THE MANY FACES OF INTOLERANCE

– A STUDY OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS' ATTITUDES IN SWEDEN IN THE 2009/2010 SCHOOL YEAR

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Taking history as our starting point, we study contemporary processes that can lead to intolerance and injustice. We start out from the fact of the the Holocaust and other cases of genocide but also from events in Sweden. Through education, culture and discussion, the Living History Forum works to strengthen democracy and increase awareness of the equal value of all people.

This study has been carried out by the Living History Forum.
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Foreword

The Living History Forum bases its work on the principle of the equal value of all people to strengthen democracy, tolerance and human rights. The authority's vision and strategy for 2007–2013 focuses its work around combating and reducing intolerance in society in the long term. This survey is part of that vision.

In 2003 the Living History Forum and the National Council for Crime Prevention carried out a nationwide survey of school pupils in Sweden to map and describe the extent of intolerance. Six years later the Living History Forum is once more launching a survey of young people to map intolerant attitudes and approaches.

The survey presented here has a different focus from the 2003 survey although intolerance here, as previously, measures attitudes to vulnerable groups. Questions about criminal behaviour, individual vulnerability and contact with extreme right movements have been replaced by questions on social activities and interests. The focus has shifted from attention on the basis of extreme opinions to multiple, uncertain and unclear opinions. The survey seeks to find links be-tween the students' attitude to vulnerable groups and their home environments and the conditions offered by schools and residential areas across Sweden.

We would like to thank the upper secondary school students who took part in this survey, as well as the head teachers and teachers who helped to carry it out. I hope that the report not only provides information but also inspires action.

The report was written by Dr Birgitta Löwander, at the Living History Forum. Professor emeritus Anders Lange, senior advisor at the Living-History Forum analysed the data and wrote the section on methodology. Mikael Hjerm, research assistant at Umeå University helped to process the statistics. Another four experts formed a reference group and were involved in the preparatory work with the measurement instrument: Dr Henrik Bachner, Dr Gunilla Danielsson, Dr Christina Rodell Olgac and research fellow Jonas Otterbeck.

Stockholm, October 2010

Eskil Franck
Director, Living History Forum

Summary

THE MANY FACES OF INTOLERANCE

The Living History Forum is working to monitor intolerance in society that spans the past to the present day. Part of this work is to survey, on a recurring basis, how well democratic values are rooted in society and to keep a watchful eye on intolerant tendencies. This was first surveyed in 2003 and repeated in 2009. The current study comprises the first stage of a long-term plan.

The purpose of this survey is to describe and assess the prevalence of tolerant and intolerant attitudes of upper secondary school students to different groups in society who encounter prejudice, discrimination or other forms of victimisation. In this survey we chose to study the attitudes of the students to Roma, Muslims, Jews, non-European refugees and people with homosexual preferences.[1]

The report has been given the title *The many faces of intolerance* to emphasise the fact that intolerance is a complex, changing and hard to encapsulate phenomenon which is directed at different groups in society with varying intensity, takes different forms and is expressed in different ways on different occasions. It includes structural patterns and temporary opinion trends.

Where the line between tolerance and intolerance should be drawn is open to debate. In this survey we chose to present the results divided into three categories: positive, ambivalent and negative attitudes. Tolerant and intolerant atti-tudes constitute the extremes of positive and negative approaches, respectively.

We consciously refrained from creating measurements of general intolerance and have reported the different measurements of attitudes to immigrants, Muslims, Roma, Jews and homosexuals separately because we consider these to be distinct dimensions of opinion.

ORGANISATION OF THE SURVEY

Statistics Sweden was responsible for selecting the sample and collecting the data in schools. Head teachers and class teachers were contacted by Statistics Sweden, whose field staff then visited classes and handed out and collected questionnaires. Statistics Sweden compiled data files and removed identity data. A reference group of researchers worked with the Living History Forum to assist in designing the questionnaire. The results were analysed and the report was written by sociologists linked to the Living History Forum.

The survey covered a total of 4,674 upper secondary school students in years 1 and 3 at a total of 154 upper secondary schools in Sweden, i.e. 16 and 18 year-olds. Widespread questionnaire

[1] The Living History Forum intends to initiate a separate study on the attitudes of young people to people with disabilities.

fatigue among head teachers particularly in the cities combined with extended work experience periods for students on vocational programmes contributed to quite a high non-response rate on the part of schools and classes alike. The data was calibrated to ensure the generalisability of the results.

Students' attitudes to vulnerable groups were measured using a large number of questions and attitude-related statements and were analysed using statistical methods. The survey was designed in order for particular comparisons to be be drawn with the student survey carried out in 2003 by the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) on behalf of the Living History Forum (Ring and Morgentau 2004).

POSITIVE, NEGATIVE AND AMBIVALENT ATTITUDE PATTERNS

The quantitative measurements of the attitudes of the students differed for the five groups the students were asked about. Variations were large between students with positive and ambivalent attitudes. More than half of all students had a positive attitude to homosexuals whilst only a quarter of all students had a positive attitude to Roma. The proportions with positive attitudes to immigrants, Muslims and Jews, respectively, fell somewhere in between. Around half of the students surveyed expressed an ambivalent attitude to Muslims, Jews and Roma, respectively. A significantly smaller proportion of students were ambivalent in their attitude to homosexuals.

There were consistencies in the negative attitudes of students to vulnerable groups. Just under a fifth of all students expressed negative attitudes to immigrants, Muslims, Jews and to homosexuals. A larger proportion had a negative attitude to Roma. These comprised a quarter of all students.

GENDER AND AGE

Distinct patterns emerged when student attitudes were compared with regard to gender and age. The results showed unambiguous and large differences between the attitudes of girls compared to boys. The girls had significantly more positive attitudes to each and every vulnerable group than the boys did.

There were also differences in the attitudes of the students in the different years. Students who were 18 years old and in year 3 at upper secondary school had predominantly more positive attitudes to each and every vulnerable group than the 16 year-old students in year 1.

NATIONAL BACKGROUND AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

A more complex pattern emerged when student attitudes were compared with regard to religious affiliation and national background. Students with a foreign background were, not unexpectedly, in the majority among those with a positive attitude to both immigrants and Muslims. The proportion with a positive attitude to Muslims was substantially less than the proportion positive to immigrants. This correlates with the fact that the students with foreign backgrounds include Christians, among whom a large proportion had negative and ambivalent attitudes to Muslims. A larger proportion of these students also had a negative attitude to Roma compared to the other students.

Students with a Swedish background were in the majority among those with a positive attitude towards homosexuals, whilst the attitude to homosexuals among students with a foreign background demonstrated an equal distribution between positive, negative and ambivalent.

Students with a Swedish background demonstrated a higher proportion of similarly ambiva-

lent attitudes to immigrants, Roma and to Muslims. An ambivalent attitude to Muslims was also clearly discernable for students who were members of different Christian faith communities and those who had no religious affiliation.

Just over half of the students with a Swedish background, members of the Church of Sweden, or those who had no religious affiliation expressed an ambivalent attitude to Jews. Just over half of the students with Islamic beliefs expressed a negative attitude to Jews.

PARENTAL AND STUDENT EDUCATION

In comparison to students on vocational programmes, a higher proportion of the students on academic upper secondary school programmes had highly educated parents. The survey demonstrated a distinct correlation between attitudes to vulnerable groups, the educational level of the parents and the educational programme of the student at upper secondary school. Students with highly educated parents and those in academic educational programmes had a more positive attitude to each and every one of the five vulnerable groups in comparison to students with parents who were not so highly educated and those on vocational study programmes.

CHARACTER OF THE SCHOOL

The schools' social, economic and cultural character and the conditions governing ability to provide a good education vary. With the help of record data and questionnaire data, indices were designed describing the socio-economic characteristics of the schools and their pedagogic environments.

Correlations between the character of the school and the attitude to vulnerable groups were relatively weak. The results did however reveal that students attending schools with students from areas with a high level of well-educated and well-off people, as well as schools with high average grades and a high proportion of qualified teachers, did show more positive attitudes than students attending other schools.

The average grade in the upper secondary schools for the year leaving school in spring 2009 was the school measurement that had the greatest significance for attitude to each of the vulnerable groups studied. The lower the average grade in the school, the more negative the attitudes were among the students. The higher the average grade in the school, the more positive the attitudes were among the students.

SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

The internal environment within schools varied considerably. From the young people's answers it was clear that verbal abuse was part of everyday life in many upper secondary schools. Bullying appeared and one in ten upper secondary school students had themselves been the victim of bullying on more than one occasion. Order in the classroom during lessons was far from taken for granted. At the same time the majority of students said that they are content at school and three in four students had confidence in their teachers.

The school environment measurement that had the greatest significance for attitude to vulnerable groups was an index which combined students' assessment of calmness in class and the number of teachers who encouraged critical thinking in their students. The correlation between this index and measurements of attitudes to vulnerable groups was clear.

In schools where there was order in class during lessons and where teachers encouraged critical thinking in their students, the proportion with tolerant attitudes was larger than in schools

where the environment was characterised by serious verbal abuse and bullying. The correlations between attitudes and school environments were most distinct for the three indices that expressed attitude to immigrants, attitude to Muslims and attitudes to Roma.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TEACHING

In terms of school teaching relevant to this study the majority of upper secondary school students said they had been taught about world religions, about the Jewish genocide carried out by the Nazis in the second World War and about racism and colonialism. A third of upper secondary school students had been taught about the UN Declaration of Human Rights but only a few had been taught about Sweden's national minorities.

Students who had not received any teaching on these subjects had either a more ambivalent or a more negative attitude to all the vulnerable groups. Upper secondary school students who had received teaching on these subjects showed more positive attitudes. The more teaching on racism and the Holocaust students had received, the more positive student attitudes were to immigrants, Muslims, Jews and homosexuals. The more teaching on human rights the students had received, the more positive the attitudes were to homosexuals. There was no distinct correlation with teaching on any of these themes and attitudes towards Roma.

INTEREST IN SOCIAL ISSUES

A number of questions were used as indicators of interest in social issues. The points of view demonstrated to have the most distinct correlation with attitudes to vulnerable groups were attitudes to human rights and the perception that racism is a problem in Sweden.

The majority of students expressed unequivocal support for the human rights asked about and the principle of all people being equal. The majority of the students who valued human rights highly had a positive attitude to homosexuals and to immigrants. The majority of students who did not value human rights so highly had negative attitudes towards immigrants, Muslims, Roma and homosexuals.

A quarter of all students regarded racism to be a problem in Sweden. The majority of those who considered racism to be a problem had a positive attitude to homosexuals. The majority of those who did not consider racism to be a problem in Sweden had a negative attitude to immigrants and Muslims. The correlations were weaker for attitudes to other groups.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FRIENDSHIPS

The results showed a clear link between having a friend who belonged to one of the vulnerable groups and the general attitude to how people with the same background were valued. Those who had a friend who was homosexual were markedly more positive to homosexuals. It was more common for girls to have a homosexual friend than it was for boys. It was among girls that tolerant attitudes to homosexuality were in the majority.

Young people who had one or more friends who were African, Jewish, Muslim or Roma tended to have a more positive attitude to people with these backgrounds compared with those who did not have friends with these backgrounds. The link was strongest for friends with a Muslim background and the assessment of Muslims in general. The link was weakest for Roma.

The results also showed that students with a Swedish background who had friends with an immigrant or Muslim background often had more tolerant attitudes to immigrants and to Muslims than those without friends with an immigrant background.

DEGREES OF INTOLERANCE

One route to learning more about students with negative and intolerant attitudes is to examine other related values. Two measurements of different kinds could be seen to have a strong correlation with primarily the attitudes of boys to vulnerable groups. The first concerned students' view of which characteristics they respect and admire in others. The second measurement concerned the requirements the students think a person must meet to be able to call themselves Swedish. The answers to the two batches of questions were subjected to factor analysis, which resulted in four indices concerning the respected characteristics and two concerning "Swedishness".

Of the four indices, the one on respected characteristics was found to most clearly correlate with attitude to vulnerable groups, expressed primarily in qualities that have to do with physical strength, appearance and celebrity, but also in characteristics such as patriotism, religious belief and strong leadership. The students with a Swedish background who had high values for this index also had a higher degree of negative attitudes to all the vulnerable groups.

Of the two indices concerning criteria for being able to claim to be Swedish, the strongest correlation with attitudes to vulnerable groups were for those students who expressed nationalistic requirements. It was students with a Swedish background who had high values for this index that had concomitant negative attitudes to every one of the vulnerable groups.

There are grounds for returning to carry out continued analyses of these values and the people who hold them.

CHANGES IN PATTERNS OF ATTITUDES OVER SIX YEARS

A number of the same attitude-related statements were repeated from the survey in 2003. This enabled a comparison of how boys and girls at the same ages and in the same years at school responded on the two measurement occasions within a six-year period. The comparison of the two surveys showed that the proportion of people who expressed tolerant attitudes to homosexuals had increased significantly during the period. For attitudes to Jews and Muslims small changes in a negative direction could be observed between the students' responses in 2003 and 2009.

1. Introduction

WITH THE VISION OF REDUCING INTOLERANCE AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE

Anyone who is young and dark-skinned in Sweden is highly likely to have experienced discrimination and racism and to have done so at an early age. According to the report *Att färgas av Sverige – Upplevelser av diskriminering och rasism bland ungdomar med afrikansk bakgrund i Sverige (To be coloured by Sweden – Experiences of discrimination and racism among young people with an African background in Sweden)* (DO 2009) all young black Swedish citizens have experienced discrimination. All of them have experienced racist language, infringement of privacy and being excluded from a group or community. These experiences have often occurred in environments in which they spend much of their time, at school.[2]

The general objective of the work of the Living History Forum is to increase people's willingness to work actively to foster the equal value of all people and promote working for democracy, tolerance and human rights. The starting point is the Holocaust, but also other crimes against humanity from a historic as well as contemporary perspective. The authority's vision and strategy for 2007–2013 focuses its efforts to combat and reduce intolerance in society in the longer term. This survey is a tool for achieving this vision. At the same time, it is the first survey in a planned series of surveys which, over a longer period of time, aim to deepen knowledge about intolerance and tolerance. This study is a descriptive survey of young people's attitudes.

Investigating the attitudes young people hold at different times enables us to produce information on how deeply democratic values are embedded and monitor intolerant tendencies. The purpose of the survey is to serve as underlying information which can be used by authorities and decision-makers, and in the ongoing work of the Living History Forum.

The attitudes of the majority Swedish population to immigrants and refugees have been studied since the end of the 1960s. The results have varied over time and as a result of the changes that society has undergone. At the end of the 1960s the Immigrant Inquiry showed that a quarter of the adult Swedish population held a generous and tolerant attitude to immigrants, while a quarter felt a powerful fear of immigrants. In the

[2] According to statistics on hate crimes reported to the police in 2009, the school is one of the three most common locations in which hate crimes take place, see National Council for Crime Prevention Report, Brå 2010:12.

early 1980s the Discrimination Inquiry showed that the adult Swedish population's attitudes to immigrants had shifted in a positive direction towards greater tolerance. The proportion harbouring a powerful fear of immigrants was approximately five percent. Age was strongly correlated with attitudes for both these measurements. Young people (aged 16–29) were more tolerant than older people. In the early 1990s, attitude surveys showed that a change had taken place in that young adults had become more intolerant than for several decades.

When the Living History Forum and the National Council for Crime Prevention conducted a nationwide survey of school students in comprehensive schools and upper secondary schools in 2003 to map and describe the extent of intolerant attitudes, discriminatory behaviour and the spread of racist propaganda, five percent of young people were judged to be intolerant. The vast majority of school students in Sweden were judged to have a tolerant approach to vulnerable groups, with a smaller proportion being ambivalent.

In 2009 the Living History Forum launched another nationwide survey of school students. This time the questionnaire was answered by students in years 1 and 3 of upper secondary school on different programmes across Sweden. Here, questions about criminal behaviour, individual vulnerability and contact with extreme right movements were replaced by questions on social activities and interests. Besides studying those with extreme opinions, it was equally vital to study young people with unclear or ambiguous opinions or those with no opinion at all. We can talk about a group of individuals who need support to conquer their doubt, and knowledge to help them form their own opinion. It is precisely this which distinguishes them from the intolerant, whose attitudes are often firmly held and who are therefore considerably less receptive to factual arguments.

The basis for judging the extent of tolerance and intolerance comprised a large number of attitude-related statements and questions about Muslims, Roma, refugees/immigrants, Jews, people with disabilities and people with homosexual preferences. These groups were selected because historically and in modern times they have been the victims of a prejudiced and offensive reception in Sweden. Using statistical methods, the underlying pattern of covariation and indices was constructed. The aim was to seek links between on the one hand young people's attitudes and approaches and on the other their day-to-day environments and the conditions offered by schools and residential areas across Sweden.

STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

Chapter 2 starts with an overview of the concepts of tolerance and intolerance and of research into young people's attitudes and the driving forces underlying intolerant attitudes and ends with the questions in the survey. Chapter 3 describes the different steps in the survey, how the survey was organised, the sample, the sampling process, measurement instruments, data collection, non-response and analysis methods. The report on the results begins in Chapter 4 with analyses of students' attitudes and a presentation of the combined measurements drawn up to assess the extent of different opinions. The correlation between the different attitude measurements and a large amount of data on individuals, schools and residential areas is examined systematically. This is linked back to the questions raised by the survey. Chapter 5 provides a comparative analysis of upper secondary school students' responses to attitude-related statements measured on two occasions in 2003 and 2009. Chapter 6 concludes the report with a discussion of the results and proposals for further studies.

2. Concepts, research and questions at issue

2.1 THE CONCEPTS OF TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE

In international declarations the concepts of tolerance and intolerance have been addressed separately and independently. Tolerance is equated with respect, acceptance and appreciation of cultural and other differences.[3] Intolerance is used in international documents as one concept among many discriminatory practices that threaten democratic society.[4] Both concepts arise in academic debate. The definitions of these concepts varies.

THE POLICY OF MULTICULTURALISM

Tolerance and intolerance are both recurring concepts in immigration and multicultural policy. In the UK, as in Sweden, there is a policy of multiculturalism encompassing equality for all – "colour blindness equality thinking" – and a policy that encourages groups to rediscover their cultural heritage and their group identity and which seeks strong religious minorities. In the anthology *Muslim Britain – Communities under Pressure*, the authors discuss the situation of Muslims in today's Britain where islamophobia is spreading. Particularly after the September 11th attack on the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York Muslims risk feeling that they no longer belong to the community of society. The question is raised as to whether Muslims can and are willing to be integrated in European societies and are able to live in harmony with European values of freedom, tolerance, democracy, sexual equality, etc. (Abbas 2005).

In the 1990s, Swedish researchers analysed Swedish multicultural policy and the difficulties of realising a policy of multiculturalism intended to give immigrants and minorities the right to cultural autonomy (freedom of choice) at a time when the welfare state was tottering (Ålund & Schierup 1991). At the time, dedicated researchers were concerned that Sweden's policy of

[3] "Tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our form of expression and ways of being human. It is fostered by knowledge, openness, communication and freedom of thought, conscience and belief. Tolerance is harmony in difference. It is not only a moral duty; it is also a political and legal requirement. Tolerance, the virtue that makes peace possible, contributes to the replacement of the culture of war by a culture of peace" (UNESCO Declaration of Principle of Tolerance, 1995 Article 1 §1).

[4] "Racism, racial discrimination, antisemitism, islamophobia, xenophobia; discrimination, violence and murder because of sexual orientation, and all other forms of intolerance that violate basic human values and threaten democratic society" (Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum: Combating Intolerance, 2001).

multiculturalism had been replaced by a "culturalisation" of social and equality problems instead of highlighting the problem of structural shortcomings. Immigrants were defined on the basis of cultural allegiances, which were seen as permanent and unchangeable and the foremost element of immigrant identity. The researchers identified an ethnocentrism in Swedish society which tended to go hand in hand with cultural determinism and a growing "cultural racism" (cf. Barker 1981).

The discussion on "culturalisation" has not ended but has instead headed in another direction. Today concern is expressed over a few religious leaders appointing themselves as spokespeople for an entire cultural group, forcing their own interpretation of what is correct on the surrounding community and their own members (Lidskog & Deniz 2009). In the view of the authors, if this is not combated, it can lead to restricting people's opportunities to choose the way in which they want to live their own lives. They also believe that the risk of conflicts between groups increases when clear boundaries are created between cultural allegiances.

Another recent academic debate focused on multiculturalism as a barrier to democracy. A thesis on the dilemma of democracy in a multicultural Sweden discusses the importance of tolerance for seeking dialogue with groups whose traditions we prohibit and object to (Johansson Heinö 2009). The author considers that tolerance has become a procedure and a way of dealing with views and practices to which we object rather than a set of values.

THE WORK OF SCHOOLS IN ESTABLISHING VALUES

A different debate on tolerance takes as its starting point the task of the education system of fostering tolerance (cf. Bergman 1982). According to the Swedish Education Act, "school activities shall be structured in accordance with fundamental democratic values" (Chapter 1, section 2 of the Education Act (1985:1100). The values which schools must convey are the inviolability of human life, freedom and privacy of the individual, the equal value of all people, equality between women and men and solidarity with the weak and vulnerable. Conveying an understanding of and ability to identify with other people is central to this work on values. Xenophobia and intolerance must be combated through knowledge, open discussion and active initiatives, Swedish National Agency for Education (Skolverket 2009).

In its examination of research into the limitations of tolerance education, the Swedish National Agency for Education (op. cit.) found that the tolerance perspective can result in upholding different norms rather than creating empathy and greater understanding of cultural variation. The tolerance perspective is based on the normal and unproblematic majority tolerating "the other". This becomes clear when schools hold themed days on sexual orientation and point out the intolerant, while failing to question heteronormativity but instead taking it for granted (Reimers 2008). Consequently heteronormativity avoids criticism, strengthening the assumption that heterosexuals should learn to tolerate homosexual, bisexual and transsexual people.

The pattern is the same for the work schools carry out on tolerance of ethnic minority groups. School staff assume that it is the Swedish students who must learn to be tolerant towards minorities (Gruber 2008). The students who are granted a mandate to tolerate (the Swedish students) become those who set the tolerance agenda, while the students who are to be tolerated (e.g. immigrant students) are objectified. The mutuality of tolerance is ignored. According to Gruber, schools are an institutional practice in the shadow of well-meaning tolerance.

DISTINCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS

When researchers define tolerance, this is mainly in accordance with international conventions – in the sense of respecting and accepting. Beller (2009) makes the addition "accept, respect and make an honest attempt to understand that which deviates from your own opinion". Thus a number of demands are made of the tolerant person to conduct a dialogue, to argue and be respectful towards the other person's argument, whereby a dialogue must be free of restrictions or rules governing how the argument is to be presented (Walzer 1997). The dialogue must be built on knowledge of and interest in the other's rationality (McGhee 2005). The latter would, however, be hard to reconcile with a view of tolerance as a superior attitude and an expression of compassion (Nehushtan 2007).

Tolerance has been defined as dislike. As mentioned by Cohen (2004) we first have to dislike something before we can show tolerance towards it. Cohen has defined toleration by distinguishing the term from other terms such as indifference, resignation, pluralism, a general principle of non-intervention or a generally permissive attitude, and from the concept of neutrality.

Both tolerant and intolerant actions have their shortcomings. McGhee (op. cit.) studies the boundaries created by both tolerance and intolerance create in British society. He considers that tolerance is an action where one does not intervene despite having a differing opinion, while intolerance is the opposite. In McGhee's view, none of these actions create progressive social relationships with others but instead construct defensive boundaries between groups, becoming the opposite of what one wishes to achieve, namely encouraging active citizenship and attempting to increase trust in ethnic, religious and sexual minority groups.

The researchers' answers to the question of whether we should tolerate the intolerant are, unsurprisingly, both yes and no. The intolerant cannot be allowed to annoy others but must be permitted to express differing opinions. When they are allowed to preach, meet and write, this must be limited to civil society (Walzer op. cit.). Nehushtan (op. cit.) considers that it is not sufficient to claim that intolerance must not be tolerated. Intolerant behaviour can take different forms and vary in intensity. Intolerance can take the form of condemnation, insults, discrimination or restricting the other person's opportunity to express themselves. According to Nehushtan a behaviour remains intolerant only as long as it involves a negative attitude to the other person. And, in the view of this researcher, it is possible to be tolerant on one level and intolerant on another at the same time.

INTOLERANCE, PREJUDICE AND NEGATIVE ATTITUDES

There is an interest from the international community in using the concept of intolerance as a general term to cover a number of different phenomena. There is extensive legislation in this field.[5] Swedish legislation regulates discriminatory crimes in a number of statutes.[6]

Intolerance as a concept has not been the subject of theoreticising in the same way as the concept of tolerance. In social and behavioural science research intolerance and tolerance are studied

[5] Cf. Council of Europe, the European Convention and EC law.

[6] The Swedish Penal Code contains three sections of relevance to combating racism, xenophobia and discrimination: Agitation against a national or ethnic group, Chapter 16(8), Unlawful discrimination, Chapter 16(9) and Motive to aggrieve a person, ethnic group or similar group of people, Chapter 29(2). Section 1 of the Swedish Discrimination Act states: "The purpose of this Act is to combat discrimination and in other ways promote equal rights and opportunities regardless of sex, transgender identity or expression, ethnicity, religion or other belief, disability, sexual orientation or age." The act covers direct discrimination (someone is disadvantaged by being treated less favourably than someone else is treated), indirect discrimination (that someone is disadvantaged by the application of a provision), harassment and instructions to discriminate. (SFS 2008:567)

– undefined – as the opposites of each other, as bipolar values on the same scale. Political science research into political tolerance and intolerance is established and wide-ranging in scope[7] and is focussed on studying people's attitudes to political messages and political parties. Who is tolerant and who is intolerant is determined by placing opinions on a linear scale (see, e.g. Gibson 2005).

It is common in various sociological surveys for measurements of attitudes to be determined in advance and for the researcher to pre-define what is to be termed intolerant and what is to be termed tolerant, something which has encountered criticism (see Johansson Heinö 2009).

Possibly we may see a new trend in research into intolerance in which a general concept of intolerance is applied. American researchers have recently created an intolerance measurement which brings together a number of different scales measuring "sexism, racism, sexual prejudice, ageism, classism and religious intolerance". The new measure is called "the Intolerant Schema Measure" (Aosved, Long & Voller 2009).

RESEARCH TRADITIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

Since the Second World War, extensive research has been dedicated to the phenomena squeezed in under the intolerance umbrella of legislation and international conventions. Research interest largely follows social development and society's need for knowledge about and explanations of racism, antisemitism, islamophobia and antiziganism. Researchers traditionally study these phenomena from different research focuses and within different academic disciplines.

Recently research has developed which interweaves the social and individual-related perspectives. Stereotypes, prejudices and racist ideologies are categorisations which are not solely created inside the head of a single individual. To understand the causes of racism, antisemitism, islamophobia and antiziganism, the answers must be sought both in today's stereotypes and in society's historic patterns of thought which characterise our view of "the other". According to some researchers, our assumptions about Jews, Roma, Muslims, Arabs and black Africans are integrated throughout Western thought and in the world view of white Christian groups (Balibar & Wallerstein 1991).

Researchers who represent a power and discourse analysis perspective of racism consider that each action which has racist consequences contributes towards racism as a discourse and racism as a social practice. This includes a range of different actions from organised violence to more subtle expressions of structural violence, accusations, marginalisation, rendering invisible and declaring incapacitated (cf. Wetherell & Potter 1992). This research focus is derived from a traditional sociological perspective of racism as an expression of the power relations and hierarchical systems of society, an ideology and a complex val-ue system which dictates the exclusion of an "out-group" (Miles 1989). It also encompasses a view of racist ideologies as a result of the production of meanings associated with power, such that they exclude certain groups from cultural or symbolic resources (Hall 1993). Sociologist Helen Fein has created a definition of antisemitism which can be used to conceptualise intolerance at individual level and in society. "Antisemitism is a persisting latent structure of hostile beliefs towards Jews as a collective manifested in individuals as attitudes, and in culture as myth, ideology, folklore and imagery, and in actions – social or legal discrimination, political mobilization

[7] A distinction is made in political science research between political tolerance/intolerance and social. While the former remains in the political field, the latter studies social tolerance/intolerance in human relations.

against the Jews, and collective or state violence – which results in and/or is designed to distance, displace, or destroy Jews as Jews" (Fein 1987). Henrik Bachner uses this definition in a study of antisemitic attitudes in Sweden (Bachner & Ring 2006). The organisation Sweden against Racism has used this definition, with the meaning transferred, for antiziganism (or anti-Romanyism) by replacing "Jews" with "Roma".

This survey studies the attitudes of upper secondary school students with the aim of exploring dimensions of tolerance and intolerance. This brings us to the research that has long dominated this field, social psychology research, and the way this research focus explains the driving forces behind the intolerant and tolerant approaches of individuals.

2.2 DRIVING FORCES BEHIND PREJUDICE AND INTOLERANT ATTITUDES

One widespread explanation in social psychology and psychology research for why we hold negative attitudes[8] and prejudices is that they fulfil different functions for us (Katz 1960). In general, attitudes help us to understand and interpret the world and to guide us to see our needs satisfied. A further function is that attitudes support our sense of identity, strengthen our self-confidence and protect us from criticism. The latter function can prove to be problematic when negative attitudes are involved.

Prejudices are predominantly associated with strong antipathies. A classic definition of prejudice is an antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalization (Allport 1954). Prejudices have an emotional component, the antipathy, and a cognitive component, which comprises generalised opinions. The cognitive function of prejudices is to sort impressions, create perceptual order and reduce surplus information.

Despite the extensive psychological literature on prejudices, there is extremely little research demonstrating effective ways of reducing prejudice (see Levy & Green 2009). One possible reason for this is that prejudices do not lend themselves to being reduced unless major social changes take place, something posited by Arne Trankell as early as 1974. Trankell preferred to call prejudices unreasonable antipathies to emphasise their resistance to influence (Trankell 1974). Unreasonable antipathies are developed as a special case of social perception. In encounters with other people we use our experiences to judge what these others are like and what we can expect of the encounter. If our expectations are not met, we attempt to adapt the way we act. We learn from experience. In encounters with unknown or unfamiliar people, where we lack experience, we tend to attribute to them characteristics which are repellent or frightening without basis in reality.

One widespread view in research is that prejudices serve the interests of individuals and constitute important elements in the efforts of individuals to preserve the fundamental security of their own situation in life. When this security is threatened or experienced as being threatened, prejudices arise. In this view, prejudices are part of a fundamental approach to the world and constitute a defence of our image of the world and the values which we cannot bear anyone to question (cf. Trankell 1974, 1981, see page 21). Such assumptions prove to be particularly resistant to influence. Those who believe in them are not keen to change their minds either when faced with facts which contradict them or when confronted with rational argument. Because these ideas cannot be influenced, they are transformed into rigid, often stereotypical fixed opinions on

[8] In social psychology a distinction is made between three components of the concept of attitude: cognitive, affective and behavioural.

the character of these unfamiliar people. Because prejudices are reprehensible and bring shame on those who hold them, people may feel forced to hide or deny their antipathy, unless they are in a closed group where everyone trusts each other.

Trankell (op. cit.) also writes about unreasonable sympathies, which he considers to be an expression of the same basic attitude as antipathies. Unreasonable antipathies can be disguised in positive terms such that all the faults in the people they concern are blindly denied or where all the information which could give rise to criticism is censored. These positive prejudices are just as resistant to influence as antipathies because they are based on an intolerant basic attitude. The most common prejudice against prejudice is to feel an unreasonable antipathy towards everyone who can be revealed as racist or who drifts into racism.

This argument can be transferred to the previous discussion on the concepts of tolerance and intolerance and how we relate to intolerant people and their rights. An unreasonably tolerant approach to the right of the intolerant to hold their reprehensible opinions could be derived from an intolerant basic attitude to both the people in question and the principle of the equal value of every individual.

There are many theories to explain prejudice. One theory used to explain why people are intolerant is the theory of the authoritarian personality (Adorno 1950, Altmeyer 1998). Lange and Westin (1981) find that the concept of prejudice is primarily associated with theories of social distance and stereotypes. In brief, theories of social distance are based on the assumption that distance is reduced by shared values. Empirical studies use scales to measure the distance between different groups and nationalities. The theoretical discussion concerns which comes first; do the prejudices determine the social distance or is it the other way round - does the social distance explains the prejudices? Lange and Westin think that the latter could provide a theoretical link to theories on social identity which claim that the values we hold about others reflect our self-evaluation. They refer to Henri Tajfel, who developed a theory of social identity based on distinguishing between in-groups and out-groups. According to Tajfel, the construction of negative attitudes to others, out-groups, is a means of increasing the distance between the in-group and the out-group and thereby improving or reinforcing self-esteem. According to this theory, strong sympathies for the in-group can create antipathies towards the out-group, which in turn provide fuel for political intolerance and conflict (Gibson 2006).

Studies of prejudice often measure stereotypical assumptions. Stereotypical assumptions have been said to be one of the most subtle and effective ways of reinforcing prejudice. So what is the difference between prejudices and stereotypical assumptions? Stereotypes are generally held opinions which we ascribe to a particular category of people (Angelöw & Jonsson 2000), based on myths, rumours and jokes. When they concern immigrants, the stereotypes are often disparaging. Stereotypes and prejudices against immigrants thus largely correspond. Both express negative and simplified attitudes or assumptions. Both have consequences for those singled out, and the consequences are often devastating.

2.3 RESEARCH ON TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE

Studies aimed at mapping the extent of prejudices and intolerant attitudes to immigrants in Sweden have been carried out since the late 1960s. The first quantitative survey of the attitudes of the Swedish population to immigrants was carried out in 1969 under the auspices of the Immigrant Inquiry. This showed that a quarter of the adult

Swedish population displayed strong feelings of tolerance or generosity while an equally large proportion felt great fear of immigrants and 17 percent a strong antipathy. When twelve years later in 1981 the Discrimination Inquiry carried out a new, major attitude survey, the results showed an unexpected shift in a positive direction. The proportion of the adult Swedish population which felt great fear of immigrants was now 6 percent and the proportion which felt strong antipathy to immigrants and minorities was 3 percent.

WHO ARE INTOLERANT?

These two surveys demonstrated that people with hostile or intolerant attitudes to immigrants had a working class background, were less highly educated, had limited experience of other countries and other nationalities and were in an older age bracket. In addition, the Discrimination inquiry showed that people who were intolerant were often politically and socially alienated compared with those who were tolerant (Westin 1984). Quantitative surveys in the first decade of the 21st century have confirmed the picture that intolerance covaries significantly with education and age. Those who hold xenophobic attitudes often have less education and tend to be pensioners. Furthermore, men are more hostile towards immigrants than women (Integration Barometer 2007, Diversity Barometer 2005).

The picture becomes complex when these conclusions are combined with the results of an ongoing European research project on prejudice against immigrants, ethnic, religious and cultural minorities, people with disabilities and homosexuals among others (Heitmeyer 2007, Zick & Küpper 2009). This project identifies a number of factors that explain a hostile attitude (Syndrome of Group-focused Enmity in Europe). The factors with the largest explanatory value for a hostile attitude to vulnerable groups in society are (i) generally authoritarian attitudes, (ii) experience of immigrants as a threat, (iii) questioning cultural pluralism and (iv) sympathy for ideologies of inequality (e.g. racism). Slightly lower – but nevertheless with explanatory value – are political alienation, right-wing sympathies, religious views, experience of being treated unfairly, chauvinism, age and low education. Comparisons of the results in eight European countries show, not unexpectedly, that the importance of these factors varies from one country to another.

Using qualitative investigation methods, other and more subtle pictures of tolerant and intolerant people emerge. Charles Westin finds that those who are intolerant, with certain reservations, are more receptive to and more easily inclined to adopt anti-immigrant propaganda and at times of crisis can more easily fall victim to "racist heresy or at least less quickly distance themselves from such ideas" (Westin op. cit. page. 88). He also finds that the intolerant are more inclined to differentiate between "us and them" and make more clear-cut and value loaded distinctions, and appear to have poorer self-esteem than the tolerant. The intolerant ascribe to immigrants to a greater extent static and unchangeable characteristics to do with ethnicity, while the tolerant highlight dynamic, acquired and interactive attributes of immigrants concerning interpersonal relations. One conclusion which Westin draws is that social identity, particularly ethnicity and nationality, are factors which have greater importance for the intolerant than for the tolerant. Another conclusion is that good self-esteem serves as a basis for tolerance while poor self-esteem provides a breeding ground for intolerance. According to Westin, it is the combination of a weaker social position and insecurity or alienation which breeds intolerance (op. cit. page. 160).

There are universal patterns of negative characteristics ascribed by the prejudiced to "the other" and which they themselves do not consider themselves to possess. Miles (1989) finds that when people characterise and categorise "the oth-

er", they are simultaneously defining themselves and "the self" using contrastive criteria. In a study of Swedes' attitudes to Roma, based on 21 interviews with shopkeepers and shoppers on a shopping street in Stockholm in the 1960s, a pattern of prejudice towards "the other" emerged which can be described as universal (Trankell 1974, 1981). Swedish prejudice towards Roma people reflected a negation of the assumptions of the whole of Western culture on what constitutes a respectable life and what characterises decent people, i.e. honest, honourable, considerate, thoughtful, clean and neat, hard-working people who do not place a burden on society (Landén 1970).

INTOLERANCE AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE

So far, studies which map the attitudes of school students to vulnerable minority groups in society are few in number. In its recurring surveys, the Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs has asked questions about young people's attitudes to immigrants, ethnic groups and homosexuals (Ungdomsstyrelsen 1994, 1998, 2003, 2005, 2007). Young people's exposure to bullying, harassment and other insulting behaviour has been the focus of a number of studies by government authorities[9] (Swedish National Institute for Working Life 2002 and Swedish National Agency for Education 2003, 2007). CEIFO's[10] 1997 survey was one of the first to focus on a representative sample of students at comprehensive and upper secondary school with the aim of studying attitudes to vulnerable groups in society (Lange et al. 1997). The only survey so far with the stated purpose of mapping different forms of intolerance among school students (harassment, victimisation, threats and physical violence) is the one carried out by the National Council for Crime Prevention for the Living History Forum in 2003 (referred to below as the 2003 survey).

The results of different surveys have generally shown that people under the age of 30 are more positive in their attitude to immigrants and minorities than older people. In the late 1980s a change in this trend was observed. In a survey in 1987, the youngest age group (aged 18–23) had a more negative, anti immigrant approach compared with older people, also in comparison with the same age group in a survey conducted six years earlier (Westin 1987). These observations led to a new survey in 1990/91 covering considerably younger respondents (aged 16–21) (Lange & Westin, 1993, 1993). These results also showed that the attitude of young people to immigrants and immigration was more negative than that of older people.

This trend appears to have turned around. In the Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs' surveys in the 2000s, the youngest age group (age 16–19) consistently displays more positive attitudes to immigrants than those above the age of 19 (Ungdomsstyrelsen op. cit.). The Swedish Integration Board's surveys similarly show that the attitude of the youngest age group (aged 18–29) is more positive than that of those over the age of 29 (see Integration Barometers 2003, 2004, 2007).

The 2003 survey introduced "tolerance" and "intolerance" as opposite poles on scales measuring young people's attitudes to homosexuals, Muslims, Jews and immigrants (Ring & Morgentau 2004). The mean score for students' responses to attitude-related statements was calculated on a scale of 0 to 4. The respondents termed tolerant were those with a mean score below 1.5. These were students who consistently selected the most favourably disposed responses to all the attitude-related statements with which they were presented.

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[9] In a review of research the Swedish National Agency for Education presents different scientific explanations for bullying and also a number of different methods used to prevent and reduce bullying in schools (Skolverket 2009).

[10] CEIFO is the abbreviation for the Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations at Stockholm University.

Those termed intolerant were those who had a mean score above 2.5 and who had relatively consistently selected a negative attitude. The uncertain group had mean scores of between 1.5 and 2.5.

Using this division, the results showed that the majority (approximately 65 percent) of young people had tolerant attitudes to Muslims, Jews and homosexuals. The uncertain proportion amounted to approximately a quarter, and the intolerant proportion varied between 6 and 8 percent depending on the set of attitudes and the vulnerable group analysed. The survey, which address students in years 8 and 9 of comprehensive school and all three years of upper secondary school showed that tolerance increases with age – the 18 year-olds were significantly more tolerant than the 14 year-olds. It thus appears to be the case that the period in life in which we have a more open and tolerant attitude occurs between the ages of 18 and 30.

As well as links between age and attitude, the 2003 survey demonstrated that girls were more tolerant than boys and that upper secondary school students on academic programmes were more tolerant than upper secondary school students on vocational programmes.[11] Major differences between young people on different upper secondary school programmes correspond with a compilation of different surveys produced by the Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs (Ungdomssstyrelsen 2008). This demonstrated that young people on academic programmes have more positive attitudes on questions regarding human rights, democracy and equal treatment.

2.4 THE PURPOSE OF THE SURVEY, DEFINITIONS AND QUESTIONS

The main purpose of the 2009 survey was to study the attitudes of upper secondary school students to different vulnerable minority groups in Swedish society and to assess the extent of tolerance and intolerance.

In this survey, by intolerance we mean:

An explicit standpoint which means being unable to put up with, accept or respect individuals or groups with a different skin colour, ethnic origin, sexual orientation, faith, viewpoint and other categorisations.

In this survey, by tolerance we mean:

An explicit standpoint which means accepting and respecting individuals and groups with a different skin colour, ethnic origin, sexual orientation, faith, viewpoint and other categorisations different to one's own. Tolerance also means fundamentally encompassing an inclusive approach to a multicultural and pluralistic society and accepting the principle of the equal value of all people.

The survey was descriptive but also explorative in nature. We explored dimensions or components of tolerance and intolerance using a large number of questions and statements. The attitude -related statements and questions selected to measure the character and extent of tolerance and intolerance focus on different groups in society which are exposed to prejudice, stigma and discrimination in Sweden today and historically. These are Muslims, Roma, refugees from

[11] See also Bachner & Ring 2005; Otterbeck & Bevelander 2006.

countries outside Europe, Jews, people with disabilities and people with homosexual preferences. The statements were designed to measure attitudes to each of these groups and are reported as group-specific measurements of attitude. We have avoided producing general measurements of tolerance/intolerance because there is no theoretical or empirical support for combining attitudes to such different groups as those discussed here in a single dimension of opinion.

In this survey we have concurred with the mainstream of researchers who claim that tolerant and intolerant attitudes can be measured as opposite ends of the same scale. Where the line between tolerance and intolerance should be drawn is open to debate. We have chosen to only allow the most extreme attitudes to be defined as tolerant and intolerant respectively. The operational definition of tolerance is consistently distancing oneself from statements which express prejudice, suspicion, hostility and antipathy towards specific vulnerable groups. The operational definition of intolerance is consistent agreement with statements which express prejudiced, derogatory or generalising attitudes to specific groups.

The ticks the upper secondary students marked by the answers to the questions and statements are the raw data of the results. Following analyses, a large amount of this raw data has been converted into indices, i.e. combined measurements which are assumed to reflect underlying dimensions of opinion. The indices are reported either by means of the mean score or by percentages on the scale of the index, where it should be noted that different indices may have different numbers of points on the scale. However, all five indices for attitudes to the vulnerable groups have scales from 1 to 6.[12] The students who selected the most favourably disposed responses to all the statements and the pupils who selected the most negative responses will end up at the extreme ends of the scale, i.e. scoring 1 or 6. These have been termed "tolerant" and "intolerant" respectively.

The third way of presenting the students' attitudes is a simplified division of the points on the scale into three categories: positive, ambivalent and negative. The positive group covers the responses of the most tolerant students but also those whose responses are not completely consistent. The negative group includes the responses of the most intolerant students but also those whose responses are close to these and whose answers are inconsistent. We have termed those who placed themselves in the middle of the scales, who expressed cautious and doubtful attitudes "ambivalent".

The covariation of the different attitude measurements with other individual data and school data has been studied and the strength of the correlation has been used to demonstrate which factors are of greater significance than others in explaining tolerant and intolerant attitudes in any respect.

At individual level, correlation with the individual student's experience of his or her immediate environment was studied – residential area, school, leisure time, friends, interests, self-image, view of society and the future. At society level we used information about the location of the school and its character and the residential environment of the students to investigate the correlation between these contextual factors and the approach of upper secondary school students to vulnerable groups.

The survey covers 4,674 students in 154 upper secondary schools in almost 100 municipalities across Sweden. These are municipalities

[12] To ensure that the percentage proportions of students ending up in the "extreme" index values of 1 and 6 respectively are not too low, the boundaries between the points on the scale of 1–2 and 5–6 respectively have to be "relaxed" somewhat. This means that not all respondents receiving a score of 6 on one index selected the most negative response to all the statements and questions in the index without exception. Varying – but small – proportions of students with "extreme" index values may therefore demonstrate a more mixed response pattern, where, for example responses such as "partly agree" or "partly disagree" may be found. However, what is important is that they demonstrate a clear and strong tendency to answer negatively.

with varying economic and social conditions, which is reflected in the schools' grade levels and internal environments. Parents exert influence over their children's choice of school and upper secondary school programme, and certainly also over their leisure interests, choice of friends and attitudes to minority groups in society. But they are not the only influence. The school, teachers and classmates also influence students' leisure time and future, their self-image and attitudes. The residential area and the school play a part in dictating friends and leisure time, which in turn influence the individual student's attitudes.

SCHOOL-RELATED QUESTIONS

Statistics Sweden has provided register data on upper secondary schools, which includes information on the average grades of leaving classes, pupil teacher ratios and proportion of teachers with degrees in education. This "school data" makes it possible to compare students' attitudes and approaches between schools that are different in character. What do the links look like? Are students attending "successful schools" with high grade levels and a large number of qualified teachers less intolerant than other students? Are there differences between schools in the suburbs of the major cities and inner-city schools in terms of intolerance? Are there regional differences in Sweden between schools in this respect?

The school environment creates encounters and these encounters enable friendships across ethnic, national and cultural boundaries, but they can also give rise to conflict and opposition. Considering the focus of the survey, we want to know what the school environment and student population means in terms of students' attitudes and values. Do students attending a more culturally mixed school, in various respects, hold more or less intolerant attitudes than students attending schools with a more homogenous student population?

INDIVIDUAL-RELATED QUESTIONS

The sample for this survey is based on two years at upper secondary school, the first year and the third (final) year. These mainly comprised two age groups, 16 year-olds and 18 year-olds. The 2003 survey found significant differences in attitude between these age groups. Can we confirm the importance of age and demonstrate that those in the third year of upper secondary school are more tolerant than those in the first year?

Various attitude surveys repeatedly show a clear correlation between sex (gender) and attitudes towards immigrants and minorities. Women are generally less intolerant than men. This is particularly true of young women and girls. How strong is this correlation and what is the significance of the gender variable in relation to other variables in explaining tolerance/intolerance among young people?

Previous surveys have shown clear differences in attitudes between students with an immigrant background and students with a Swedish background. In the 2003 survey, students with a "completely Swedish background" were more "intolerant" towards Muslims than students with a foreign background and students with a foreign background were more "intolerant" towards homosexuals. However, no differences were found in attitude towards Jews (Ring & Morgentau 2004). The 2003 survey also showed major differences in attitude between students with different religious affiliations. Can such a correlation also be observed in 2009?

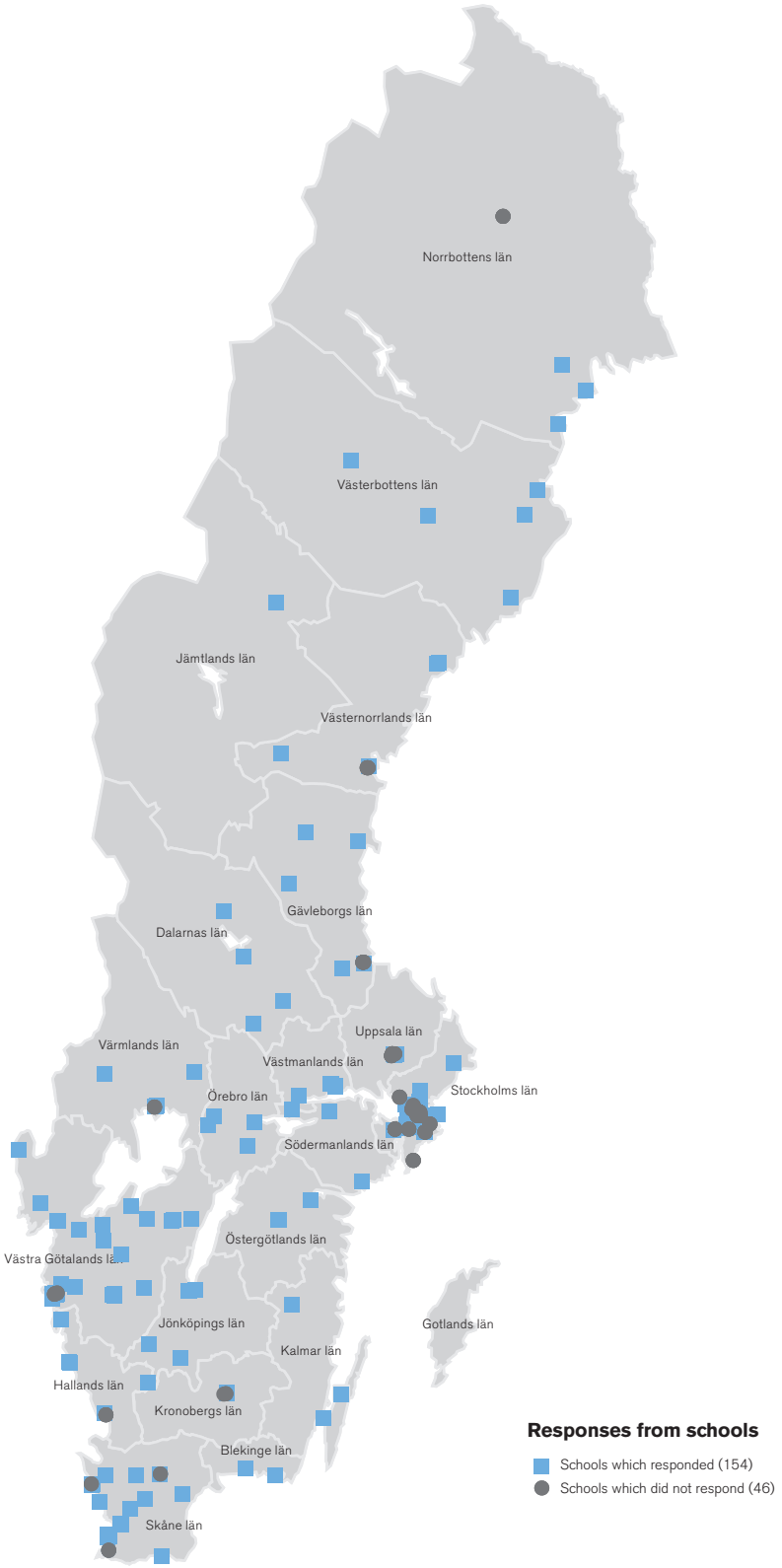
What impact does education and teaching have in terms of tolerant attitudes? The survey covers academic and vocational programmes. Previous surveys have displayed strikingly large differences between the opinions of students on different educational programmes. The choice of upper secondary school programme is often a choice of future occupation, and ultimately of social class.

At the same time this choice is largely a class issue – "social bias" in higher education admissions lives on despite decades of various measures to eradicate it. Can we confirm that those on theoretical or academic programmes at upper secondary school are less intolerant than those on practical programmes? Can it be demonstrated that those who received teaching at school about racism, the Holocaust, Nazi mass murder and human rights have a more tolerant attitude than those who have not received such teaching?

What effect does the school environment have on tolerant attitudes? Previous surveys have shown that young people in general are content with their schools and the places in which they live. Can it be shown that those who like living where they do and are happy in their classes have a more tolerant approach than those who are not content? Is there a correlation between having been the victim of bullying and a student's approach to "the other"? Do those who have experienced bullying themselves have a more tolerant attitude than those who have not been the victim of bullying or is the reverse the case? Are they more intolerant?

What is the significance of friendship to attitudes to the other? Can it be shown that those who have friends from a cultural, ethnic or national minority other than their own have a more tolerant attitude than those who do not have such friends?

What is the importance of interest in society and interest in politics in terms of these students' attitudes? Can it be shown that those who hold dedicated values about other people, society and the world in general and demonstrate an interest in politics have less intolerant attitudes than those who do not hold such values? What do the links look like between students' plans for the future and their attitudes to vulnerable groups? Can it be demonstrated that those who view the future with confidence and without worry and who have clear plans for the future are less intolerant than those who lack such an attitude?


Norrbottens län
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Jämtlands län
Västernorrlands län
Gävleborgs län
Dalarnas län
Uppsala län
Värmlands län
Västmanlands län
Stockholms län
Örebro län
Södermanlands län
Östergötlands län
Västra Götalands lä...
Jönköpings län
Gotlands län
Kalmar län
Hallands län
Kronobergs län
Blekinge län
Skåne län
Responses from schools
Schools which responded (154)
Schools which did not respond (46)

3. Research design and analytical process

3.1 SAMPLE, DATA COLLECTION AND SURVEY POPULATION

Statistics Sweden (SCB) was contracted to carry out sampling and data collection, as outlined in the Tables, appendix 1.[13] The process followed was developed by Statistics Sweden for youth surveys and contained three elements. The first involved creating a sampling frame of schools using the Register of Education for all upper secondary schools in Sweden. The number of schools in the frame amounted to 1,005. A stratified independent random sample of 200 schools was drawn from this sampling frame using a sampling programme. Schools were stratified by the proportion of students with a foreign background to produce good representativity for this student category and according to the total number of students in the school. The schools were then used to form another sampling frame for classes by phone contact with the schools. A new independent random sample was drawn, at least one class per school, which came to contain 431 classes.

The second phase of the process involved sending letters to the head teachers of selected schools requesting permission to carry out the survey during school hours. With the consent of the head teachers, the class teachers were then contacted to book an appropriate time to carry out the survey. The third phase was data collection. This was carried out by field staff who visited the classes and introduced and conducted the survey, checking that the students filled in the questionnaire independently. They then collected the questionnaires and made sure that they were sent back to the project management team. The students who were not in class at the time of the visit were not included in the survey.

The original plan was for the survey to focus on the classes leaving comprehensive school (year 9) and upper secondary school (year 3). However, this was found not to be possible because two other government-funded surveys focused on students in year 9 were being conducted during the same period. The sample was therefore limited to students in years 1 and 3 at upper secondary school.

Participation in the survey was voluntary. Participation was a decision primarily to be made by head teachers and school management. 154 head teachers consented to the survey taking place and 36 refused; see map on page 24. The reason why so many head teachers did not want their students to participate in the survey was mainly that they considered there had been too many surveys recently

[13] A technical description provided by Statistics Sweden is available from the Living History Forum

and that participation was having a detrimental effect on students' school work. The head teachers cited questionnaire fatigue among students. It was mainly head teachers in the cities who declined to participate.

Participation was voluntary for the students. In total 4,674 students took part, 75 percent of the students in the schools which had chosen to participate in the survey. Twenty-five percent of the students were either absent when the survey took place or refused to take part. Some of the non-responses were caused by student absence due to the work experience.

3.2 THE GENERALISABILITY OF THE RESULTS

The non-response rate in this survey was relatively high.[14] To compensate for the non-responses and ensure the generalisability of the results, the data was calibrated. Statistics Sweden carried out extensive non-response analyses using a large number of register variables and produced calibrated weights.[15] This made it possible to generalise the results to the population "students in years 1 and 3 of upper secondary school in Sweden".

Table 1 in Tables sets out how the students in the survey corresponded to the population of upper secondary school students in years 1 and 3 in the school year 2009/2010 in Sweden according to a number of background variables. The differences were marginal in terms of distribution of students by gender and age and by parental employment. There were considerable differences with regard to upper secondary school programme, living in a city and parents' country of birth. The survey included a significantly higher proportion of students on vocational upper secondary school programmes, those living in cities and students with parents born in countries outside the Nordic region. These differences were largely a consequence of the stratification of the sample.

3.3 QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire included 40 questions and a number of batteries of questions. They were drawn up in consultation with a reference group of experts in questionnaires and the area of study in question.

The questions predominantly took the form of statements and aimed to map aspects of tolerant and intolerant viewpoints among upper secondary school students. The statements were intentionally designed to get the respondents to react spontaneously without reflection. Several statements which the young people had to reach an opinion on expressed racist, xenophobic, islamophobic, antisemitic, anti-Romany and homophobic attitudes. These included statements which could be characterised as "leading" in their wording but whose purpose was to activate stereotypes and antipathies and prejudiced opinions. There were also statements corresponding to opinions on current social issues, such as views on human rights, fairness, equality and attitude to Swedish aid.

A number of statements were drawn from previous surveys to enable comparisons. These included the statement that there is far too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews. The statement was introduced in a survey in 1997 (Lange et. al) and was intended to measure

[14] For a discussion on the problem of non-response, see Lange 2008.

[15] A calibration report drawn up by Statistics Sweden is available from the Living History Forum.

whether young people thought that teaching about the Holocaust was relevant today. The responses could indicate a desire to forget the past but also being tired of the amount of information or the amount of teaching. We compared the responses to the statement with the responses on how much teaching respondents said they had received about Nazi crimes. It proved to be the case that it was those who had not received any such teaching who were the most negative about teaching about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews.[16]

Another statement repeated in several surveys was the antisemitic statement about the amount of influence Jews have in the world. Comparing this statement with the others which addressed attitudes towards Jews in one way or another produces highly positive correlations, indicating that the attitude measurement works.

However, it must be pointed out that there are considerable difficulties in comparing survey results even when identical questions and statements are used because there are many contextual factors that have repercussions and are hard to control.

A large amount of space was dedicated to questions which could serve as potential correlating factors. These included questions about respondents' assessment of their social environ-ment, happiness, interests, worry and plans for the future. Potential correlating factors also included a large battery of questions about personality characteristics and values and questions about school teaching on the themes central to the survey.

3.4 REGISTER DATA

The survey included data from the schools register, which provided indicators of the character and quality of the schools. This data included average grades of classes leaving school in spring 2009, the number of languages in mother tongue language classes other than Swedish and information on student-teacher ratios and teaching qualifications.

SAMS data was used to describe the socioeconomic profile of the school[17] on the basis of the students' home addresses. For each SAMS area surrounding the students' homes, register data was obtained on immigrant density (by area of origin), residents by occupation, unemployment, level of education, average family income level and distribution between home ownership categories.

Data on the students' parents' level of employment and education was obtained from the population register.

3.5 METHODS OF ANALYSIS

Factor analysis was used to find patterns in covariation between a large number of variables. This is a statistical method for investigating the mutual relationships between a number of variables and identifying underlying patterns, by which we mean covariation between different questions and statements. Factor analysis is not entirely empirically steered but demands a large amount of theoretical expertise (Djurfeldt & Barmark, 2009). Explorative factor analysis is used to test your way forwards to a model (factor solution) which summarises the material in a satisfactory

[16] The statement was also used by Bachner & Ring (2005) where it correlated well with other antisemitic statements.

[17] SAMS = Small Area Market Statistics, a database that uses digitalised maps divided into smaller, socioecologically meaningful areas.

way. With the help of factor analysis we are thus able to identify a number of groups of variables (factors) and compare which factors are the most influential for different groups of students.

What is known as factor loading states the strength of the correlation between manifest (observable and measurable) variables, in other words responses to questions in the questionnaire and latent (not observable or measurable) variables, in other words interpretations of the factors that result from the analysis. Factor loading can be seen as correlations between the individual variables and one factor. A correlation coefficient is a standardised measurement expressing a degree of covariation between two variables.

Combined measurements, indices, can be constructed in different ways. Factor-based indices can be created on the basis of factor analysis. Each index covers the questions and statements gathered under the respective factor, provided that this can be given a meaningful interpretation. Content-based indices are constructed by gathering together questions and statements whose content is related in a single measurement. Irrespective of the approach, the indices in this survey were constructed as follows: first a simple additive index was created by adding up the values of the variables for each factor. Then a common formula was used, $I – ((a – a_{min}) / r_a) \times S$, where I = the new transformed index, a = the value of the additive index, a_{min}= the minimum value of the additive index, r_a = the range, i.e. the difference between the highest and lowest value in the additive index, and S = the desired numbers of points on the scale in the final index. The resulting transformed index has a minimum value of 0. After this, "rounding" has to take place, because the formula often generates values with many decimal places. The number of points on the scale ("S") is determined in relation to the breadth of variation in the additive "raw index". When finally recoding to whole values we attempted as far as humanly possible to retain the form of the distribution of the values in the additive "raw index". In some cases this can be difficult due to extremely skewed distributions, i.e. extremely low proportions of responses which agree (or disagree). The formula used assumes a higher metrical level than that present in the actual data, but if strict metrical requirements were an imperative, quantitative social and behavioural science research would largely be impossible.

When respondents do not answer all the questions, internal non-response occurs. This problem can be handled in different ways. One method used in this survey is "imputation of mean scores". Let us, for example, take the question "Do you think... that neo-Nazism is a problem in Sweden today?" The possible responses are "No", "Uncertain", "Yes, to a certain extent", "Yes, absolutely" and "No opinion". In order to be able to process this type of answer quantitatively, we apply something which can be termed "pseudoquantification", i.e. giving the responses numerical values. In this case, the answer "No" has been coded as 1, "Uncertain" as 2, etc. up to "No opinion", which has been given the number 5.

These figures do not constitute numbers in a mathematical sense but are used as indicators to rank the degree of agreement with the statement. While the answer "Yes, absolutely" (coded as 4) could reasonably be claimed to constitute the strongest level of agreement, the answer option "No opinion" lies on another dimension – the code number 5 does not express even stronger agreement than "Yes, absolutely". If in the calculations, this "number five" were to be treated as an indicator of the strongest level of agreement with the statement, the results would be severely misleading. Therefore, the response "No opinion" (in other questions the equivalent is, for example "Don't know") is excluded from the calculations, in other words considered equivalent to "No response".

In this example, approximately 26 percent of the respondents (unweighted data) chose the

answer "No opinion". Also 68 people ignored the question completely (internal non-response or "missing"). This means that just over one in four upper secondary school students in the survey would not be included in the analysis of the results in which this variable occurs. Different students answered "No opinion" to completely different questions, which also involves internal non-response (missing out a question). This in turn, particularly in certain types of analysis, e.g. factor analysis and constructing indices (where several questions are merged to create a combined measurement) leads to an accumulation of this "missing data" so that ultimately, for example, 50 percent of the respondents may lack a value on one index.

To counter this, "missing data" can be replaced by the mean value of the variable for all respondents (naturally calculated without the response option "No opinion"). However, this would mean abusing the data because there are major differences in the mean values for the variable in question between different subcategories of respondents. A more sophisticated method involves replacing missing data with what can be termed "complex mean scores", i.e. mean scores calculated separately for different combinations of relevant background characteristics.

In this survey missing data has been replaced by mean scores calculated separately for all combinations of the background variables: year (1 and 3), upper secondary school programme (academic – other), Swedish/foreign background and gender. This means that each missing value for the variable (and for the majority of the other questions) has been replaced by one of the 16 mean scores. Thus, for example, a girl with a Swedish background in year 3 of an academic programme who lacks a value for the variable has been given the mean score for this category, while a boy with a foreign background in year 1 of another programme who lacks a value for this variable has been given a different mean score calculated for this category. This enables all the respondents to be included in all the analyses.[18] The fact that this method of dealing with missing values does not involve any major abusing of the data can be shown by comparing the average score for the variable calculated for the variant of the variable where "No opinion" has been recoded as "missing" with the mean score for the same variable where missing values were replaced by complex mean scores, see below:

A simple way of presenting the results is for each question or statement, (i.e. variable) to show the percentage of responses for each answer. This can however be characterised as raw data which does not give any insight whatsoever into either the level of intensity of the opinions that the variables concern or relations between different variables. One fundamental purpose of data analysis is however, to condense data as far as pos-

Complex mean scores (all respondents, weighted data)	Mean score	
Vx ("No opinion" – missing)	2.7167 (= 2.72)	n= 198 485
Vm ("No opinion" and "Non-response" – complex mean scores)	2.7158 (= 2.72)	n= 266 904

[18] One objection which has been raised against imputing mean scores (also "complex" mean scores) to replace internal non-response and non-quantifiable responses is that this method involves underestimating data variance (Rässler 2004). The objection is correct in the sense that even in this study the variance in variables with imputed mean scores is somewhat lower than in the "original" versions of the same variables. However, the differences are very small – they rarely exceed 10 hundredths (e.g. standard deviation of 0.87 instead of 0.96) – and considering the fact that the precision of the type of data generated by this survey is quite low, such differences should lack significance in the analysis of the results.

sible without simultaneously distorting the patterns which it may contain. Giving mean scores for all variables is a small step on the way towards condensing or reducing the amount of data. Cross tabulation, where one variable is tabulated against another, can give a rough idea of the dependency relationships between the responses to different questions, but behind a simple cross tabulation an unknown number of factors may be found which, in the background, are influencing the correlation demonstrated by the cross tabulation. The same limitation applies to the various correlation coefficients used in data analysis – a coefficient which shows, for example, a strong positive correlation between two variables may shrink dramatically if partial correlation, for example is used to check the impact other factors may have on the correlation in question.

A whole arsenal of multivariate methods have been developed to enable simultaneous analysis of the impact of a number of factors on a particular variable. Two such methods have been used in this survey: Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA)[19] and the Multilevel Modelling Method (MLM).[20]

[19] (MCA (Multiple Classification Analysis) is a multivariate analysis method characterised by several advantages. Independent variables may be nominal or ordinal classifications, but the different nominal or ordinal categories do not need to be re-coded as dummy variables, as is the case when using multiple regression. The underlying model in MCA is additive. Data with a weak metrical level and non-linear relationships between predictors and the dependent variable can be handled within MCA. It is analogous to multiple regression with the use of dummy variables but presents the results in a more easily accessible manner. "Illusory" correlations are made very clearly evident. MCA presents the mean scores for the dependent variable corrected for the impact that the independent variables selected in the analysis may have. The meaning of beta coefficients in MCA is analogous with the same in multiple regression (Hardy & Baird 2004).

[20] MLM (Multilevel Modelling Method) is another variant of regression analysis which we have used to study the relationship between data at structural level and at individual level, in this case register data with student responses. The method starts out from the assumption that individuals cooperate with the social context to which they belong and takes into account the fact that there is variation between, for example, schools which cannot be explained by the individual variation in student responses (cf. Hjerm 2009).

4. Students' attitudes towards vulnerable groups, school year 2009/2010

The report on the results begins by analysing the attitudes of upper secondary school students in the school year 2009/2010. The survey included a large number of attitude-related statements about immigration, immigrants, Jews, Muslims, Roma, people with disabilities and people with homosexual preferences. The report on the results continues with analyses of correlations between different attitude measurements and the students' social and cultural backgrounds, schools and school environments, knowledge, interest and personal values. With access to register data, data on schools and data on individuals, correlations were analysed step by step using statistical methods. The chapter concludes with an analysis summarising the significance of the different variables for hostile or intolerant attitudes. The questions raised initially will be related to the results.

4.1 FIVE INDICES AND DIMENSIONS OF OPINION

The data used for measuring the attitudes of upper secondary school students to vulnerable groups in 2009 comprised three batteries of attitude-related statements, a total of 39 statements intended to measure attitudes towards Muslims, immigrants[21], Roma, Jews, homosexuals, people with disabilities, and towards Sweden and the Swedes. The distribution of the responses for each of the statements is shown in the appendix. The results show a picture of the attitudes of upper secondary school students which is sometimes hard to interpret. The options "Uncertain", "No opinion" and "Don't know" are used relatively often. Also quite a large number of respondents did not answer some of the questions.[22]

Statements about Muslims, Jews and homosexuals were numerically highest. This was a consequence of the questions having appeared in previous surveys, as is analysed in Chapter 5. Two new statements that aimed to identify attitudes to Muslims mainly resulted in uncertain responses. Almost half of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement that "Muslim men oppress women more than others". The same was true of the statement that "Islam leads to terrorism". The antisemitic statement "Because of Israel's politics I am increasingly thinking worse of Jews", resulted in a third clearly disagreeing while others gave more doubtful responses and a whole forty percent answered that they had no opinion.

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21 In practice immigration means a permit for refugees granted asylum in Sweden in line with international conventions. Individual needs for protection from areas involved in war or conflict are the main reasons for granting asylum.

22 Using a tried and tested statistical method known as "imputation", mean scores have been used to estimate responses also from students who did not answer each individual question, see section 3.5.

Three statements looked at attitudes to Roma. The proportion who were uncertain was high but an even higher proportion chose the answer "No opinion". The distribution of responses for the two statements on people with disabilities show that there was no clear opinion. While half of the students agreed that people with disabilities understand just as easily as everyone else, only one percent disagreed with the statement that children with ADHD should be placed in special classes for their own sake. A large proportion of respondents were uncertain regarding both the statements on disabilities.

One in four and one in five respectively completely disagreed with the statements that immigration destroys Swedish culture and that immigrants must seek to be as like Swedes as possible. Half of the students clearly disagreed with the statement that marriage should be within one's own cultural group. At the same time almost half of the students were uncertain or gave less clear-cut answers. Only three percent fully supported a statement that proposed that immigrants should be given precedence when looking for work and half completely disagreed with it.

The attitude-related statements on the vulnerable groups that were the focus of this survey were subjected to factor analysis in several stages. The factor structures obtained were hard to interpret in all cases and could therefore not easily be used to construct indices. We therefore abandoned the factor-based index model and switched to a content-based approach, which resulted in five indices based on a total of 26 attitude-related statements.[23]

The indices, which express attitudes to five vulnerable groups, are relatively easy to interpret in terms of content.[24]

INDEX 1 "Attitude towards immigrants" is made up of seven statements which express common opinions about immigration and refugees. The more of these statements the individual student agreed with, the more negative his or her attitude towards immigrants and refugees. An "intolerant" attitude means consistent agreement (completely or partly) with all statements.[25]

Statements in index 1,
Attitude towards immigrants:

"Immigration is (not) good for the Swedish economy"
"Immigration is (not) good for Sweden's culture"
"Sweden should (not) allow immigration from poor non-European countries"
"Immigrants from outside Europe should go back to their home countries"
"Sweden should (not) continue to accept refugees"
"Immigrants should become as like Swedes as possible"
"Too high immigration from outside Europe destroys Swedish culture"

INDEX 2 "Attitude towards Muslims" is made up of five statements which express common opinions about Muslims and Islam. The more of these statements the individual student agreed with, the more negative his or her attitude towards Muslims. An "intolerant" attitude means consistent agreement (completely or partly) with all statements.

Statements in index 2,
Attitude towards Muslims:

"Most Muslims are probably (not) law-abiding"
"A TV anchor should (not) be allowed to wear a headscarf"
"Most Muslims only want to live on welfare"
"Muslim men oppress women more than other men do"
"Islam is the religion which most naturally leads to terrorism"

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23 The statements focused on attitude to people with disabilities produced correlations with each other which were hard to interpret and largely no correlation at all with the 26 statements which formed the basis of the five indices. They were therefore excluded from this analysis but will be processed further at a later date.

24 All the statements have been coded such that they run in the same direction in terms of the positive-negative dimension to facilitate comparison.

25 The expression "consistent agreement" must be modified somewhat. Above we pointed out that the coding of a number of statements has been reversed (1=4, 2=3 etc.) with the aim of ensuring that all the statements expressed the same direction in terms of values (positive-negative). It is thus not the wording of the statement which was changed but only the code number attributed to the responses. "Not" in brackets in the tables above means that the respondent disagreed (completely or partly) from e.g. the statement that immigration is good for the Swedish economy.

INDEX 3, "Attitude towards Roma", is made up of two statements which express common opinions about Roma. Students who agreed (completely or partly) with both statements can be assumed to have an intolerant attitude towards Roma.

Statements in index 3,
Attitude towards Roma:

"Roma use social benefits more than other people do"
"Roma people carry out more criminal activity than other people in Sweden"

INDEX 4, "Attitude towards Jews", is made up of four statements which express common opinions about Jews. The more of these statements the individual student agreed with, the more negative his or her attitude towards Jews. An "intolerant" attitude means consistent agreement (completely or partly) with all statements.

Statements in index 4,
attitude towards Jews:

"Jews have too much influence in the world today"
"There is too much talk about Nazism and the Holocaust"
"There's a lot of truth in the claim 'Jews are miserly'"
"Because of Israel's politics I am increasingly thinking worse of Jews"

INDEX 5 "Attitude towards homosexuals" is made up of four statements which express common opinions about homosexuals. The more of these statements the individual student agreed with, the more negative his or her attitude towards homosexuals. An "intolerant" attitude means consistent agreement (completely or partly) with all statements.

Statements in index 5
Attitude towards homosexuals:

"HIV and AIDS is nature's punishment for homosexual men"
"Homosexuals should (not) be allowed to adopt children"
"Homosexuality is a disease"
"(Not) as natural to be homosexual as it is to be heterosexual"

There is a relatively strong correlation between indices 1 and 2, Attitude towards immigrants and Attitude towards Muslims. To a certain extent, this is understandable, as many immigrants come from Muslim countries. However, the correlation coefficient of 0.72 means that there is quite a lot of variation which is not shared by both dimensions of opinion. This is true to an even greater extent for the other correlations, where the correlation coefficient is considerably lower. There is thus support for keeping the five different attitudes separate and seeing them as relatively independent of each other.

TABLE 1 sets out the percentage distribution of students across the six points on the scale for each of the five indices. Because the five indices are based on viewpoints of varying "strength", focused on specific groups, and express different dimensions of opinion, they cannot be compared directly.

Point 1 on the scale denotes the most positive attitude while point 6 on the scale denotes the most negative attitude. The students who are placed on point 1 of the scale have (completely or partly) agreed to all the statements whose content is positive and disagreed with the negative statements. In other words, they have shown that they consistently hold tolerant values. The students, on the other hand, who are placed on point 6 of the scale have expressed clear agreement (completely or partly) with all the statements whose content is negative and disagreed with the positive statements. They can therefore be said to hold intolerant values.

We can see that the proportion who are tolerant is larger than the proportion who are intolerant for each of the five attitude measurements. The greatest difference is that between those who express a tolerant and an intolerant attitude to homosexuals. A whole 28 percent of students have placed themselves on point 1 of the scale which indicates the most positive attitude, while 9 per-

Table 1. Proportion of upper secondary school students according to points on the scale of 1–6 for the five indices. The lowest number on the scale shows the most positive attitude and the highest number on the scale the most negative attitude. Weighted data.

TABLE 1					
INDEX SCALE	INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS				
	IMMIGRANTS	MUSLIMS	ROMA	JEWS	HOMOSEXUALS
1	15.5	8.8	13.2	9.3	27.9
2	22.5	20.8	13.0	19.1	25.9
3	29.0	28.1	28.9	31.6	14.7
4	15.2	23.6	20.4	21.5	13.1
5	10.4	11.9	17.0	12.1	9.8
6	7.5	6.8	7.5	6.5	8.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Table 2. Proportion (as a percentage) of students in the three simplified index categories. Weighted data.

TABLE 2					
SIMPLIFIED CATEGORISATION OF THE 6-POINT INDICES	INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS				
	IMMIGRANTS	MUSLIMS	ROMA	JEWS	HOMOSEXUALS
Positive	38.0	29.6	26.3	28.4	53.8
Ambivalent	44.1	51.7	49.3	53.1	27.9
Negative	17.9	18.7	24.5	18.6	18.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

cent of the students are at the opposite end of the scale. For the index measuring attitudes towards Muslims, the proportion of students at the lowest point on the scale is 7 percent while the proportion with the highest score is 9 percent.

TABLE 2 shows a simplified account of the students' attitudes. Here three categories are used, entitled: "positive" attitude (equivalent to points 1+2 on the scale in table 1), "ambivalent" attitude (equivalent to points 3+4 on the scale in table 1) and "negative" attitude (equivalent to points 5+6 on the scale in table 1). The simplified account means that the students with a positive attitude includes those students who showed themselves to be most tolerant (point 1 on the scale in table 1) while the students with a negative attitude include the students who showed themselves to be most intolerant (point 6 on the scale in table 1). Students with a more uncertain and less clear-cut opinion, who we have termed "ambivalent" are of particular interest in this survey, because they can be assumed to be more open to influence, knowledge and argument.

Regarding the measurement for attitude towards Muslims and the measurement for attitude towards Jews, the proportion of students with an ambivalent attitude amounts to just over half. The table shows that more than half the students have a positive attitude towards homo-

sexuals, while just under a fifth have a negative attitude. The attitudes towards Roma are polarised, a quarter of the students have a positive attitude and a quarter have a negative attitude. Half of the students have ambivalent attitudes towards Roma. Just over half of the students also have ambivalent attitudes towards Muslims and Jews. The proportion with negative attitudes is roughly a fifth of all students.

Using these five indices for attitudes towards vulnerable groups, we will now move on to study which students are in the majority among positive, ambivalent and negative attitudes and also investigate the significance of different backgrounds and environments for the students' attitudes.

4.2 CORRELATION BETWEEN UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS' ATTITUDES AND THEIR SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIAL BACKGROUND

The significance of gender, age and upper secondary school programme

This survey confirms the results of previous surveys.[26] For all five measurements of attitude (attitude towards immigrants, attitude towards Muslims, attitude towards Roma, attitude towards Jews and attitude towards homosexuals) girls show more positive attitudes than boys, see tables 3–7 in Tables. The differences are greatest between the attitudes of boys and girls to homosexuals. Three-quarters of the girls expressed positive attitudes compared with a third of the boys. Boys' attitudes in this respect are relatively evenly divided between positive, ambivalent and negative.

The correlation between the students' age and their attitudes to vulnerable groups is weaker than the correlation with gender but we can nevertheless see that those who are older and in the third year of upper secondary school have a slightly more positive attitude and slightly less ambivalent and negative attitudes respectively than younger students. In terms of attitudes towards Roma, the majority of students in year 1 expressed ambivalent opinions, which is considerably more than is the case for those in year 3.

Students on academic programmes have more positive attitudes than students on other programmes. For all attitude measurements, the proportion of negative and the proportion of ambivalent students are lower for those on academic programmes than for those on other programmes.

The significance of national background

The results of this survey confirm previous observations. Students with a Swedish background demonstrate more negative opinions and more ambivalent attitudes to immigration and immigrants as well as to Muslims, compared with students with a foreign background, see tables 3–7 in Tables. A fifth of students with a Swedish background have a negative attitude towards immigrants and Muslims. More than half of students with a Swedish background are ambivalent towards Muslims.

Attitudes towards homosexuals and towards Jews are the opposite. Students with a Swedish background express positive attitudes towards both homosexuals and Jews to a considerably higher extent than students with a foreign background.[27] The differences between the proportions which are ambivalent are minimal. Just over half of students with a Swedish background and

[26] See Ring & Morgentau (2004); Bachner & Ring (2005) and Otterbeck & Bevelander (2006).

[27] This survey included 899 students with a foreign background and 3,768 students with a Swedish background. The category Swedish background includes students who were themselves born in Sweden and have a maximum of one parent born abroad. Students with a foreign background includes students who were born abroad and both of whose parents were born abroad as well as those born in Sweden but both of whose parents were born abroad.

Table 3. Upper secondary school students by national background and religion. Row percentages. Weighted data.

TABLE 3					
	RELIGIOUS BELIEF/AFFILIATION				
NATIONAL BACKGROUND	CHURCH OF SWEDEN	OTHER CHRISTIAN: FREE CHURCH ORTHODOX CATHOLIC	ISLAM: SUNNI AND SHIA	OTHER	NO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
Swedish	51	5	1	3	40
Foreign	8	25	36	9	23
Total	43	9	7	4	37

just under half of immigrants hold ambivalent attitudes towards Jews. Among students with a foreign background, around a third are negative towards both Jews and homosexuals.

The differences are not as clear-cut when it comes to attitudes towards Roma. Half of the students express ambivalence irrespective of their background. Students with a foreign background are slightly more negative compared with their Swedish contemporaries.

When the students' ages and programmes of study are added to the comparison, it becomes clear that it is boys with a Swedish background in year 1 of vocational upper secondary school programmes who display the most negative attitude towards immigrants and Muslims. Among students with a foreign background, a higher proportion with a negative attitude towards Jews and homosexuals is found among boys in year 1 on academic programmes.

The significance of religion

Almost two-thirds of upper secondary school students stated that they belonged to a religion, faith or religious community while just under a third answered that they had no religious affiliation.[28] Interestingly enough, the distribution of responses matched very well with that shown in the 2003 survey.

TABLE 3 shows that 78 percent of students with a foreign background stated a religious affiliation. The corresponding proportion among students with a Swedish background is 60 percent. A third of students with a foreign background are Christian and just over a third are Muslim. Half of the students with a Swedish background stated that they belonged to the Church of Sweden.

The results of this survey confirm previous observations of the correlation between religious affiliation and attitude to vulnerable groups, see tables 3–7 in Tables. Regarding attitude to homosexuals, the comparison shows that those who belong to the Church of Sweden have more positive attitudes than others. Among students who stated that they belonged to Islamic faith communities, the proportions who are ambivalent and negative are higher than for other religious categories. This group of students also has a more negative attitude towards Jews while others display a predominantly ambivalent attitude towards Jews.

[28] In total 43 percent stated that they belonged to the Church of Sweden, 9 percent stated another Christian faith community (3 percent Catholic, Orthodox and free churches respectively), 7 percent the Islamic faith (2 percent Shia and 5 percent Sunni) and 0.2 percent the Jewish faith. Four percent made use of the opportunity to write in a different religious affiliation. Of these, some students cited "free churches" (Jehovah's Witness and the Church of Scientology), some answered Buddhism, and others answered that they believe in God but do not belong to a religious community. Several young people gave irrelevant answers.

The picture is once more less clear and predominantly ambivalent regarding attitudes towards Roma. The majority are ambivalent. This is true both for those who are religious and for the non-religious.

When we look at the correlation between attitude towards Muslims and religious affiliation, students who belong to various Christian groups and students who lack religious affiliation produce similar results. Roughly a quarter are positive, half ambivalent and a fifth negative.

Looking at attitudes towards immigrants, the proportion who are ambivalent is lower and the proportion with a positive attitude is higher for those who belong to Christian faith communities outside the Church of Sweden compared with others.

Parental level of education

The socio-economic status of the family is largely determined by the level of education of the parents. Looking at the parents of these students, the proportion with pre-upper secondary education is 8 percent, the proportion with upper secondary education 48 percent and the proportion with post-upper secondary education or equivalent 44 percent.[29] A comparison of the level of education of parents and the attitudes of the students to vulnerable groups clearly shows that the higher the level of parental education, the more positive the students' attitudes towards vulnerable groups, see tables 3–7 in Tables. Regarding attitude towards immigrants, just over 70 percent of students with the most highly educated parents demonstrated a positive attitude.

Regarding attitude towards Roma, students with the most highly educated parents did produce a higher proportion of respondents with a positive attitude than other students, but at the same time almost half of the students were ambivalent.

Table 4. Proportion as a percentage by five background characteristics who stated that they have several friends with an African, Arabic, Jewish, Muslim and/or Roma background. Weighted data.

TABLE 4								
HAS SEVERAL FRIENDS WITH THE FOLLOWING BACKGROUND:	GENDER		YEAR		UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL PROGRAMMES		NATIONAL BACKGROUND	
	BOYS	GIRLS	1	3	ACADEM-IC.	OTHER	SWEDISH	FOREIGN
African	12	9	14	6	12	10	5	36
Arabic	17	14	19	11	19	14	9	43
Jewish	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	3
Muslim	24	22	26	18	25	21	13	62
Roma	5	2	5	2	3	4	1	12

[29] Data is obtained from the Swedish population register

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FRIENDSHIPS

It has been repeatedly shown in various studies that those who have experience of people from another culture have a more positive attitude towards that culture. This is usually called the contact hypothesis. In accordance with this hypothesis we sought answers to the following questions: Are young people with many friends from different parts of the world more tolerant than those without such friends? Are young people with a Swedish background who have friends from other cultural, ethnic and national minorities more tolerant than other Swedish young people?

Friendship relationships among students in residential areas were very common. Nine young people out of ten stated that they had a friend in the same residential area and half of those had many friends, see the distribution of responses in table 2 in Tables.

Table 5. Proportion of students (as a percentage) by four background characteristics who stated that they have a friend who is physically or mentally disabled and who have a friend who is homosexual. Weighted data.

TABLE 5									
HAS A FRIEND WHO IS	GENDER		YEAR		UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL PROGRAMME		NATIONAL BACKGROUND		TOTAL
	BOYS	GIRLS	1	3	ACADEMIC	OTHER	SWEDISH	FOREIGN	
Physically or mentally disabled	24	26	24	27	24	32	26	22	28
Homosexual	16	44	27	32	27	28	30	29	30

Table 6. Relation between having friends with a certain background and attitude to the group representing the friends' background.[30] Row percentages. Weighted data.

TABLE 6						
FRIENDS WITH THE FOLLOWING BACKGROUND		PROPORTION AS PERCENTAGE WITH DIFFERENT ATTITUDES TO THE GROUP IN QUESTION SCALE FROM 1 (VERY NEGATIVE) TO 6 (VERY POSITIVE). SIMPLIFIED SCALE BELOW: "NEGATIVE" = 1 OR 2, "AMBIVALENT" = 3 OR 4; "POSITIVE" = 5 OR 6				
		NEGATIVE	AMBIVALENT	POSITIVE	NO OPINION	ALL
African	None	9	36	27	28	42
	At least one	5	34	46	15	41
Jewish	None	13	35	21	32	77
	At least one	6	31	42	22	23
Muslim	None	31	35	11	24	36
	At least one	14	35	34	17	64
Roma	None	25	29	13	34	80
	At least one	21	32	25	22	20

[30] African: Chi2 p = 0.001; C = 0.22; Jewish: Chi2 p = 0.001; C = 0.20. Muslim: Chi2 p = 0.001; C = 0.27; Roma: Chi2 p = 0.001; C = 0.16. C = contingency coefficient.

Friends from vulnerable groups

The young people were asked whether they had friends with an African, Arabic, Jewish, Muslim or Roma background, see distribution by background in TABLE 4.

The table shows that considerably more students with a foreign background compared with students with a Swedish background have friends with an African, Arabic, Jewish, Muslim or Roma background.

The students were also asked whether they had any friends with a disability, e.g. in a wheelchair, and whether they had any friends who were homosexual.

TABLE 5 shows that three times as many girls than boys have a friend who is homosexual. Considerably more students on vocational programmes stated that they had a friend with a disability compared with students on academic programmes. Otherwise there were only small differences between the different categories of student.

The correlation between how the students experience groups in society which are exposed to prejudice and discrimination and having a friend with this background themselves is shown in TABLE 6.

Table 6 shows that there is a strong correlation between having a friend and how one values people with the same background. Those who had a friend who was African, Jewish, Muslim or Roma had a positive attitude to Africans, Jews, Muslims and Roma people more often than those who did not have friends with these backgrounds. The correlation was strongest for friends with a Muslim background and views about Muslims in general. The correlation was weakest for Roma.

Because the analysis did not include a time dimension, it is not possible to state the causal direction or to judge the impact of other characteristics and life situations.

Table 7. Proportion of students by the points of the scale on the index for combined friendship relationships. The higher the index value the more friends with an African Arabic, Latin American, Muslim or Roma background. Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number. Weighted data.

TABLE 7	
INDEX SCALE	PROPORTION AS %
1	10
2	14
3	36
4	20
5	11
6	9

Multicultural friend index

A "multicultural" friend index was constructed on the basis of the number of friends with different cultural backgrounds. As well as friends with an African, Arabic, Muslim and Roma back-

Table 8. Correlation between indices for attitude towards vulnerable groups and multicultural friendship index, separately for young people with a Swedish and foreign background respectively. Correlation coefficients over 0.05 are statistically significant. Weighted data.

TABLE 8					
	INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS				
	IMMIGRANTS	MUSLIMS	ROMA	JEWS	HOMOSEXUALS
Swedish background	-0.20	-0.19	-0.11	-0.07	-0.06
Foreign background	-0.15	-0.21	-0.01	0.09	-0.06
All	-0.24	-0.22	-0.07	0.06	0.05

ground, the index also included friends with a Latin American background. The distribution is shown in TABLE 7.

Nine percent of the students had friends from all backgrounds and one in ten did not have any friends from these backgrounds. The majority had a few friends with one of these backgrounds. The correlation between the indices for attitude to vulnerable groups and the multicultural friend index is shown in TABLE 8.

The table shows considerable negative correlations between the multicultural friend index and the indices for attitude towards immigrants and towards Muslims. This means that a large number of students who have many friends with an immigrant background have a positive attitude towards immigrants and to Muslims. The correlations are stronger for students with a Swedish background than for students with a foreign background. The coefficients in the table say nothing about the direction of the causal link, i.e. which comes first.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHARACTER OF THE SCHOOL

The survey covered 154 upper secondary schools in Sweden in the school year 2009/2010. The geographical spread of these schools is shown on the map of Sweden on page 24. All counties and regions in Sweden are represented in the survey. Cities are somewhat over-represented in the survey due to the stratification of the sample (see table 1.3 in Tables).

The significance of municipality size

The proportion of students in the three city areas amounts to 40 percent and students in other towns and municipalities amount to 60 percent.

A comparison of attitudes among students in cities and in the rest of the country shows that students in cities are more positive and less ambivalent compared with young people in other counties, see tables 3–7 in Tables. For example, a third of the students in the cities have a positive attitude towards Jews, while those with a positive attitude account for a quarter of students in the rest of the country.

However, place of residence has no significance for those with negative attitudes towards homosexuals, Jews and Roma. The proportion of students with a negative attitude towards Jews and towards homosexuals makes up just under a fifth of both students in cities and students in other municipalities. The proportion with a negative attitude towards Roma constitutes a quarter of both students in cities and students in other locations in Sweden.

Character of the school

Considering that the survey studies the attitudes of students in upper secondary schools, it was considered appropriate to study the character of and the environment at these upper secondary schools. These measurements are based on data on the area, schools register data and the Swedish population register. The area data used concerns the residential areas from which the students in each school come (SAMS data). Each school has thus been described in terms of the student population which populates it. SAMS data on the students' residential areas describes the residents

Table 9. Proportion of schools as a percentage for the different points on the scale for the two indices for "character of school". Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number. Weighted data.

TABLE 9		
INDEX SCALE	PROPORTION AS % OF TOTAL 154 SCHOOLS	
	INDEX 1 "IMMIGRANT DENSITY LEVEL"	INDEX 2 "HIGH-INCOME LEVEL"
1	11	10
2	18	22
3	33	30
4	18	16
5	10	11
6	10	11

in terms of the proportion in paid employment, income levels, education levels, types of housing and country of birth.

Character of school indices

The variables describing the residential areas of the students have been subjected to factor analysis. The analysis resulted in two factors. These factors are used as the basis for two indices describing the socio-economic and "multicultural" environment created by the pupil population in each school. The two "character of school" indices are constructed as follows:

INDEX 1 describes the character of the schools using data on the students' residential areas regarding the proportion of non-European immigrants, rented flats, low income households and immigrants from EU countries outside the Nordic countries as well as the proportion born in Sweden. The higher the score on index 1, the more students in the school who live in areas with growing proportions of residents of non-European origin, rented flats, low income households and immigrants from EU countries outside the Nordic countries and a declining proportion born in Sweden. We call this index "immigrant density level".

Table 10. Proportion as percentage of all students according to points on the scale for the school merit rating index. Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number. Weighted data.

TABLE 10	
INDEX SCALE	PROPORTION AS %
1	7
2	12
3	24
4	24
5	11
6	14
7	9

INDEX 2 describes the character of the schools using data on the students' residential areas regarding the number of residents with high incomes and high education. The higher the value for index 2, the more students in the school who live in areas with a growing proportion of high-income households and people with university education and a shrinking proportion of residents with only pre-upper secondary education and people with moderately low incomes. We call this index "high-income level".

TABLE 9 shows the proportion of schools in the survey according to different scores on the two indices. One school in 10 is characterised by its students coming from areas with a low proportion of immigrants, unemployed people and rented accommodation. One school in 10 is characterised by its students coming from areas with a high proportion of immigrants, unemployed people and rented accommodation. The same proportions of schools have students from areas with a high proportion of highly educated people and those on high incomes and students from areas with a low proportion of highly educated people and those on high incomes respectively. The majority of schools have students from areas with a varied and mixed population.

The correlation between the two indices is 0.02, which means that in principle they are independent of each other.

The schools' merit ratings

A third index for describing the character of the schools looks at the schools' academic quality and is based on school data on the proportion of teachers with university degrees in education and the average grades of the classes leaving the upper secondary school in the spring term of 2009. The correlation between these variables is 0.39, which is a moderately strong correlation. The two variables were combined in an index called "merit rating", see TABLE 10.

The higher the value on the merit rating index, the more teachers with a university degree in education and the higher the average grade of leaving classes in the spring term of 2009. The index is constructed such that all students with a score of 1 on the merit rating index have the values 1 or 2 on both the grade index and the index for the proportion of qualified teachers, in other words they attend schools with low merit ratings and a low proportion of teachers with an academic education. All those with a score of 7 on the merit rating index have scores of 5 or 6 on the grade index and 6 or 7 on the index for qualified teachers, i.e. they attend schools with a high merit rating and a high proportion of teachers with an academic education.

The table shows that just under a quarter of the students in the survey attend schools with high merit ratings, i.e. high average grades and a high proportion of qualified teachers. A fifth of students attend schools with low merit ratings, i.e. low average grades and a low proportion of qualified teachers. The majority of the students attend schools with varying merit ratings.

The correlations between character of school index 2, high-income level, the schools' merit rating and parental level of education vary between 0.20 and 0.45. The correlations between character of school index 1, immigrant density level, the schools' average grades and parental level of education are weakly negative.

Correlation between indices characterising schools and indices for attitudes towards vulnerable groups

Measurements of the schools' social environments were used to study correlations with the students' attitudes to different vulnerable groups.

TABLE 11 shows that the correlations in general are relatively weak between attitudes towards vulnerable groups on the one hand and the character of the schools on the other. There are weak negative correlations between the schools merit ratings and attitude to different vulnerable groups. Parental education also has weak negative correlations with the same attitude indices.

The correlation between school merit rating and students' attitude towards Jews is the single strongest correlation. These correlations mean that students who attend schools with high average grades and students whose parents are highly educated tend to a certain extent to have a more positive attitude to each of the vulnerable groups and particularly towards Jews. The table also shows a negative correlation between

Table 11. Correlation between indices for attitude towards vulnerable groups and indices for the character of the school and parental level of education. Correlation coefficients over 0.05 are statistically significant. Weighted data.

TABLE 11					
INDEX DESCRIBING SCHOOLS AND PARENTAL EDUCATION	INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS				
	IMMIGRANTS	MUSLIMS	ROMA	JEWS	HOMOSEXUALS
Character of school index 1 "immigrant density level"	-0.03	-0.04	0.05	0.11	0.09
Index for character of school 2 "high-income level"	-0.15	-0.17	-0.09	-0.19	-0.18
School merit rating (average grades + teaching qualifications)	-0.18	-0.20	-0.17	-0.22	-0.19
Parental education	-0.16	-0.21	-0.13	-0.20	-0.21

attitude towards Jews and character of school 2 and a weak positive correlation with character of school 1. This means that in schools which recruit their students from areas with high proportions of highly educated people and those on high incomes, the attitude towards Jews is slightly more positive than in other areas. In schools with students from areas with high proportions of non-European immigrants, low earners and those with less education, the attitude towards Jews is more negative than in other areas.

Attitude towards immigrants

The simplified tables for correlations between attitude towards vulnerable groups and measurements describing different aspects of the schools show that half of the students in areas with a high proportion of immigrants and areas with a high proportion of highly educated inhabitants and in schools where the merit rating is high, have a positive attitude towards immigrants (see table 3.2 in Tables). In schools with low merit ratings, a third of the students are negative towards immigrants.

Attitude towards Muslims

Forty percent of students from school areas with a high proportion of highly educated people and schools with high merit ratings have a positive attitude towards Muslims (see table 4.2 in Tables). A third of students in schools with low merit ratings have a negative attitude towards Muslims. The proportion who are ambivalent is almost 50 percent.

Attitude towards Roma

Just under forty percent of students in schools with high merit ratings and in areas with a high proportion of highly educated people have a positive attitude towards Roma (see table 5.2 in Tables). Just over a third of students in schools with low merit ratings have a negative attitude towards Roma, as do a quarter of students from areas where the proportion of highly educated people is low.

Attitude towards Jews

Half of the students in schools with high merit ratings and in school districts with a high proportion of highly educated people have a positive attitude towards Roma (see table 6.2 in Tables). A third of students from areas with a high proportion of immigrants and people on low incomes and in schools with low merit ratings have a negative attitude towards Jews. The proportion who are ambivalent accounts for roughly 50 percent of students.

Attitude towards homosexuals

Seventy percent of students in schools with high merit ratings and from areas with a high proportion of highly educated people have a positive attitude towards homosexuals (see table 7.2 in Tables). A third of students in schools with low merit ratings have a negative attitude.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

The annual surveys carried out by the Swedish National Agency for Education on how happy students are at school have shown that almost all students are happy at their schools and get on well with other students. This is also shown by the students in this survey. Students are happy at their schools even if the environment shows signs of being anything but pleasant. The Swedish National Agency for Education's surveys show that swearing, bad language, racism and violence occur in comprehensive schools and upper secondary schools. Bullying occurs both from teachers and between students. According to the Swedish National Agency for Education (Skolverket 2006) 3 percent of students in years

7–9 of comprehensive school and at upper secondary school felt bullied or harassed by other students and 4 percent felt bullied or harassed by their teachers. These figures have remained relatively unchanged since the early 1990s (Skolverket 2007). Alcohol consumption was widespread among upper secondary school students. According to a survey by the Swedish National Institute of Public Health in 2007, a third of young people aged 16–24 had a high alcohol consumption which placed them at risk.

Upper secondary school students in this survey answered questions aimed at indicating the social environment of the school, see table 2.4 in Tables. The responses showed that just under half of upper secondary school students have a school environment in which peace and calm prevails during lessons. Verbal abuse or swearing were common. Only one student in 10 answered that they had never heard derogatory language at their school.[31] Just over half of the upper secondary school students stated that they had often seen their school friends drunk. Only 15 percent had never seen any school colleagues drink themselves to a state of intoxication.

Just over a third of students at upper secondary school stated that bullying had occurred in their school at least once and just under a third stated that they themselves had been the victim of bullying at least once. The high proportion of students who have experienced bullying may be connected to an increase in bullying via the internet. An additional measurement of the school social environment was experience of teachers who encourage students to think critically. Just over half of the students stated that they had a teacher who encouraged critical thought, see the distribution of responses in table 2.4.

A comparison of students in terms of gender, year, upper secondary school programme and national background shows a number of differences. Those who had experienced verbal abuse at school are in the majority among boys, students in year 1 and students on vocational upper secondary school programmes. Students who have seen school friends drunk are in the majority in year 3, on academic programmes and among those with a Swedish background. Students who answered that it is often calm in the classroom during lessons are more often found on academic programmes than on other programmes.

Two school environment indices

The responses to the questions on different aspects of the students' school environments were subjected to factor analysis. The analysis resulted in two factors which were used as the basis for two school environment indices. School environment index 1 is made up of the students' responses to questions on the occurrence of verbal abuse at school, the prevalence of school students who drink themselves drunk and the prevalence of bullying at the school. We call this index the "problem density" school environment index. The higher the score on index 1, the more students in the school experience that verbal abuse is common, that they often see school students drinking themselves drunk and that they know that bullying takes place at the school.

School environment index 2 is made up of the students' responses to questions about how often the classroom is calm during lessons and whether teachers encourage critical thinking. We call this index the "calmness" school environment index. The higher the score on index 2, the more often the classroom is calm and the more often teachers encourage critical thinking.

The correlation between the two indices is 0.12, which means that the two indices are relatively independent of each other.

TABLE 12 shows that one in five upper secondary school pupils have a school environment

[31] Researchers have claimed that words such as "faggot", "spaz" and similar need not necessarily be seen as derogatory or insulting by young people (Ambjörnsson 2004, Jonsson. 2007). They are considered to be words whose meanings are constantly shifting and terms that are the subject of negotiation. The responses of the students in this survey partly supported the researchers' observations. The majority agreed that you can call someone a "bloody spaz" or a "bloody faggot" without this necessarily being interpreted as disliking people with cerebral palsy or homosexuals. At the same time, students with a foreign background demonstrated greater uncertainty about these statements, see table 2 in Tables.

characterised by bad language, bullying and by school students often drinking themselves drunk. Just over one in four have a school environment which is relatively free from these negative factors. The table also shows that 15 percent of the upper secondary school students have a school environment where it is calm during lessons and where teachers encourage their students to think critically and independently to a high degree. For a quarter of upper secondary school students the situation is the reverse. The vast majority of students have a school environment with elements of both aspects.

Correlations between the school environment indices and the character of school indices are positive between school environment 2, calmness, the schools' merit ratings and schools in well-off areas. Other correlations are weakly negative, see TABLE 13.

Table 12 Proportion as a percentage for the points on the scale in the school environment indices. School environment index 2 consists of two variables and has five levels, while school environment index 1 consists of three variables and has six levels. Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number. Weighted data.

TABLE 12

INDEX SCALE	SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT INDEX PROPORTION AS %	
	1 "PROBLEM DENSITY"	2 "CALMNESS"
1	11	4
2	15	21
3	39	38
4	15	23
5	11	15
6	9	–

Correlation between school environment indices and indices for attitude towards vulnerable groups

Regarding the relationship between the school environment indices and the indices for attitudes towards vulnerable groups, TABLE 14 shows a weak positive correlation with the problem-dense school environments and several negative correlations with the calm school environments. The more the school environment is characterised by derogatory language, bullying and school students being seen drunk, the more common the negative and intolerant attitudes are. The more the school environment is characterised by a calm working environment and teachers who encourage critical thinking, the more often positive and tolerant attitudes are found.

The simplified tables 3-7 in Tables show the correlation between attitudes to vulnerable groups and school environments.

Attitude towards immigrants

The majority of students who have a school environment where the classroom is calm and who have teachers who encourage critical thinking have a positive attitude towards immigrants (table 3.2 in Tables). Among students in school environments where derogatory language, bullying, etc. is uncommon, almost half of the students have a positive attitude towards immigrants. In schools

Table 13. Correlation between school environment indices and character of school indices. Correlation coefficients over 0.05 are statistically significant. Weighted data.

TABLE 13

SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT INDEX	"CHARACTER OF SCHOOL" AND SCHOOL MERIT RATING INDICES		
	CHARACTER OF SCHOOL 1 "IMMIGRANT DENSITY LEVEL"	CHARACTER OF SCHOOL 2 "HIGH-INCOME LEVEL"	SCHOOL MERIT RATING
School environment 1 "problem density"	-0.08	-0.04	-0.02
School environment 2 "calmness"	-0.05	0.17	0.24

with unruly classes and where bullying, verbal abuse, etc. are common, a third of the students have a negative attitude towards immigrants and immigration.

Attitude towards Muslims

If we look at attitude towards Muslims (table 4.2 in Tables) almost half of the students in calm environments are positive and almost half are ambivalent towards Muslims. In school environments characterised by a lack of calmness, just over a third of the students are negative and in environments with a high level of verbal abuse and bullying, a third are negative towards Muslims.

Attitude towards Roma

Regarding the students' school environment and attitudes towards Roma, forty percent of students whose classrooms are calm are positive towards Roma. More than half of the students in undisciplined classes and in schools with a high degree of verbal abuse, bullying, etc., had a negative attitude towards Roma (table 5.2 in Tables). Just over a third of students in the schools where bullying, etc. occurs are negative towards Roma.

Attitude towards Jews

In school environments with a high degree of calmness in the classroom and teachers who encourage critical thought, forty percent of the students have a positive attitude towards Jews (table 6.2 in Tables). A majority of students in school environments characterised by a lack of calmness have an ambivalent attitude, while just over half of students in schools where verbal abuse and bullying exist have an ambivalent attitude. Those who have a negative attitude towards Jews make up a third of respondents in "problem-dense" school environments and a quarter of respondents in school environments lacking in calmness.

Attitude towards homosexuals

Almost half of the students in classes characterised by calmness and encouraging teachers have a positive attitude towards homosexuals (table 7.2 in Tables). An equally high proportion express an ambivalent attitude. In the "problem-dense" schools, a third are positive towards homosexuals and just over half are ambivalent in their attitude. Just over a third of those in an environment which lacks calmness have a negative attitude towards homosexuals.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TEACHING

Schools bear responsibility for passing on knowledge on human rights, national minorities, world religions, the consequences of the Second World War, etc. The Swedish Schools Inspectorate has shown that schools have problems with this knowledge remit. Major differences in quality have been found between schools and also within a single school. Some students have teachers with sound subject knowledge while others are taught by teachers who have no training at all in the subject in question (Skolinspektionen, 2010).

The students in this survey were asked to

Table 14. Correlation between indices for attitude towards vulnerable groups and school environment index. Correlation coefficients over 0.05 are statistically significant. Weighted data.

TABLE 14					
SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT INDEX	INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS				
	IMMIGRANTS	MUSLIMS	ROMA	JEWS	HOMOSEXUALS
Index 1 "problem density"	0.15	0.14	0.13	0.09	0.08
Index 2 "calmness"	-0.24	-0.24	-0.15	-0.16	-0.12

state on a scale how much teaching they had received on a number of topics of interest to the Living History Forum, e.g. racism, mass murder carried out by the Nazis, and human rights. We wanted to investigate the correlation between teaching on such subjects and attitudes towards vulnerable groups.

The topic which the largest proportion of the students considered that they had received quite a lot of teaching about was the Holocaust, i.e. the Nazi's mass murder of Jews (see distribution of frequencies in table 2 in Tables). In total three-quarters stated that they had received a great deal or a quite a lot of teaching about the Holocaust. A third stated that they had received quite a lot of teaching about the UN Declaration on Human Rights, while only 14 percent answered that they had received quite a lot of teaching about Sweden's national minorities. TABLE 15 shows teaching expressed as mean scores for students in the different years and programmes of study.

With minor exceptions there were no noticeable differences between students in years 1 and 3 on the question of amount of teaching. Students on academic programmes had received slightly more teaching about the Holocaust and about slavery and colonialism than students on other programmes.

Another teaching area of interest for this survey was world religions. The majority of the students answered that they had received quite a lot of teaching about the five world religions. The mean scores for teaching in the different years and on different programmes of study are shown in TABLE 16.

The table shows that there were no differences worth mentioning between the amount of teaching about world religions between years 1 and 3. There were some differences between students on different upper secondary school programmes. Students on academic programmes stated to a slightly higher extent than students

Table 15. Mean scores for responses to the questions about how much teaching students had received on different topics. Scale 1–4, where 1 = "None at all", 2 = "A little", 3 = "Quite a lot" and 4 = "A great deal". Weighted data.

TABLE 15

TEACHING ON THE FOLLOWING	YEAR 1		YEAR 3		ALL
	ACADEMIC	OTHER	ACADEMIC	OTHER	
The UN Declaration on Human Rights	2.3	2.2	2.5	2.2	2.3
Terrorism	2.0	1.9	2.1	1.9	2.0
Racism and xenophobia	2.7	2.4	2.6	2.5	2.5
The Holocaust	3.4	3.1	3.5	3.1	3.2
Nazi mass murder of other peoples	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.2	2.4
Crimes against humanity under Communist regimes	2.2	2.1	2.3	2.1	2.1
Slavery and colonialism	2.6	2.4	2.9	2.3	2.5
Swedish racial biology	1.6	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.7

on other upper secondary school programmes that they had received teaching about Islam and Judaism.

A comparison of school teaching and the character of the different schools shows larger differences, see TABLE 17. The amount of teaching on different topics shows a weak positive covariation with character of school index 2, high-income level. The correlation is strongest for teaching about the Holocaust and teaching about colonialism. For index 1, immigrant density level, the correlations are generally very weak.

Correlation between teaching and indices for attitude towards vulnerable groups

There is a clear correlation between the amount of teaching and attitudes towards vulnerable groups. The more teaching, the more positive attitudes, see tables 18 a–c on page 49. This is true for all three subjects taught and for each of the indices which express attitudes towards vulnerable groups.

The simplified indices for attitudes towards vulnerable groups and teaching on the three subjects human rights, racism and the Holocaust are shown in tables 3–7 in Tables.

Attitude towards immigrants

Between forty-five and fifty percent of the students who received a great deal of teaching about

Table 17. Correlations between the two indices for character of school (index scores 1–6) and teaching about different themes. Weighted data. Correlation coefficients over 0.05 are statistically significant.

TABLE 17		
TEACHING ABOUT:	CHARACTER OF SCHOOL INDICES	
	INDEX 1 "IMMIGRANT DENSITY LEVEL"	INDEX 2 "HIGH INCOME LEVEL"
Buddhism	0.02	0.10
Hinduism	0.00	0.09
Islam	0.07	0.13
Judaism	0.05	0.09
Christianity	0.02	0.11
Sweden's national minorities	0.00	-0.04
UN Declaration	0.03	0.06
Terrorism	0.01	0.05
Racism, etc.	0.00	0.11
The Holocaust	-0.09	0.19
Nazi mass murder of other peoples	-0.02	0.08
Crimes against humanity under Communist regimes	0.01	0.11
Slavery and colonialism	0.04	0.16
Swedish racial biology	-0.02	0.03

Table 16. Mean scores for responses to the questions about how much teaching students had received on different topics. Scale 1–4, where 1 = "None at all", 2 = "A little", 3 = "Quite a lot" and 4 = "A great deal". Weighted data.

TABLE 16					
TEACHING ABOUT WORLD RELIGIONS	YEAR 1		YEAR 3		ALL
	ACADEMIC	OTHER	ACADEMIC	OTHER	
Buddhism	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.6
Hinduism	2.7	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.6
Islam	2.9	2.7	3.1	2.7	2.8
Judaism	2.9	2.7	3.0	2.7	2.8
Christianity	3.2	3.0	3.3	3.0	3.1

human rights, racism and the Holocaust have a positive attitude towards immigrants (see table 3.2 in Tables). The proportion with a positive attitude but who did not receive any teaching is approximately a third. A quarter of students who did not receive any teaching about racism or about the Holocaust have a negative attitude towards immigrants.

Attitude towards Muslims

About fifty percent of the students who received a great deal of teaching about human rights, racism and the Holocaust have a positive attitude towards Muslims (see table 4.2 in Tables). The proportion with a positive attitude but who did not receive any teaching on these subjects is approximately a quarter. A quarter of students who

Tables 18 a, 18 b, 18 c. Relationship between mean scores for the five indices for attitudes towards vulnerable groups and amount of school teaching on a) human rights, b) racism and xenophobia and c) the Holocaust. Weighted data.

TABLE 18 A

AMOUNT OF TEACHING ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS	INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS				
	IMMIGRANTS	MUSLIMS	ROMA	JEWS	HOMOSEXUALS
Yes, a great deal	2.8	2.9	3.1	3.1	2.4
Yes, quite a lot	2.9	3.2	3.2	3.2	2.7
Yes, a little	3.1	3.3	3.3	3.3	2.7
No, none	3.2	3.4	3.5	3.4	3.1
Can't remember	3.3	3.5	3.5	3.4	2.9
All	3.1	3.3	3.4	3.3	2.8

TABLE 18 B

AMOUNT OF TEACHING ABOUT RACISM AND XENOPHOBIA	INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS				
	IMMIGRANTS	MUSLIMS	ROMA	JEWS	HOMOSEXUALS
Yes, a great deal	2.9	3.1	3.3	3.1	2.5
Yes, quite a lot	2.9	3.2	3.3	3.2	2.6
Yes, a little	3.1	3.3	3.4	3.2	2.8
No, none	3.3	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.1
Can't remember	3.4	3.6	3.7	3.6	3.2
All	3.0	3.3	3.4	3.3	2.7

TABLE 18 C

AMOUNT OF TEACHING ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST	INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS				
	IMMIGRANTS	MUSLIMS	ROMA	JEWS	HOMOSEXUALS
Yes, a great deal	2.8	3.1	3.2	3.0	2.4
Yes, quite a lot	3.1	3.4	3.5	3.3	2.8
Yes, a little	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.6	3.2
No, none	3.4	3.7	3.5	3.8	3.7
Can't remember	3.4	3.8	3.6	3.9	3.6
All	3.1	3.3	3.4	3.3	2.8

did not receive any teaching about racism have a negative attitude towards Muslims. The proportion who are ambivalent is lower among those who received teaching compared with the students who did not receive any teaching.

Attitude towards Roma

Just over a third of students who have been taught about human rights have a positive attitude towards Roma while a quarter of students who did not receive such teaching have a positive attitude (see table 5.2 in Tables). For students with a negative attitude to Roma the proportions who received teaching are just as high as for those who did not receive any teaching, roughly a quarter.

Attitude towards Jews

If we look at teaching about the Holocaust and attitudes to Jews, the comparison shows major differences (see table 6.2 in Tables). Almost forty percent of students who received a great deal of teaching about the Holocaust have a positive attitude towards Jews while only ten percent of those who did not receive any teaching do so. Just over a quarter of students who did not receive teaching on the Holocaust have a negative attitude compared with 15 percent who were taught about the Holocaust.

Attitude towards homosexuals

Forty percent of students who had been taught about human rights have a positive attitude towards homosexuals. Among the students who did not receive any teaching, this proportion is thirty percent (see table 7.2 in Tables). A fifth of students with a negative attitude towards homosexuals have not received any teaching on human rights.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INTEREST IN SOCIAL ISSUES

The survey sheds light on young people's attitudes towards groups of people exposed to insults and other negative discrimination in Sweden. Discrimination and other forms of victimisation are a major social problem. These are issues of major relevance to society and questions which express something about the society of which the students are part. It was therefore relevant to seek to measure the students' attitude to other similar social issues and investigate any correlation with tolerance and intolerance. This interest was heightened by the fact that half of the students in the survey were 18 and had the right to vote in Sweden's 2010 election. This section gathers together the questions which provide indications of an interest in society, analysed in relation to attitudes towards vulnerable groups.

Party political interest

Various recent surveys have shown limited and diminishing interest in party politics among young people in Sweden. In a survey ten years ago the Institute for Democratic Communication showed that 40 percent of people aged 16–25 thought party politics was boring (Ungdomsstyrelsen 2000). An international comparative study from 2006 showed that a whole 60 percent of Swedes in the age group 16–24 expressed a lack of interest in politics (ESS 2006). The Swedish population, however, displayed greater interest in politics than the population in 14 other countries in the EU. The Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs has shown that only four percent of 16–19 year-olds were members of any political organisation in 2004 (Ungdomsstyrelsen 2008:5). And although a break in the trend could be seen in the 2006 election, participation in the election was considerably lower among younger members of the population compared with adults.

The upper secondary school students in this survey were asked which political party they liked best. Sixty percent stated a party and 40 percent answered that they were not interested in politics,

see distribution by background characteristics in table 2.7 in Tables. Those who stated that they were not interested in politics were in the majority among girls, students in year 1 and students on vocational programmes. The greatest interest was shown by boys with a Swedish background in year 3 of an academic programme. The least interest in politics was shown by girls with a Swedish background in the first year of a vocational programme.

Human rights

As shown in the previous section, a third of the students stated that they had been taught about the UN Declaration on Human Rights at school.[32] The upper secondary school students were asked to express their opinion on five of the total of 30 rights and on the universal paragraph about the equal worth of all individuals. A majority of the students provided unequivocal support for both the principle of the equal human worth of all individuals and for the rights selected. The right to live in any country you like received less support than the other rights. The major support for everyone's right to free education confirms the results of an international survey in 2000.[33]

The correlations between the responses to the questions about human rights were very high. They can be said to constitute a single dimension of opinion according to a factor analysis carried out, and are expressed in a human rights index.

The proportion of students who fully support human rights is high, see TABLE 19. In total, 42 percent of students agreed with all the rights referred to in the question. At the other extreme, there were five percent who did not agree with any of the human rights.

Those in the majority among students who unreservedly agreed with every example of human rights (index score 5) are girls, students in year 3 and students on academic programmes as well as students with a foreign background, see table 2 in Tables.

Attitudes to racism, neo-Nazism, equality and equal opportunities

In addition to the questions on human rights, two questions were formulated to study to what extent the students consider that Swedish society is equal and gives everyone the same opportunities. Two questions were asked on whether racism and neo-Nazism are seen as a problem in today's society.

Table 19. Proportion of students for points on the scale in the human rights index (the higher the index value, the greater the support for human rights). Weighted data.

TABLE 19	
INDEX SCALE	PROPORTION AS PERCENTAGE
1	5
2	9
3	21
4	22
5	42

Table 20. Mean scores for four questions on racism, neo-Nazism and equality. No response and "No opinion" have been coded as mean scores (see the section on imputation of mean scores in section 3.5).

TABLE 20	
QUESTION	MEAN SCORE
"Do you think that neo-Nazism is a problem in Sweden today?"	2.7
"Do you think that racism is a problem in Sweden today?"	2.9
"Do you think that everyone in Sweden is treated equally?"	2.1
"Do you think that everyone in Sweden has the same opportunities?"	2.1

[32] The UN Declaration on Human Rights, adopted in 1948, contains a total of 30 articles. Apart from article 1, which reads "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights", the other rights declared are not as well known. The declaration includes the right for all people to marry a person of their choice, the right to free education, the right to choose their religion, the right to work and the right to live where they like.

[33] In the IEA Civic Education Study (2000) focused towards 18 year-old upper secondary school students, 93 percent answered that the children of immigrants should have the same educational opportunities as other children in Sweden.

We use the answers here as indicators of interest in society with reference to the media attention given to questions of this type, see TABLE 20. The students were able to choose from responses that ranged from "No, absolutely not" to "Yes, absolutely", see distribution of responses in Tables. The responses were coded with the numbers 1 to 4. The mean scores for these responses were used as indicators of interest for and commitment to these questions – the higher the score, the greater the interest and commitment.

The correlations between the answers to these four questions fall into two pairs of mutually strong links. The correlation between the view that racism is a problem in Sweden today and the view that neo-Nazism is a problem is 0.75. The correlation between the opinion that everyone has the same opportunities and the opinion that everyone is treated equally in Sweden today is 0.71. The view that racism is a problem demonstrates a moderately weak negative correlation (0.17) with the opinion that everyone in Sweden is treated equally and a similar moderately weak negative correlation (0.20) with the view that everyone has the same opportunities in Sweden. Both racism and Nazism are extreme "ideologies of inequality" and those who consider that Sweden is an extremely equal society can hardly allow themselves to simultaneously hold the view that these ideologies constitute social problems today.

A comparison of the background characteristics of the students shows that those who are over-represented among students who think that neo-Nazism and racism are a problem in Sweden today are girls, students in year 3 and students on academic programmes, see tables 3–7 in Tables. Students with a foreign background are also somewhat over-represented in this category.

Those who are over-represented among students who think that everyone is treated equally and that everyone has the same opportunities in Sweden are boys and students with a foreign background. The differences between students in different years and on different programmes of study are marginal.

Worry about the future

Opinions on the future can be seen as an additional indicator of interest in society. Given nine examples of more or less likely future scenarios, the upper secondary school students were asked to show on a four-point scale to what extent they were worried about these scenarios (see distribution of responses in table 2.8 in Tables). Factor analysis of the responses resulted in three factors which were used as the basis for the following three indices.[34]

WORRY INDEX 1 Harder for young people to get work
Harder for young people to get a mortgage
Worse environment

WORRY INDEX 2 Increased xenophobia
More supervision from the state
Greater class differences

WORRY INDEX 3 War
Terrorism

The three indices can be said to express worry on different levels. Index 1 gathers together worrying events which might affect the individual on a personal level and expresses worry about change in social welfare. Index 2 looks at worrying events at national level and expresses worry about increased social differences, while index 3 examines worrying events in terms of security policy at global level.

The correlations between the three indices are moderately strongly positive and vary from 0.22 between worry 1 and worry 3 to 0.42 for worry 1 and worry 2. This indicates that students who are worried about jobs and class differences are largely not the same people who are worried

[34] The variable "worry about immigration" has been removed from the worry 3 index because it shows negative correlations with other variables.

about war and terrorism, see TABLE 21.

The proportions who feel extremely worried vary between 6 percent and 8 percent for all three indices. The proportion of students who do not feel worried at all varies from 6 to 46 percent. A whole 46 percent of students are not at all worried about Sweden experiencing terrorism or war in the next five years.

The students who are in the majority among those who are worried about jobs, housing and the environment are girls, students in year 3, students on vocational programmes and students with a foreign background. There are major differences between boys and girls, while other differences are small.

Looking at worry about increased xenophobia, increased state supervision and greater class differences, students with a foreign background are in the majority, as is also the case for worry about war and terrorism. In addition, worry about war and terrorism is greater among students in year 1 and students on academic programmes.

Summary of students' interest in society

These different indicators of interest in society cause a new picture of the students in the survey. Comparing boys and girls shows that the girls are less interested in politics. This is primarily true of the younger girls on vocational upper secondary school programmes. At the same time, the girls are more worried about the future than the boys are.

The girls generally express stronger support for human rights than the boys and think that racism and neo-Nazism are problems in today's Sweden to a greater extent than the boys. They also think to a higher extent than the boys that there are problems with equality and that everyone does not have the same opportunities.

A comparison of the students with Swedish and foreign backgrounds shows that students with a foreign background expressed greater support for human rights than students with a Swedish background. Students with a foreign background think that people are not treated equally and do not have the same opportunities in Sweden to a higher extent. They express greater worry about increasing xenophobia, state supervision and class differences and are worried about terrorism to a considerably higher degree than students with a Swedish background.

The age-related differences are greatest for interest in politics. The students in year 3 who are 18 are more interested in politics than those

Table 21. Proportion as percentage for the points of the scale in the worry indices (the higher the index value, the greater the worry). Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number. Weighted data.

TABLE 21			
INDEX SCALE	WORRY INDEX		
	1 WORK, HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT	2 INCREASED XENOPHOBIA, STATE SUPERVISION, CLASS DIFFERENCES	3 WAR AND TERRORISM
1	6	10	46
2	7	22	29
3	14	20	12
4	19	30	6
5	31	13	8
6	17	4	–
7	6	–	–

who are younger. The older students think that neo-Nazism and racism are problems in Sweden today to a higher extent than the younger students. Looking at the worrying events, worry about jobs, housing and the environment is greater among the older students while the younger students are more worried about terrorism and war. For human rights the differences between the age groups are minor.

A comparison of students on academic and vocational upper secondary school programmes shows that students on academic programmes are considerably more interested in politics than those on other programmes. Students on academic programmes consider to a higher extent that racism and neo-Nazism are a problem in Sweden today. When it comes to views on human rights, the differences are considerable. Students on academic programmes agree to a considerably higher extent with the five articles from the UN Declaration on Human Rights than students on other programmes.

Interest in society and attitudes to vulnerable groups

The correlation between indicators of interest in society and attitude towards the vulnerable groups is shown in tables 3–7 in Tables.

Attitude towards immigrants

Looking at the index expressing attitudes towards immigrants, the differences between views on whether racism is a problem are very large (see table 3.3 in Tables). The majority of the students who responded, without any doubt, that racism is a problem in Sweden today have a positive attitude towards immigrants and the majority of those who do not think that racism is a problem have a negative attitude. Similarly, the majority of the students who completely agree with the human rights statements have a positive attitude towards immigrants and those who disagree with human rights have a negative attitude. A majority of the students who express worry about increased xenophobia in the future have a positive attitude towards immigrants. A quarter of the students who are not worried about work, housing or the environment have a negative attitude to immigrants.

Attitude towards Muslims

Almost half of those who think racism is a problem have a positive attitude towards Muslims (see table 4.3 in Tables). Half of the students who support human rights have an ambivalent attitude towards Muslims. A majority of the students who do not support human rights have a negative attitude towards Muslims.

Attitude towards Roma

Half of the students who do not support human rights have a negative attitude to Roma (see table 5.3 in Tables). Out of the students who advocate human rights, almost half are ambivalent towards Roma. Half of the students who do not think racism is a problem have a negative attitude towards Roma. A third of students who think everyone is treated equally in Sweden have a negative attitude towards Roma.

Attitude towards Jews

Of the students who completely agree with human rights, 37 percent have positive attitudes towards Jews. Fifty percent of students who do not agree with human rights have an ambivalent attitude towards Jews and forty percent have a negative attitude towards Jews (see table 6.3 in Tables). A third of students who express considerable worry about terrorism and war have a negative attitude towards Jews.

Attitude towards homosexuals

A majority of students who think racism is a pro-

blem in Sweden today, who completely agree with human rights, who are very worried about not having a job and about increased differences in the future all have a positive attitude towards homosexuals (see table 7.3 in Tables).

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF OPINIONS ON RESPECTED CHARACTERISTICS

In conversations with young people in spring 2009 the ability to inspire "respect" emerged as a highly valued personal characteristic.[35] To extract more information about this, a list of different characteristics was added to the questionnaire and the students were asked to state how important they considered these characteristics to be for them to highly respect a person. The responses can also be seen as a ranking of personal characteristics which the students rate highly. In individual and social psychology this is often termed a "role model" or "ideal I".

The characteristic which most students considered very important was never letting people down. In other words, reliability is a very important criterion for young people being able to respect a person (see distribution of responses in table 2.9 in Tables). The characteristic that came second in the rankings was the ability to stand up for your opinions, followed by the characteristic helpfulness.

The judgments were processed using factor analysis, resulting in four factors or dimensions of opinion, which were then used to construct corresponding indices.[36]

The four indices must be interpreted with considerable reservation.[37] The first index gathers together characteristics that indicate a complex dimension of values. The first three characteristics – popular/well-known, physically strong and good looking – can be said to constitute external characteristics which seem to require an audience and therefore also visibility. The remaining characteristics – loves his or her homeland, deeply religious and strong leader – complicate the picture despite the fact that their correlation with factor 1 is slightly weaker than that of the former characteristics. This factor describes a fit, attractive and at the same time deeply religious leader figure who loves his or her homeland and exerts strong leadership. We have called this index "strong".

The second index covers characteristics that express emotional openness, loyalty, reliability and generosity. We have called index 2 "helpful". The third index incorporates characteristics that express independence and the ability to stand up for ones opinions and fight for them. Index 3 is therefore called "independent". The fourth index gathers together characteristics which express wisdom, intelligence and capacity for critical thought. We call this index "wise".

The correlations are moderately strong be-

INDEX 1	INDEX 2	INDEX 3	INDEX 4
Popular/well-known	**Dares to show their feelings**	**Unafraid of conflict**	**Wise**
Physically strong	**Helpful**	**Dares to fight for things**	**Very intelligent**
Good looking	**Never lets you down**	**Doesn't depend on others**	(also correlates moderately strongly with factor 1)
Loves his or her homeland	**Generous**	**Stands up for their opinions**	**Thinks critically**
Deeply religious	**Has a great sense of humour**	**Very independent**	
Strong leader			

[35] A number of focus groups were held in Umeå, Stockholm and Malmö in March 2009 in conjunction with drawing up the questionnaire.

[36] The characteristics are presented in a ranking corresponding to their "factor loadings", i.e. correlations with the respective factor. The factor analyses are reported in a separate technical report.

[37] None of the factors on which the indices are based are "pure". This means that some of the characteristics which the factor analysis placed under a particular factor also show a correlation with one or more of the other factors, which is far from unusual when using factor analysis.

Table 22. Proportion of students (percentage) for points on the scale for the four respected characteristics indices (the higher the value, the more important the characteristics are considered to be in the respective index). Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number. Weighted data.

TABLE 22				
INDEX SCALE	INDEX 1 "STRONG"	INDEX 2 "HELPFUL"	INDEX 3 "INDEPENDENT"	INDEX 4 "WISE"
1	11	4	6	7
2	27	8	14	31
3	36	23	26	24
4	12	33	30	19
5	8	23	18	11
6	6	8	7	8

Table 23. Mean scores on the four indices (scale of 1–6) for respected characteristics by gender and national background. Weighted data.

TABLE 23					
INDEX FOR RESPECTED CHARACTERISTICS	BOYS		GIRLS		
	SWEDISH BACKGROUND	FOREIGN BACKGROUND	SWEDISH BACKGROUND	FOREIGN BACKGROUND	ALL
strong	3.1	3.9	2.5	3.5	3.0
helpful	3.6	3.9	4.1	4.0	3.9
independent	3.6	4.0	3.6	3.7	3.6
wise	3.2	3.9	2.9	3.7	3.2

tween the four different indices for respected characteristics, and vary between 0.23 and 0.47. The strongest correlation is found between the "strong" and "independent" indices, which indicates that the young people who think that the characteristics in the one index are important also to a certain extent appreciate the characteristics covered by the other.

The distribution of students within the respective index differs quite a lot. It is clear that characteristics in index 2 receive the greatest amount of support among the students and that characteristics in index 1 receive the least support. It should be noted that the characteristics wisdom, capacity for critical thought and intelligence (index 4) are able to hold their own against index 2.

The ranking of respected characteristics that can be discerned in the distributions in **TABLE 22** emerges even more clearly when mean scores are used, see **TABLE 23**.

Looking at the helpful index, which has the highest mean score of all four indices, boys with a Swedish background show lower mean scores than other respondents. Girls with a Swedish background have the lowest mean score of all on the strong index and also the lowest mean scores on the wise index. Boys and also girls with a foreign background have higher mean scores than students with a Swedish background for the strong, independent and wise indices.

Of the four indices for respected characteristics, it is index 1, strong, which demonstrates a positive correlation with the index for attitudes towards vulnerable groups. This is particularly true for attitude towards Jews and for attitude towards homosexuals, where the correlations can be termed moderately strong. This indicates that the more young people value the characteristics included within the strong index, the more negative their attitude to different vulnerable groups tends to be, particularly towards Jews and homosexuals, see TABLE 24. These results require more in-depth analysis.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF OPINIONS ON "SWEDISHNESS"

In previous surveys of adults, opinions on the criteria which people set for a person to be able to be considered Swedish have shown a clear correlation with intolerant attitudes, see Lange 2008. To study whether a similar correlation could be traced among young people, the students were asked to state how important they considered various criteria to be for a person to be able to be said to be Swedish.[38]

The distribution of the responses for each statement and the mean scores are shown in table 2.10 in Tables. The criterion which a majority of the students judged to be absolutely essential to be able to be said to be Swedish was respecting Swedish institutions and laws. In second place the students placed having Swedish citizenship. The three criteria which the majority considered to be completely unimportant were: whether or not a person is Christian, whether you could tell from a person's appearance that their roots are from another country and having to have lived in Sweden for five generations to be able to be said to be Swedish.

The judgments on these criteria were processed using factor analysis, which resulted in two factors, which were used as the basis of two indices for opinions on who can be considered to be Swedish.

Table 24. Correlation between indices for attitude towards vulnerable groups and index for respected characteristics, separately for young people with a Swedish and foreign background respectively. Correlation coefficients over 0.05 are statistically significant. Weighted data.

TABLE 24

INDEX FOR RESPECTED CHARACTERISTICS	INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS									
	IMMIGRANTS		MUSLIMS		ROMA		JEWS		HOMOSEXUALS	
	SWEDISH BACK-GROUND	FOREIGN BACK-GROUND	SWEDISH BACK-GROUND	FOREIGN BACK-GROUND	SWEDISH BACK-GROUND	FOREIGN BACK-GROUND	SWEDISH BACK-GROUND	FOREIGN BACK-GROUND	SWEDISH BACK-GROUND	FOREIGN BACK-GROUND
strong	0.32	0.07	0.33	0.08	0.29	0.11	0.36	0.29	0.40	0.31
helpful	0.00	-0.06	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.03	-0.08	0.05
independent	0.03	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.06	0.02	0.07	0.05	0.03	0.07
wise	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.03	0.00	-0.03	0.03	0.06	0.06	0.06

[38] Two of these "criteria" have appeared in international surveys, namely, "respecting Swedish institutions and laws" and "being born in Sweden". The mean scores for both these "criteria" were higher in this survey than in The International Social Survey Programme, ISSP, 2003 and in the European Social Survey, ESS, 2008.

INDEX 1

Family has lived in Sweden for at least 5 generations
Family has lived in Sweden for at least 2 generations
Not being able to tell from someone's appearance that their roots are from another country
Born in Sweden
Following Swedish culture and Swedish traditions
Being Christian
Speaking Swedish without any accent

INDEX 2

Having a job and a home in Sweden
Having lived in Sweden for at least 5 years
Respecting Swedish institutions and laws

The two indices are relatively simple to interpret. The first index combines criteria which can be termed emotional, nationalistic and excluding and which therefore exclude recent arrivals, people who are not born in Sweden and those who are not Christian. We call this index "excluding criteria".

The second index covers what could be termed formal and internationally established criteria for participation as a citizen, work, housing, citizenship and respect for institutions and laws. This index is termed "formal criteria".

The correlation between the two indices is 0.25 (weighted data) which means that the two viewpoints are relatively independent of each other, people either subscribe to one viewpoint or the other.

We assumed that young people with a Swedish background have a different view of what is required for being Swedish than young people with a foreign background. TABLE 25 shows proportions of students on the points on the two indices by national background.

A considerably larger proportion of students have low scores on the indices (1 and 2) than have high scores (5 and 6). At the same time a quarter of the students have shown that they have nationalistic, excluding criteria for who can be counted as Swedes and who cannot. The proportion who set high formal criteria for who can be seen as Swedish amounts to just under a fifth of all students.

Looking at index 2, formal criteria, we can state that young people with a foreign background ascribe less importance to these criteria than students with a Swedish background.

A comparison of how students with a Swedish background responded shows differences

Table 25. Proportion (as a percentage) of students by background on the points of the scale for two indices for criteria for being able to be considered Swedish. (The higher the value, the stronger the criteria). The bottom row shows the mean score for the respective category. Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number. Weighted data.

TABLE 25

INDEX SCALE	INDEX 1: "EXCLUDING" CRITERIA			INDEX 2: "FORMAL" CRITERIA		
	SWEDISH BACKGROUND	FOREIGN BACKGROUND	ALL	SWEDISH BACKGROUND	FOREIGN BACKGROUND	ALL
1	19	21	19	9	13	10
2	21	18	20	13	17	14
3	23	26	23	26	31	27
4	12	11	12	32	25	31
5	17	17	17	10	7	9
6	9	8	9	10	6	9
Mean scores	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.5	3.2	3.4

between gender, age (year) and upper secondary school programme, see TABLE 26. Boys on vocational programmes have higher mean scores than other respondents on the index for excluding criteria in both years. Looking at index 2 formal criteria, the greatest differences are seen between the youngest boys on vocational programmes and the oldest boys on academic programmes.

The correlation between the two indices expressing criteria for who can call themselves Swedish and the five measurements of attitude towards vulnerable groups are shown in TABLE 27.

The correlation is positive between indices measuring attitudes towards vulnerable groups and the indices for criteria for who can call themselves Swedish. The correlation is strongest between indices expressing attitude towards vulnerable groups and indices setting excluding criteria for being called Swedish. The higher the excluding criteria, the more negative the attitude to vulnerable groups.

Attitude *towards immigrants* correlates strongly with excluding criteria for being called Swedish. The correlation is considerably stronger for students with a Swedish background compared with students with a foreign background. There is also a relatively strong correlation between attitude towards immigrants and the formal criteria for being Swedish. However, this only applies to students with a Swedish background.

Table 26. Mean scores for the indices on criteria for being able to call oneself Swedish, for students with a Swedish background by gender, year and programme.

TABLE 26

CRITERIA FOR BEING CALLED "SWEDISH"	YEAR 1				YEAR 3			
	ACADEMIC		OTHER		ACADEMIC		OTHER	
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
Index 1 "Excluding"	2.9	2.8	3.6	3.1	2.7	2.5	3.5	3.0
Index 2 "Formal"	3.6	3.6	3.3	3.4	3.7	3.5	3.6	3.6

Table 27. Correlation between indices for attitude towards vulnerable groups and indices expressing criteria for who can be called Swedish, by national origin. Correlations higher than 0.05 are statistically significant. Weighted data.

TABLE 27

INDEX FOR CRITERIA FOR BEING ABLE TO BE CALLED "SWEDISH"	INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS									
	IMMIGRANTS		MUSLIMS		ROMA		JEWS		HOMOSEXUALS	
	SWEDISH BACKGR.	FOREIGN BACKGR.	SWEDISH BACKGR.	FOREIGN BACKGR.	SWEDISH BACKGR.	FOREIGN BACKGR.	SWEDISH BACKGR.	FOREIGN BACKGR.	SWEDISH BACKGR.	FOREIGN BACKGR.
Index 1 "Excluding" criteria	0.58	0.31	0.52	0.28	0.37	0.20	0.36	0.17	0.38	0.14
Index 2 "Formal" criteria	0.28	0.08	0.25	0.03	0.15	0.05	0.06	0.01	0.05	0.05

Attitude *towards Muslims* also correlates strongly with excluding criteria for being called Swedish. The correlation is considerably stronger for students with a Swedish background compared with students with a foreign background. There is also a relatively strong correlation between attitude towards Muslims and the formal criteria. This only applies to students with a Swedish background.

Attitude *towards Roma* correlates moderately strongly with excluding criteria for being called Swedish. The correlation is once more considerably stronger for students with a Swedish background compared with students with a foreign background. For the formal criteria the correlation is weak.

Attitude *towards Jews* correlates moderately strongly with excluding criteria for being called Swedish. The correlation is stronger for students with a Swedish background compared with students with a foreign background. For the formal criteria there is no correlation with attitude towards Jews.

For *attitude towards homosexuals* the correlation is moderately strong with excluding criteria for being called Swedish. The correlation is stronger for students with a Swedish background compared with students with a foreign background. For the formal criteria there is no correlation with attitude towards homosexuals.

4.3 SUMMARY – SIGNIFICANT FACTORS FOR TOLERANT AND INTOLERANT ATTITUDES

Following this overview of the correlation between different indices, we will sum up by highlighting the variables which have the greatest significance for each of the five measurements of students' attitudes towards vulnerable groups. In order to assess which variables have the greatest effect on intolerant and tolerant attitudes respectively, we have used multivariate analysis methods (see section 3.5). **TABLE 28** summarises the factors significant for tolerant and intolerant attitudes respectively towards immigrants and Muslims. The material is students with a Swedish background. **TABLE 29** summarises the factors significant for tolerant and intolerant attitudes respectively towards Roma, Jews and homosexuals. The material is all the students in the survey.

Table 28. Overview of factors significant for tolerant and intolerant attitudes respectively towards immigrants and Muslims. The results are based on multivariate analysis of weighted data for students with a Swedish background. Strong correlations have been marked ***, moderately strong correlations ** and weak but significant correlations with *. A minus sign means no or not significant correlation.

TABLE 28				
DEPENDENT/INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	POSITIVE/TOLERANT ATTITUDE TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS IN MAJORITY AMONG	NEGATIVE/ INTOLERANT ATTITUDE TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS IN MAJORITY AMONG	POSITIVE/TOLERANT ATTITUDE TOWARDS MUSLIMS IN MAJORITY AMONG	NEGATIVE/INTOLERANT ATTITUDE TOWARDS MUSLIMS IN MAJORITY AMONG
Gender	Girls***	Boys***	Girls***	Boys***
Age (year)	–	–	–	–
Upper secondary school programme	Academic**	Vocational**	Academic**	Vocational**
Religion	Islam*	Church of Sweden + no religion*	Islam*	Church of Sweden + no religion*
Parental education	High**	Low**	High**	Low**
Friend index	Has immigrant friends**	No immigrant friends**	Has Muslim friends**	No Muslim friends**
School average grades	High*	Low*	High*	Low*
Index character of school	–	–	–	–
Index school environment	Calmness**	Problem density**	Calmness**	Problem density**
Teaching about:				
Human rights	–	–	–	–
Racism and xenophobia	A great deal/quite a lot*	Little/none*	A great deal/quite a lot*	Little/none*
The Holocaust	A great deal/quite a lot*	Little/none*	A great deal/quite a lot*	Little/none*
"Everyone is treated equally"	Disagree***	Agree***	–	–
"Everyone is entitled to live where they like"	Agree***	Disagree***	Agree***	Disagree***
"Racism a problem"	Agree***	Disagree***	Agree***	Disagree***
"The equal human worth of all individuals"	Agree***	Disagree***	Agree***	Disagree***
Index "Swedishness" "Excluding criteria"	Low value****	High value***	Low value***	High value***
Index "respected characteristics" "strong"	Low value**	High value**	Low value**	High value**

Table 29. Overview of factors significant for tolerant and intolerant attitudes respectively towards Roma, Jews and homosexuals. The results are based on multivariate analysis of weighted data for all students. Strong correlations have been marked ***, moderately strong correlations ** and weak but significant correlations with *. A minus sign means no correlation or a not significant correlation.

TABLE 29						
DEPENDENT/ INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS ROMA IN MAJORITY AMONG	NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS ROMA IN MAJORITY AMONG	POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS JEWS IN MAJORITY AMONG	NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS JEWS IN MAJORITY AMONG	POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALS IN MAJORITY AMONG	NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS HOMO-SEXUALS IN MAJORITY AMONG
Gender	Girls***	Boys***	Girls***	Boys***	Girls***	Boys***
Age (year)	–	–	18*	16*	–	–
Upper secondary school programme	Academic**	Vocational**	Academic**	Vocational**	–	–
Background	–	–	Swedish**	Foreign**	Swedish**	Foreign**
Religion	–	–	Christian Church of Sweden + no religion**	Islam + other Christian**	Christian Church of Sweden + no religion**	Islam + other Christian**
Parental education	High*	Low*	High*	Low*	High**	Low**
Friends	Has a Roma friend*	No Roma friend*	–	–	Has a homo-sexual friend*	No homo-sexual friend**
School average grades	High*	Low*	High*	Low*	High*	Low*
Index character of school	–	–	High incomes and education*	Low incomes and education*	High incomes and education*	Low incomes and education*
Index school environ-ment	Calmness**	Problem density**	–	–	–	–
Teaching about:						
Human rights	–	–	–	–	A great deal/ quite a lot**	None/a little*
Racism	–	–	–	–	–	None/a little*
The Holocaust	–	–	A great deal/ quite a lot*	None/a little*	A great deal/ quite a lot*	None/a little*
"Everyone is treated equally"	–	–	–	–	Disagree*	Agree*
"Everyone is entitled to live where they like"	Agree***	Disagree***	Agree*	Disagree*	Agree***	Disagree***
"Racism a problem"	Agree**	Disagree**	Agree*	Disagree*	Agree*	Disagree*
"Equal human worth of all individuals"	Agree**	Disagree**	–	–	Agree***	Disagree***
Index "Swedishness" "Excluding criteria"	Low value**	High value**	Low value**	High value**	Low value**	High value**
Index "respected cha-racteristics" "strong"	Low value**	High value**	Low value**	High value**	Low value**	High value**

Figures 1 and 2. Attitudes towards vulnerable groups

FIGURE 1

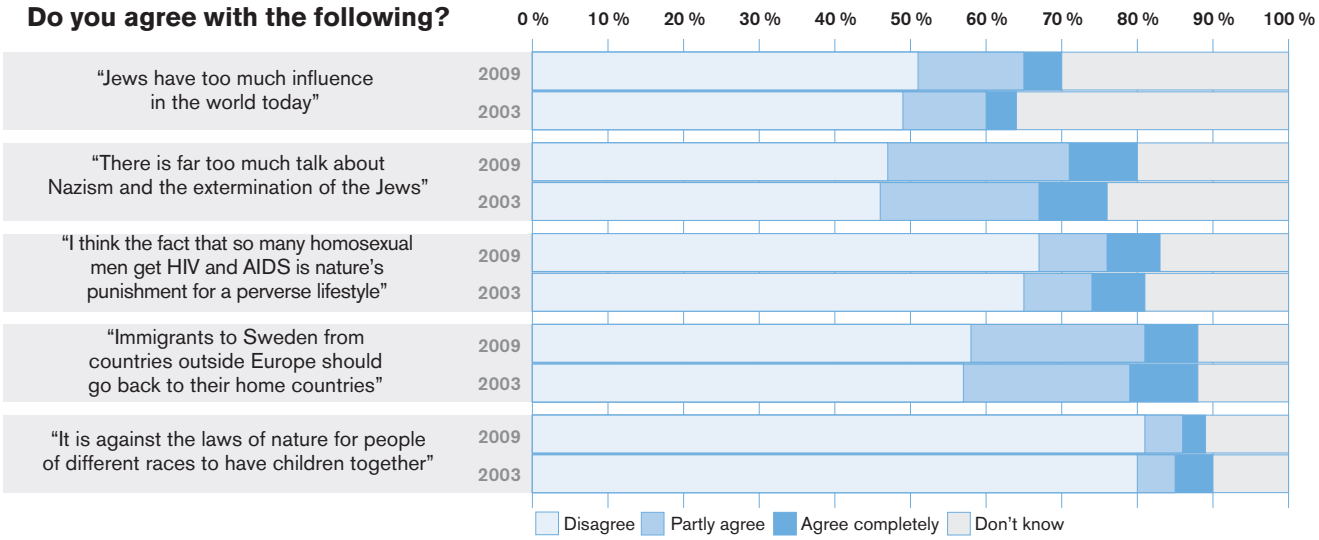
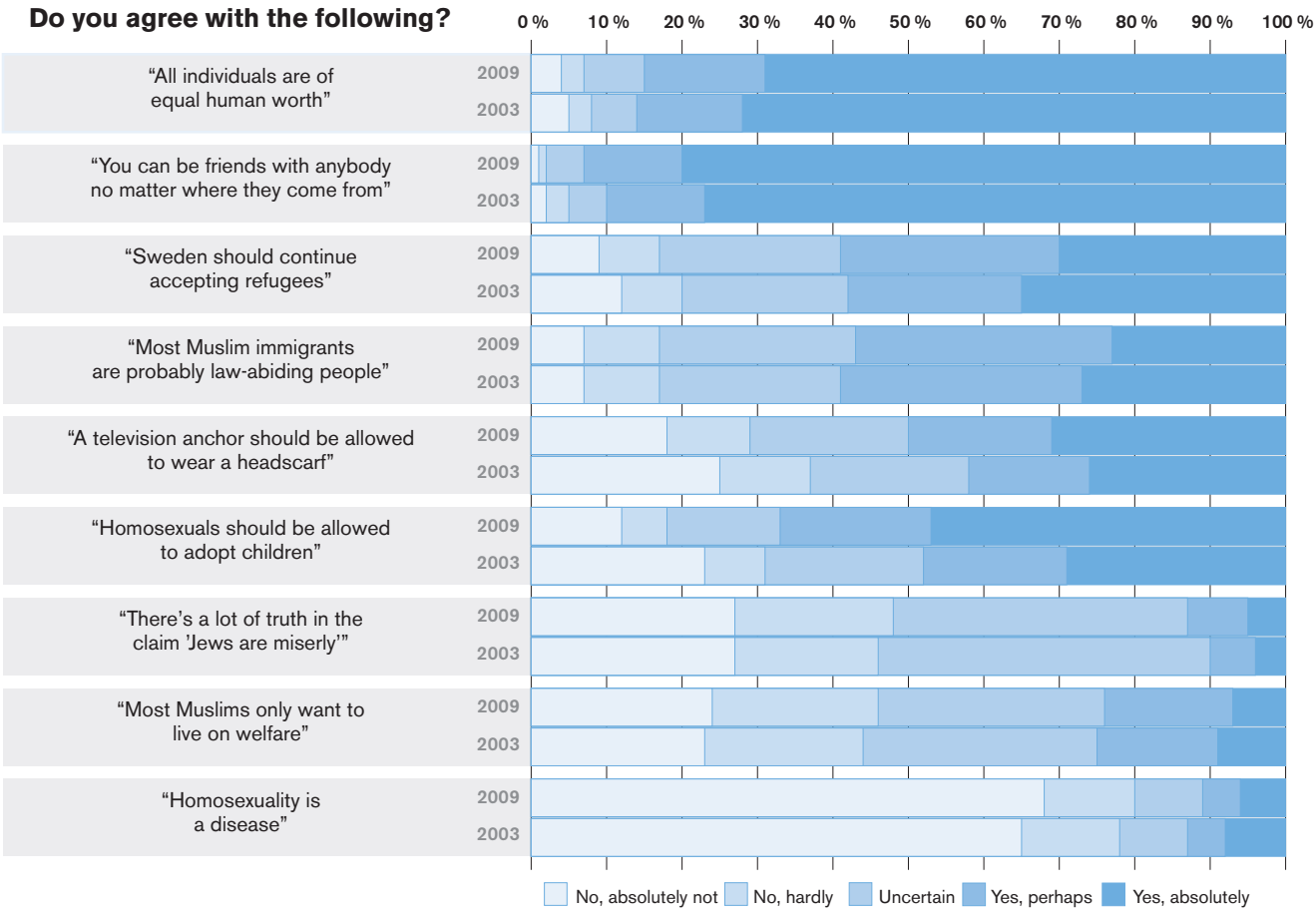


FIGURE 2



5. Changes in attitude over time – comparing 2003 and 2009

The survey (Ring & Morgentau, 2004) initiated by the Living History Forum and carried out by the National Council for Crime Prevention in 2003 has served as a starting point for this survey in many respects. Both the surveys have aimed to map the attitudes of young people towards vulnerable groups. There has been interest in comparing the results between both measurement points in order to be able to identify changes over the six years that have passed.

In order to compare the results of the two surveys, the answers to identical statements from students in years 1 and 3 of upper secondary schools in 2003 have been re-analysed together with the responses of students in the corresponding years in 2009.[39] The comparison is limited to a total of thirteen statements about immigrants, Muslims, Jews and homosexuals. For each statements the students were asked to mark their opinion on a 4 or 5-point scale from complete agreement to complete disagreement. The distribution of the responses for the individual statements and the year of the survey are shown in figures 1 and 2.

The statement receiving the largest number of agreeing responses was "You can be friends with anybody no matter where they come from", closely followed by the statement "All individuals are of equal human worth". The majority of the students also completely disagreed with one racist and one anti-immigrant statement and two homophobic statements. Half of the students completely disagreed with the two antisemitic statements.

We use the designation "tolerant" to characterise students who answered that they "completely agree" or answered "yes, absolutely" when presented with statements expressing a positive attitude to different vulnerable groups and who answered that they do not agree or answered "No, absolutely not" when presented with statements expressing a negative attitude. If, looking from the opposite direction, we use the designation "intolerant" for those students who unreservedly agree with negative statements and disagree with positive statements, the figures show that tolerant opinions were more widespread than intolerant ones in 2003 and in 2009. At the same time there was a large group of students who gave uncertain or ambivalent answers on both occasions.

The proportion of students with views that could be characterised as intolerant varied from one percent to a quarter. A quarter of upper secondary school students in 2003 completely disa-

[39] A new data file was created from the answers to the identical statements in the two surveys.

greed with the right of a TV anchor to wear a headscarf on television. An almost equally high proportion considered that homosexuals should not be allowed to adopt children. Six years later these proportions had almost halved.

A significantly higher proportion of students agreed that homosexuals should have the right to adopt in the 2009 survey compared with 2003. This was an increase from 30 percent to almost half the respondents. This result agrees with the result of the Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs' attitude and values study in 2007, where the proportion of respondents positive towards the right of homosexuals to adopt was 47 percent in the age group 16–19 (Ungdomsstyrelsen 2008). The statement that homosexuality is a disease received less support in 2009.

The largest proportion of uncertain or ambivalent attitudes was found regarding Muslims. A whole 70 percent of upper secondary school students were unable to give a clear answer to statements on whether Muslims were law-abiding or on their putative reliance on welfare. They chose the responses "uncertain", "perhaps" or "partly disagree". Half of the young people expressed uncertainty about the statement on continued immigration of refugees and the statement that a TV anchor should be allowed to wear a headscarf. Half of the young people were also uncertain when faced with the two antisemitic statements. At the same time, the comparison between the years 2003 and 2009 shows that the proportion who are uncertain is falling.

INDEX 1

– Attitude towards Muslims and immigrants

Agree with the following statements:
"Most Muslims only want to live on welfare"
"Immigrants from outside Europe should go back to their home countries"

Disagrees with the following statements:
"Most Muslim immigrants are probably law-abiding people"
"Sweden should continue accepting refugees "
"A television anchor should be allowed to wear a headscarf"
"You can be friends with anybody no matter where they come from"
"All individuals are of equal human worth"

INDEX 2

– Attitude towards Jews

Agree with the following statements:
"Jews have too much influence in the world today"
"There is far too much talk about Nazism/the Holocaust"
"There's a lot of truth in the claim 'Jews are miserly'"

INDEX 3

– Attitude towards homosexuals

Agree with the following statements:
"HIV/AIDS is nature's punishment for homosexual men"
"Homosexuality is a disease"

Disagrees with the following statement:
"Homosexuals should be allowed to adopt children"

Three dimensions of opinion 2003 and 2009

To investigate covariation between the responses to the different statements a factor analysis was carried out based on the combined data file, covering a total of 8,503 individuals.[40] The analysis resulted in three factors, which supports continuing to separately report the three group-specific attitudes. On the basis of these factors, three

[40] Factor loadings are reported in a separate technical report. For handling of "missing values", see section 3.5.

Table 30. Proportion as a percentage for the different points on the scale for the three indices in 2003 and 2009 for the age range 16–18. (The higher the index value, the more negative the attitude)

TABLE 30		
INDEX SCALE	YEAR OF SURVEY	
	2003	2009
INDEX 1: ATTITUDE TOWARDS IMMIGRATION, REFUGEES AND MUSLIMS		
1	7.6	5.8
2	13.3	12.9
3	13.3	12.2
4	20.9	23.0
5	22.3	24.8
6	14.0	13.4
7	8.6	7.8
INDEX 2: ATTITUDE TOWARDS JEWS		
1	16.4	14.3
2	19.1	21.3
3	28.4	24.8
4	20.9	21.5
5	8.7	9.7
6	6.5	8.4
INDEX 3: ATTITUDE TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALS		
1	24.3	38.7
2	30.8	27.6
3	18.2	14.0
4	9.9	7.4
5	8.0	6.4
6	8.9	5.9
n	3506	4287

** = statistically significant difference; $p < 0.001$

indices could be constructed[41] which were assumed to capture three dimensions of opinion. The statements included in each index are shown below. For the sake of comparison, the coding has been switched to run in the same direction, in a negative direction.

The three indices are relatively simple to interpret. Index 1 expresses attitude towards Muslims,[42] immigration, immigrants and refugees, index 2 looks at attitude towards Jews and index 3 shows attitude towards homosexuals.

TABLE 30 shows that there has been a considerable change in a positive direction in the attitudes of upper secondary school students towards homosexuals between the two surveys.[43] The proportion with low scores (1 and 2) and who express a positive attitude towards homosexuals has increased from approximately 55 percent to approximately 66 percent. At the same time, the proportion with high scores (5 and 6) and who express a negative attitude fell from approximately 17 percent to approximately 12 percent.

A comparison between 2003 and 2009 for each of the three indices shows that the proportion of intolerant respondents (score 5) fell regarding attitude towards Muslims and refugees and attitude towards homosexuals, but increased for attitudes towards Jews.

[41] The indices were constructed in three steps where the first step was an additive "raw index", i.e. a summary of the answers to the statements in the index. The indices were then constructed in line with the principles set out in section 3.5.

[42] It is easy to get the impression that the old categorisation of "immigrants" has today become almost synonymous with "Muslims".

[43] For an unknown reason 15 year-olds were found in year 1 and 20 year-olds in year 3. The proportions differed between the two studies. The problem was resolved by setting an age limit of 16 to 18.

A comparison of the mean scores for the three indices shows that the attitudes of upper secondary school students towards homosexuals has become considerably more positive in the past six years TABLE 31. The average scores have fallen by a tenth of a percent for the two other indices. The shift in a somewhat more negative attitude towards Jews since 2003 is statistically significant.

In the previous chapter, we showed that positive attitudes towards homosexuals are more common among girls, students in year 3, students on academic upper secondary school programmes, among young people with a Swedish background and among those who belong to the Church of Sweden. We have also shown that it is among girls that we find the largest proportion with homosexual friends, which should be significant in terms of the positive attitudes.

Table 31. Mean scores for the index measuring attitudes to vulnerable groups in the two surveys in 2003 and 2009 and in the combined data file. The comparison concerns the age range 16 to–18. The higher the index value, the more negative the attitude.

TABLE 31			
INDEX	YEAR OF SURVEY		ALL (2003+2009)
	2003	2009	
Index 1 (scale 1–7) Attitude towards immigration, refugees and Muslims	4.1	4.2	4.2
Index 2 (scale 1–6) Attitude towards Jews	3.1	3.2**	3.1
Index 3 (scale 1–6) Attitude towards homosexuals	2.8	2.3**	2.5
n	3506	4287	7793

6. Concluding remarks

THE SOCIAL AND GENDER DIFFERENCES

In the mid-1970s Arne Trankell[44] summed up Swedes' attitude to immigrants predominantly as a question of education and class. One of his conclusions was that people who had received education and knowledge could afford to show generosity, tolerance and respect because they themselves had nothing to lose in encounters with immigrants. In Trankell's view, they constitute a privileged upper class of well-educated, young, active, confident, curious, strong and independent people. Immigrants do not represent a threat to them; instead to them immigrants become an interesting new element in their existence.

In this survey, which looks at the extent of tolerant and intolerant attitudes among upper secondary school students in Sweden in the school year 2009/2010, we have similarly found that students' attitudes show clear links with their social, economic and cultural environments and conditions. Students with highly educated parents who attend schools where the students come from well-off homes, where average grades are high, where the school environment is academic and the teaching good, tend to have tolerant values. In schools where the student population is mainly drawn from residential areas with high unemployment, low incomes and a high proportion of immigrants, the proportion with negative attitudes is higher. Young people with an immigrant background, particularly boys, in these areas and schools expressed more negative attitudes to homosexuals and to Jews than young people with a Swedish background. Students with a Swedish background, on the other hand, expressed more negative attitudes to immigrants and to Muslims.

To Arne Trankell's conclusion that attitudes to immigrants are a question of class and education, we can add gender. As well as results that showed differences in the students' social, economic and educational conditions, the survey showed clear links between gender and attitudes to vulnerable groups. In every comparison, boys demonstrated less positive and less tolerant attitudes than girls. The largest difference was between boys in the first year on a vocational programme and girls in the final year of an academic programme at upper secondary school.

[44] Arne Trankell analysed the attitude survey that formed part of the 1969 Immigrant Inquiry.

Researchers have suggested different explanations for why adults have an intolerant attitude to vulnerable groups (see Chapter 2). This has partly been seen as a combination of a weak social status and insecurity or alienation. We believe that this can also be seen as an explanation for why boys on vocational programmes are in the majority among intolerant people. The results of the survey show links between these boys' intolerant attitudes to vulnerable groups and an excluding and chauvinistic view of who can be called Swedish. Other results show links between these boys' intolerant attitudes and the personal characteristics they value highly – a combination of physical strength, leadership, religious faith and patriotism.

AMBIVALENT ATTITUDES

The influence of social environments and conditions is significant. However, a young person's tolerant or intolerant attitude to a vulnerable group cannot solely be considered to be a result of social inheritance and social environment. Nor is it the result of an individual point of view, in isolation from surrounding society. Attitudes reflect the social climate. The climate is never static and attitudes are changeable.

In between the extremes of tolerant and intolerant attitudes are found a large number of students whose views are ambivalent. Students' uncertain attitudes and ambivalence on these issues can give rise to hope and to concern. Those who expressed an ambivalent attitude can be assumed to be more open to influence than those who express negative and intolerant views.

The shift observed towards a more positive attitude towards homosexuals between 2003 and 2009 largely comprised a change from uncertainty to an unequivocally positive attitude. The change can be interpreted as a consequence of work on changing opinions, where schools, authorities, individual organisations, artists and the media across Sweden contributed in different ways by voicing criticism of heteronormativity in society and demanding gay rights.

A tolerant climate of opinion can help to change the opinion of the doubtful and the undecided, leading them to adopt a positive viewpoint. Similar observations have been made in previous surveys.

Another result that inspires hope is the difference in attitudes between those aged 16 and those aged 18. This was shown, for example, by increased interest in politics and other measurements of interest in society. When students answered that they had no opinion, this was often a response to highly prejudiced, provocative and racist statements. Students who chose not to take up a clear position tended to be 16 rather than 18.

The 16 year-old boys were also over-represented among those with intolerant attitudes. The proportion of intolerant people was lower among 18 year-olds. This can indicate that the hostile attitude of many of the youngest boys is toned down or shifted towards more undecided opinions once they are two years older and heading out into the labour market.

ENCOUNTERS AND FRIENDSHIP

The survey also offers hope that schools contribute towards a positive trend in encounters between young people with different backgrounds. The Discrimination Inquiry in the early 1980s studied the spread of contact between immigrants and Swedes and the links between such contacts and Swedish people's attitudes to immi-

grants. Charles Westin[45] found that contact can be seen both as a cause and a consequence of the attitudes of Swedes to immigrants. Contact with immigrants was rare among Swedes who placed negative values on immigrants and considerably more frequent among those with a positive attitude. The contacts were also limited to the same social class (Westin 1984).

Similarly, in this survey we have shown a correlation between friends and attitudes. Students with friends from African countries and Muslim areas had tolerant attitudes to Africans and Muslims to a higher extent than those who lacked such friendships. Comparing attitudes towards homosexuals in 2003 and 2009, we were able to demonstrate a significant positive development towards increased tolerance. This positive attitude was in the majority predominantly among girls. At the same time, the survey showed that a very large proportion of the girls had a friend who was homosexual. It is not possible to distinguish between cause and effect. The most likely explanation is an interaction between the two, see Chapter 2.

THE POTENTIAL OF EDUCATION

The results showed a correlation between teaching on racism, human rights and the Holocaust and attitudes to vulnerable groups. We cannot state to what extent this correlation is causal. We can only note that the students who received teaching on these subjects were consistently more positive towards each of the vulnerable groups. And the students who had only received such teaching to a limited extent at school had more negative attitudes to each of these groups.

A third of all students have received teaching on human rights at school. Even more have received teaching on other subjects of interest to this survey, about racism and xenophobia and about the Holocaust. But this teaching does not reach everyone. Students on academic programmes at upper secondary school have received teaching on these subjects to a higher extent than students on vocational programmes.

HOW DO WE MOVE ON FROM HERE?

This survey is the first in a series of planned surveys within the framework of the work the Living History Forum is carrying out to combat intolerance in society. In a few years' time a new quantitative cross-sectional survey of school students will be carried out, to be followed by follow-up studies of the young people who participated in the previous survey.

The data collected in the school year 2009/2010 is rich and still not completely exhausted. In addition, time has been limited. The account of the results in this report has focused on describing the extent of tolerant, positive, ambivalent, negative and intolerant attitudes among upper secondary school students and on comparing these, as far as possible, with the attitudes of students in 2003. The survey has also been a way of showing the need for in-depth studies. Initially four in-depth studies have been planned on the basis of this survey.

One of these studies should shed light on attitudes to young people with disabilities. The results of this survey indicate that some disabilities encounter more prejudice than others. We would like to investigate what have been termed "invisible" disabilities further, students diagnosed with ADHD and dyslexia.

Another vulnerable group we would like to find out more about are the Roma. The results show that upper secondary school students express more negative attitudes and less positive attitudes towards Roma than to other groups. The survey shows that friendship with Roma

[45] Charles Westin analysed the attitude survey that formed part of the 1981 Discrimination Inquiry.

people does not necessarily lead to a generally positive attitude to Roma, a link which is clear for example, for friendship with someone from an African background. The survey also shows that students with highly educated parents do not have a more positive attitude towards Roma as clearly as they do to other vulnerable groups in the survey.

We would like to carry out a third in-depth study into the links between religion and attitudes to vulnerable groups. The results of this survey indicate that students' religious affiliation correlates strongly with their attitudes to vulnerable groups. The links are complex and are expressed with varying degrees of intensity depending on the vulnerable group in question. For example, we have seen that young people who belong to different Christian faith communities are united in having negative attitudes to Muslims, but differ in their attitudes to homosexuals.

In a fourth in-depth study we want to continue to analyse the responses from boys with the most negative attitudes to vulnerable groups. The results presented in this report have shown that the values of these boys differ from those of others in different ways, partly in their criteria for who can call themselves Swedish and the characteristics they respect highly in others. We propose producing an analysis of the responses to the questionnaire, supplemented by group interviews in a number of school districts.

One survey which is not planned but which would be useful in terms of the results already reported is a survey of which educational material and which educational programmes the school and other education institutions in society have at their disposal to provide school students with information which can help to develop tolerance, understanding and respect for vulnerable groups. In conjunction with a survey of the range of material, evaluation initiatives should also be initiated and student and teacher material produced where this is found to be lacking. These initiatives could become the start of a long-term and fruitful collaboration between authorities and individual organisations.

Tables

1.1 Sample population, non-response and participating students

TABLE 1.1

SUMMARY OF SAMPLING FRAME, TOTAL SAMPLE AND PARTICIPATING STUDENTS BY PROPORTION OF STUDENTS WITH A FOREIGN BACKGROUND PER SCHOOL.

	SAMPLING FRAME NO.	TOTAL SAMPLE NO.	PARTICIPATING STUDENTS
Schools	1,005	200	154
less than 30% foreign students	901	143	113
more than 30% foreign students	104	57	41
Classes	–	431	334
less than 30% foreign students	–	317	253
more than 30% foreign students	–	114	81
Students	–	8,151	4,674
less than 30% foreign students	–	4,349	2,627
more than 30% foreign students	–	3,802	2,047

1.2 No. answers by proportion of students with a foreign background in school

TABLE 1.2

PERCENTAGE FOREIGN STUDENTS IN SCHOOL	NO. SELECTED CLASSES	NO. RESPONDING CLASSES	NO. SELECTED STUDENTS	NO. STUDENTS IN RESPONDING CLASSES	NO. RESPONSES	PROPORTION OF RESPONSES FROM SELECTED STUDENTS	PROPORTION OF RESPONSES FROM STUDENTS IN RESPONDING CLASSES
Less than 30%	317	253	4,349	3,351	2,627	60	80
More than 30%	114	81	3,802	2,909	2,047	54	71
Total	431	334	8,151	6,260	4,674	57	77

1.3 Summary of sampling frame and participating students by gender, year, school diversity, municipality, parental occupation and country of birth.

TABLE 1.3					
		SAMPLING FRAME STUDENTS IN YEARS 1 AND 3		PARTICIPATING STUDENTS	
		NO. STUDENTS	%	NO. STUDENTS	%
Total		267,013	100	4,674	100
Gender	Boys	138,096	52	2,300	49
	Girls	128,917	48	2,374	51
Year	1	147,753	55	2,619	56
	3	119,260	45	2,055	44
Parental occupation	Both parents employed	185,291	69	3,234	69
	One parent employed	55,314	21	1,031	22
	Both parents unemployed	12,754	5	223	5
	One parent unemployed	6,704	3	104	2
	Not known	6,952	3	82	2
Programme	Vocational	118,924	45	2,163	46
	Academic	93,902	35	1,846	39
	Both	29,237	11	465	10
	Other	24,950	9	200	4
Municipalities	City	95,835	36	1,864	40
	Other	171,178	64	2,810	60
Proportion foreign students	Less than 30 percent	240,393	90	3,372	72
	More than 30 percent	26,620	10	1,302	28
Background	Swedish	194,147	73	3,297	71
	Foreign[1]	72,866	27	1,377	29
Parents' country of birth	Both born in the Nordic countries	206,478	77	3,518	75
	One parent born in the Nordic countries	17,496	7	325	7
	Both born outside the Nordic countries	36,054	14	752	16
	Not known	6,985	3	79	2

[1] At least one parent born outside Sweden.

2.1 Questions about friends and friendship (weighted data)

TABLE 2.1					
		NO	YES, ONE	YES, SOME	YES, LOTS
HAVE YOU GOT ANY FRIENDS IN THE AREA WHERE YOU LIVE?		10	6	36	48
Have you got any friends with the following background?	African	51	21	18	10
	Arabic	40	15	29	15
	Finnish	33	29	29	10
	Jewish	77	14	7	2
	Latin American	54	18	19	9
	Muslim	36	15	26	23
	Roma	80	10	7	3

2.2 Questions about people from different backgrounds (weighted data)

TABLE 2.2									
		VERY NEGATIVE					VERY POSITIVE	NO OPINION	MEAN
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
What is your opinion of people with the following background?	African	3	5	13	22	18	17	23	4.3
	Arabic	7	13	20	19	11	10	20	3.5
	Jewish	5	7	15	19	13	12	31	3.9
	Muslim	9	13	18	17	12	12	21	3.6
	Roma	11	13	16	13	7	7	33	3.2

2.3 Questions about happiness (weighted data)

TABLE 2.3				
	NOT AT ALL HAPPY	NOT HAPPY	QUITE HAPPY	VERY HAPPY
How happy are you about the area you live in?	1	4	37	58
How happy are you about your class?	1	4	36	59

2.4 Questions about school environment (weighted data)

TABLE 2.4				
	NO, NEVER	YES, ONCE	YES, OFTEN	YES, MOST OF THE TIME
Is it calm in the classroom during lessons?	8	49	39	4
Do you think your teachers try to get you to think critically?	6	35	25	34
Have xenophobic, racist or neo-Nazi groups ever come to your school and handed out flyers, for example?	90	8	2	1
Have you heard students say negative things like “bloody faggot”, “bloody Jew”, “bloody wog”, “bloody Arab”, “slag” and similar to other people at your school?	10	36	29	24
Have you seen young people from your school drink themselves drunk?	15	27	28	30
Is there bullying at your school?	65	30	4	1
Have you been the victim of any form of bullying yourself (including internet bullying)?	70	20	8	2

2.5 Questions about school teaching (weighted data)

TABLE 2.5

HAVE YOU AT ANY TIME IN YOUR SCHOOL CAREER BEEN TAUGHT ABOUT:	NO, NOT AT ALL	YES, A LITTLE	YES, QUITE A LOT	YES, A GREAT DEAL	CAN'T REMEMBER
Buddhism	5	40	39	12	3
Hinduism	6	41	39	12	3
Islam	4	31	42	20	2
Judaism	4	31	43	20	2
Christianity	2	21	41	33	2
Sweden's national minorities (Sami, Jews, Roma, Tornedal- and Sweden Finns)	28	45	11	3	13
The UN Declaration on Human Rights	15	42	24	8	11
Terrorism	29	40	17	5	10
Racism and xenophobia	12	38	28	16	7
The Nazis' mass murder of the Jews (the Holocaust)	5	16	30	45	4
The Nazis' mass murder of other peoples (e.g. the Roma)	17	35	23	16	10
Crimes against humanity under Communist regimes	21	36	18	7	18
Slavery and colonialism	12	36	30	13	10
Swedish racial biology	41	27	9	3	21

2.6 Questions about human rights, equality, etc. (weighted data)

TABLE 2.6

		NO	UNCERTAIN	YES, TO A CERTAIN EXTENT	YES, ABSOLUTELY	NO OPINION
DO YOU THINK THAT ALL THE PEOPLE IN THE WORLD...	… should have the right to marry whoever they like?	3	3	12	80	2
	… should have the right to free education?	1	1	7	89	2
	… should have the right to choose their religion?	2	4	13	78	3
	… should have the right to a job?	1	2	14	81	1
	… should have the right to live in any country they like?	4	9	26	60	2
DO YOU THINK THAT EVERYONE IN SWEDEN...	… is treated equally?	32	30	28	7	3
	… has the same opportunities?	34	32	22	9	3
DO YOU THINK...	… most people in Sweden try to be nice to others?	7	22	57	11	3
	… you can trust most of the people in Sweden?	12	37	41	7	4
	… that it is good for the Swedish economy for people from other countries to come and live here?	16	26	30	13	15
	… that it is good for the Sweden's cultural climate for people from other countries to come and live here?	12	20	34	25	10
	… that it is important that Sweden gives aid to poor countries?	6	9	36	44	6
	… that Sweden should let people from the poorer countries outside Europe come and live here?	11	21	40	19	9
	… that permission to demonstrate should only be granted to political parties which are in favour of democracy?	20	19	16	9	36
	… that demonstrations which will definitely lead to violence should be banned?	16	21	26	20	17
	… that neo-Nazism is a problem in Sweden today?	11	20	25	20	25
	… that racism is a problem in Sweden today?	7	17	37	27	12

2.7 Questions about interest in politics and party sympathies (weighted data)

TABLE 2.7	
WHICH PARTY DO YOU LIKE BEST?	PERCENTAGE OF ALL
The Centre Party	1
Feminist Initiative	0
The Liberal Party	3
The Christian Democrats	1
The Green Party	7
The Moderate Party	11
The Pirate Party	9
The Social Democratic Party	17
The Sweden Democrats	5
The Left Party	3
Other	2
Not interested in politics	40

UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS BY POLITICAL INTEREST AND BACKGROUND. COLUMN PERCENTAGE. WEIGHTED DATA.

	GENDER		YEAR		UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL PROGRAMME		NATIONAL BACKGROUND		ALL
	BOYS	GIRLS	1	3	ACADEMIC	OTHER	SWEDISH	FOREIGN	
Party political interest	66	54	56	66	70	55	60	63	60
Not interested in politics	34	46	44	34	30	45	40	37	40

2.8 Questions about worry about the future (weighted data)

TABLE 2.8				
HOW WORRIED ARE YOU ABOUT THE FOLLOWING THINGS HAPPENING IN SWEDEN IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS?	NOT AT ALL WORRIED	SLIGHTLY WORRIED	QUITE WORRIED	VERY WORRIED
Harder for young people to get work	9	36	35	21
Harder for young people to get a mortgage	13	38	35	15
Worse environment	11	29	36	24
Increased xenophobia	26	38	24	12
More supervision from the state	30	38	21	11
Increased immigration	34	32	19	14
Greater class differences	33	37	21	9
War	60	22	9	10
Terrorism	53	26	12	10

2.9 Questions about characteristics that inspire respect (weighted data)

TABLE 2.9				
WHAT CHARACTERISTICS DO YOU THINK ARE IMPORTANT FOR YOU TO HIGHLY RESPECT A PERSON?				
THAT THE PERSON...	COMPLETELY UNIMPORTANT	FAIRLY UNIMPORTANT	FAIRLY IMPORTANT	VERY IMPORTANT
...Thinks critically	13	51	32	5
...Is brave	7	41	41	11
...Dares to show their feelings	3	13	49	35
...Takes the initiative	2	15	60	23
...Is wise	8	32	45	15
...Is generous	5	24	52	20
...Is physically strong	39	39	15	6
...Is deeply religious	72	17	8	4
...Is very independent	10	37	43	11
...Never lets you down	2	4	29	66
...Has a great sense of humour	3	11	47	39
...Dares to fight for things	8	32	42	18
...Stands up for their opinions	2	5	40	53
...Is good looking	49	37	11	4
...Is very intelligent	26	47	22	5
...Is a celebrity	81	13	4	2
...Is a strong leader	38	41	16	5
...Is helpful	2	6	52	41
...Doesn't depend on others	14	40	35	12
...Is unafraid of conflict	8	35	42	15
...Loves his or her homeland	49	26	13	13

2.10 Questions about characteristics for being "Swedish" (weighted data)

TABLE 2.10				
HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU THINK THESE THINGS ARE TO BEING ABLE TO BE SAID TO BE "SWEDISH"?	COMPLETELY UNIMPORTANT	FAIRLY IMPORTANT	VERY IMPORTANT	ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL
having lived in Sweden for at least five years	21	30	31	18
having a job and a home in Sweden	13	22	41	25
having Swedish citizenship	6	9	31	54
speaking Swedish without any accent	18	32	31	19
being born in Sweden	24	28	24	24
following Swedish culture and Swedish traditions	23	33	27	18
having a family/relatives who have lived in Sweden for at least two generations	42	36	14	8
having a family/relatives who have lived in Sweden for at least five generations	51	33	10	7
not being able to tell from someone's appearance that their roots are from another country	55	31	9	6
being Christian	70	22	6	3
respecting Swedish institutions and laws	5	7	20	68

2.11 Attitudes to vulnerable groups I (weighted data)

TABLE 2.11.1					
	NOW WE WILL PRESENT A NUMBER OF STATEMENTS EXPRESSING OPINIONS PEOPLE MIGHT HAVE. STATE WHETHER YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THESE OPINIONS. (2009)	DIS - AGREE	PARTLY AGREE	COMPLETELY AGREE	DON'T KNOW
2009	"Jews have too much influence in the world today"	50	14	4	32
	"There is far too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews"	46	24	8	22
	"I think the fact that so many homosexual men get HIV and AIDS is nature's punishment for a perverse lifestyle"	66	10	7	18
	"Immigrants to Sweden from countries outside Europe should go back to their home countries"	57	24	6	13
	"It is against the laws of nature for people of different races to have children together"	80	5	3	12

2.11 Attitudes to vulnerable groups II (weighted data)

TABLE 2.11.2						
	DO YOU AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING? (2009)	NO, ABSOLUTELY NOT	NO, HARDLY	UNCERTAIN	YES, PERHAPS	YES, ABSOLUTELY
2009	"All individuals are of equal human worth"	4	3	8	18	68
	"You can be friends with anybody no matter where they come from"	1	2	5	14	79
	"Sweden should continue accepting refugees"	9	8	24	29	30
	"Most Muslim immigrants are probably law-abiding people"	7	10	27	33	23
	"A television anchor should be allowed to wear a headscarf"	19	11	21	19	30
	"Homosexuals should be allowed to adopt children"	13	6	15	20	47
	"There's a lot of truth in the claim that 'Jews are miserly"	27	21	39	9	5
	"Most Muslims only want to live on welfare"	24	22	30	16	7
	"Homosexuality is a disease"	67	12	9	5	7

2.11 Attitudes to vulnerable groups III (weighted data)

TABLE 2.11.3					
WHAT DO YOU THINK IF YOU HEAR SOMEONE SAY THAT...	COMPLETELY DISAGREE	PARTLY DISAGREE	PARTLY AGREE	COMPLETELY AGREE	HAVE NO OPINION
"It would be good if we let immigrants take precedence when looking for work"	50	22	12	3	14
"Physically disabled people are just as capable of understanding as other people"	4	9	23	48	15
"It would be absolutely fine to live next door to a Roma ("gypsy") family"	8	14	23	42	13
"Swedes are less prejudiced and more generous towards refugees than other nationalities"	11	20	34	14	22
"You can say "bloody spaz" without disliking people with cerebral palsy"	9	8	24	48	11
"It is just as natural to be homosexual as it is to be heterosexual"	15	13	22	40	10
"Muslim men oppress women more than other men do"	8	13	34	24	21
"Because of Israel's politics I am increasingly thinking worse of Jews"	35	14	8	4	40
"You can say "bloody faggot"´without disliking homosexuals"	12	11	24	41	12
"Of all the religions, Islam is the one which most naturally leads to terrorism"	19	15	20	11	34
"In their own interest, immigrants who want to stay in Sweden should become as like Swedes as possible""	18	23	27	16	17
"Roma people ("gypsies") use social benefits more than other people do"	18	15	14	8	45
"For their own sake, children with ADHD should be put in special classes"	15	19	31	16	20
"It is a good thing for people to only marry within their own cultural group"	52	15	8	4	22
"Roma people carry out more criminal activity than other people in Sweden"	22	14	13	6	46
"Too much immigration from countries outside Europe destroys Swedish culture"	24	18	21	13	23

3.1 Attitude towards immigrants

TABLE 3.1

PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE THREE SIMPLIFIED CATEGORIES IN THE INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRANTS AND MEAN SCORES ON THE COMPLETE SCALE 1–6 (THE HIGHER THE SCORE, THE MORE NEGATIVE THE ATTITUDE) FOR A NUMBER OF BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS. WEIGHTED DATA.

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	CATEGORY	ATTITUDE TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS			MEAN SCORE 6-POINT SCALE	ETA
		POSITIVE	AMBIVALENT	NEGATIVE		
Gender	Boys	30	45	25	3.4	0.21
	Girls	46	43	11	2.7	
Year	1	36	46	19	3.1	0.05
	3	41	42	17	3	
Upper secondary school programme	Academic	54	37	9	2.5	0.26
	Other	29	48	23	3.3	
City – other	City areas	44	42	14	2.9	0.11
	Other counties	34	46	20	3.2	
Parental level of education	Pre-upper secondary/ unknown	40	42	18	3	0.18
	Upper secondary	31	47	22	3.3	
	Post-upper secondary < 2 years	33	48	19	3.1	
	Post-upper secondary > 2 years	47	41	13	2.7	
	Post-graduate education	72	18	10	2.2	
National background	Swedish	34	46	20	3.2	0.17
	Foreign	55	36	9	2.5	
Religion	Christian, Church of Sweden	34	47	19	3.1	0.17
	Christian, other	46	40	14	2.8	
	Islam	61	38	1	2.2	
	None	36	43	21	3.2	

3.2 Attitude towards immigrants

TABLE 3.2

PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE THREE SIMPLIFIED CATEGORIES IN THE INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRANTS AND MEAN SCORES ON THE COMPLETE SCALE 1–6 (THE HIGHER THE SCORE, THE MORE NEGATIVE THE ATTITUDE) BY SCHOOL AREA, SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT, MERIT RATING AND TEACHING. WEIGHTED DATA.

SCHOOL/TEACHING	CATEGORY/ INDEX VALUE	ATTITUDE TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS			MEAN SCORE 6-POINT SCALE	ETA
		POSITIVE	AMBIVALENT	NEGATIVE		
Character of school 1 “immigrant density level”	high	50	40	11	2.7	0.1
	low	38	47	15	3	
Character of school 2 “high-income level”	high	48	42	10	3.2	0.17
	low	31	49	21	2.6	
School environment 1 “calmness”	high	56	38	7	2.4	0.31
	low	27	44	30	3.6	
School environment 2 “problem density”	high	28	44	29	3.5	0.24
	low	46	41	13	2.8	
Schools’ average grades	high	49	41	10	2.6	0.31
	low	23	48	30	3.7	
Teaching about the Holocaust	a great deal	45	39	15	2.8	0.11
	none	30	44	26	3.4	
Teaching about racism	a great deal	45	37	18	2.9	0.11
	none	34	43	23	3.3	
Teaching about human rights	a great deal	49	36	15	2.8	0.11
	none	34	47	19	3.2	

3.3 Attitude towards immigrants

TABLE 3.3

PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE THREE SIMPLIFIED CATEGORIES IN THE INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS AND MEAN SCORES ON THE COMPLETE SCALE 1–6 (THE HIGHER THE SCORE, THE MORE NEGATIVE THE ATTITUDE) BY INDICATIONS OF INTEREST IN SOCIETY. WEIGHTED DATA.

INDICATION OF INTEREST IN SOCIETY	CATEGORY/ VARIABLE OR INDEX VALUE	ATTITUDE TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS			MEAN SCORE 6-POINT SCALE	ETA
		POSITIVE	AMBIVALENT	NEGATIVE		
Everyone in Sweden is treated equally	Yes, absolutely	40	39	21	3	0.03
	No	42	39	20	3.1	
Racism is a problem in Sweden	Yes, absolutely	59	34	7	2.4	0.44
	No	9	27	64	4.7	
Index human rights	high	56	39	5	2.4	0.50
	low	7	24	70	5	
Party political interest	yes	41	40	19	3	0.03
	no	33	51	16	3.1	
Worry index 1 personal level	high	45	38	17	2.8	0.10
	low	31	46	24	3.4	
Worry index 2 society level	high	57	28	15	2.5	0.10
	low	35	48	18	3.2	
Worry index 3 global level	high	39	45	17	3.1	0.13
	low	43	43	14	2.9	

4.1 Attitude towards Muslims

TABLE 4.1

PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE THREE SIMPLIFIED CATEGORIES IN THE INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS MUSLIMS AND MEAN SCORES ON THE COMPLETE SCALE 1–6 (THE HIGHER THE SCORE VALUE THE MORE NEGATIVE THE ATTITUDE) FOR A NUMBER OF BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS. WEIGHTED DATA.

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	CATEGORY	ATTITUDE TOWARDS MUSLIMS			MEAN SCORE 6-POINT SCALE	ETA
		POSITIVE	AMBIVALENT	NEGATIVE		
Gender	Boys	24	51	25	3.6	0.19
	Girls	36	53	12	3	
Year	1	26	55	20	3.4	0.07
	3	34	48	18	3.2	
Upper secondary school programme	Academic	42	48	10	3.5	0.22
	Other	23	54	23	2.9	
City – other	City areas	35	49	16	3.1	0.09
	Other counties	27	53	20	3.4	
Parental level of education	Pre-upper secondary/ unknown	24	51	26	3.6	0.2
	Upper secondary	21	56	22	3.5	
	Post-upper secondary < 2 years	36	46	18	3.2	
	Post-upper secondary > 2 years	40	48	13	3	
	Post-graduate education	46	41	14	2.7	
National background	Swedish	28	53	20	3.4	0.1
	Foreign	39	47	13	3	
Religion	Christian, Church of Sweden	26	55	19	3.4	0.19
	Christian, other	26	53	21	3.4	
	Islam	63	33	4	2.3	
	None	28	51	21	3.3	

4.2 Attitude towards Muslims

TABLE 4.2

PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE THREE SIMPLIFIED CATEGORIES IN THE INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS MUSLIMS AND MEAN SCORES ON THE COMPLETE SCALE 1–6 (THE HIGHER THE SCORE, THE MORE NEGATIVE THE ATTITUDE) BY SCHOOL AREA, SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT, MERIT RATING AND TEACHING. WEIGHTED DATA.

SCHOOL/TEACHING	CATEGORY/ INDEX VALUE	ATTITUDE TOWARDS MUSLIMS			MEAN 6-POINT SCALE	ETA
		POSITIVE	AMBIVALENT	NEGATIVE		
Character of school 1 “immigrant density level”	high	36	53	10	3.0	0.07
	low	29	53	18	3.3	
Character of school 2 “high-income level”	high	42	47	11	2.9	0.18
	low	20	56	24	3.6	
School environment 1 “calmness”	high	46	45	9	2.7	0.24
	low	20	41	38	3.9	
School environment 2 “problem density”	high	26	43	31	3.6	0.14
	low	33	56	11	3.1	
Schools’ average grades	high	42	49	10	2.8	0.20
	low	16	53	31	3.8	
Teaching about the Holocaust	a great deal	37	48	15	3.1	0.16
	none	22	50	27	3.7	
Teaching about racism	a great deal	39	42	19	3.1	0.10
	none	25	51	25	3.6	
Teaching about human rights	a great deal	41	45	14	2.9	0.09
	none	30	51	20	3.4	

4.3 Attitude towards Muslims

TABLE 4.3

PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE THREE SIMPLIFIED CATEGORIES IN THE INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS MUSLIMS AND MEAN SCORES ON THE COMPLETE SCALE 1–6 (THE HIGHER THE SCORE, THE MORE NEGATIVE THE ATTITUDE) BY INDICATIONS OF INTEREST IN SOCIETY. WEIGHTED DATA.

INDICATION OF INTEREST IN SOCIETY	CATEGORY/ VARIABLE OR INDEX VALUE	ATTITUDE TOWARDS MUSLIMS			MEAN SCORE 6-POINT SCALE	ETA
		POSITIVE	AMBIVALENT	NEGATIVE		
Everyone in Sweden is treated equally	Yes, absolutely	27	52	21	3.5	0.05
	No	32	49	19	3.2	
Racism is a problem in Sweden	Yes, absolutely	48	41	11	2.7	0.38
	No	7	35	58	4.7	
Index human rights	high	43	49	8	2.8	0.43
	low	4	28	69	4.9	
Party political interest	yes	34	47	20	3.2	0.05
	no	23	60	17	3.4	
Worry index 1 personal level	high	38	42	21	3.1	0.11
	low	23	52	25	3.6	
Worry index 2 society level	high	51	33	16	2.7	0.11
	low	24	55	21	3.5	
Worry index 3 global level	high	19	56	25	3.5	0.14
	low	35	49	16	3.1	

5.1 Attitude towards Roma

TABLE 5.1

PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE THREE SIMPLIFIED CATEGORIES IN THE INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS ROMA AND MEAN SCORES ON THE COMPLETE SCALE 1–6 (THE HIGHER THE SCORE, THE MORE NEGATIVE THE ATTITUDE) FOR A NUMBER OF BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS. WEIGHTED DATA.

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	CATEGORY	ATTITUDE TOWARDS ROMA			MEAN SCORE 6-POINT SCALE	ETA
		POSITIVE	AMBIVALENT	NEGATIVE		
Gender	Boys	19	47	33	3.8	0.23
	Girls	34	51	15	2.9	
Year	1	20	57	24	3.5	0.09
	3	34	40	25	3.2	
Upper secondary school programme	Academic	40	41	20	3	0.19
	Other	19	54	27	3.6	
City – other	City areas	31	44	25	3.3	0.04
	Other counties	24	52	24	3.4	
Parental level of education	Pre-upper secondary/ unknown	19	57	24	3.5	0.12
	Upper secondary	21	51	28	3.5	
	Post-upper secondary < 2 years	32	41	27	3.3	
	Post-upper secondary > 2 years	33	47	21	3.2	
	Post-graduate education	38	48	14	2.7	
National background	Swedish	27	50	24	3.3	0.04
	Foreign	24	48	29	3.5	
Religion	Christian, Church of Sweden	28	48	24	3.3	0.05
	Christian, other	21	56	23	3.5	
	Islam	23	48	30	3.5	
	None	26	49	26	3.4	

5.2 Attitude towards Roma

TABLE 5.2

PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE THREE SIMPLIFIED CATEGORIES IN THE INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS ROMA AND MEAN SCORES ON THE COMPLETE SCALE 1–6 (THE HIGHER THE SCORE, THE MORE NEGATIVE THE ATTITUDE) BY SCHOOL AREA, SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT, MERIT RATING AND TEACHING. WEIGHTED DATA.

SCHOOL/TEACHING	CATEGORY/	ATTITUDE TOWARDS ROMA			MEAN SCORE 6-POINT SCALE	ETA
	INDEX VALUE	POSITIVE	AMBIVALENT	NEGATIVE		
Character of school 1 "immigrant density level"	high	19	59	22	3.5	0.07
	low	23	56	21	3.3	
Character of school 2 "high-income level"	high	39	41	20	3.0	0.14
	low	18	57	25	3.6	
School environment 1 "calmness"	high	42	39	19	3.0	0.16
	low	21	51	28	3.6	
School environment 2 "problem density"	high	21	43	36	3.8	0.13
	low	29	55	17	3.1	
Schools'average grades	high	37	41	23	3.1	0.19
	low	15	50	35	3.9	
Teaching about the Holocaust	a great deal	33	44	23	3.2	0.11
	none	18	56	26	3.5	
Teaching about racism	a great deal	35	37	29	3.3	0.04
	none	23	51	26	3.5	
Teaching about human rights	a great deal	36	40	26	3.1	0.06
	none	24	52	24	3.3	

5.3 Attitude towards Roma

TABLE 5.3

PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE THREE SIMPLIFIED CATEGORIES IN THE INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS ROMA AND MEAN SCORES ON THE COMPLETE SCALE 1–6 (THE HIGHER THE SCORE, THE MORE NEGATIVE THE ATTITUDE) BY INDICATIONS OF INTEREST IN SOCIETY. WEIGHTED DATA.

INDICATION OF INTEREST IN SOCIETY	CATEGORY/ VARIABLE OR INDEX VALUE	ATTITUDE TOWARDS ROMA			MEAN SCORE 6-POINT SCALE	ETA
		POSITIVE	AMBIVALENT	NEGATIVE		
Everyone in Sweden is treated equally	Yes, absolutely	23	45	32	3.6	0.07
	No	29	48	23	3.3	
Racism is a problem in Sweden	Yes, absolutely	39	41	19	3	0.27
	No	11	40	48	4.3	
Index human rights	high	37	47	16	2.9	0.31
	low	10	34	56	4.5	
Party political interest	yes	29	44	28	3.4	0.02
	no	23	58	20	3.3	
Worry index 1 personal level	high	39	40	21	3	0.12
	low	20	53	27	3.7	
Worry index 2 society level	high	42	37	22	2.9	0.09
	low	20	54	26	3.6	
Worry index 3 global level	high	22	52	27	3.5	0.09
	low	29	50	21	3.2	

6.1 Attitude towards Jews

TABLE 6.1

PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE THREE SIMPLIFIED CATEGORIES IN THE INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS JEWS AND MEAN SCORES ON THE COMPLETE SCALE 1–6 (THE HIGHER THE SCORE, THE MORE NEGATIVE THE ATTITUDE) FOR A NUMBER OF BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS. WEIGHTED DATA.

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	CATEGORY	ATTITUDE TOWARDS JEWS			MEAN SCORE 6-POINT SCALE	ETA
		POSITIVE	AMBIVALENT	NEGATIVE		
Gender	Boys	19	54	27	2.1	0.21
	Girls	38	52	9	1.7	
Year	1	25	54	21	2	0.11
	3	33	52	15	1.8	
Upper secondary school programme	Academic	44	44	12	1.7	0.24
	Other	20	58	22	2	
City – other	City areas	34	47	19	1.9	0.06
	Other counties	25	57	18	1.9	
Parental level of education	Pre-upper secondary/ unknown	12	57	31	2.2	0.2
	Upper secondary	22	58	20	2	
	Post-upper secondary < 2 years	35	51	15	1.8	
	Post-upper secondary > 2 years	38	47	15	1.8	
	Post-graduate education	49	36	15	1.7	
National background	Swedish	32	54	15	1.8	0.22
	Foreign	14	49	37	2.2	
Religion	Christian, Church of Sweden	33	56	12	1.8	0.25
	Christian, other	25	49	26	2	
	Islam	8	38	55	2.5	
	None	30	53	18	1.9	

6.2 Attitude towards Jews

TABLE 6.2

PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE THREE SIMPLIFIED CATEGORIES IN THE INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS JEWS AND MEAN SCORES ON THE COMPLETE SCALE 1–6 (THE HIGHER THE SCORE, THE MORE NEGATIVE THE ATTITUDE) BY SCHOOL AREA, SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT, MERIT RATING AND TEACHING. WEIGHTED DATA.

SCHOOL/TEACHING	CATEGORY/ INDEX VALUE	ATTITUDE TOWARDS JEWS			MEAN SCORE 6-POINT SCALE	ETA
		POSITIVE	AMBIVALENT	NEGATIVE		
Character of school 1 “immigrant density level”	high	14	54	32	2.2	0.11
	low	29	54	18	1.9	
Character of school 2 “high-income level”	high	47	43	11	1.6	0.21
	low	15	60	26	2.1	
School environment 1 “calmness”	high	41	44	15	1.7	0.13
	low	21	55	24	2	
School environment 2 “problem density”	high	22	49	29	2.1	0.10
	low	26	58	17	1.9	
Schools’ average grades	high	50	41	9	1.6	0.24
	low	11	54	35	2.2	
Teaching about the Holocaust	a great deal	38	47	15	1.8	0.18
	none	10	62	28	2.2	
Teaching about racism	a great deal	34	47	19	1.9	0.06
	none	22	56	22	2	
Teaching about human rights	a great deal	35	48	18	1.8	0.07
	none	25	52	23	2	

6.3 Attitude towards Jews

TABLE 6.3

PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE THREE SIMPLIFIED CATEGORIES IN THE INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS JEWS AND MEAN SCORES ON THE COMPLETE SCALE 1–6 (THE HIGHER THE SCORE, THE MORE NEGATIVE THE ATTITUDE) BY INDICATIONS OF INTEREST IN SOCIETY. WEIGHTED DATA.

INDICATION OF INTEREST IN SOCIETY	CATEGORY/ VARIABLE OR INDEX VALUE	ATTITUDE TOWARDS JEWS			MEAN SCORE 6-POINT SCALE	ETA
		POSITIVE	AMBIVALENT	NEGATIVE		
Everyone is treated equally in Sweden	Yes, absolutely	17	53	30	3.7	0.10
	No	32	51	17	3.2	
Racism is a problem in Sweden	Yes, absolutely	39	42	19	3.1	0.18
	No	13	55	33	3.9	
Index human rights	high	37	48	15	3	0.24
	low	8	50	42	4.2	
Party political interest	yes	31	49	21	3.3	0.02
	no	25	60	15	3.3	
Worry index 1 personal level	high	39	38	24	3.2	0.09
	low	16	62	22	3.5	
Worry index 2 society level	high	41	35	24	3.1	0.08
	low	25	56	19	3.4	
Worry index 3 global level	high	17	53	31	3.8	0.18
	low	33	52	15	3.1	

7.1 Attitude towards homosexuals

TABLE 7.1

PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE THREE SIMPLIFIED CATEGORIES IN THE INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALS AND MEAN SCORES ON THE COMPLETE SCALE 1–6 (THE HIGHER THE SCORE, THE MORE NEGATIVE THE ATTITUDE) FOR A NUMBER OF BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS. WEIGHTED DATA.

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	CATEGORY	ATTITUDE TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALS			MEAN SCORE 6-POINT SCALE	ETA
		POSITIVE	AMBIVALENT	NEGATIVE		
Gender	Boys	34	36	30	3.5	0.43
	Girls	76	19	6	2	
Year	1	51	28	22	2.9	0.09
	3	58	28	14	2.6	
Upper secondary school programme	Academic	66	24	11	2.3	0.19
	Other	47	30	23	3	
City – other	City areas	58	25	17	2.6	0.06
	Other counties	51	30	19	2.9	
Parental level of education	Pre-upper secondary/ unknown	30	33	37	3.6	0.22
	Upper secondary	49	30	21	2.9	
	Post-upper secondary < 2 years	63	24	14	2.5	
	Post-upper secondary > 2 years	63	25	12	2.4	
	Post-graduate education	61	27	12	2.3	
National background	Swedish	58	27	15	2.6	0.2
	Foreign	35	33	32	3.5	
Religion	Christian, Church of Sweden	63	24	13	2.5	0.26
	Christian, other	36	34	30	3.4	
	Islam	17	43	40	3.9	
	None	55	28	17	2.7	

7.2 Attitude towards homosexuals

TABLE 7.2

PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE THREE SIMPLIFIED CATEGORIES IN THE INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALS AND MEAN SCORES ON THE COMPLETE SCALE 1–6 (THE HIGHER THE SCORE, THE MORE NEGATIVE THE ATTITUDE) BY SCHOOL AREA, SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT, MERIT RATING AND TEACHING. WEIGHTED DATA.

SCHOOL/TEACHING	CATEGORY/ INDEX VALUE	ATTITUDE TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALS			MEAN SCORE 6-POINT SCALE	ETA
		POSITIVE	AMBIVALENT	NEGATIVE		
Character of school 1 "immigrant density level"	high	38	27	36	3.4	0.11
	low	58	27	15	2.6	
Character of school 2 "high-income level"	high	68	24	8	3.2	0.20
	low	38	38	24	2.2	
School environment 1 "calmness"	high	63	24	13	2.4	0.13
	low	40	32	28	3.3	
School environment 2 "problem density"	high	48	27	25	3.0	0.09
	low	53	32	15	2.7	
Schools' average grades	high	70	23	7	2.1	0.22
	low	36	31	33	3.5	
Teaching about the Holocaust	a great deal	64	23	13	2.4	0.23
	none	33	28	39	3.7	
Teaching about racism	a great deal	63	21	16	2.5	0.11
	none	45	31	25	3.1	
Teaching about human rights	a great deal	63	23	14	2.4	0.11
	none	49	26	25	3.1	

7.3 Attitude towards homosexuals

TABLE 7.3

PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE THREE SIMPLIFIED CATEGORIES IN THE INDEX FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALS AND MEAN SCORES ON THE COMPLETE SCALE 1–6 (THE HIGHER THE SCORE, THE MORE NEGATIVE THE ATTITUDE) BY INDICATIONS OF INTEREST IN SOCIETY. WEIGHTED DATA.

INDICATION OF INTEREST IN SOCIETY	CATEGORY/ VARIABLE OR INDEX VALUE	ATTITUDE TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALS			MEAN SCORE 6-POINT SCALE	ETA
		POSITIVE	AMBIVALENT	NEGATIVE		
Everyone in Sweden is treated equally	Yes, absolutely	37	33	31	3.4	0.17
	No	60	23	17	2.6	
Racism is a problem in Sweden	Yes, absolutely	64	22	14	2.4	0.27
	No	28	30	42	3.9	
Index human rights	high	67	23	11	2.3	0.38
	low	13	32	55	4.5	
Party political interest	yes	53	27	20	2.8	0.03
	no	54	30	16	2.7	
Worry index 1 personal level	high	61	20	19	2.6	0.19
	low	32	34	35	3.6	
Worry index 2 society level	high	64	15	21	2.5	0.07
	low	47	32	21	3	
Worry index 3 global level	high	42	28	30	3.2	0.12
	low	59	24	17	2.6	

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