooperation suggests a significant connection between both. Furthermore, support has been given that the general trust question has validity in predicting cooperative behavior. Though, might methodologically be improved by measuring different levels of trust.

2.2.2 In-Groups and National Identity

The history of twentieth-century nationalism has put discussions of national identity off-limits for many Europeans, but this is a dialogue that needs to be reopened in light of the de facto diversity of contemporary European societies. (Fukuyama, 2006, p. 17)

Among the classical sociological literature on social groups is Tajfel's and Turners (1971) social identity theory which investigated the human tendency to affiliate in social groups and to act in support of their in-group. The central premise of social identity theory is that in-group members have a strong desire to understand their group positively and this is achieved by seeking positive differentiation from out-groups. This differentiation can lead to increased in-group favoritism as group identity theory suggests (Tajfel & Turners 1971; as cited in Verkuyten, 2014, p. 118-119). In-group bias has been identified through broad cross-cultural studies as a universal of the human psyche (Brown, 2004). Even children, as young as five, already show favorable in-group bias, this can be induced by small things such as randomly assigning them with red or blue t-shirts, leading to a more favorable assessment and higher resources allocation to children wearing the same colored t-shirts (Dunham, Baron, & Carey, 2011).

Hence, in-group identity can lead to increased cooperation. Empirical studies confirm that belonging to an in-group is generally positively related to increased in-group coop-

eration. For instance, in an experiment conducted by Tarrant et al., the intention to help and show empathy towards an in-group university student was found to be higher than for an out-group student, coming from a different university (Tarrant, Dazeley, & Cottom, 2009). Goette et al. found that in a short period random group assignment already leads to the formation of social ties and significantly higher cooperation rates within groups than between groups. Furthermore, the same study argued that among the underlying mechanism at work was that group membership increases the willingness to enforce (e.g., through sanctioning of defectors) norms of cooperative behavior (Goette, Huffman, & Meier, 2006). Simpson found that social identity reduces the greed component in dilemma situations (Simpson, 2006). Cross-cultural evidence was given by Bernhard et al. who observed similar group dynamics in Papua New Guinea (Bernhard, Fehr, & Fischbacher, 2006).

However, evidence as well suggests that in-group favoritism must not necessarily lead to out-group hostility. The previously discussed study by Tarrant et al. further found that an in-group value of helpfulness towards out-group members can increase prosocial towards the out-group (Tarrant et al., 2009; Hopkins et al., 2007). For example, if someone identifies as Swiss, and knows that the Swiss are known for hospitality towards foreigners, stronger in-group identification (e.g., as Swiss) can increase prosocial behavior towards the out-group.

National identities can as well be considered as social groups that are subject to similar group dynamics. These identities are groups of people with a common “we feeling,” with a sense of mutual belonging and obligation (Anderson, 1991; as cited in Wright 2011). Reeskens and Wright found that a shared national identity matters in regards to social capital and can have a substantial positive influence on it, especially in regards to social trust. They further argued that nation-states might provide to the constituents as what Putnam (2007) had argued to be important bridging capital, generating solidarity between different groups (Reeskens & Wright, 2013). Hence, a healthy amount of nationalism might be beneficial for social capital. For instance, Paul Collier highlighted such possible benefits of a healthy nationalism by a comprehensive example:

Catalonia is Spain’s richest region, and exit is being driven by reluctance to continue transferring 9 percent of Catalan income to other regions. A stronger sense of Spanish nationalism would be highly unlikely to trigger warlike inten-

sions against Portugal but would, perhaps, reconcile Catalans to helping their poorer neighbors. In other words, modern nationalism is less like a mass infection of measles than a mass injection of oxytocin. (Collier, 2013, p. 235)

Though, Reeskens and Wright in their study further suggested, that the form of nationalism matters and these positive effects of nationalism only apply for nations with more inclusive, civic nationalism attitude and not for those with an excluding ethnic nationalism. (Reeskens and Wright, 2013). Hence, how nationalism is understood and conducted matters, and the differentiation between ethnic and civic nationalism might be crucial in the evaluation to what extent a shared national identity is beneficial to society. To further elaborate on the difference between ethnic and civic nationalism a short overview of the most important aspects is given in Table 1.

Table 1 Overview of Civic and Ethnic Nationalism

	Civic Nationalism	Ethnic Nationalism
Belonging:	Legal affiliation with a country, from being a citizen to being an inhabitant.	Ethnic ancestry or cultural affiliation with norms and customs.
Focus on:	Institutional and legal aspects. Shared political Identity. Statehood forges nationhood	Ethnicity, culture, and norms Shared cultural traits and traditions A sense of kinship and a myth of shared ancestry Most common cultural elements are linguistic, religious and racial
European Examples:	France, Switzerland, Germany, Norway	Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Greece

Source: Table compiled from Reeskens and Wright (2013) and Roshwald (2015)

Methodologically, civic and ethnic nationalism are often measured dichotomously, one scale asking the participant on his civic nationalism attitude (i.e., respect intuitions) and the other asking the participant on his ethnic nationalism attitude (i.e., having a country's ancestry) (see Reeskens and Wright, 2013; European Value Study, 2008).

Another important aspect is that people can as well have multiple social identities which can be combined in different ways (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). Thus, a shared identity can range from feeling rooted in the local community to supra-

national identities such as feeling European or as World Citizen. Supporting this, Citrin and Sears found by their research on national and ethnic identities that among the main methodological concerns in measuring ethnic identity is the development of multiple identity measures (Citrin & Sears, 2009).

This literature on group dynamics and national identity has shown that through in-group dynamics, a shared group identity can increase cooperative behavior. Hence, a shared national identity might especially matter in regards to cooperation on a civic, national level. Furthermore, it has been suggested that in-group favoritism and cooperation must not necessarily have adverse effects for out-groups as long as the in-group values towards out-groups are framed positively. That a national identity can coexist with other identities and that this should be an essential methodological consideration.

2.3 The Effects of Diversity and Migration on Trust and Cooperation

The previous sections have highlighted how mutual trust as well a shared group identification is of importance to maintain cooperative behavior among individuals. However, precisely these important conditions scholars such as Harvard scientist Robert Putnam (2007) and renowned economist Paul Collier (2013) argued could be adversely affected by contemporary migration and increasingly ethnically heterogeneous societies, especially social trust and civic engagement. Therefore, increasing ethnic diversity is an important topic to consider when analyzing civic cooperation. This section will analyze the literature on the possible effects of ethnic diversity on social trust, cooperation, and a shared identity. Furthermore, it will analyze how threat perception about migration might be a proxy through which adverse effects of ethnic diversity might emerge.

2.3.1 Trust and Diversity

In regards to the positive effects that mutual trust can have on cooperation, Robert Putnam especially raised concern that ethnic heterogeneity might have adverse effects on social trust. He particularly highlighted the fact that in contrast to group conflict theory, which only predicts negative attitude towards the out-group, diversity might be harmful to out- and in-group trust, and lead to more social isolation in diverse neighborhoods. In Putnam's own words, ethnic diversity leads towards a 'hunkering [down]' (Putnam, 2007, p. 149).

Indeed, many empirical studies have given evidence that diversity and social trust might be negatively correlated (e.g., for the U.S. see Alesina & La Ferrara 2002; for Spain: Morales & Echazarra 2013, among students in England: Janmaat 2015; for a multi-county-analysis Anderson & Paskeviciute 2006; Delhey & Newton 2005).

Among the most seminal papers in this field is the one by Alesina and La Ferrara (2002) on trust and ethnic/racial fragmentation in the United States that indicates for both forms of fragmentation (racial, ethnic) adverse effects on social trust, even when controlled for inequality measures, in their own words: “People are more likely to trust others in an unequal city than in a racially fragmented one.” (Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002, p. 222). Similarly, Delhey & Newton (2005) found, in a cross-country study among 60 nations based on the World Value Survey dataset, that trust is stronger where people have a shared ethnic identity (Delhey & Newton, 2005).

However, these studies have also drawn much criticism on them. Some studies have rejected Putnam's claims about the possible negative of ethnic diversity on aspects such as trust, social cohesion and capital (e.g., Gesthuizen, van der Meer, & Scheepers, 2009; Letki 2008; Tolsma, van der Meer, & Gesthuizen, 2009). These studies were primarily taking economic deprivation further into account. For instance, Tolsma et al. (2009) could not find any significant adverse effects of diversity on social capital at the municipality level in a study conducted in the Netherlands, and that tolerance to neighbors from a different race, was higher in ethnically heterogeneous neighborhoods (Tolsma et al., 2009). Though, both Putnam (2007) and Alesina & La Ferrara (2002) accounted for inequality and found the harmful effects of ethnic heterogeneity still to be consistent. A similar, more recent study conducted by Dinesen and Sønderskov, found no statistically significant evidence for economic moderators such as inequality, income or deprivation on the adverse effects of ethnic diversity on social trust (Dinesen & Sønderskov 2015).

Furthermore, it has been shown, that diversity might be perceived differently by different groups, primarily by the majority group. For instance, Abascal and Baldassarri showed that the effect of trust erosion mostly applies to ‘whites’ living among others whom they consider as out-group members and not diversity per se (Abascal & Baldassarri, 2015). Another, more positive, study, conducted by Yale and Oxford psychologists found that while it is true that ethnic diversity can have some negative effects for the majority group, this can be mitigated by positive contact and lower levels of threat

perception, cancelling most of the adverse effects out (Schmid, Ramiah, & Hewstone, 2014). The latter research indicates that positive contacts with ethnic minorities will decrease threat perception as well as prejudice and mitigate the otherwise adverse effects of neighborhood diversity. A cross-country analysis conducted by Kokkonen et al. revealed similar results. It suggested that, while diversity has an adverse impact on social trust, this is less so the case in workplace environments, where involuntary contact can mitigate the harmful effects of diversity on trust otherwise present in the neighborhood context (Kokkonen, Esaiasson, & Gilljam, 2014). Hence, school and workplace environments might be the ideal environments to create opportunities for positive contact.

Nonetheless, the evidence on the negative effects of ethnic diversity on social trust, so far, seems to outweigh the more positive studies. A most recent meta-analysis by Dinesen and Sønderskov on the topic of trust and diversity has confirmed these adverse effects. The study concluded that it is fair to say that most evidence points toward a negative relationship between ethnic diversity and social trust. Though, the authors as well remarked that studies on this topic often do not come with the desired statistical significance (Dinesen & Sønderskov, 2018).

2.3.2 Cooperation and Diversity

A further concern, particularly about contemporary migration, comes from the economist Paul Collier in his book *Exodus* (2013). He raised concerns about current, rather liberal immigration policies. He especially highlighted the importance of successful integration and that the feasibility of such is strongly dependent on country factors such as the absorption rate (i.e., the number of immigrants that can successfully be integrated within a certain time). Collier further elaborated that increasing cultural diversity can lead to undesired outcomes for host society natives and adversely affect mutual regard, and unabsorbed (not-integrated) diaspora communities might cling to dysfunctional aspects of social models from their countries of origin (Collier, 2013, p. 58-109, 272).

Collier's critical perspective towards immigration is, for instance, further supported by the following empirical evidence. A study conducted by Koopmans found, that multicultural countries which grant immigrants easy and equal access to their generous welfare systems, have produced low levels of labor market participation, high levels of segregation and a substantial overrepresentation of immigrants among those convicted of

criminal behavior (Koopmans, 2010). Specifically, the Netherlands Koopmans argued is a very sobering example, whereas, on contrary Switzerland, that demands a higher degree of integration and assimilation is performing far better. Hence, he argued that in the context of a strong welfare state and increased multicultural policies, immigrants are not necessarily an economic enrichment (Koopmans, 2010).

Additional research conducted by Mau and Burkhardt on the possible effects of migration on a society's attitude toward the welfare state showed that citizens who are in general positive about the welfare state might adopt a more critical view on social welfare if migrants are granted equal access. Though, contextual factors such as GDP, the unemployment rate as well as welfare policies mediated these more negative attitudes (Mau & Burkhardt, 2009). The adverse effect on welfare solidarity was further confirmed by Dahlberg et al. who found significant and negative effects of increased immigration on the support for redistribution, and the impact to be especially pronounced among high-income earners. The study further claimed that estimates from earlier studies, who failed to identify causal effects, had likely been positively biased (Dahlberg, Edmark, & Lundqvist, 2012).

Other scholars such as Harvard economist Alberto Alesina et al. even went as far as to indicate that the United States might not have a European style welfare system because of the ethnic heterogeneity and racial animosity in the United States that makes such a system unappealing to many voters, because this redistribution to the poor would go disproportionately to the 'black' (Alesina, Glaeser, & Sacerdote, 2001).

Further studies investigated the effects of ethnically heterogeneous societies in regards to economic growth. For instance, empirical research conducted by Gören suggested that ethnic diversity can have a substantial direct negative effect on economic growth (Gören 2014). However, similar research in this field indicated that it is rather cultural polarization instead of ethnic fractionalization that leads to these negative effects on economic growth (Montalvo & Reynal-Querol 2005; Ager & Brückner, 2013). Hence, it might be less the ethnic diversity in itself that has adverse effects but rather the cultural divide that might arise from such.

Cross-cultural evidence from Kenya found that ethnic diversity might lead to collective action failures and can, therefore, lead to adverse community outcomes such as lower school funding for these. The same study as well gave case evidence on decreased co-

operative efforts to successfully maintain a community-water-well in an ethnically heterogeneous area (Miguel & Gugerty, 2005). Furthermore, Kahn and Costa found that civic engagement is lower in more heterogeneous communities, and suggested, that it was an empirical regularity (Kahn & Costa, 2002). Nonetheless, there is as well some more positive research. For instance, some studies found that the adverse effects of diversity on economic growth are less pervasive in countries with strong institutions and democracy (Collier 2000; Easterly 2001).

Methodologically, it is important to note that most seminal investigations on the effects of social trust and civic engagement such as Alesina and La Ferrara (2002), Kahn and Costa (2002), and Marschall and Stolle (2004), employed subnational-level indicators of diversity based on the respondents' place of residence, as had been noted by Dinesen and Sønderskov (2018). Therefore, it seems to be good practice that any employed diversity measures should focus on local, neighborhood diversity instead of aggregate country levels.

As demonstrated, a significant amount of literature indeed indicates that ethnic heterogeneity might have some adverse effects on cooperation. Therefore, this warrants a further investigation on the possible impacts of ethnic diversity on civic cooperation.

2.3.3 National Identity and Diversity

Contemporary migration, among some citizens, seems to trigger a fear about their country losing its cultural identity and they seem to feel increasingly estranged in their own country. For instance, a recent cover story run by the German Spiegel Magazine highlighted how Germans increasingly feel estranged, foreign in their own country due to recent immigration (Der Spiegel, 2018). Furthermore, some scholars such as Bone argued that shared identities are more resilient and deeply ingrained in homogenous communities (Bone, 2006).

However, Masella (2013) investigated whether diversity decreased national identification and could not find any general evidence of a lower intensity of national sentiment in more ethnically fragmented countries. Though, he found that in diverse countries national identification of minority groups was lower than in homogenous countries and the opposite being true for the majority group, having less identification in homogenous countries (Masella, 2013). Hence, immigrants show less national identification in heter-

ogeneous countries than in homogenous ones. Natives show less national identification in homogenous than in heterogeneous countries.

The latter finding of Masella is unexpected but can make sense in regards to social identity theory. Due to the lack of a considerable out-group in more homogenous societies, it might be less necessary or possible to establish a strong in-group differentiation. The former finding of Massela is interesting in regards of integration policy and might indicate that it is easier for immigrants to associate with the national identity, and establish a "we" feeling when being surrounded by members of the ethnic majority group.

In general, the direct link between ethnic heterogeneity and national identity so far seems to have been less thoroughly investigated as, for instance, the effects of ethnic diversity on social trust. Nonetheless, the connection between ethnic diversity and national identity seems to be an interesting and important topic for investigation. On the one hand, such a shared identity might decline in the context of increased ethnic diversity. On the other hand, exactly such a shared national identity might serve as important bonding capital between different groups within a country.

2.3.4 Threat Perception

Globalization may have contributed to the rise of numerous middle classes outside the developed world, but it is eroding the economic and political foundations of the middle-class societies of post-World War II Europe. In this sense, the new populism represents not the losers of today but the prospective losers of tomorrow. (Krastev, 2017, p.81)

The rise of far-right parties and populism in Europe might be an indication of increased fear and threat perception about contemporary migration. Real conflict theory might to some degree explain such fears. Its central premise is that competition between groups leads to intergroup stereotypes, antagonism, and conflict (Schofield, 2010). For instance, research by Esses et al. found that perceived zero-sum competition believes increases threat perception between groups and is strongly implicated in negative attitudes towards immigration (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Quillian, 1995).

Furthermore, Esses et al. as well suggested, that group conflict theory might not only apply to tangible resources but also in regards to cultural values (Esses et al., 2001). Similarly, another study conducted by Zárate et al. further specified the previous find-

ings and highlighted that cultural dissimilarity produces more prejudice, while for economic (i.e., work-related) skills it is intergroup similarity that increases threat perception (Zárate, Garcia, Garza, & Hitlan, 2004). Thus, in regards to culture, dissimilarity increases threat perception, in regards to economic capabilities, it can as well be intergroup similarity that intensifies threat perception. Furthermore, Harvard scholar Wright suggested that increasing levels of diversity through the proxy of cultural threat might endanger an inclusive sense of national identity that includes both natives and immigrants (Wright, 2011).

On the other hand, there is contact theory. Contact theory was outlined by Allport, and its key premise is that increased exposure to other groups, will increase knowledge of the respective groups, and thus, reduces prejudice and discrimination (Allport, 1954; as cited in Harwood, 2015). Though, more recent investigations such as by Paolini et .al. highlighted that while positive contact is beneficial, negative contact experiences have more powerful and harmful effects (Paolini, Harwood, & Rubin, 2010). Hence, for every negative experience there possibly need to be several positive ones for mitigation.

Threat perception can as well directly influence trust levels. For instance, a study conducted by Voci confirmed that threat perception on values (beliefs, norms, and group practices) leads to significantly less out-group trust, turning to active distrust (Voci, 2006).

This part of the literature review has indicated that threat perception might be an essential aspect in evaluating possible effects of ethnic diversity on trust as well as civic cooperation. Furthermore, it has been highlighted, that threat perception might not only matter in economic terms but also in regards to cultural values. Though, threat perception and prejudice might be moderated by positive inter-group contacts.

2.4 Research Contribution

This section of the paper will further define this papers research contribution and introduce the hypotheses. First, this section will highlight this paper's definition of civic cooperation and how it differentiates from the more broadly defined social capital. Then the findings from the literature review will be compiled into a comprehensive framework which will give a clear overview on the field of investigation and visualize how

the aspects so-far analyzed are related to each other. Finally, the primary and secondary hypotheses of this research will be introduced.

2.4.1 Civic Cooperation vs. Social Capital

Studies on the topic of trust, social solidarity and cooperation have been conducted around the term of social capital (e.g., Putnam, 2007). Though, the wider term of social capital is not useful in this paper's endeavor to measure civic cooperation. Social capital measures often include active behavior as well as passive attitudes (e.g., towards neighbors). For instance, Putnam highlighted that in a diverse neighborhood there is "Lower likelihood of giving to charity or volunteering" or "Less expectation that others will cooperate to solve dilemmas of collective action" (Putnam, 2007, p.150). Hence, social capital is something a neighborhood has, whereas this paper intended to assess what an individual citizen actively does, how he behaves.

Therefore, this paper applied some of the concepts of social capital (e.g., volunteering, voting) but in a form as to ask the participant on his behavior. Furthermore, trust is often included as a constituent of social capital measures. However, this study considered social trust as an independent variable to directly measure its influence on civic cooperative behavior. This paper's own definition of civic cooperation was as follows:

***Civic Cooperation:** To invest resources (financial, time) towards fellow citizen (not family, friends) with no immediate compensation, except for the hope of future reciprocal act of other fellow citizens in the same or a different domain.*

This definition incorporated that cooperation might be seen as an investment of resources such as financial and time. However, applied it to the civic domain, insofar that cooperation is among fellow citizens (civic). For civic cooperation to be stable, the expectation of reciprocity was included. Though, emphasized that in the public domain reciprocity often happens not directly but in a different domain. For example, a citizen pays taxes, and the government (community) in return will provide him/her with security, social benefits, infrastructure, and so on. This paper's definition of civic cooperation was useful in elaborating this paper's measures of civic cooperation.

2.4.2 Framework

In order to give a comprehensive overview of the discussed literature, a framework was developed that included the major associations investigated in this research. Figure 2 introduces the framework.

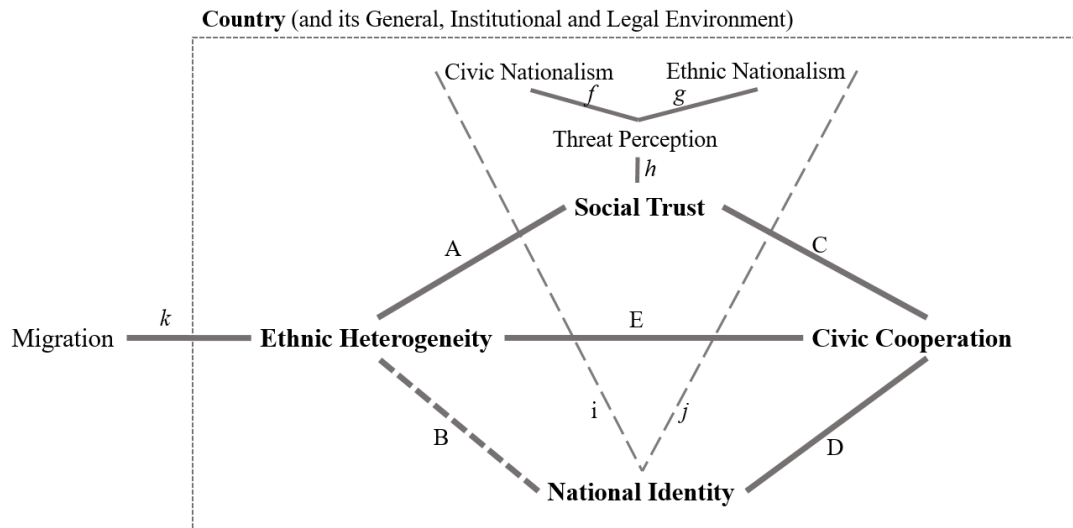


Figure 2 Shows the Developed Research Framework

The thick-lined connections were the main associations to be investigated by this research. The thinner lines were the secondary associations to be investigated. The dotted lines represent novel connections draw for this study, or so far academically less investigated associations. Furthermore, the framework deliberately does not include arrows of direction, since in some cases inverse causation might as well be plausible. However, the following documentation of the connections highlights, where possible, the prima facie more plausible direction of association that can be assumed based on the literature review.

A: Is the connection between ethnic heterogeneity and social trust. This connection is strongly supported by various academic literature (e.g., Alesina & La Ferrara 2002; Putnam 2007; Morales & Echazarra 2013; Janmaat 2015; Anderson & Paskeviciute 2006; Delhey & Newton 2005; Dinesen & Sønderskov 2015, 2018).

In case of a negative correlation, an inverse relationship of less trusting people deliberately selecting a more diverse neighborhood to live in is less plausible than the assumption that ethnic heterogeneity affects trust. In case of a positive

correlation, the inverse relationship could as well be possible, signifying that more trusting people being more likely to choose a diverse neighborhood to live. The literature review suggested that local diversity negatively affects trust.

B: Is the connection between ethnic heterogeneity and national identity. So far this connection has received less attention in academic literature as, for instance, mutual trust and diversity. The argument that shared identities are generally more ingrained in relatively homogenous communities is supported by Bones (2006). Though, Masella (2013) does not support this general claim and found that it much depends on majority and minority group and the general diversity of the country itself whether there is a decline in national identification or not (Masella, 2013). Because this connection had been investigated less thoroughly so far, an analysis of this link was a further valuable research contribution.

C: Is the connection between trust and civic cooperation. It emerged from the literature on the dilemma of cooperation and the trust section of this paper. The connection between trust and cooperation is supported by various academic research (e.g., Macy & Skvoretz, 1998; Thöni 2017; Gächter, Herrmann, & Thöni, 2004; Balliet & Van Lange, 2013). The literature review suggested that trust positively affects cooperation

D: Is the connection between national identity and civic cooperation. Research supports that group identities such as a shared national identity can lead to increased social capital and in-group cooperation (e.g., Reeskens and Wright, 2013; Goette 2006; Tarrant et al., 2009; Bernhard et al. 2006). The literature review suggested that an in-group identity positively affects cooperation.

E: Is the connection between ethnic diversity and civic cooperation. Unfortunately, various research so far indicated that ethnic diversity might have negative impacts on important aspects such as social capital, support for welfare system, redistribution, collective action for public goods and even on economic growth (Putnam, 2007; Mau & Burkhardt, 2009; Dahlberg, Edmark, & Lundqvist, 2012; Alesina, Glaeser, & Sacerdote, 2001; Miguel & Gugerty, 2005; Kahn & Costa, 2002; Montalvo & Reynal-Querol 2004; Gören 2014). The literature review suggested that ethnic heterogeneity negatively affects cooperation.

f, g, and h: Are the connections between nationalism (ethnic, civic), threat perception and trust. On the one hand, these associations are based on research connecting ethnic nationalism with less social capital, increased prejudice and threat perception (Reeskens & Wright, 2013; Esses et al., 2001; Quillian, 1995; Wright, 2011). On the other hand, civic nationalism should be connected with less threat perception (Weldon, 2006). Threat perception likely is associated with lower levels of social trust (e.g. Voci, 2006).

i, j: Are the connections between nationalism attitude and national identity. These were added to the framework since it was assumed that there is an inherent connection between nationalism and national identification. Though, the investigation of these seems to be novel and was an additional contribution to the topic.

k: Is the connection between migration and ethnic heterogeneity, indicating, that increased migration leads to increasing ethnic heterogeneity.

Furthermore, the framework is enclosed by the countries institutions and legal environment. This inclusion is to suggest that these factors might as well be highly influential on civic cooperation, mutual trust, national identification and the other elements of the framework. However, this paper did not focus on the effects that the institutional environment might have on civic cooperation because another bachelor thesis covered this topic based on the same survey set. The main topics investigated in this research were the effects of mutual trust, national identity and ethnic diversity on civic cooperation.

2.4.3 Hypotheses

This section of the paper introduces the hypotheses that were tested. The hypotheses had been derived from the initial research assignment, the literature review as well as the previously established framework. First, the primary hypotheses that were of most concern to this research will be introduced. Secondly, the secondary hypotheses will be introduced that tested some additional factors that were seen as useful for a better understanding the topic.

2.4.3.1 Primary Hypotheses

The first two hypotheses (H1 & H2) tested the assumption that mutual trust as well as a shared national identity are among the roots of civic cooperation and positively correlat-

ed with the cooperation measures selected. Hypothesis one and two were primarily based on the connections D and C established in the framework, respectively. The discussed literature indicated a positive correlation between social trust and civic cooperation as well as Swiss identification and civic cooperation.

Hypothesis 1: *Social trust is positively associated with civic cooperation. All levels of trust (general, national, local) should be positively correlated with civic cooperative behavior.*

Hypothesis 2: *A shared national identity is positively associated with civic cooperation. Participants who identify stronger as Swiss show higher levels of civic cooperative behavior.*

The second and third hypothesis (H3 & H4) tested the assumption that mutual trust, as well as a shared national identity, might be adversely affected by ethnic heterogeneity. Hypothesis three and four were primarily based on the connections A and B established in the framework, respectively.

Hypothesis 3 had to be formalized negatively since a negative correlation between local trust and local diversity was expected based on the literature review. Local diversity was measured against local trust to make a methodological improvement, and compare alike and alike. This improvement considered the varying inclusiveness of peoples' moral communities, which had been criticized in regards to the general trust measure (e.g., Nannestad, 2008). Hypothesis 4 was established in regards to the contemporary claim of people feeling estranged, losing identity due to immigration, and connection B in the framework.

Hypothesis 3: *Local diversity is negatively associated with local trust. Participants in diverse neighborhoods show lower levels of local trust.*

Hypothesis 4: *Local diversity is negatively associated with national identification. Participants in diverse neighborhoods will identify less as Swiss.*

Hypothesis 5 was based on the established connection E in the framework and was intended to measure whether contemporary migration had a direct adverse effect on our measure of civic cooperation. The literature review suggested that ethnic heterogeneity

would have adverse effects on various dimensions of civic cooperation. Therefore, a negative correlation had to be assumed.

Hypothesis 5: *Local diversity is negatively associated with civic cooperation. Participants in diverse neighborhoods will show lower levels of civic cooperation.*

2.4.3.2 Secondary Hypotheses:

The secondary hypotheses were added to show how possible additional factors, less frequently discussed in the academic literature, could as well be crucial to the understanding of the topic.

As indicated by the literature negative effects on social capital, trust, and civic cooperation were assumed to be influenced by a participant's threat perception and his attitude towards nationalism. Therefore the following secondary hypotheses were included:

Hypothesis 6: *Ethnic nationalism is associated with higher levels of threat perception. Civic Nationalism, in turn, should not be associated with higher threat perception.*

Hypothesis 7: *Participants with increased threat perception show lower levels of social trust.*

Hypothesis 6 was introduced since the literature review suggested that ethnic nationalism could have adverse effects on threat perception through, for instance, higher levels of prejudice and economic fears. However, threat perception could also lead to increasingly less-inclusive ethnic nationalism as was suggested by Wright (2011). Therefore, an association between ethnic nationalism and higher threat perception is suggested, though the direction of causation could be both ways. Hypothesis 7 was introduced based on the assumption that social trust is negatively associated with threat perception based on connection h in the framework. This inclusion of nationalism attitude and threat perception was a further valuable contribution to this research.

The non-hypothesized connections indicated in the framework were intended for further post-hoc analysis based on the data of the survey.

Importantly, most of the referenced studies in the literature review had not been conducted in Switzerland. The working hypothesis, therefore, was that due to Switzerland's

unique ethnolinguistic setting, its history as an immigration country, and civic nationalism, the negative hypotheses three, four and five (H3, H4 & H5) could be rejected in the Swiss context. Though, based on the literature review had to be formulated negatively. The next section of this paper will introduce the methodology applied to investigate the hypotheses and research questions.

3 Methodology

This section of the paper introduces the methodology applied in this survey. First, a description of the participants in this study will be given, and the procedure applied in conducting this survey further explained. Then an overview of the dependent and independent variables will be given. Eventually, the main measures and instruments that were applied in this survey are introduced and some notes on the applied correlation coefficient given. Importantly, not all questions are integrated into this section only those necessary for the major analysis will be discussed in more detail. The Appendix 7.1 includes the whole survey conducted³, including the original phrasing (English and German), as well as answer options and order in which the questions were presented to the students.

3.1 Survey and Participants

The survey was conducted among two International Management and five General Management classes at the Zurich University of Applied Sciences. The total number of participants had been 261 Students. Of those, 211 datasets could be used to conduct the further analysis. 27 Datasets were excluded due to a majority of questions not having been answered (mostly empty datasets). A further 23 Datasets were excluded due to the students likely having been exchange students. These were those who indicated that they were neither Swiss, nor Secondo, nor had migrated to Switzerland. Further details can be seen in Appendix 7.3.

The exclusion of exchange students was necessary since the cooperation questions were very Swiss specific and a distorted, unfavorable cooperation score would have been probably the case for the exchange students, due to not understanding the context of the questions. For instance, the survey asked participants some specific questions on a recent Swiss election topic.

All further analysis referred to the dataset of 211 participants, excluding the exchange students. This dataset was constituted out of 52% male and 48% female participants. The different majors of the students were represented as follows: International Man-

³. Not all survey questions in Appendix 7.1 were relevant for this research since the questionnaire was conducted in collaboration with another, similar bachelor thesis on institutions and civic cooperation.

agement (N=107), General Management (N=34), Banking and Finance (N=19), Accounting (N=17), Economics and Politics (N=14) and Business and Technology (N=17).

The vast majority, 92% of participants, had Swiss citizenship. 61% were raised in Switzerland but had at least one parent that had a migration background into Switzerland (often called *Secondo* in Switzerland). Only 4% (N=9) of participants indicated to have migrated to Switzerland after the age of 10. Half of the sample indicated to live in a diverse neighborhood; the other half indicated they did not. Generally, the University of Applied Sciences has a high amount of those with second-generation migration background, and, hence this group was overrepresented in the sample compared to the 17.7% in the general population (aged 18-24), as stated by the Swiss Federal Institute for Statistics (BFS, 2017).

The majority of students were between 21 and 25 years old (77.3%). The other age groups were represented as follows: 18-30 (10.9%), 26-30 (10.9%) above 30 (0.5%). In regards of income almost half (46%) indicated *their family* to have a household income of above CHF 10'000 per month, 18.5% between CHF 6'000 and 10'000, 8.1% between CHF 4'000 and 6'000 and only 6.6% a household income of below CHF 4'000. Low-income groups were underrepresented in the sample.

Noteworthy is that students of Swiss Applied Sciences Universities are generally older than university students in other countries since a majority had to have at least some previous work experience to be admitted. Furthermore, International Management students are all fluent in English according to CEFR level C1 and are expected to mandatorily go abroad for one year in the 2nd year of their studies in order to enhance their intercultural knowledge.

3.2 Procedure and Design

The survey was conducted by using the open source internet-based software Lime Survey. Students were provided with a link where they could fill out the Survey: Students could choose whether they wanted to fill out the survey in English or German.

The survey was conducted during selected International Management and International Business lectures. Before the start of those lectures, the opportunity was given to address the students and invite them to participate in the survey. By walking through the

classroom, it could be observed that most of the students complied with the request, except for around 10%, doing different things on their devices. Nonetheless, this procedure of conducting the survey directly in lectures and the indication of required participation, a significant cooperation bias should have been avoided. Especially, in comparison to the general methodology applied in sending the survey to a vast, random number of students, in the hope of the cooperative ones to participate.

The questions were grouped to have the ones that students should answer in relation to each other together such as the identity and trust questions. The demographic questions were asked at the end of the survey to avoid priming, such as that the indication of gender, nationality, and further demographics could not affect the answers given. The questionnaire did not allow changing the previously given answers. Furthermore, due to some of the questions being on political, and controversially debated issues, none of the questions were mandatory to answer.

3.3 Instruments

3.3.1 Independent and Dependent Variables

In order to make the discussion measures and instruments applied in this research more comprehensive, they will be shown in the context of dependent and independent variables.

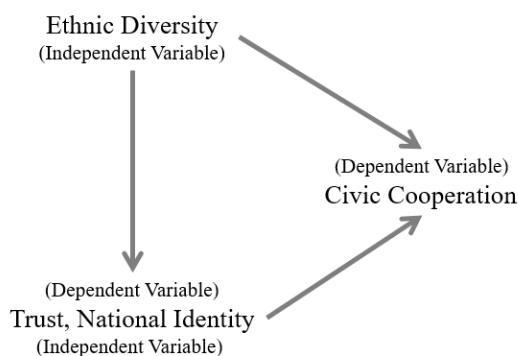


Figure 3 Depended and Independent Variables for the primary analysis.

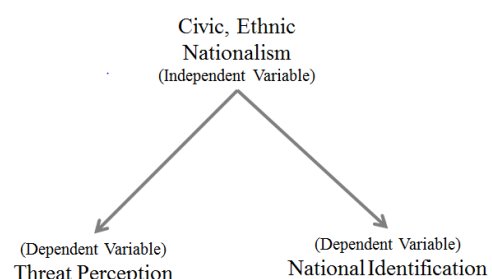


Figure 4 Depended and Independent Variables in context of the secondary civic, ethnic nationalism analysis.

Figure 3 shows how the applied instruments behave in the context of being regarded as dependent and independent variables; the establishment of those was based on the literature review and framework discussed in the previous section. Ethnic diversity always acted as an independent variable either on Trust, National Identity or Civic Cooperation. Trust and National Identity acted as dependent variables to measure how they were affected by ethnic diversity but also served as independent variables to predict civic cooperation. Civic Cooperation always acted as the dependent variable that was sought to be predicted by the independent variables. Figure 4 shows the same for the secondary investigation of ethnic, civic nationalism and threat perception. However, since the methodology of this thesis only applied bivariate correlation analysis, the distinction was less crucial in practical terms. Though, it is helpful for a better understanding in theoretical terms and essential if future research intends to apply the developed framework in the context of linear regression and multilevel modeling.

3.3.2 Measurement of National Identity

The measurement of participant's national identity was done with four differently formulated Likert Scale based questions. The questions asked the degree of how much participants identified with their home city, as Swiss, as European or citizen of the world. Answers could be given on a 5-item Likert Scale (Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree, coded as 4 to 0) scale.

This methodology was inspired by the multi-level approach present in the World Value Survey (2012), values V212-V215, asking participants how much they saw themselves as a citizen of the world, connected to their local neighborhood, as being of their nation (i.e., seeing themselves as Swiss), or as seeing themselves as a part of the European Union (World Value Survey, 2012). This survey's questions were only slightly modified. Instead of European Union, this survey used European, and instead of seeing the word identify was used.

The questions were all presented on the same page so participants could evaluate their different identities in relation to each other. This design was to address the issue about multiple social, national identities one could have (see, Ashmore 2004; Citrin & Sears 2009). Furthermore, the questions were ordered randomly to avoid participants always first evaluating their Swiss identity and then only the other ones. This methodology should have helped to achieve less biased and more precise results. National Identity

served as the independent variable to predict trust and as dependent one to measure the effect that local diversity has on it. In Figure 5. the survey’s approach of measuring the participant’s identity in relation to others is visualized.

Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements

	not at all	not that much	somewhat	much	very much	No answer
I identify myself a citizen of the World.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
I identify myself with my home city.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
I identify myself as a European.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
I identify myself as Swiss.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>

Figure 5 Measurement of National Identification in the original Survey

3.3.3 Measurement of Trust

The different trust questions were adapted from the general trust question of the World Value Survey (2012). Methodologically, the general trust question was found to be of high validity. For instance, empirical evidence confirmed it to be a good predictor of individuals acting cooperatively in public goods games (Thöni, 2017). However, as Nannestad in his review on generalized trust highlighted the general trust question makes a comparison between the trust people have in different communities difficult (Nannestad, 2008).

To address the methodological issues of different trust levels, a more differentiated approach to trust measurement was taken, and two slightly modified versions of the general trust question included. One of them asked the participants to indicate how much they trusted people in Switzerland and the other one how much they trusted people in their home city (local trust).

The measurement of general trust and the two additionally added trust levels was conducted with the instrument of three differently formulated Likert-scale questions. Each question asked the degree of how much participants trusted people in their home city, in Switzerland and generally. Answers could be given on a 7-item range (from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree, coded as 6 to 0). The larger 7-item range was chosen to get more precise results since it was assumed that only a few participants would use the lower, distrusting items. Hence, the larger scale was intended to ensure a more refined differentiation in indicated trust levels.

The trust questions were all presented on the same page so that participants could evaluate their trust levels in relation to the each other, similarly to the approach used in the identification questions seen in Figure 5.

3.3.4 Measurement of Threat Perception

Based on the literature review it was decided to include a measure to assess the participant's level of threat perception. Two questions were included to assess this dimension. The first question was intended to evaluate one's current level of estrangement by foreigners (Current Threat Perception). The second question was intended to measure to what degree the participant was worried about future, non-western Migration (Future Threat Perception). Non-western migration was highlighted because research suggested that diversity often is evaluated depending on the target out-group (Abascal & Baldassarri, 2015). The participants could indicate their level of estrangement and how much they were worried about future migration on a 4-item Likert Scale ranging from not at all to very much (coded as 0-4). The measurement of threat perception was inspired by group conflict theory and the suggestion by Esses et al. that group conflict theory might not only apply to tangible resources but also be valid in regards to cultural values (Esses et al., 2001). Due to this paper's cultural focus, a cultural perspective was taken.

A threat perception score was calculated to simplify the analysis. This could be done, since the responses to both dimensions were similar and did not deviate by much.

$$\text{Threat Perception} = \frac{1}{2} (\text{Current Threat Perception} + \text{Future Threat Perception})$$

3.3.5 Measurement of Civic and Ethnic Nationalism

In order to address the discussed literature on ethnic and civic nationalism, the survey included a measure to assess the importance the participant gave to each dimension. The participant's agreements towards the ethnic and civic nationalism statements were asked on two 4 item-Likert Scales (ranging from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree). Methodologically, the dichotomous assessment was suggested by previous research (e.g., Reeskens and Wright 2013; Roshwald, 2016; European Values Survey, 2010), measuring the participants ethnic and civic nationalism attitude on two different scales.

The question on ethnic nationalism applied in this research deviated by purpose from the traditional question based on ancestry, as, for instance, had been asked by the Euro-

pean Value Survey (2010), [value 278], and instead asked about assimilation to Swiss cultural norms and traditions to capture the ethnic dimension of nationalism. The focus on ancestry was considered to be outdated and not attentive enough to the cultural dimension of ethnicity.

For the civic nationalism dimension, the papers questionnaire was mostly based on the original EVS question of “*To respect [COUNTRY]’s political institutions*” (European Value Survey, 2010, p. 21) and asked participants how important it was to know and respect Switzerland laws and institutions for being Swiss. The necessary adjustment being made was to add the important perspective of knowing (compared to only respecting) into the question, as well as to include the legal affiliation (laws and institutions).

The questions were randomly ordered (i.e. sometimes first assessing the ethnic dimension and then the civic one, and vice versa) and asked on the same page to give students the opportunity to state their importance of the civic as well as the ethnic dimension in relation to each other. Both nationalism measures served as the independent variables to predict a participant's threat perception and national identification.

3.3.6 Measurement of Civic Cooperation

The definition of civic cooperation in the literature highlighted that it could be understood as an investment of resources (e.g., time, money) towards a fellow citizen, the political system in the hope of receive benefits through reciprocity. Therefore, such measures were included in the survey to capture the civic cooperativeness of each participant. The paper relied on civic dimensions such as voting, volunteering, and the participation in providing public goods, in order to formulate the questions which assessed civic cooperation. These civic dimensions had often been used in research on social capital (e.g., see Putnam 2007; Alesina & La Ferrara 2000, 2002).

However, they were reformulated such as to measure the participant’s level of civic cooperative behavior. Additionally, one measure of defection had been included to address the issue that a participant instead of cooperating, can also actively defect on cooperation. The compilation of our measures can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2 Overview of the measures to assess civic cooperative behavior

Cooperation Measure i	Civic Dimension	Employed Question
1	Voting	How often do you generally vote in Swiss ballots/referendums?
2	Volunteering	With the exception of religious organizations, in the past year have you volunteered your time or donated money? This could include volunteering for a health cause to fight a disease, a school program, or to help the elderly or poor?
3	Public Goods	Recent political discussions have been about abolishing the mandatory fees that supported public broadcasting (No-Billag). Did you support this initiative?
4	Defection on Cooperation	Assume that you have been working a student job the tax authority does not know about and will not find out about it. How likely are you to declare this additional income to the tax authority?

These selected questions included ballot participation, willingness to support public good such as Swiss broadcasting, the frequency of volunteering and likelihood to refuse cooperation in regards to taxes. Some of the questions were designed explicitly for Swiss students. For instance, the question on public broadcasting was selected due to the recent political discussion in Switzerland on abolishing the mandatory fees to support the Swiss Radio and Television organization (SRG). Therefore, most students could be expected to be familiar with all the topics, increasing the accuracy of measurement.

Due to the multidimensionality of the questionnaire's cooperation measures, a specific cooperation score for each participant was calculated. A participant might not be cooperative on taxes but, for instance, very cooperative on the other measures. Therefore, a mean score out of all the employed cooperation measures was deemed to be a fair estimate of the willingness to cooperate civically. The calculation was conducted as follows:

$$\text{Cooperation Score} = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=0}^n \text{Cooperation Measure } i$$

3.3.7 Measurement of Ethnic Diversity

The diversity measure was inspired by previous research such as conducted by Putnam (2007). To make the study more feasible, it relied on participant's self-assessment of neighborhood diversity instead of collecting location data and comparing it to different levels of ethnic fractionalization in the neighborhood. Therefore, in the questionnaire participants could state whether they lived in a diverse neighborhood or not.

Therefore, this paper's approach followed the methodology of having a subnational-level indicator of diversity as applied by Alesina and La Ferrara (2002), Kahn & Costa, (2002), and Marschall and Stolle (2004) and its usage was as well deemed useful by Dinesen and Sønderskov's (2018) meta-analysis. Ethnic neighborhood diversity served in all analyses as the independent variable.

This measurement was included among the demographic questions at the end of the survey. Hence, students were unlikely to make any connection between the indicated trust levels at the beginning of the survey and this measure of ethnic diversity. Thus, the association between ethnic diversity and trust was improbable to be consciously influenced.

3.3.8 Measurement of Migration Background and Nationality

In addition to the general demographic questions asked in this survey, the participant's citizen status and migration background were as well assessed. The questionnaire asked whether the participants were Swiss citizens, had multiple citizenships, migrated to Switzerland, or were raised in Switzerland but had at least one parent with migration background (so-called *Secondo*). The definition of the second-generation migration background was adapted from the official one used by the Swiss Federal Institute for Statistics (BFS, n.d.). The questions could either be answered with yes, no or be left blank.

3.3.9 Correlation Coefficient

Due to the expected skewness and non-normal distribution of the major scales (e.g. trust, identification) and rank based nature (e.g., always, usually, sometimes) of the majority of cooperation questions, Spearman's rho was given preference over the Pearson's r to measure the bivariate correlations between the defined instruments (See also: Hill &

Lewicki, 2006, p. 42). The next section of this paper will introduce and discuss the results of this research.

4 Results & Discussions

The results section will first present the results taken from the general sample and test the introduced hypotheses. Then apply the results to the introduced framework in order to give a more comprehensive overview. Consequently, the results of the general sample will be discussed. This discussion will conclude that significant demographic differences influenced the results; hence, the next major part will present the most important results in the context of demographics. A discussion of these differences will succeed the demographic results. The following general discussion will highlight the most significant findings of the general and demographics analyses combined, and give essential recommendations. Eventually, the further findings of this study will be presented and the limitations of this study conferred.

4.1 Results of the General Sample

4.1.1 Trust and Civic Cooperation

Table 3 Correlations between participant’s trust levels and the cooperation score.

Trust Level	r_s cooperation score	p	N
General Trust	.227**	0.001	205
Local Trust	.311**	0.001	202
National Trust	.202**	0.004	206

Notes: *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed), **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The results presented in Table 3 clearly show that all levels of trust are significantly and positively correlated with this paper’s multidimensional measures of civic cooperation. These results evidently support hypothesis one which assumed that trust is positively associated with civic cooperation and that all levels of trust (general, national, and local) would be positively correlated with civic cooperative behavior.

4.1.2 Identification and Cooperation

Table 4 Correlations between the shared identities and the cooperation score

Identification	r_s identification, cooperation score	p	N
Home City (Local)	.117	0.096	204
Swiss	.228**	0.001	203
European	.004	0.951	204
World Citizen	-.008	0.909	202

Notes: *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed), **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The results show that only those participants who identify stronger as Swiss indicate statistically significant higher levels of civic cooperation $r_s(203) = .228$, $p < .01$. The further identities are non-significantly correlated with the participant's cooperation score. These results support hypothesis two which assumed that a shared national identity is positively associated with civic cooperation and those who identify stronger as Swiss are more likely to show higher levels of civic cooperative behavior.

4.1.3 Diversity and Local Trust

The results show that living in a diverse neighborhood is statically significantly associated with lower levels of local trust $r_s(197) = -.149$, $p < .05$. This result supports hypothesis three which assumed that local diversity is negatively associated with local trust and that participants in diverse neighborhoods will be less likely to trust people in their local environment. The national and general trust levels are not significantly affected.

4.1.4 Diversity and Swiss Identity

The results show that participants living in diverse neighborhoods show statistically significantly lower levels of Swiss identification $r_s(196) = -.198$, $p < .01$. Furthermore, the strength of the negative correlation is higher in Secondo participants $r_s(115) = -.228$, $p < .05$. This result indicates that the effect is more likely traced to the neighborhood diversity and not because Secondo generally identify less as Swiss since in non-diverse neighborhoods the Secondo show as well higher levels of Swiss identification. Therefore, these results support hypothesis four which assumed that local diversity is negatively associated with national identity and that participants in diverse neighborhoods would identify less as Swiss.

4.1.5 Diversity and Cooperation Score

The direct correlation between the participant’s cooperation score and living in a diverse neighborhood is negative, though only slight and non-significant $r_s(199) = -.090$, n.s. The result does not support hypotheses five which assumed that increased migration is negatively associated with civic cooperation and that participants in diverse neighborhoods will show lower levels of civic cooperation. However, since local trust and national identification are both positively associated with civic cooperation, and both as well negatively associated with local trust. By logic, this consequently would imply that civic cooperation as well is negatively affected by ethnic diversity. In the all-female sample, this is indeed the case with statistical significance, as will be discussed in more detail in the demographic results.

Table 5 Evaluation of the Primary Hypotheses

Hypothesis	Evaluation
Hypothesis 1: <i>Social trust is positively associated with civic cooperation.</i>	<i>Accept</i>
Hypothesis 2: <i>A shared national identity is positively associated with civic cooperation.</i>	<i>Accept</i>
Hypothesis 3: <i>Local diversity is negatively associated with local trust.</i>	<i>Accept</i>
Hypothesis 4: <i>Local diversity is negatively associated with national identification.</i>	<i>Accept</i>
Hypothesis 5: <i>Local diversity is negatively associated with civic cooperation.</i>	<i>(Reject)*</i>

*With the reservation to the demographic differences and that the implied logical derivation discussed in the previous section would suggest an acceptance. However, in accordance with prudence and in regards to the non-significance direct correlation it is so-far rejected.

4.1.6 Secondary Results

4.1.6.1 Nationalism and Threat Perception

The correlation between ethnic nationalism and threat perception is positive and significant $r_s(203) = .357$, $p < .01$. The correlation between civic nationalism and threat perception is negative and non-significant $r_s(207) = -.005$, n.s. The result supports the first part of hypothesis 6 which assumed that ethnic nationalism and threat perception are associated and that participants with higher ethnic nationalism attitude show higher levels of threat perception. The second part of hypothesis six is as well supported which assumed that civic nationalism should not be associated with higher threat perception.

4.1.6.2 Threat Perception and Social Trust

As had been suggested by the literature review and indicated in the framework, the direct correlation between social trust and threat perception was promising to be investigated. Since the assessment of threat perception was not locally focused (i.e., foreigners in Switzerland, migration from distant cultures) a negative correlation with all levels of social trust was expected.

Table 6 Correlations between the different social trust levels and threat perception score

Trust Level	r_s trust, threat perception	p	N
General Trust	-.173*	0.013	207
Local Trust	-.193**	0.006	204
National Trust	-.179**	0.010	208

Notes: *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed), **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

These results presented in Table 6 confirm that all levels of social trust are significantly and negatively associated with higher levels of threat perception. These results support hypotheses seven which assumed that increased threat perception is negatively associated with a participant's level of social trust.

Table 7 Evaluation of Secondary Hypotheses

Hypothesis	Evaluation
Hypothesis 6: <i>Ethnic nationalism is associated with higher levels of threat perception, whereas civic nationalism is not.</i>	Accept
Hypothesis 7: <i>Participants with increased threat perception show lower levels of social trust.</i>	Accept

4.1.7 Application to the Framework

Furthermore, the results were applied to the developed framework. This application revealed some further essential connections, necessary for the discussion of the results. For reasons of clarity, all the results reported in the context of the framework focus on the local trust level since it was the level of trust most strongly correlated with civic cooperation. The application of the general results to the framework can be seen in Figure 6.

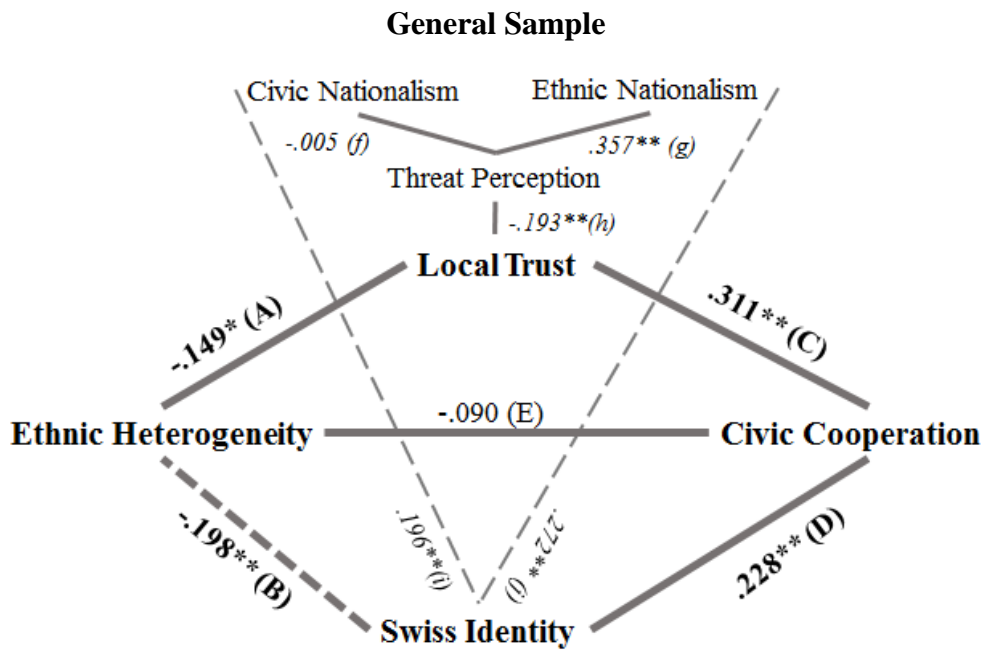


Figure 6 Framework applied to the General Sample

Notes: *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed), **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

4.2 Discussion of the General Sample

The results of the general sample suggest that social trust as well as a shared national identity can be considered to be among the roots of civic cooperation. These results could be expected and confirm the suggestions by the literature review. Though, interesting is the clear result that only Swiss identification could be proven to have a significant effect on civic cooperation. This result shows that for civic matters of cooperation such as voting, honesty on taxes, volunteering, and the support for public goods a shared national, in-group identification is beneficial. Hence, Fukuyama's (2006) suggestion to reopen the discussion on shared national identity in the context of contemporary migration seems not to be too far-fetched. Though this does not imply that foreigners should be excluded, to the contrary, it is of importance that they are included in an inclusive and shared identity. This inclusion might, for instance, be achieved by practicing a civic form of nationalism, which is associated with higher social capital, especially social trust (Reeskens & Wright, 2013).

This paper's empirical data as well support the benefits of civic nationalism. The results on the nationalism measures show, that both forms of nationalism, ethnic as well as civic, are significantly and positively correlated with national identification. For ethnic

nationalism and Swiss identification the correlation is $r_s(201) = .272$, $p < 0.01$ and for civic nationalism and Swiss identification the correlation is $r_s(202) = .196$, $p < 0.01$ (connection *i* and *j* in the framework, see Figure 6).

The connections between nationalism and national identification considered alone would suggest that ethnic nationalism is more beneficial for Swiss identification and hence, might be more favorable for civic cooperation than civic nationalism. However, ethnic nationalism is as well significantly correlated with increased threat perception $r_s(203) = .357$, $p < .01$. (*g* in the framework). This negative dimension of ethnic nationalism gives preference to civic over ethnic nationalism. Hence, these observations led to the introduction of the following post-hoc hypothesis:

Hypothesis 8: *Civic nationalism through the proxy of increased national identification can be beneficial to civic cooperation. Contrary to ethnic nationalism, civic nationalism is not associated with higher levels of threat perception.*

In the assumption that ethnic nationalism does affect threat perception and not vice versa, post-hoc hypothesis eight can be accepted. Though, further research might have to further verify this post-hoc hypothesis suggested by the data. This finding suggests that it might be a sound policy to pursue an inclusive civic form of nationalism instead of exclusionary ethnic nationalism, and still be able to harvest the benefits that a shared national identity provides for civic cooperation.

In regards to ethnic diversity, unfortunately, the negative hypotheses that neighborhood ethnic heterogeneity is associated with lower levels of local trust had to be accepted. Thus, the so-called “Putnam Thesis” (Putnam, 2007) seems to have some validity in Switzerland as well, at least in regards of local trust and diversity. Though, this does not explain the underlying reasons for why this is the case. It might be the case that there are not enough positive interactions, as the enhanced version of the contact hypothesis suggests (see, e.g., Schmid et al., 2014). Hence, while further trust building is essential, this might be best achieved in the workplace, school environments, where involuntary contact can mitigate the harmful effects of ethnic diversity on trust otherwise present in the neighborhood context (see, Kokkonen et al. 2014).

The argument by Bones (2001) that shared identity might be easier established in homogenous communities has as well received some support by our data. Furthermore, the

data has shown that those with migration background (Secondo) identify less as Swiss when living in a diverse neighborhood than those in homogenous ones. The latter result is similar to the findings of Masella (2013) about minority members identifying less with the majority group in ethnically heterogeneous countries, though this survey's result being valid for the local instead of the aggregate country level. This result implies that segregated neighborhoods with only minority groups should be avoided and immigrants might more successfully be integrated within communities of majority members.

Furthermore, the direct negative effect of living in a diverse neighborhood on civic cooperation was only minor and non-significant. Though this result had been in discordance with the findings that local trust and national identification are positively associated with civic cooperation and diverse neighborhoods are negatively associated with local trust and national identification. By logic, this pattern would have consequently implied lower levels of civic cooperation as well. Therefore, this hypothesis was further investigated. Eventually, a demographic breakup of the data revealed significant differences, especially in regards to gender and migration background on how ethnic heterogeneity is perceived.

However, initially, the strong demographic differences in the sample were discovered by an unexpected result found in comparing the local trust and local diversity correlation between international and non-international management students (for more detail, see further findings, *International Management and Ethnic Diversity*).

The secondary hypotheses could both be accepted for the general sample and require less explanation than the other findings. It is likely, that people who assign more importance to cultural norms and values (ethnic nationalism), might feel more threatened, especially in regards to culture, due to immigration. Furthermore, this threat perception might lead to less social trust as hypothesis seven confirmed because someone that feels estranged in his/her country might start to trust other citizens less. Though, for both associations, the inverse causation is as well plausible. That threat perception leads to higher nationalism attitude, as Wright (2011) suggested, and that less trusting people, in general, might feel more threatened. Though, probably both directions of affect have some validity, depending on the context and the individual itself.

Concluding, this section has discussed the findings based on the general sample, and especially highlighted that demographic differences exist. Therefore, the following

analysis of the results will focus on these significant demographic differences. This analysis will contribute to a clearer picture of the findings from the general sample, especially on the effects of diversity on trust. So far no major study seems to have explicitly focused on possible gender and migration background differences in the reception of ethnic diversity. If gender was included in the models, then often only to possibly account for less/more trusting females/males in general, but it was not directly investigated if these samples showed significant differences in regards of trust and ethnic diversity.

4.3 Results by Demographics

This section will focus on the significant demographic differences observed in the sample. Notable differences between males and females as well as between Secondo and non-Secondo participants were recognized. First, the general differences between the male and female sample will be presented. Afterward, a more detailed breakup analysis on gender and migration background will be given.

4.3.1 Male and Females

By splitting the sample into male and female participants, already strong and significant differences in the reception of diversity were observed, especially in regards to local trust. This difference is shown in Table 8.

Table 8 Correlations between local trust and living in a diverse neighborhood

Gender	r_s trust, diverse neighborhood	p	N
Male	-.009	0.929	103
Female	-.314**	0.003	88

Notes: *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed), **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The data suggests that male and female trust levels are differently affected in regards to neighborhood diversity. Whereas ethnic neighborhood diversity seems to have almost no effect at all on males, the result is entirely different for the female sample. The male sample shows no statistical significance in the correlation between local trust and local diversity, whereas, in the female sample, local trust and local diversity are significantly and negatively correlated. The apparent difference is remarkable. In females, these findings would more strongly support hypothesis three which assumed that local diversity is

negatively associated with local trust. The same hypothesis three could be rejected for the male sample.

Furthermore, the negative correlation between local diversity and civic cooperation reaches statistical significance in the all-female sample $r_s(92) = -.240$, $p < .05$. These findings would support hypothesis five for the female sample which assumed that ethnic diversity is negatively associated with civic cooperation. For the male sample, the hypothesis could be rejected. The correlation is even slightly positive $r_s(101) = .025$, n.s. On the next page, the direct comparison between the female and male sample is shown.

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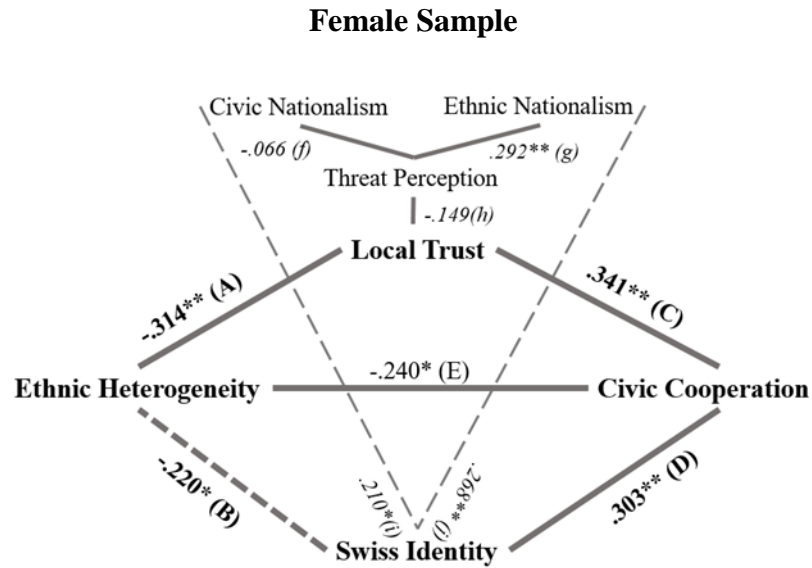


Figure 7 Framework applied to the Female Sample

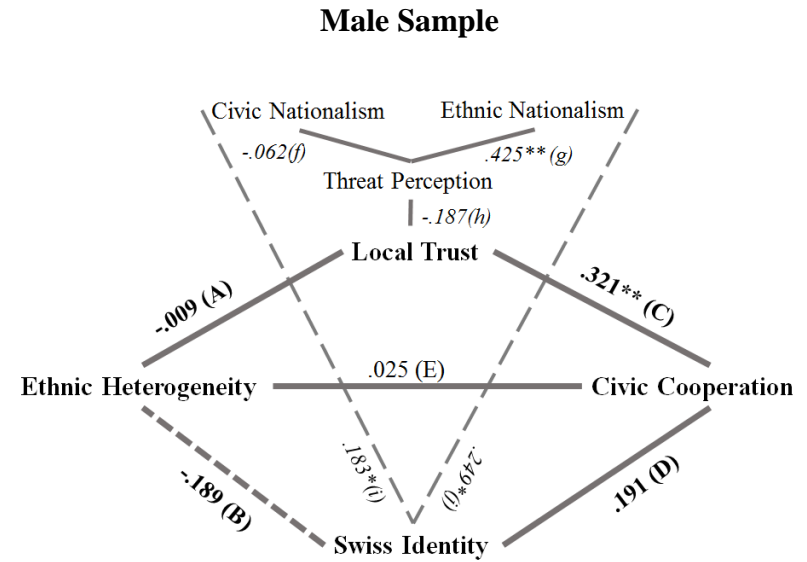


Figure 8 Framework applied to the Male Sample

Notes: *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed) ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). Female Sample (N = 97), Male Sample (N = 106).

The direct comparison on the previous page of Figure 7 and Figure 8 shows the significant differences between the male and female sample in this study.

These results split by gender so far already gave a more detailed picture on the results of this research. Nonetheless, a further breakup, which as well included the migration background of the participant revealed further important and statistically significant demographic differences.

4.3.2 4-way analysis of Gender and Migration Background

Table 9 Correlations between local trust and living in a diverse neighborhood

Demographics	r_s trust, diverse neighborhood	p	N
CH, Non-Secondo Male	.376*	0.010	42
CH, Non-Secondo Female	-.614**	0.001	32
CH, Secondo, Male	-.209	0.138	52
CH, Secondo, Female	-.027	0.853	49

Notes: *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed), **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

The 4-way split demographic breakup analysis⁴ shows a major difference in the reception of local ethnic diversity between CH non-Secondo males and their female counterparts. The CH non-Secondo Males show even higher levels of local trust in a diverse context, whereas the trust level in the otherwise same, but female cohort, deteriorates with high statistical significance, $p < 0.001$ in those living in a diverse neighborhood. The comparison of the mean values clarifies this picture even more, as can be seen in Figure 9. The figure shows that on the one hand the CH non-Secondo Females generally have higher local trust levels than observed in the general sample. However, on the other hand, in context of living in a diverse neighborhood, these high trust levels drop to below average values.

⁴ The analysis only focused on those with Swiss citizenship, since the non-Swiss citizen sample was too small (N=17) to further split in four ways.

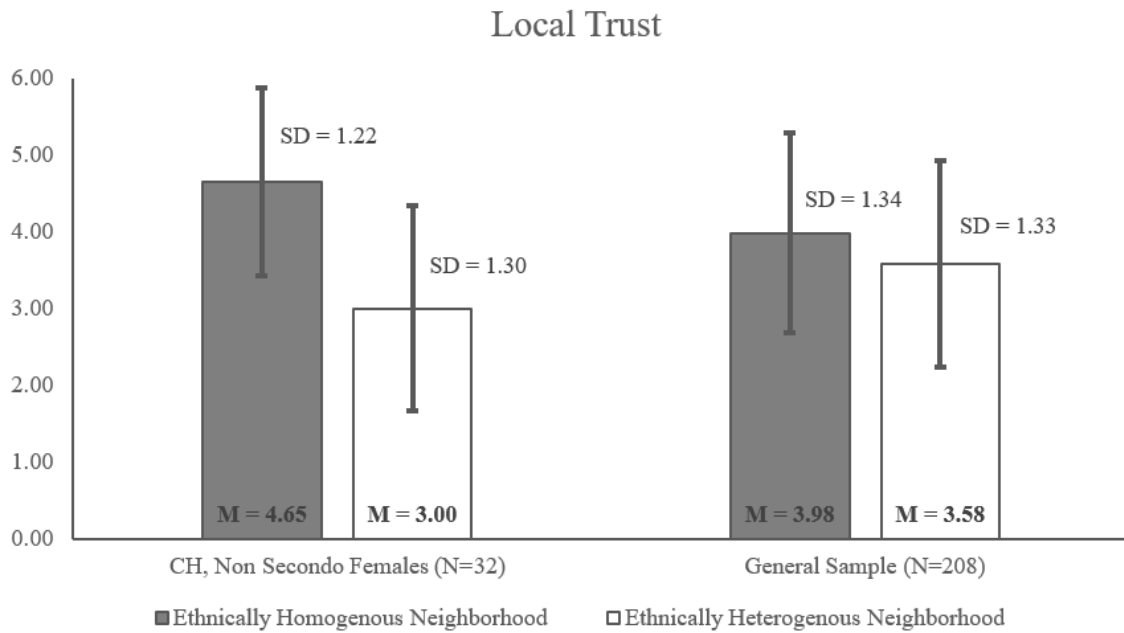


Figure 9 Local Trust and Diversity in CH non-Secondo Females

Note: Figure 9 Compares Local Trust Levels (0-6). On the left-hand side CH, Non-Secondo Females in non-diverse neighborhoods are compared to the ones in a diverse neighborhood. On the right-hand side, this same overview is given for the general sample. The split between those living in a homogeneous vs heterogeneous neighborhood is 53% vs. 47%, respectively in the CH, Non-Secondo Females sample and 49% vs. 51% for the General Sample.

Furthermore, the CH non-secondo Females show the highest average cooperation scores among the four separately analyzed demographic groups, as can be seen in Table 10. The direct correlation between local diversity and cooperation score for this group is $r_s(34) = -.266$, n.s., hence, a decline in civic cooperation in a diverse neighborhood is as well suggested, though statistically non-significant. This non-significance is likely due to the smaller sample size in this 4-way breakup analysis (N=34), since statistical significance was reached in the larger all-female sample (N=88).

Table 10 Mean values of Cooperation Score by Demographics

Demographics	M	SD	N
CH, Non-Secondo Male	2.64	0.70	42
CH, Non-Secondo Female	2.98	0.48	34
CH, Secondo, Male	2.57	0.79	55
CH, Secondo, Female	2.58	0.74	53
General Sample	2.60	0.75	208

The Roots of Civic Cooperative Behavior

Note: Cooperation Score was composed of multiple measures and could range from (0-4), whereas four would be the highest level of cooperation.

The results presented in this section have been the most significant and relevant results in regards to the demographic breakup. The application of these results to the framework gives a comprehensive overview of these differentiated findings. The especially highlighted results in this section, as well as the further indicated correlations in the framework, will be essential for the discussion in the next section. The demographic results can be seen in comparison in Figures 10 to 13 on the next page of this paper.

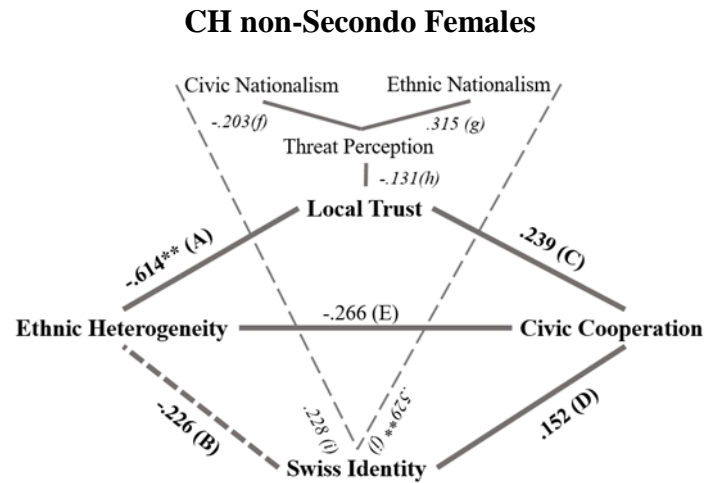


Figure 10 Framework applied to CH non-Secondo Females.

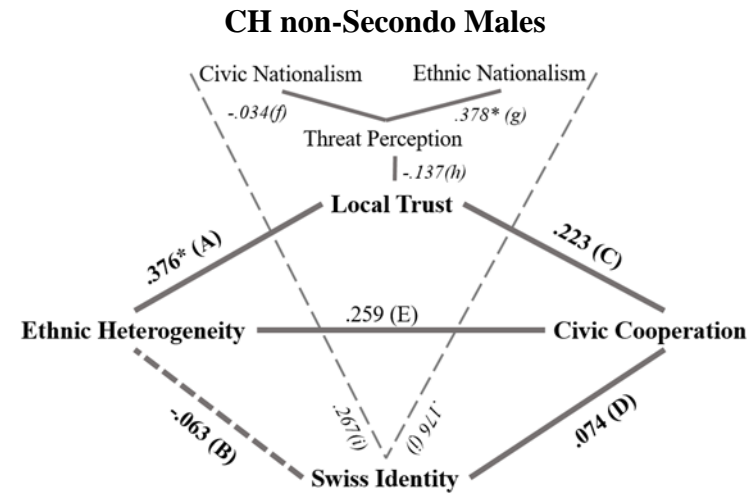


Figure 11 Framework applied to CH non-Secondo Males

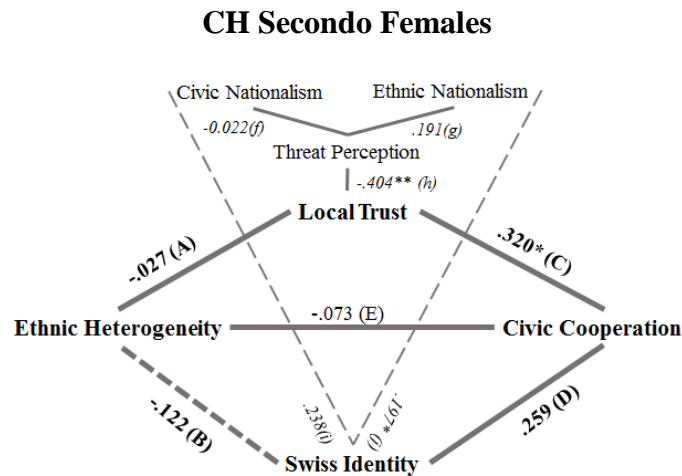


Figure 12 Framework applied to CH Secondo Females.

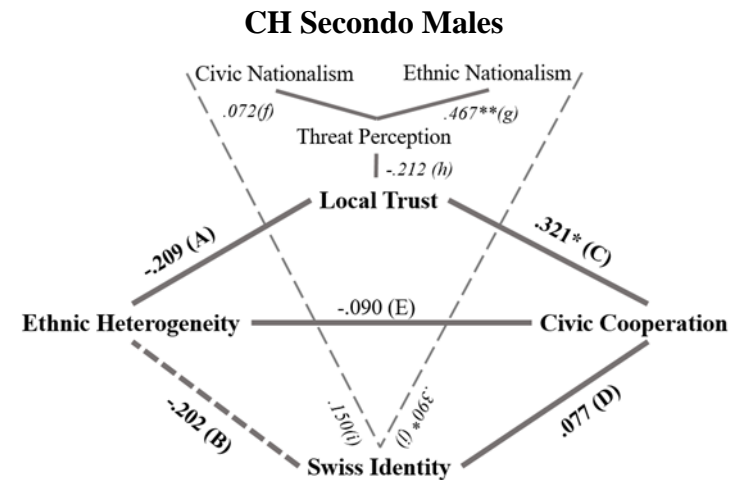


Figure 13 Framework applied to CH Secondo Males

Notes: *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed) ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). Female non-Secondo Sample (N = 34), Male non-Secondo Sample (N = 42), Females Secondo Sample (N=49), Male Secondo Sample (N=55) The large scale versions of these Frameworks can be accessed in Appendix 7.4.

4.4 Discussion of Demographic Results

The demographic results presented highlighted the strong differences, especially in the reception of local trust in the context of ethnic diversity among males and females. Such results were not expected prior to the evaluation of the data. Especially, the substantial deterioration of local trust in the context of living in a diverse neighborhood among Swiss non-Secondo females is concerning and strongly influenced the acceptance of hypothesis three in the general sample, which assumed a negative association of local trust and local diversity.

Though, it ought to be noted that this certainly is not a conscious form of prejudice, since the self-reported threat perception of the Swiss non-Secondo Females was low ($M = 1.09$, $SD = 0.87$, $N = 34$), and even slightly lower than average ($M = 1.29$, $SD = 0.90$, $N = 210$). However, it cannot be ruled out that the answers given to the questions about threat perception might have been biased by giving socially desirable answers. The local trust and local diversity measure could methodologically be less influenced by the participant since the connection was not obvious to the participant and not communicated. The trust questions were asked at the beginning of the survey. The question whether participants lived in a diverse neighborhood was asked at the end of the survey. Therefore, a connection being drawn by the participants can be considered as unlikely. Furthermore, participants could not revise answers given on earlier questions.

This observation suggests that the decline in local trust might more likely be attributed to implicit mechanisms than explicit prejudice towards foreigners. Furthermore, it has to be noted that the answers of females living in non-diverse neighborhoods came from different individuals than those living in diverse neighborhoods. Thus, those who did not move from non-diverse to a diverse neighborhood cannot be aware of those differences themselves and the effects only be recognized on the aggregate level of comparing the average score of both groups in both settings.

Especially the direct difference when comparing CH non-Secondo Males and Females is remarkable. On the one hand this shows that a decline of trust in a diverse neighborhood must not be inherently given and under the right circumstances ethnic diversity can have a statistically significant positive association with local trust as has been shown in the positive correlation for the CH non-Secondo Males $r_s(42) = .376$, $p > .05$. Hence, male and females might, when faced with ethnic diversity, respond differently. It

might be that females put a higher emphasis on knowing people for a longer time to build trust in comparison to males (see also in-class discussion in the further findings). In diverse neighborhoods, however, it might be more difficult to know people for more extended periods of time, due to possibly higher fluctuation rates (i.e., people moving in and out more frequently). In the CH non-Secondo Females, those who indicated to be located in non-diverse neighborhoods might still be living in the small village where they had grown up, knowing the people well, and hence, this might be among the many possible explanations for their over average trust levels in homogenous neighborhoods. Though, this still does not entirely explain the below average local trust levels for this same demographic group in a diverse neighborhood.

The discussed group of CH non-secondo females is as well the most cooperative as the results have shown. Therefore, in regards of civic cooperation, this is the most important group to focus on and essential to find ways to enhance their trust level in a diverse context, and to bring their local trust at least back to the average levels of trust other participants have in diverse neighborhoods. In regards of the more trusting males in diverse neighborhoods either diversity does positively affect their local trust level, or it might as well be the case that more trusting males are more likely to prefer living in a more diverse neighborhood.

The application to the framework revealed some further significant associations. It showed that the CH non-Secondo Female have the strongest association between ethnic nationalism and Swiss identification $r_s(33) = .529, p < 0.01$ among the four separately analyzed demographic groups. This result indicates that for the Swiss non-Secondo Females who identify more strongly as Swiss, ethnic aspects such as cultural norms and traditions are more important to them for someone to be regarded as belonging to the Swiss in-group.

Ethnic nationalism affects threat perception in CH Secondo Males most. A possible explanation might be that those who have taken the effort, and assimilated to Swiss cultural norms, might be more skeptical towards those who do not.

Concluding, this breakup analysis has shown that one specific demographic group predominantly has influenced the result of diversity negatively affecting local trust levels. Though, this is a significant demographic group in Switzerland and, furthermore, this

demographic group shows the highest civic cooperation levels. Therefore, it is especially important to focus on this group to increase trust in the context of diversity.

4.5 General Discussion

The breakup in regards to gender and migration background has revealed further details on the results presented in the general sample. While nothing has changed in the major result that social trust and Swiss identification can be considered among the roots of civic cooperation. The adverse effects of ethnic diversity on trust and Swiss identification seem to be less-universal as was suggested by the general sample.

However, the negative effects of diversity could all be observed with statistical significance in the all-female sample, the adverse effects on local trust were highly significant in the CH non-Secondo Female sample. Therefore, in retro perspective hypotheses three, four and five which assumed that local diversity is negatively associated with mutual trust, common national identity and civic cooperation cannot entirely be rejected. Though, should as well not be accepted without some reservations addressing the demographic differences that have been observed.

As already indicated, it is difficult to interpret these demographic differences and what the underlying reasons might be, especially in regards to gender and migration background. While the findings in the CH Secondo Females would suggest that the decrease of local trust is not due to a different perception of ethnic diversity by females, the CH Secondo females as well never reached the high trust levels prevalent in CH non-Secondo females, living in non-diverse neighborhoods. Hence, there is a smaller margin in which a decline could happen in the other demographic groups. A lower trust level has less potential for erosion. Therefore, the decline in local trust could still have something to do with respect to gender, especially due to the striking difference between CH non-Secondo Males and CH non-Secondo Females, both having the same migration background. As discussed in the previous section, it might be that females put a higher emphasis on knowing people for a longer time to build trust in comparison to males.

Furthermore, the in the general sample indicated benefits of civic nationalism over ethnic nationalism could as well be observed among the different demographic groups. However, in the four-way split breakup analysis, including as well migration background, some of the statistical significances were lost, though, the strength and direction

of correlation matched the general findings. Thus the non-significance probably is due to the smaller sample sizes (see also Lewicki & Hill, p.9). Therefore, it is suggested that civic nationalism should be favored over ethnic nationalism by all demographic groups.

The negative association between threat perception and social trust seems to be universally prevalent in all four demographic groups, though not in all groups reaching the desired statistical significance. Still, this is an important indication since it might be more feasible to challenge, for instance, zero-sum beliefs people have than mediating the direct effects of ethnic diversity on local trust.

Concluding, due to the significant negative results in the all-female sample concerning neighborhood diversity, and the highly significant negative association between local trust and local ethnic diversity in the CH non-Secondo females, the concerns brought forward by scholars such as Robert Putnam (2007) and Paul Collier (2013) cannot entirely be rejected. Therefore, to enhance and maintain civic cooperation in the context of diversity it is recommended to emphasize on an inclusive, civic nationalism that fosters beneficial national identification, without increasing threat perception. Furthermore, the low trust levels in CH non-secondo females in diverse neighborhoods should specifically be addressed, and measures introduced to increase these trust levels to at least the average levels of local trust measured in diverse neighborhoods. Appendix 7.2 shows the framework excluding the CH non-secondo females, there, the significance of the negative association between local trust and local diversity almost disappears.

4.6 Further Findings

4.6.1 International Management and Ethnic Diversity

Since the survey was conducted among General Management (non-IM) and International Management students (IM), an interesting analysis this research intended to conduct was a comparison between those two cohorts. It was intended to compare them in regards to hypothesis three, measuring the association between local trust and local diversity. It was expected to have no or at least a less strong negative correlation in the IM students compared to the non-IM cohort, due to the increased sensibility for cultural and diversity issues covered in the IM curriculum.

However, the opposite was observed. The negative correlation in the IM student sample was stronger $r_s(102) = -.187$, n.s. compared to $r_s(93) = -.107$, n.s. for in non-IM stu-

dents. This observation was puzzling and much unexpected. Furthermore, the statistical non-significance of the correlation coefficients indicated that there were strong differences in the sample. Therefore, the sample had to be further analyzed. Table 11. shows a demographic breakup of the non-IM and IM sample.

Table 11 Correlations between local trust and living in a diverse neighborhood.

Demographics		r_s (trust, diversity)	p	N
Non-IM	CH, Non-Secondo Male	.272	0.233	21
	CH, Non-Secondo Female	-.840*	0.036	6
	CH, Secondo, Male	-.215	0.222	18
	CH, Secondo, Female	0.089	0.680	24
IM-Students	CH, Non-Secondo Male	.472*	0.031	21
	CH, Non-Secondo Female	-.695**	0.001	26
	CH, Secondo, Male	-.221	0.378	18
	CH, Secondo, Female	-.129	0.540	25

Notes: *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed), **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

This breakup analysis brought more clarity into the unexpected result observed between non-IM and IM students. While in the Secondo sample the IM-students in a diverse neighborhood still seem to be marginally less trusting than non-IM students, the statistically significant results among the non-Secondo shows that diversity is generally more positively received among IM-students. The initially more negative IM result was mostly influenced by the overrepresentation of the CH non-Secondo females in the IM cohort (N=26 in IM compared to N=6 in non-IM). While correlation in the IM CH non-Secondo female is slightly less negative than the one observed in their non-IM peers, it is still strongly negative and highly significant, $p < 0.001$.

4.6.2 The Successful Integration of Swiss Secondo

Interestingly, the CH Secondo show a slightly higher ethnic nationalism (assimilation) preference than CH non-Secondo, this means, they indicated a higher agreement to the survey question whether it is important to assimilate to Swiss culture and norms than the Swiss without migration background. Furthermore, CH Secondo have only a slightly lower cooperation score compared to the CH non-Secondo. The Swiss identification

was similarly high in Swiss Secondo compared to their peers without migration background. These observations are comprehensively visualized in Figure 14.

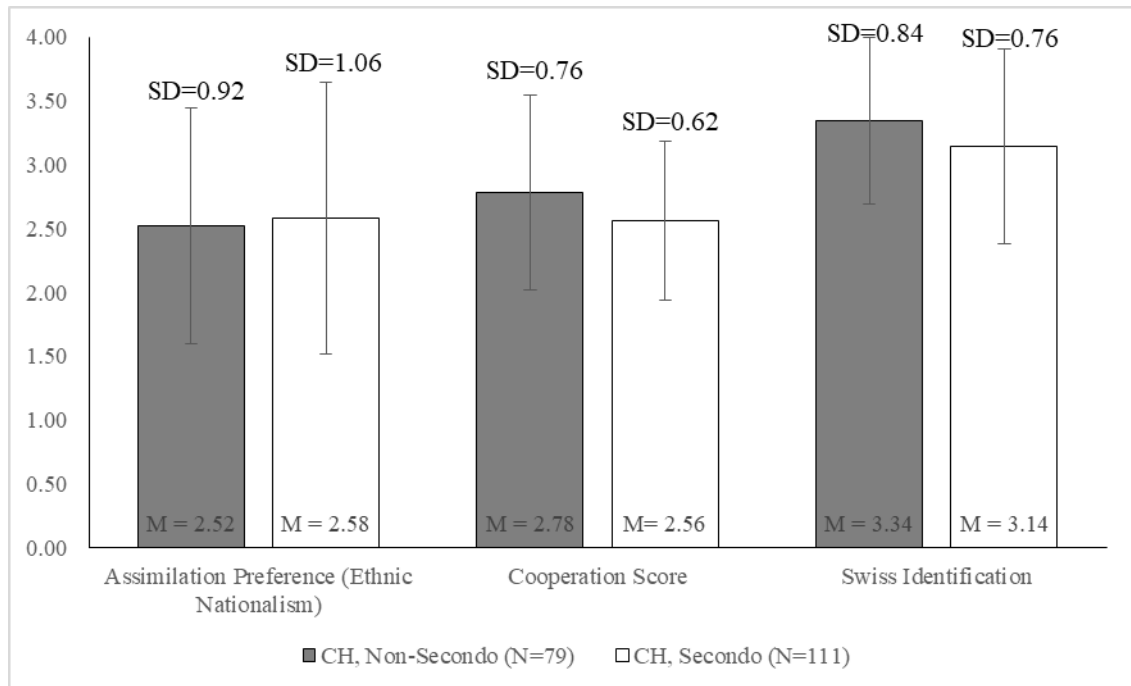


Figure 14 Integration of CH Secondo

This comparison suggests that the integration of second-generation immigrants (Secondo) has been a very successful endeavor in Switzerland and hopefully compensates for some of the negative outcomes indicated in the main findings.

4.6.3 In-class discussion of the results

Since the survey was conducted during lectures, this opportunity was used to ask the participants of the IM classes some follow-up questions. It was of the primary concern how the students evaluated their local trust level as well as how they evaluated whether they lived in a diverse neighborhood. The questions were asked in front of the class and answers were given voluntarily, and are therefore non-representative. Still, they might add some value to the discussion. Some of the responses given to the interpretation of the questions are shown in Table 12 and 13. Great care has been taken to capture the verbally expressed opinion of the students as accurately as possible, though the transcription could not be done word by word.

Table 12 Student answers on the evaluation of the local trust question

Gender	Evaluation of local trust question
Female	Not having to lock the doors, small town (knows the people).
Male	Mentality [of the people].
Male	By previous, negative experience.
Female	Remembers the people.
Female	Grew up with people, so I trust them.

Table 13 Student answers on the evaluation of the diversity question

Gender	Evaluation of local diversity question
Female	How different they [people] ethnically are.
Male	Had people from 27 different countries in school.
Male	The different names on the Bells.
Male	People encountered at the railway station or on the bus.
Female	The people in town and people having foreign names.

The answers given by the female students on how they evaluated their local trust, shows a strong emphasis on knowing the people (e.g., grew up with them). Hence, the previous indications that trust in females might be more sensitive to the dimension of knowing people for a more extended period might not be too far-fetched, and an interesting topic for future research.

4.7 Limitations

The study has been conducted among students. Therefore its predictions on the general population might be limited. Since students generally often can be considered as more liberal in regards to migration, the results might be more negatively pronounced in the general population.

In the 4-way split breakup, only the strong correlations reached statistical significance, though this generally a standard effect, since small correlations only reach significance in larger samples; however, those correlations objectively substantial can still reach high significance in small samples (see Lewicki & Hill, p.9). Hence, the non-significant correlations might still have some relevance in the smaller sample sizes. Nonetheless, the sample size for the 4-way breakup analysis should be increased to validate the indicated, but yet non-significant correlations.

The Secondo results might be more difficult to interpret in regards to the neighborhood diversity measure since it is less clear what living in a diverse neighborhood means for the Secondo. A homogenous neighborhood can either mean one with majorly their ethnicity or one with majorly Swiss. Furthermore, Secondo are only second-generation immigrants with either one or both parents having migrated to Switzerland and might not be representative for first-generation migrations. Furthermore, the survey as well did not take into account the cultural distance. There might be a difference whether the second-grade migration background is from a culturally close neighbor (e.g., European country) or more culturally distant one. Furthermore, the Secondo attending tertiary education had all successfully managed secondary education. Hence, the Secondo sample might be biased towards those most integrated.

Furthermore, implied causalities such as expressed in affect, influences have to be considered with care, since in regards to statistical analysis; the focus was given on bivariate correlations. The directions of causations were derived from the suggestions by the literature (e.g., trust affects cooperation), no direct causal analysis such as through multilevel modeling was conducted in this research. Though, great care was given in the usage of such vocabulary and only done when the association in this research, as well as previous literature, suggested an affective relationship.

4.8 Suggestion for Further Research

The study might be replicated to achieve a larger sample size for the 4-way split breakup analysis to confirm the so-far non-significant correlations. Furthermore, the observed gender differences, especially in the context of local trust and local diversity might be an important topic for further investigation, and how trust can be increased in those demographic groups most affected.

Since a shared national identity was indicated to be beneficial for civic cooperation, it would be useful to investigate further how such an identity can be best be reconciled with a multicultural society and how an inclusive civic nationalism can be promoted.

5 Conclusion

This study gives new insights into the roots of civic cooperation. The results clearly indicated that mutual trust is associated with higher levels of civic cooperation. This result confirms the previous research that trust is positively associated with cooperation and adds to the existing knowledge that this is specifically the case for civic cooperative behavior such as voting, volunteering and the support of public goods. Especially, the ballot participation dimension in this study should be more reliable compared to similar studies due to the high frequency of national ballots conducted in Switzerland. Furthermore, the evidence confirmed that in-group identification is beneficial for cooperation and enhances this knowledge by the clear result that, among the possible levels of identification (Local, Swiss, European, and World Citizen), only the Swiss, national identification was statistically significantly associated with higher levels of civic cooperation.

The hypotheses on ethnic diversity being negatively associated with local trust as well as national identification had to be accepted for the general sample. At least in regards of local trust, the so-called “Putnam Thesis”, has, unfortunately, as well some validity in Switzerland. However, the direct association between ethnic diversity and civic cooperation was only slightly negative, and non-significant in the general sample. Though, it increased in strength and reached statistical significance in the all-female sample. Generally, strong demographic differences in the reception of ethnic diversity were observed, especially in regards to gender and migration background. The negative results were most pronounced in Swiss non-Secondo Females, followed by Swiss Secondo Males, Swiss Secondo Females and least affected were Swiss non-secondo Males. These have been crucial observations and suggest that when investigating the effects of ethnic diversity on dimensions such as civic cooperation, shared identity, and mutual trust, an increased focus should be given on how different demographic groups are affected.

Furthermore, important observations could be made in regards to a participants’ nationalism preference. Ethnic and civic nationalism were both associated with higher national identification, ethnic nationalism generally slightly more so. However, ethnic nationalism as well was generally associated with higher levels of threat perception whereas civic nationalism was not. Hence, this suggests that civic nationalism through the proxy of higher national identification can be beneficial for civic cooperation, whereas in re-

gards to ethnic nationalism this is more questionable. This finding is an essential take-away from this research since it highlights how the benefits of a shared national identity can be harvested through civic nationalism without at the same time increasing threat perception towards foreigners.

The further findings of this analysis suggested that second-generation immigrants are highly integrated in Switzerland, with high levels of Swiss identification and comparable levels of civic cooperation. Interestingly, they even indicated a slightly higher score in assimilation preference than the Swiss without immigration background did. Hence, they see assimilation to Swiss cultures and norms as even slightly more important as the Swiss without migration background do. These further findings are as well important because they indicate that immigration if it is well-managed, can lead to highly integrated, and cooperative citizens.

Further research should focus on some of the demographic differences observed by this research; it might be interesting whether trust development might work differently in males and females. For instance, females might be more sensitive to the amount of time they have known someone to develop trust, which probably is more difficult to achieve in ethnically more diverse neighborhoods since the fluctuation rates (i.e., people moving in and out) in such neighborhoods might generally be higher. Furthermore, future research should as well investigate how increasing ethnic diversity and shared national identities can best be integrated, and inclusive common identities be formed.

Concluding, mutual trust and a shared identity definitely matter in the endeavor to build a society with high levels of civic cooperation. In regards to shared identity, so-far, national identification seems to matter most for cooperation on a civic level. While the concerns about possible adverse effects of ethnic diversity on mutual trust, national identity, and civic cooperation could not entirely be dismissed, it is important to note that this is not an inherent fact. The reception of ethnic diversity varied significantly among demographic groups. Hence, while some prudence in regards of contemporary migration might be warranted, this research suggests that through well-managed integration, the development of trust in the most affected demographic groups, as well as an inclusive civic nationalism, high levels of civic cooperation can be achieved.

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7 Appendix

7.1 Original Questionnaire

7.1.1 Survey English Version

	not at all	not that much	somewhat	much	very much
I identify myself with my home city.					
I identify myself as Swiss.					
I identify myself as a European.					
I identify myself a citizen of the World.					

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
I think the Swiss educational system is fair and provides equal opportunities to everyone.					
I think that the Swiss educational system helps individuals to improve their socio-economic situation on the basis of merit and educational achievements.					
I think my academic studies will help me to start a good professional career and will allow me to improve my socio-economic situation.					

	I was not interested	No	Rather no	Rather yes	Yes
Recent political discussions have been about abolishing the mandatory fees that supported public broadcasting (No-Billag). Did you support this initiative?					

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	No, I would not declare it.	Not Likely	Undecided	Likely	Yes, I would declare it.
Assume that you have been working a student job the tax authority does not know about and will not find out about it. How likely are you to declare this additional income to the tax authority?					

	strongly disagree	disagree	somewhat disagree	undecided	somewhat agree	agree	strongly agree
In general, most people can be trusted.							
In general, most people in my home city can be trusted.							
In general, most people in Switzerland can be trusted.							
The more culturally similar people are, the more I trust them.							

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
I think income and wealth is distributed fairly among the Swiss population.					
I think the current public policies (e.g. progressive income taxes at federal and canton level) in Switzerland is conducive to economic growth and at the same time good in reducing extreme income inequality thus fostering a more stable society.					
I think I personally am and will					

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be fairly monetarily compensated in correspondence to my contribution.					
I think the total remuneration (salary and bonuses) of Swiss CEOs is justified.					

	No	Rather no	Rather yes	Yes
I think I personally profit from direct democracy. So, I can take an active part in shaping my future.				
I am convinced that my participation in voluntary service (civic and/or leisure time association) is beneficial for society (e.g. politics, sports, education etc.).				

	Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Regularly	Very often
With the exception of religious organizations, in the past year have you volunteered your time or donated money? This could include volunteering for a health cause to fight a disease, a school program, or to help the elderly or poor?					

	not at all	not that much	somewhat	much	very much
Does the number of foreigners living in your home city make you feel estranged (not feel at home anymore)?					
Are you of the opinion that future migration from non-Western cultures might jeopardize your way of life?					

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	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
Do you think a nation can host people from different cultural backgrounds and still be a unified entity with a shared common identity?					

	Very Poor	Poor	Acceptable	Good	Very Good
I think the current economic situation in Switzerland is _____.					

	Worse off	More or less on the same level	Better off
I think I will be _____ financially than my parents?			
Future generations in Switzerland will be _____ financially than me?			

□

	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Agree
I think my generation will create a more economically and ecologically sustainable world for the future generation than our parent's generation did.					

	not at all	not that much	somewhat	much	very much
For being Swiss, it is important to assimilate to Swiss culture.					
For being Swiss, it is important to know about and respect Switzerland's political institutions and laws.					

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	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Almost always	Not eligible, and don't like to.	Not eligible, but would like to.
How often do you generally vote in Swiss ballots/referendums?						

	Not Likely	Not that likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely
Assume you lost your wallet (with ID). How likely do you think it will be returned to you?					
Suppose there is a problem of general interest in your neighborhood (such as a cut in the provision of water, electricity or gas); which is the likelihood that neighbors will mobilize together in order to solve the problem?					

Please indicate your gender:

- Female
 Male

Please indicate your age:

- 18-20
 21-25
 26-30
 Over 30

Please indicate in what department/degree course you are studying:

- Business Administration: General Management
 Business Administration: Banking and Finance
 Business Administration: Accounting, Controlling, Auditing

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<input type="checkbox"/> Business Administration: Economics and Politics <input type="checkbox"/> Business Administration: Risk and Insurance <input type="checkbox"/> International Management <input type="checkbox"/> Business Information Technology

Please indicate your household income level (both parents):
<input type="checkbox"/> Under CHF 4'000 <input type="checkbox"/> Between CHF 4'000 - 6'000 <input type="checkbox"/> Between CHF 6'000 - 10'000 <input type="checkbox"/> Above CHF 10'000

	No	Yes
Are you a citizen of Switzerland?		
Do you have other citizenships apart from the Swiss one?		
Have you been raised in Switzerland but one or both of your parents have migrated to Switzerland?		
Have you migrated to Switzerland (moved to Switzerland after the age of 10)?		
Would you describe your neighborhood as ethnically diverse?		

<p>Thank you for your Cooperation!</p> <p>However, there is one final question, please indicate with what identity <u>RIGHT NOW</u> you identify most (after having completed this survey).</p>
<input type="checkbox"/> I identify myself most with my home city. <input type="checkbox"/> I identify myself most as Swiss. <input type="checkbox"/> I identify myself most as a European. <input type="checkbox"/> I identify myself most as a citizen of the World.

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7.1.2 Survey German Version

	Überhaupt nicht	Nicht sonderlich	Etwas	Vermeehrt	Sehr
Ich identifiziere mich mit meinem Wohnort.					
Ich identifiziere mich als Schweizer.					
Ich identifiziere mich als Europäer.					
Ich identifiziere mich als Weltbürger.					

	Stimme nicht zu	Stimme eher nicht zu	Unentschlossen	Stimme eher zu	Stimme zu
Meiner Meinung nach ist das schweizerische Bildungssystem gerecht und bietet gleiche Bildungschancen für alle.					
Meiner Meinung nach ermöglicht das schweizerische Bildungssystem Einzelpersonen ihre sozioökonomische Situation anhand von Verdienst und Leistung zu verbessern.					
Meiner Meinung nach ermöglicht mir mein Studium eine gute berufliche Karriere.					

	Ich war nicht inter- essiert	Nein	Eher Nein	Eher Ja	Ja
Letztens wurde die Abschaffung der Gebühren zur					

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Unterstützung des öffentlichen Rundfunks in Betracht gezogen (No-Billag). Hast du diese Initiative unterstützt?					
---	--	--	--	--	--

	Nein, ich würde es nicht angeben.	Unwahrscheinlich	Unentschieden	Wahrscheinlich	Ja, ich würde es angeben.
Angenommen, du hast einen Studentenjob, von dem das Steueramt nichts weiss. Wie wahrscheinlich ist es, dass du dieses zusätzliche Einkommen deklariert?					

	Stimme überhaupt nicht zu	Stimme nicht zu	Stimme eher nicht zu	Unentschieden	Stimme eher zu	Stimme zu	Stimme sehr zu
Den meisten Leuten kann man im grossen und ganzen vertrauen.							
Den meisten Leuten in meinem Wohnort kann man im grossen und ganzen vertrauen.							
Den meisten Leuten in der Schweiz kann man im grossen und ganzen vertrauen.							

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Ich vertraue kulturell näher stehenden Menschen mehr.							
---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

	Stimme nicht zu	Stimme eher nicht zu	Unentschlossen	Stimme eher zu	Stimme zu
Meiner Meinung nach sind Einkommen und Vermögen in der Schweiz gerecht verteilt.					
Meiner Meinung nach fördert das gegenwärtige Schweizer Steuersystem (z.B. progressive Einkommenssteuern, Steuerwettbewerb, etc.) eine gesunde wirtschaftliche Entwicklung einerseits, wie auch die Aufrechterhaltung einer stabilen Gesellschaft, indem es extreme Einkommensungleichheiten verringert.					
Meiner Meinung nach bin und werde ich in der Schweiz meinem Beitrag entsprechend lohnmässig fair entschädigt.					
Meiner Meinung nach ist die Gesamtvergütung (Gehalt und Boni) der Schweizer CEOs gerechtfertigt.					

	Nein	Eher Nein	Eher Ja	Ja
Ich denke, dass ich persönlich vom demokratischen System in der Schweiz profitiere, da ich hiermit aktiv auch meine Zukunft mitgestalte.				
Ich bin überzeugt, dass das				

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Leisten von Freiwilligenarbeit und ein intaktes Vereinswesen (z.B. Politik, Sport, Bildung) eine positive Auswirkung auf die gesamte Gesellschaft hat.				
--	--	--	--	--

	Nie	Selten	Manchmal	Regelmässig	Sehr oft
Ausgenommen von religiösen Organisationen, hast du im letzten Jahr Freiwilligenarbeit geleistet oder Geld gespendet? Dies schliesst Freiwilligenarbeit und Spenden für das Gesundheitswesen, Schulprogramme, Hilfeleistungen für alte Menschen und Arme, wie auch die Teilnahme an Kulturveranstaltungen mit ein.					

	Überhaupt nicht	Nicht sonderlich	Etwas	Vermehrt	Sehr
Hat die Anzahl der in deinem Wohnort wohnhaften Ausländer einen Einfluss auf dein Heimatgefühl?					
Bist du der Meinung, dass eine zukünftige Zunahme an Einwanderung aus nicht westlichen Kulturen deinen Lebensstil und deine Werte gefährden kann?					

	Stimme überhaupt nicht zu	Stimme nicht zu	Unentschieden	Stimme zu	Stimme sehr zu
Denkst du eine Nation kann Menschen verschiedener Kulturen unter einem Dach					

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vereinen und trotzdem noch eine gemeinsame, geteilte nationale Identität haben?					
---	--	--	--	--	--

	Sehr Schlecht	Schlecht	Akzeptabel	Gut	Sehr Gut
Die aktuelle wirtschaftliche Lage in der Schweiz ist _____.					
	Schlechter		Etwa Gleich		Besser
Ich denke, ich werde finanziell _____ dastehen als meine Eltern.					
Künftige Generationen in der Schweiz werden finanziell _____ dastehen als ich.					

	Stimme nicht zu	Stimme eher nicht zu	Unentschlossen	Stimme eher zu	Stimme zu
Meiner Meinung nach wird meine Generation für die zukünftigen Generationen eine ökonomisch und ökologisch nachhaltigere Welt schaffen als die Generation meiner Eltern.					

	Überhaupt nicht	Nicht sonderlich	Etwas	Vermehrt	Sehr
Um Schweizer zu sein ist es wichtig, Schweizer Kultur und Normen zu pflegen.					
Um Schweizer zu sein ist es wichtig, die politischen Institutionen sowie Gesetze der Schweiz zu kennen und diese zu respektieren.					

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	Nie	Selten	Gelegentlich	Fast immer	Kann nicht, will auch nicht.	Kann nicht, möchte aber gerne.
Wie oft nimmst du an Volksabstimmungen teil?						

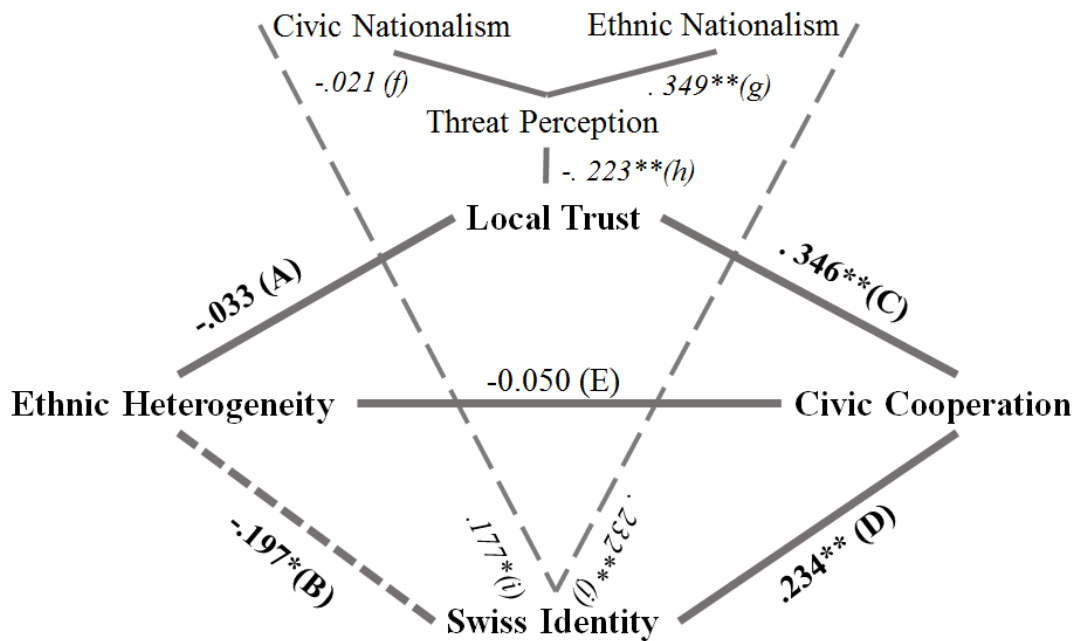
	Nicht wahrscheinlich	Nicht so wahrscheinlich	Etwas wahrscheinlich	Wahrscheinlich	Sehr wahrscheinlich
Angenommen, du hast dein Portemonnaie verloren (mit ID). Wie wahrscheinlich ist es, deiner Meinung nach, dass du es wieder erhältst?					
Angenommen, es gibt ein Problem von allgemeinem Interesse in deiner Nachbarschaft (z. B. eine Kürzung der Bereitstellung von Wasser, Strom oder Gas); Wie hoch ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass die Nachbarschaft sich mobilisiert, um das Problem zu lösen?					
Bitte gebe dein Geschlecht an:					
<input type="checkbox"/> Frau <input type="checkbox"/> Mann					
Bitte gebe dein Alter an:					
<input type="checkbox"/> 18-20 <input type="checkbox"/> 21-25 <input type="checkbox"/> 26-30					

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<input type="checkbox"/> Über 30
Bitte gebe an in welchem Departement/welchen Studiengang du studierst:
<input type="checkbox"/> Betriebsökonomie: General Management <input type="checkbox"/> Betriebsökonomie: Banking and Finance <input type="checkbox"/> Betriebsökonomie: Accounting, Controlling, Auditing <input type="checkbox"/> Betriebsökonomie: Economics and Politics <input type="checkbox"/> Betriebsökonomie: Risk and Insurance <input type="checkbox"/> International Management <input type="checkbox"/> Wirtschaftsinformatik
Bitte gebe dein monatliches Haushaltseinkommen an (beide Elternteile):
<input type="checkbox"/> Unter CHF 4'000 <input type="checkbox"/> Zwischen CHF 4'000 - 6'000 <input type="checkbox"/> Zwischen CHF 6'000 - 10'000 <input type="checkbox"/> Über CHF 10'000

	Nein	Ja
Bist du Schweizer Bürger?		
Hast du mehrere Staatsbürgerschaften?		
Bist du in der Schweiz aufgewachsen und hast mindestens einen Elternteil, welcher in die Schweiz gezogen ist?		
Bist du in die Schweiz eingewandert (zugezogen nach dem 10. Altersjahr)?		
Würdest du deine Nachbarschaft als ethnisch divers bezeichnen?		
<p>Vielen Dank für deine Kooperation!</p> <p>Wir haben noch eine letzte Frage an dich, bitte gebe an, mit welcher Identität du dich <u>JETZT GERADE</u> am meisten identifizierst (nachdem Ausfüllen der Umfrage).</p> <input type="checkbox"/> Ich identifiziere mich am meisten mit meinem Wohnort. <input type="checkbox"/> Ich identifiziere mich am meisten als Schweizer. <input type="checkbox"/> Ich identifiziere mich am meisten als Europäer. <input type="checkbox"/> Ich identifiziere mich am meisten als Weltbürger.		

7.2 Framework excluding CH non-Secondo Females



7.3 Computations & Adjustments to Dataset

Exchange Year Filter

nationality_SQ001= [Are you a citizen of Switzerland?]

nationality_SQ002= [Have you been raised in Switzerland but one or both of your parents have migrated to Switzerland?]

nationality_SQ003= [Have you migrated to Switzerland (moved to Switzerland after the age of 10)?]

If the students were neither Swiss, nor Secondo nor had migrated to Switzerland they were likely Exchange Students and had been excluded from the main analysis since the questions were very Swiss specific.

SPSS-Filter: NOT(nationality_SQ001=0 AND nationality_SQ003 = 0 AND nationality_SQ004=0)

Adjustment to Ballot

Initial Data:

5=Not eligible, but like to

4=Almost Always

3=Sometimes

2=Rarely

Adjusted Scale:

4=Almost Always

3=Sometimes

1=Rarely

0=Never

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1=Not eligible, and also don't like

0=Never

Adjustment to 0-4 Scale

-Change 5 to 3 (With the assumption that people who like to vote but cannot, will likely have an average score, vote sometimes. Affected only minority of datasets N=10)

-Change 1 to 0 (Since "Not eligible and not wanting to vote" is equal to cooperation of 0)

-Change 2 to 1 (To avoid skewedness, distortion of the Scale, since a rarely should not get a 2 (half of the possible score))

Cooperation Score

All Questions were designed to be answered on a Scale from 0-4; with 4 always indicating highest cooperation and 0 no cooperation.

MEAN.3(Billag_SQ001,tax_SQ001,yesnodonate_SQ001,ballot_SQ001)

[Recent political discussions have been about abolishing the mandatory fees that supported public broadcasting (No-Billag). Did you support this initiative?]:

[Assume that you have been working a student job the tax authority does not know about and will not find out about it. How likely are you to declare this additional income to the tax authority?]

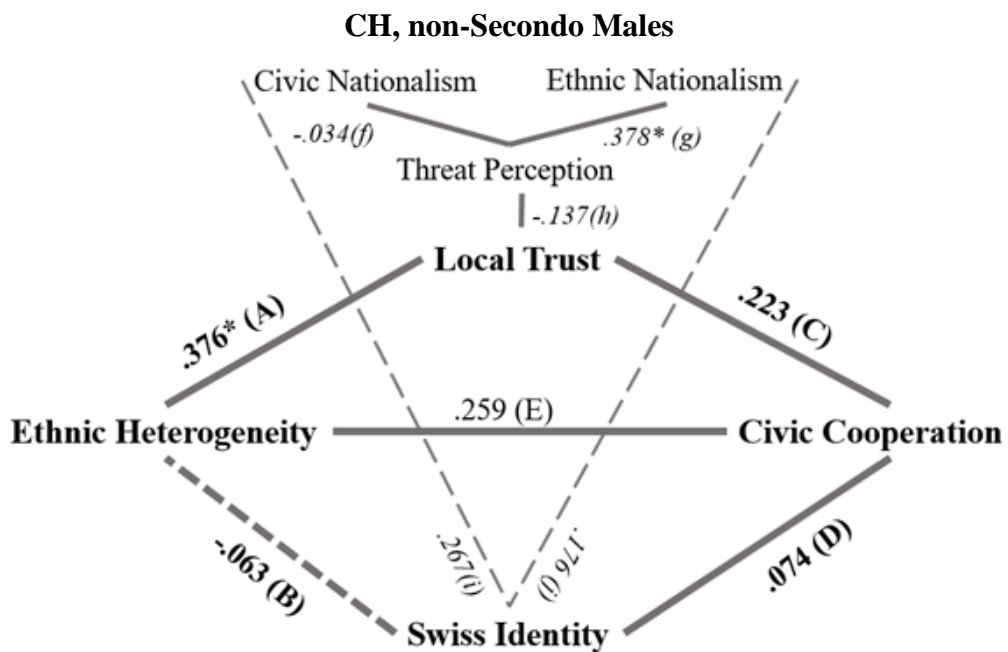
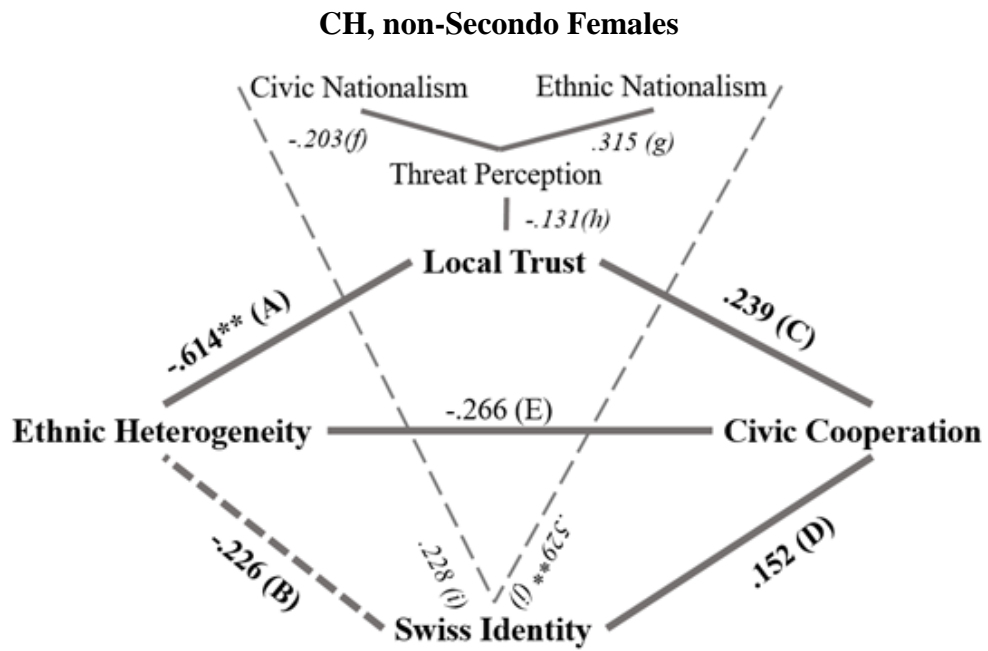
[With the exception of religious organisations, in the past year have you volunteered your time or donated money? This could include volunteering for a health cause to fight a disease, a school program, or to help the elderly or poor?]

[How often do you generally vote in Swiss ballots/referendums?] Please answer the following questions.

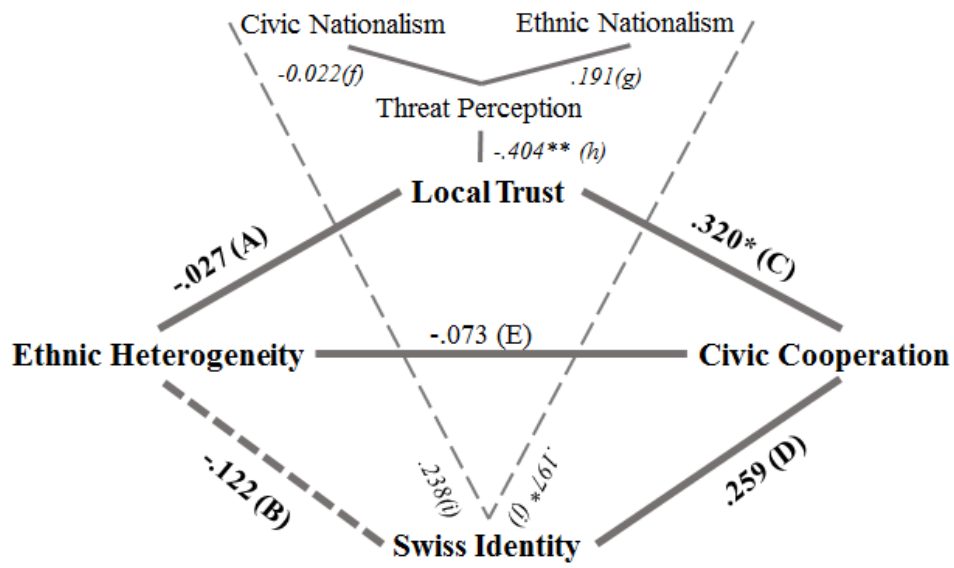
Threat Perception

MEAN(threat_SQ001,threat_SQ002)

7.4 Frameworks (Large Scale)



CH, Secondo Females



CH, Secondo Males



