Mechanisms of tolerance: an anthology

Editor: Erik Lundberg

THE
LIVING
HISTORY
FORUM

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Content

Foreword

What is tolerance? In this anthology we let researchers from different disciplines discuss what this multifaceted concept can mean, both in theory and in practice. Our focus is on the development of young people's tolerance. We have had the issue examined from both a historical and a contemporary perspective.

The various chapters contribute to knowledge of the significance of family, social networks, voluntary associations and schools to the promotion of tolerant attitudes among young people. They also show how young people themselves think and reason. What does tolerance mean for them, and why is it important to look openly at their surroundings and other people?

We hope and believe that we will give our readers new knowledge about what tolerance is, and how it can be promoted among young people. We turn to everyone who is interested in the issue, but especially to people who, in different roles and in a variety of contexts, come into contact with young people, particularly in civil society.

Since 2003, The Living History Forum has, with some regularity, conducted attitudinal surveys of various kinds. Several of these surveys have dealt precisely with young people's attitudes to issues of tolerance. It is in our mission to understand how we can best promote work on democracy, tolerance and human rights.

With this anthology, we want to deepen our knowledge of how young people think, and what circumstances and mechanisms affect their attitudes.

Ingrid Lomfors
Director-General
The Living History Forum

1. Tolerance: An introduction to the concept, the research and the anthology

Erik Lundberg

In recent years, much of public discourse has focused on refugee migration. As a result of war, persecution and unrest in the Middle East and Africa, but also in other countries, more and more people have left their homes to seek safety, freedom and a better life. In Sweden, immigration became topical during the autumn of 2015, when a large number of refugees applied for asylum in a short period of time. For the individual and society at large, the ensuing changes meant, in many cases, new encounters and opportunities. But refugee migration has also resulted in tensions and conflicts. As well as exposing public migrant-reception systems to major trials, the question was raised about how we should handle coexistence in a society that is becoming increasingly pluralistic. In the conversations that ensued, tolerance became a fairly commonly used concept. The concept was emphasized as a balancing force to counteract growing concern and xenophobia. Tolerance also arose in relation to the various forms of social and religious attributes that are perceived as difficult, problematic, or provocative. In addition, the concept was highlighted not

only as a value and an expression of a generous refugee policy, but also as one that divided society into "us and them" – to take some examples.

The increased use of the concept of tolerance is evident not only in the context of refugee migration. Retriever (Mediearkivet in Swedish), a portal that brings together the contents of a large part of the Swedish press, shows that use of the term has steadily increased in recent decades. In 1990, the concept was found 108 times in the archive, only to increase to 5006 times in 2016. The corresponding figures for the Swedish web in 2000 and 2016, are 27 and 7178, respectively.[1] A similar tendency is detectable in other countries. In Denmark, tolerance has been described as a keyword in contemporary political debate, as it has within the European Union, but also in other countries the concept has achieved a newfound attractiveness and relevance (Bredsdorff & Kjaeldgaard, 2012, p. 15; European Commission, 2016; Steen-Johnsen, Fladmoe & Midtbøen, 2016). The American political scientist Wendy Brown (2009) even speaks of a global renaissance of the concept since the mid-1980s.

There are, of course, many explanations for the increased use of the concept. One possible explanation, however, has already been touched upon, and concerns the development of more diverse societies with increasing ethnic and cultural diversity. Refugee migration is only one example of a global trend in increased population movements. Another conceivable explanation is the escalation of

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1 The searching was done in the Mediearkivet database, and applies from 1 January 1990 to 31 December 2016 (written press) and 1 January 2000 to 31 December 2016 (online). Searching was done on sources that used the word tolerance in various forms. To rule out articles in the medical field, we excluded sources that contained the following words at the same time: medicine, inflammation, disease, drugs, doctor, allergy and lactose.

religious conflicts in various parts of the world, especially the Middle East, which has again made topical the need for peaceful coexistence and tolerance (Brown, 2009; Bredsdorff & Kjaeldgaard, 2012). An additional circumstance is the increased reporting of hate crimes in Europe (Bevelander & Hjerm, 2015; Fundamental Rights Agency, 2015) and a growing extreme nationalism, which has reminded us of the lack of and the need for tolerance.

The attraction of the concept of tolerance does not mean that it is a new concept that has just made its way into public discourse. Its roots can be traced back to ancient times and Stoic philosophy. Here, tolerance is presented as an important feature and strength of each and everyone of us for encountering the strange and the different (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy). The concept is also found in the texts of the philosophers, e.g., Voltaire, John Locke and John Stuart Mill, for whom the religious conflicts in Europe during the 1600s provided a foundation for how tolerance came to be specified conceptually. For example, Voltaire presented tolerance as an argument against religious intolerance, while Mill pointed to the importance of tolerance of all kinds of differences, moral, ethnic and cultural.

Just as in public discourse, there is disagreement in the scientific literature over the concept's meaning and value. For some, tolerance is associated with something priceless and as a foundation of democracy (Dahl, 1992; Gibson, 2006). It is put forward as a minimum condition for community life and a prerequisite for a multicultural and pluralistic society. In Walzer's words (1997 p. xii): "Tolerance makes differences possible; differences makes tolerance necessary". For others, the concept of tolerance evokes distaste, and is linked to inequality, exclusion and the power of the majority over the minority.

The concept is criticized for being ambiguous, normative, and as an expression of a more or less hidden exercise of power (Marcuse, 1969; Schirmer, Weiden Ballenstedt & Reich, 2012).

Overall, it can be said that the conversation about tolerance raises several questions. First, there are fundamental questions about the concept of tolerance. In both public and scientific discourse, the concept has been criticized for its shortcomings and ambiguities. What does it mean to be tolerant? What is encompassed by the concept and in what does its real value consist?

Second, there is the question of whether, and, in such case, the ways in which tolerance can be promoted? In both national and international policy documents, there is emphasis on the importance of safeguarding and reinforcing tolerance.[2] But to what extent is it possible to influence tolerance? Which actors and institutions in society influence and promote tolerance? The Swedish curriculum is clear that the school should "foster" tolerance, but to what extent can school personnel act to promote tolerance? Alongside the school, there are also a range of other contexts with actors who have the potential to affect our attitudes and values, such as the family, friends and organizations in civil society. What role do they play in the development of positive attitudes and tolerance?

2　An example of a national policy document in Sweden is the Swedish curriculum for primary school, pre-school classes and organized leisure activities. Here, it is clear that tolerance should be central to the values and norms that characterize education (Lp 2011). Another example is the instruction to the Living History Forum stating that the agency has the task of promoting tolerance (SFS 2007:1197). Tolerance is also mentioned as a key value in the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights (Article 26:2), and also by UNESCO as an important value and a principle that should be observed in all parts of society, such as in legislation, by the media and educational institutions, and in the family (UNESCO, 2015).

Third, there is the question of the position of Sweden with regard to tolerance. If we are to believe in international measurements of attitudes and values, Sweden is one of the most tolerant countries in the world (see, for example, Borgonovi, 2012). At the same time, the seemingly increased fear of strangers and reports of hate crimes give a different picture. Is the Swedish population as tolerant as it is sometimes suggested to be, and how in such case can it be understood?

In this anthology, the Living History Forum has gathered together a number of in-depth texts with a bearing on tolerance. The texts are written by researchers from different academic backgrounds and make both qualitative and quantitative contributions. The intention is to convey knowledge of relevance to all actors in public and civil society wo work to promote tolerance and positive attitudes towards different groups in society, and who, in their work, require knowledge to make their efforts better fit for purpose.

Our hope also is that the anthology can stimulate further public and scientific discussion of issues of tolerance. This applies both to the potential value of the concept of tolerance, and the mechanisms underlying tolerant and intolerant attitudes. A first effort to initiate such a discussion took place in 2016 when several of the chapters in this anthology were presented at public seminars arranged by the Living History Forum. Parts of the discussion are reproduced in this anthology (see, for example, chapter 4 by Kari Steen-Johnsen).

It is also important to emphasize that the contents of this anthology do not provide complete answers to the questions it poses. For example, the question of which factors influence tolerance is extremely complex, and we can contribute here with just a few bits of knowledge. It is also appropriate to mention that many of the contri-

butions in this anthology place the spotlight on young people. This should not be interpreted to mean that young people are particularly intolerant. One important reason, is that adolescence is the formative period when many of our political and social attitudes are created and take shape. Adolescence is therefore an important period during which democratic attitudes and values can be fostered. In addition, we can, by examining the attitudes of future generations, obtain signals of what the future may look like.

Before the different parts of the anthology are described, a brief explanation of the concept of tolerance and an introduction to the current state of research will be presented.

The concept of tolerance

Anyone who gets acquainted with contemporary research on tolerance may soon find that the concept, like many other concepts in the social sciences, is defined in different ways. You will also see that there is no clear definition or consensus on how the concept should be specified. The fact is that tolerance has been pointed to as one of the most disputed concepts in social scientific research. It has been described as a paradox, and as something extremely elusive (Forst, 2013; Thomassen, 2006). Within the frame of a short introduction like this, it is not possible to give an exhaustive account of the complexity of encompassed by the concept.[3] However, it is possible to illuminate central dimensions of the concept and give examples of how it has been specified.

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3 For a more extensive discussion, see Forst (2013), or for an account in Swedish, Langmann (2013, pp. 55-82).

In the philosophical literature, tolerance is described as a reaction to something that the individual perceives as difficult or problematic. This can apply to ideas, opinions, and people of certain groups, and their fundamental values and behaviors (Sullivan, Piereson & Marcus, 1979; Orlenius, 2008, p. 469). Tolerance is presented as a sequential or dual concept that includes an element of rejection and an element of acceptance (Scanlon, 2003). What this means is that an individual, to be tolerant, first rejects or takes notice of what he or she perceives as problematic, unacceptable or intolerable, only then to accept, welcome and tolerate the same.

Another way of determining the nature of tolerance is to relate it to the appreciation and affirmation of diversity, pluralism and difference. Researchers and theorists have, in fact, pointed out that the concept encompasses more understandings and opportunities for interpretations than solely permitting that which is perceived as difficult or problematic (Afdal, 2010; Forst, 2013). Such an interpretation of tolerance is leveraged the more positive part of the traditional conception, and relates tolerance to appreciation and affirmation of diversity, pluralism and difference (cf. Langmann, 2013, p. 70). In other words, to be tolerant means to embrace an open-minded, open and affirming attitude to diversity and pluralism in all its forms. This may apply, for example, to people from different cultures, with different ethnic backgrounds and nationalities. This way of determining the nature of tolerance is seen both in research (see, for example, Weldon, 2006; van Zalk, Kerr, van Zalk & Stattin, 2013; Miklikowska, 2016)

and in the work of authorities and international organizations such as the The Living History Forum[4] and UNESCO.

As seen from the definitions above, tolerance may arise in relation to documents, ideas or individuals. In the scientific discourse, a distinction is sometimes made between political (institutional) tolerance and social (interpersonal) tolerance (Weldon, 2006; Langmann, 2013). Political tolerance treats phenomena like the individual's right to participate actively in political life and to the principles of freedom of expression, voting rights, and the right to stand for election. Linking to the political dimension, for example, the political scientist James L. Gibson (2006, p. 22) has defined tolerance as an acceptance of one's political opponents participating in political activity. The basis of this understanding of the concept can be found in John Locke, who introduced tolerance into discussion of the relationship between the individual and the state (Mitchell, 1990). A core in Locke's reasoning concerned safeguarding of the individual's right to hold and pursue religious beliefs and practices, for so long as they did not result in war or conflict, or posed a threat to the state's autonomy.

Social tolerance is linked to the relationship between individuals or groups of individuals. The basis for this understanding is to be found in the Stoic texts where tolerance is associated with interpersonal acceptance or the acknowledgment of other individuals or groups of individuals (Forst, 2013, p. 37). It is pointed out that there are always conflicts between individuals or groups of individuals, and

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4 The Living History Forum has defined tolerance as "an explicit stance to accept, respect or affirm individuals and groups based on skin colour, ethnicity, sexual orientation, beliefs, opinion, and several other categorizations" (Severin, 2014, p. 33-34).

sometimes they are difficult to resolve. Accordingly, people need to learn to live with each other and change in relation to each other.

The extent to which a distinction should be made between political tolerance and social tolerance can, of course, be questioned, since they are interlinked and mutually dependent terms. Nevertheless, the distinction can be a useful analytical tool for understanding and finding out which aspects of tolerance are subject to discussion.

The abundance of possible determinations of the nature of tolerance sometimes creates confusion about what is meant by the term. Further, criticism has been leveled against the concept, according to some definitions, requiring a certain amount of resistance, rejection or intolerance, which is then allowed or accepted. Tolerance has thereby been interpreted as an expression of a hierarchical relationship between, for example, individuals representing different groups, and as derogatory and insulting. These individuals do not like or embrace something, but put up with it even if it is perceived as negative (Schirmer, Weidenstedt & Reich, 2012). This is the core of the criticism by Wendy Brown (2009), who believes that tolerance has come to be used in the rhetoric of some Western countries, mainly the United States, in relation to, inter alia, the fundamentalist Islamic world. As Brown herself puts it:

> Tolerated individuals will always be those who deviate from the norm, never those who uphold it, but they will also be further articulated as deviant individuals through the very discourse of tolerance (Brown, 2009 p. 44).

A related criticism is linked to the concept presupposing that the individual has an opportunity, and thereby the power, to act on the

basis of his or her negative feelings or opinions but voluntarily chooses not to do so. It is in fact conceivable that individuals or groups of individuals find themselves in a situation where the possibility of acting is curtailed or completely absent, whereupon the opportunity to be tolerant comes to an end.

A third source of criticism is related to the concept, according to the nature of its traditional determination, presupposing that the individual sets a limit to what he or she can tolerate. To be tolerant therefore requires a certain degree of intolerance. If the individual does not place any limit on what he or she can or should allow, suffer or tolerate, but remains indifferent, it is, by definition, not possible to speak of tolerance. Where the limits of tolerance are located has shifted throughout history and is constantly the subject of discussion, negotiation and review. Whether the demand for limits is a limitation or an asset can be discussed. On the one hand, the limit of what we can or should tolerate can be drawn in a way that runs counter to the fundamental democratic values, or the acknowledging and including perspectives on tolerance, that defenders of the concept advocate.

On the other hand, the drawing of limits offers an opportunity, and may indeed be a necessity, both for defending democratic principles and the inalienable values on which our democracies are based, and for reconsidering these in relation to change. This is particularly apparent in relation to the more affirmative determination of the concept. Unrestricted tolerance, without limits, may ultimately lead to oppression, racism, xenophobia and other non-democratic actions and ideas being tolerated. This is summarized aptly by the philosopher Karl Popper:

Unlimited tolerance must lead to the disappearance of tolerance. If we extend unlimited tolerance even to those who are intolerant, if we are not prepared to defend a tolerant society against the onslaught of the intolerant, then the tolerant will be destroyed, and tolerance with them (Popper, 1945).

This anthology contains different definitions of tolerance. We will therefore not single out any particular definition, but highlight different possible ways of approaching the concept. Some writers in this anthology use a more traditional or philosophical specification, others a more affirmative or "positive" definition of the concept. A few choose to refrain from using the term at all.

With different ways of clarifying the concept, it also follows that there are different ways of making tolerance empirically measurable, which have been discussed extensively in the research (for example, see Sullivan, Piereson & Marcus, 1979; Mondak & Sanders, 2003; Gibson, 2005). One of the most common ways of measuring tolerance is to ask respondents to mention one or two of the least liked groups in their society, and ask questions about the extent to which various rights should encompass this or these groups (see, for example, Widmalm, Oskarsson & Hulterström, 2010).

Another way of proceeding is to examine respondents' explicit attitudes, or the degree of their positive attitudes. This is often the approach in studies where tolerance is related to the appreciation and affirmation of diversity, pluralism and difference, that is, the more "positive" aspect of the concept of tolerance (Weldon, 2006; Kirchner, Freitag & Rapp, 2011; Miklikowska, 2016). Several of the

empirical chapters in this anthology deal with tolerance in terms of the degree of positive attitudes towards vulnerable groups in society, such as immigrants, people with different ethnic backgrounds, or the LGBT. A group to which special attention has been paid consists of immigrants[5]. That said, the results may not be generalizable to other vulnerable groups, such as Muslims, Jews, Roma or the LGBT. Studies show that different kinds of intolerance and prejudice are often interconnected; that is, people who have prejudices against one group often have prejudices against others (for example, see Zick, Küpper & Hövermann, 2011).

Perspectives from research

If we glance through the existing studies on tolerance and other related concepts, such as prejudice, stereotyping and xenophobia, we note that the research is both lengthy and multidisciplinary. Research topics have covered a range of issues, from what tolerance means and how it should best be measured, to the extent of tolerance, and its change, causes and expressions. The range makes it impossible, in a short introduction like this, to provide a complete picture of the state of research. However, it is possible, by means of examples, to illuminate both empirical and theoretical perspectives, so as thereby provide a foundation from which to consider the issues raised in this anthology.

One issue addressed in the anthology concerns the emergence of tolerant and intolerant attitudes. One of the first empirical studies

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5 It should be noted that the basic concept of immigrant in itself is a blunt measure and captures what is fundamentally a very heterogeneous group.

on the subject, conducted in the USA by the sociologist Samuel A. Stouffer (1955), concerned the population's tolerance of different political groups. In a questionnaire distributed to 6000 citizens, questions were asked about attitudes to communists, atheists and socialists. Part of the study focused on the extent to which Americans would be willing to extend political rights to, in the first instance, Communists, which would enable them speak in public, to teach in schools, and to disseminate political messages. The results were both interesting and startling. For example, a majority of Americans stated that Communists should not be granted the political rights mentioned above, while a similar proportion felt that they should have their citizenship rescinded. Stouffer's survey marked the start of a series of follow-up studies of tolerance in the USA and other countries (see, for example, see Nunn, Crockett & Williams, 1978; Peffley & Rohrschneider, 2003; Widmalm, Oskarsson & Hulterström, 2010).

A more contemporary example of surveys of the presence of tolerant and intolerant attitudes in Europe lies in the studies of "group focused enmity" that have been implemented at the University of Bielefeld in Germany (Zick et al., 2011). By enmity of this kind is meant different forms of anti-democratic attitudes and positions, like racism, homophobia, sexism, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, and xenophobia. The lowest level of group-based hostility was found in the Netherlands, followed by the UK, France, Germany, Italy and Portugal. The highest levels were measured in Poland and Hungary. Differences between countries are in some cases substantial. For example, about 17% of respondents in the Netherlands and 70% in

Poland agreed with the statement that Jews are trying to take advantage of previous generations' suffering.[6]

An example from Sweden that touches upon tolerant and intolerant attitudes towards different groups consists in the survey-based studies, carried out at the initiative of the Living History Forum, dealing with the prevalence of tolerant and intolerant attitudes among young people towards immigrants, Muslims, Jews, Roma and the LGBT (Ring & Morgentau, 2007; Löwander & Lange, 2011; Severin, 2014). The results of the latest study show, inter alia, that most young people have a general tolerance of different groups, and that tolerance is highest towards the LGBT and lowest towards Muslims. In addition, the results give some insight into how toleration of these groups has changed over time. While attitudes towards immigrants seem to be fairly stable, attitudes to immigration have developed negatively recently (Severin, 2014 pp. 67-69)[7] A similar trend is reported in the Diversity barometer, (Mångfaldsbarometern) which since 2006 has charted the Swedish population's attitudes to diversity and the foreign-born. For example, the results of the latest survey of attitudes to ethnic diversity in the population have shown a deterioration (Ahmadi, Palm & Ahmadi, 2016).

As seen from the issues raised initially, this anthology also considers the underlying causes of tolerant and intolerant attitudes. Previous research has created good knowledge of the factors that link together with and explain the degree of tolerance and negative attitudes towards different groups. The explanations are largely influenced by

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6 Further examples of comparative and regular measurements are those of the World Values Survey and the European Social Survey, in which issues of tolerance, xenophobia and racism are also considered.

7 It should also be noted that the studies referred to here are not entirely "fresh goods". They were implemented before the refugee crisis of 2015.

the theoretical points of departure employed. In psychological research, the spotlight has, inter alia, been on the individual's personality (Ekehammar & Akrami, 2003; Bakker & de Vreese, 2016). Here, the so-called Big Five personality traits have come to form a central point. The theory assumes that human personality has distinct and universal features that are not cultural or situational. Specifically, the theory points to five factors that control these traits, namely openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness and neuroticism. Empirical studies have also been able to demonstrate the importance of the personality traits, including to tolerance of different groups (Gallego & Pardos-Prado, 2014; Dinesen, Klemmensen & Nørgaard, 2014; Freitag & Rapp, 2014). In this connection, research has also shown that intolerance and prejudice are associated with different overall ideological conceptions, such as the importance of law and order, a craze for social hierarchies, and a general rejection of both cultural and ethnic and religious diversity (Zick, et al. 2011; Ekehammar, Akrami, Gylje & Zakrisson, 2004).

Within sociology researchers have studied the importance of factors in the individual's environment, such as parents, friends and the surrounding society. A theoretical explanation that has had a great impact lies in the so-called contact hypothesis. The theory emphasizes that prejudice and negative attitudes, under certain circumstances,[8] are explained by the interaction and contact individuals have with each other (Allport, 1954). When people have an opportunity to communicate and discuss different viewpoints, understanding is also created (according to the theory), and prejudices and negative

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8 Among other things, the contact is personal, voluntary, positive, and takes place on an equal basis.

attitudes are reduced (Côté & Rochelle, 2009). Another sociologically inspired explanation lies in so-called social learning theory, which assumes that we learn attitudes and behaviors through social contexts and contacts.

A further example lies in group-threat theory, which emphasizes the importance of competition for resources between different groups in society (for example, see Esses, Dovidio, Jackson & Armstrong, 2001). Individuals with higher status, who, for example, are more educated and have higher incomes, will, according to the explanation, perceive people from minority groups as less of a threat than individuals with lower status in society who are less educated and have lower incomes, which in turn has consequences for tolerance (Hello, Gijsberts & Scheepers, 2002). In addition, sociological research has highlighted the importance of contextual factors, such as political rhetoric, religion and political representation (Hjerm, 2009; Bohman, 2014).

Explanations for why some individuals are more tolerant than others have also been offered from a political science perspective. This literature has focused mainly on the political dimension of tolerance, with emphasis on institutional, economic and cultural factors (for example, see Sullivan, Piereson & Marcus, 1993; Gibson and Gouws, 2000). One explanation that has received considerable attention is the importance of a general welfare increase in the population. As the population gets its need for basic security saturated materially, the population will prioritize more post-material and non-material values, such as freedom of expression, which will have positive effects on more interpersonal relations and tolerance (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005).

Political scientists have also shown that tolerance for different groups is linked to the historical and political traditions that characterize a country (Weldon, 2006; Peffley & Rohrschneider, 2003). It is not infrequent for the importance of institutions to be pointed to. Institutions have the ability to shape individual preferences and behaviors and attitudes towards other people, e.g., through various incentives (North, 1990; Peters, 2011). An institutional explanation that recurs in the literature is to ascribe the variations in different interpersonal attitudes to the importance of a universal welfare systems (Rothstein & Stolle, 2003). Studies have shown that in countries with a more comprehensive welfare system, the population also has higher tolerance (Rapp, 2015). The reason for this is said to lie in the welfare system's capacity to provide a minimum level of social protection, which reduces individual or group-based unrest or sense of competition, which is significant to our attitudes towards different groups.

In sum, this introduction shows that research into tolerance has a bearing on a multiplicity of subjects. In practice, the drawing of boundaries between different directions of research is not so sharp, and different theories have in practice developed in relation to each other.

Organization of the anthology

In this anthology, research is presented from a variety of subject directions and methodological points of departure. The anthology is dived into three parts, corresponding to the themes that we introduced initially. The first part treats tolerance from a comparative,

historical and contemporaneous perspective, and is introduced by a chapter authored by *Susanne Wallman Lundåsen*. On the basis of, above all, political-scientific theories of modernization and with empirical data from the World Values Survey (WVS) and the European Values Study (EVS), Wallman Lundåsen offers an extensive empirical analysis of how citizens' tolerance towards exposed groups in Sweden and a large number of other OECD countries has developed in recent decades. Further, Wallman Lundåsen provides an insight into immigration in a number of EU countries. The empirical findings are interspersed with a number of theoretical explanations for how differences between countries and towards different groups can be understood.

In the following chapter, *Lars Trägårdh* takes note of Sweden's self-understanding of itself as a country with one of the most tolerant populations. Taking a historical perspective, and leveraged by Swedish "state individualism", Trägårdh uncovers an occasionally apparent cleavage between abstract and concrete tolerance. There is, according to Trägårdh, a great tolerance of ideas and behaviors that harmonize with the individuals' freedom and self-actualization, but considerably less tolerance of ideas and behaviors that take their points of departure in culture, religion, or ideology. Here, Trägårdh gives prominence, inter alia, to the idea that the universal welfare state is in itself a problem, since it imposes limits on pluralism, difference in value and tolerance.

The fourth chapter is written by *Kari Steen-Johnsen*. In dialogue with the chapters of Wallman Lundåsen and Trägårdh, and a starting point in research from Norway, the author offers a number of insightful reflections on both the preconditions for tolerance and its limits

and viability. On the theme of limits to tolerance, for example, she gives prominence to both her own and other research that shows that the universal welfare state has also formed a willingness to display tolerance. Steen-Johnsen also emphasizes that times of great change require greater knowledge to understand the conditions under which tolerance develops in a society. Here, she sees potential in studies that draw attention to ongoing processes and perspectives in civil society and the local community.

In the second part of the anthology the spotlight is on how tolerance develops among adolescents and young adults, and also how the concept of tolerance is perceived and described empirically and philosophically. This part starts with a chapter written by *Erik Lundberg* and *Ali Abdelzadeh* about an analysis that shows how tolerance develops among adolescents and young adults between 13 and 28 years of age. A central issue is the extent to which tolerance is changeable, and when tolerance, in such case, is most subject to influence. The results show, among other things, that young people are becoming more tolerant as they get older, that girls are more tolerant than boys in all age groups, and that young people on academic programs are more tolerant than young people on vocational programs. It is also shown that tolerance seems to stabilize as youngsters grow older, indicating that it is at younger ages that tolerance is more mobile and subject to influence.

In the sixth chapter, the same authors insert another piece of knowledge into the puzzle of what distinguishes young people who, during adolescence, develop different levels of tolerance. The authors analyze how – if at all – tolerance covaries with other valuable attitudes for democracy and competencies, such as social trust, political

knowledge, and perspectives on equality and democracy. A key con-
clusion of the analysis is that young people whose tolerance decreases
during adolescence also show declining social trust, lower political
knowledge, and a slightly declining satisfaction with the functioning
of democracy. A cautious interpretation of the results is that young
people whose tolerance declines harbor an increased dissatisfaction
with what our institutions present, an increased distrust of people in
general, and a declining knowledge of politics and society.

In the following chapter, the voices of young people themselves are
heard. They shed light on youth perspectives, frames of reference and
reflections with regard to the theme of tolerance. Through qualitative
focus group interviews, *Cecilia Arensmeier* investigates conceptions of
tolerance held by young people 17-18 years-old. The results show
that tolerance is perceived by young people in terms of acceptance
of what is disliked and different from themselves, such as individual
differences in ways of being and looking, and differences based on
culture, religion, sexual orientation, or opinion. Young people also
relate tolerance to a form of duty that involves not interfering in
the valuation of differences, but also acknowledging the presence
of exposed groups. Further, they take the view that everyone has a
responsibility for tolerance, but that superordinate groups, such as
adults, have a special responsibility. When the boundary lines are
affected, insults are clearly highlighted as one. At the same time, the
measuring rod is perceived primarily to be individual.

The final two chapters in this part of the book offer a more
philosophical entry point to the concept of tolerance. In chapter 8,
Johan von Essen presents his views on the concept of tolerance and
its importance. The author argues for a conception where tolerance

has to be founded in a conflict with someone you dislike or disagree with, but accept. He believes that the concept, on the basis of such an understanding, can make visible, open up and overcome conflicts in society. von Essen thereby turns towards the notion of tolerance as a passive acceptance of something that is disliked or conflict-laden, which he believes, in the worst case, can make for a more fragmented and polarized society.

Chapter 9 is written by *Elisabeth Langmann* and offers another philosophical contribution to our understanding of the concept of tolerance. Like von Essen, Langmann devotes attention to the concept of tolerance and its potential, but has a special interest in the concept's capacity in a learning situation in school, and in the encounter between teacher and student. Based on philosophical ideas, and with concrete examples from the classroom, the author presents arguments about why the teaching of tolerance is of urgent importance, what such teaching can be about, and how the concept of tolerance can be used in an educational context. The chapter therefore has a direct bearing on the school's work on values in that it shows how the concept of tolerance can help teachers in their schooling of resistance to xenophobia and intolerance. But the chapter's general design speaks highly of the validity of tolerance in other contexts where the need to promote it is topical.

The third and final part of the anthology treats the causes or mechanisms of tolerance, or in other words, what may explain why some young people are become more and tolerant than others. There are treatments, in turn, of the roles played by the family, young people's social networks, involvement in associations, and the school in the development of young people's tolerance. All the chapters are

based on longitudinal data from the research project Youth & Society (YES) at Örebro University, and focus attention on tolerance towards immigrant group.

First out is *Marta Miklikowska* who examines the role of parents in the development of young people's tolerance and intolerance. Based on advanced statistical analyses, Miklikowska notes that parents have a say in how young people develop tolerance and intolerance, and that the parents' influence is greater the better relationships they have with their children. She also shows that adolescents influence their parents' tolerance and intolerance to the same extent. Moreover, Miklikowska shows how the transfer of intolerance from parents to their children can be counteracted. The results of the analyses show that young people with immigrant friends are less affected by parents' intolerance than young people without such friends.

In the next, eleventh chapter, *Viktor Dahl* examines the role of friends in the emergence of young people's tolerance towards immigrants. Dahl examines whether young people aged between 13 and 18 become more like their friends over time in terms of tolerance towards immigrants, or whether potential similarities that adolescents exhibit with regard to tolerance depends on selection. The latter would mean that young people make friends with the same views about immigrants as themselves. Dahl notes that youngsters with, on average, a more tolerant circle of friends, became more tolerant towards immigrants. He also shows that younger youth choose to hang out with friends with a similar level of tolerance. No such effect was found, however, in the analysis of the older age group. The author notes that friends seem to have a dual role for younger youth: friends work here as a source of influence and as a goal for those with

similar levels of tolerance. No such dual role, however, was found for the older youth.

In chapter 12, *Erik Lundberg* and *Ali Abdelzadeh* examine whether a commitment to a voluntary association affects young people's tolerance. The results do not give any unequivocal support for the idea that membership of an association increases young people's tolerance. Young people who choose to become members do not seem to increase their tolerance significantly as their membership continues. Further, the results show that there seems to be no self-selection effect, i.e., that young people with higher tolerance choose to join associations than those with lower tolerance. Meanwhile, the authors are careful to point out that the study is based on whether the young people were members of different types of associations or not, and that other measures of engagement can provide different results.

In the anthology's final and thirteenth chapter, *Metin Özdemir* and *Sevgi Bayram Özdemir* provide an answer to how the school can promote Swedish youth inter-ethnic relations. With a foundation in extensive analyses, the authors note that the school's ethnic composition is important for how young people think about immigrants. It is also important whether they have same-age friends who are immigrants. They show, inter alia, that young people in ethnically mixed schools had a more positive attitude to immigrants over time, but that young people in schools with few immigrants only showed an increase in positive attitude if they had a friend with an immigrant background. The authors also show that students who have teachers who initiate political discussions in the classroom are more tolerant. That teachers initiate dialogue with students about political and social issues, and promote interaction with students from another background, may therefore promote positive attitudes and tolerance.
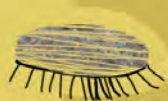
Part 1.
Tolerance from a comparative perspective

2. Tolerance from a comparative perspective

Susanne Wallman Lundåsen

Introduction

In public debate, questions have occasionally been raised about whether it is actually true that there are values that are typical of the people who live in, for example, the US, Italy, or even Sweden. Or if values apply generally and are found to approximately the same extent everywhere in the world. In empirical social science research, considerable attention has been devoted to the extent to which the populations of various countries resemble or differ from each other on the basis of fundamentally human values. With the help of large-scale and recurring questionnaire surveys, it can be concluded that many fundamental values and attitudes vary from country to country (see Halman, Sieben & van Zundert, 2012; Inglehart & Welzel 2005; Welzel, 2013).

Tolerance is claimed to be a fundamental value in liberal democracies. At an overall level, it is assumed that those who govern and those in opposition tolerate each other. In pace with escalating glo-

balization, political scientists have been debating whether the world is generally developing in the direction of either more intolerance or more tolerance as contacts between people with different religious or ethnic backgrounds increase (see, inter alia, Huntington, 1993; Inglehart & Norris, 2003). Huntington (1993) argued that contact contributes to increased conflicts between groups that do not belong to the same cultural sphere. While Inglehart and Norris (2003) asserted the view that equality between genders and tolerance of, for example, homosexuals constitute the decisive watershed, rather than views on democracy. In these contexts, Sweden is often highlighted, compared with most other countries, as a country with relatively tolerant attitudes in its views on various groups.

Accordingly, tolerance is an approach that has been highlighted as important in democratic societies since tolerance is considered to contribute to reducing the risk of difficult and divisive conflicts arising between various groups. Research distinguishes between different types of tolerance; first, tolerance as an abstract principle and, second, tolerance with regard to specific situations (Sniderman, Tetlock, Glaser, Green & Hout, 1989; Halman, Sieben & van Zundert, 2012). In this chapter, tolerance is understood to be "the willingness to tolerate or accept persons or certain groups as well as their underlying values and behavior by means of a co-existence (even if they are completely different from one's own)." (Kirchner, Freitag & Rapp, 2011, p. 205). The type of tolerance that will be addressed in this chapter mainly involves the type of tolerance that is connected to specific situations, such as not wanting to have certain groups of people as neighbors.

In more pluralistic societies, where people have different backgrounds and approaches, individuals are frequently subject to greater demands to permit and perhaps even embrace differences in lifestyles in order to facilitate peaceful coexistence. At the same time, researchers have pointed to the risk that excessive tolerance can be considered to border on indifference to the situation of others (Halman, Sieben & van Zundert, 2012; Haidt, 2016). The purpose of this chapter is to describe the variation between different countries with regard to tolerance towards various groups.

The chapter is presented as follows: Firstly, a review of modernization theory and values, as well as the importance of views on outgroups in society, followed by a description of variations between different OECD countries with regard to tolerance towards various groups. Subsequently, there is a review of how the positions of various groups in relation to each other can explain negative attitudes, finished by a review of the variation among EU countries with regard to views on immigration. The chapter is based on data from the World Values Survey (WVS) and the European Values Study (EVS). The material will primarily be presented descriptively in the form of diagrams. The selection of countries has been kept very limited in order to facilitate reading and interpretation of these diagrams.

Modernization and values

In research on the matter, a series of explanations have been forwarded to explain what gives rise to, for example, tolerance, on the one hand, and negative attitudes to other groups, on the other. The point of departure for one type of explanation is the importance of indivi-

dual factors, which is based primarily on psychological research (see, inter alia, Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner & Christ, 2011). In addition to these explanations, which mainly take psychological theories as a point of departure, there are also explanations of a more sociological nature based on the relationship of various groups to each other, and on the idea that factors in the surrounding society impact on the values that arise.

The degree of modernization, i.e., the degree of transition from agricultural small-scale agrarian societies to urbanized and larger-scale industrial societies, has been used repeatedly as an explanation for why values vary from country to country and between different eras. Even thinkers such as Marx, Durkheim and Weber highlighted the importance of modernization in explaining how differences in values arise. In more contemporary research, Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel (2005), inter alia, have asserted the importance of the degree of modernization in explaining differences in values between countries.

Inglehart (1998) views values in a way that resembles Maslow's hierarch of needs. According to Inglehart (1998), the material conditions in a country, together with physical security, are important in understanding differences in values. In line with Maslow's hierarchy of needs, people have to get their fundamental needs for nourishment and security satisfied before other needs can be satisfied. It is not until the threat of hunger no longer appears to be realistic to the population, and physical security has been safeguarded, that other needs can emerge. In other words, according to Inglehart and Welzel (2005), if the material welfare in a country has achieved a level where the overwhelming majority of the population, through welfare systems and individual prosperity, no longer regard hunger as a realistic threat,

then the population can start to prioritize other needs. The authors argue that this leads to greater focus on the will to express oneself. They call this a postmaterialist shift, where the focus moves from prioritizing material security to other non-material values, such as freedom of expression. According to these researchers, the degree of postmaterialism influences a series of other values, such as increased tolerance towards various groups in society. According to them, the prioritization of giving expression to one's own opinions is accompanied by increased tolerance for the expressions of others (Inglehart, 1998; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Welzel, 2013).

For Inglehart (1998), values are relatively stable over time and are changed primarily by changes in the material conditions of the population. Accordingly, values in a country change as a result of generations who have grown up under better standards of living replacing each other (Inglehart, 1998; Pettersson, 1988). Inglehart and Welzel (2005) do not claim that they have an explanatory model that can fully predict the development of countries but that their model can point to the probable direction of the change. Nor does this mean that as time passes the countries will automatically move in a postmaterialist direction since less secure living conditions may also result in the populations' values moving in a more material direction.

A common way of measuring postmaterialist values is to use an index comprising questions that measure how individuals prioritize what are regarded as important questions for the country, namely: maintaining law and order in the country, giving people more power to decide, combating price increases and protecting freedom of expression. Examples of postmaterialist values in a country are when the population prefers to give people more power to decide, and to

protect freedom of expression rather than combating price increases or maintaining law and order in the country. The larger the proportion of the population that prioritizes these matters rather than combating price increases and maintaining law and order, the more the country is characterized by postmaterialist values (Inglehart, 1998).

In many analyses, Sweden and other Nordic countries deviate from the norm in terms of several different value dimensions (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Pettersson 1988; Delhey & Newton, 2005; Trägårdh, Wallman Lundåsen, Wollebæk & Svedberg, 2013). The Swedish population appears to be a population with a high degree of postmaterialism, as also reflected in the fact that secular and individualist values are assigned a high value. It is also noticeable in a high degree of social trust (Delhey & Newton 2005; Trägårdh, et al. 2013).

The importance of how exposed groups are viewed

Another theoretical perspective intended to explain differences in tolerance in relation to various groups is whether the groups are considered to have themselves to blame for the situation of relative exposure they find themselves in or whether they are considered to have found themselves in exposed situations due to circumstances beyond their control. This perspective also traces its origins to social science research and to political debates (see, inter alia, Svedin, 2015, for an overview). Earlier research has shown, for example, that views that people have themselves to blame for their exposed position in society partly result from to the picture of the situation that the media contributes to portraying (Larsen, 2013). Larsen (2013) parti-

cularly highlights how the view of exposed groups can contribute to affecting the cohesion of a country's population.

The cohesion between various groups can be challenged if those in need are identified with negative stereotypes and views that they themselves have contributed in a major way to putting themselves in a situation where they need the help of others. In research on the matter, a distinction has been made between groups regard by the population as "deserving poor" on the one hand and "undeserving poor" on the other (cf. Katz, 1990). The deserving poor are usually the types of groups that, for various reasons, primarily physical, are considered unable to support themselves. While the view of the groups that are considered to have themselves caused their situation through their behavior is that they deserve society's support to a lesser extent.

From a Swedish historical perspective, there have been various rounds of debate about which groups in society deserve or do not deserve solidarity and care from the majority society. When poverty became an issue that secular public institutions were required to manage and take over responsibility for from the Church of Sweden, such matters as opinions as to which groups deserve the support of society became a topic of debate. A relatively rapid and substantial transformation of local societies occurred in many places in Sweden towards the end of the 1800s and the early 1900s, resulting in migration to cities from rural areas as the country was industrialized (Svedin, 2005). In various features of the debate, ideas emerged about the nature of various groups and whether or not they constituted a danger to public order, and about which groups had the potential for improvement and which groups did not. It is relatively clear from various historical studies that people with substance abuse and who

lacked, in all significant respects, social ties that integrated them into the surrounding society stood out by their very nature as being less worthy of protection and having less potential for improvement (Ambjörnsson, 1993; Svedin, 2015). The group that lacked the social ties to integrate them into the surrounding society mainly comprised single adults, and single men with no fixed connection to the local community were regarded with particular skepticism (Svedin, 2015). The working and industrious person who aspires to not being a burden to the community appeared as the ideal member of society in a Swedish context. Other historical studies have emphasized the importance of Lutheranism in Sweden, with its two overriding values of, on the one hand, obedience to secular and spiritual authority and, on the other, being content with one's own position in society (Stjernquist, 1996, p. 44).

The view on people with substance abuse has shifted at various times from them being regarded as ill and being more worthy of protection to, at other times, as having caused their problems themselves and thus being less worthy of protection. Larsen (2013) argues that during the 2000s a new grouping emerged in the Swedish media, comprising young immigrant men, whose presence has probably continued to rise. According to Larsen (2013), these men are often portrayed as dangerous and associated with crime, as being alienated, and as if they are themselves largely to blame for their problems.

An unwanted neighbor as a measure of tolerance

One way of measuring attitudes to various groups has been to poll opinions on various groups in specific situations (Kirchner, et al., 2011). This is usually characterized as situation-specific tolerance, which is a type of tolerance that has been measured in such surveys as the World Values Survey (WVS) and the European Values Study (EVS).

The WVS and EVS are targeted at a random sample of the population of each country. Usually, 1,000-2,000 people are interviewed per country. Since many questions are retained from survey to survey, it is possible to map possible changes in the population's values.[1] In the WVS and EVS, a number of questions are asked in several different rounds about which people the respondents do not want as neighbors. Factor analyses of the responses show that the tolerance of various groups belongs to not one but two separate dimensions; first, a dimension pertaining to people with a different ethnicity, as well as people who are immigrants, and second a dimension involving homosexuality and substance abuse[2]. Factor analysis is a statistical method used to describe covariance between two or more variables by measuring a number of underlying factors. The first dimension may be said to pertain to factors that can be considered as views of groups

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1 Both the WVS and the EVS are performed as cross-sectional studies where new samples of the population are drawn on each survey occasion. For more information on sampling and method, go to www.worldvaluessurvey.org or www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu.
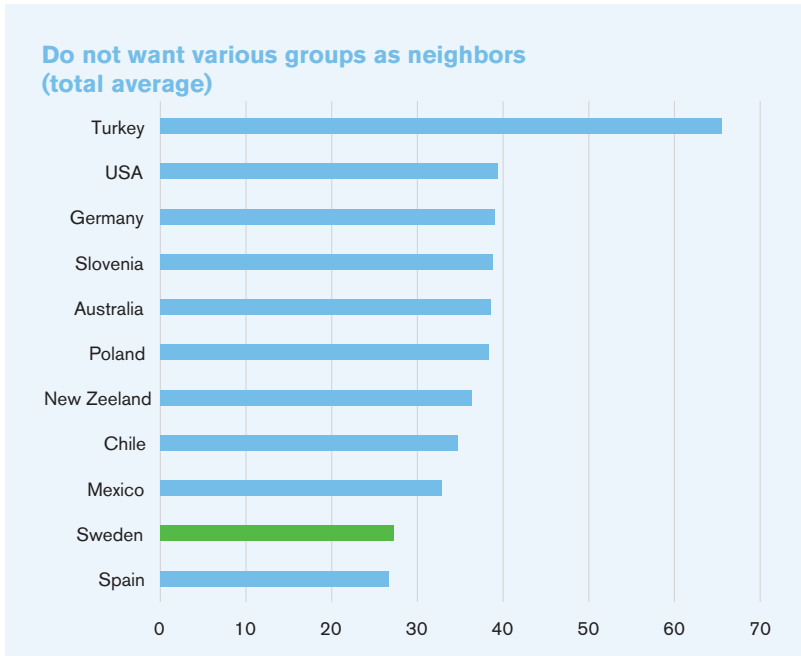
2 The factor analysis is not reported on for reason of space. The question about homosexuality relates rather more poorly to the two other questions, concerning abuse.

on the basis of behavior/disposition and the second dimension involves people's origins.

In the following sections, a description is presented of how immigrants in 11 OECD countries respond when asked to give an opinion on whether they would prefer not to have these five groups as neighbors. These 11 countries have been chosen on the basis of having participated in the past three WVS surveys in which these questions were asked, which is also why it is possible to report any changes over time from 1994/98 to 2010/14. The report starts with a presentation of data from the 2010–2014 surveys. How the attitudes to various groups have developed over time in various countries is then presented. The questions involving attitudes to people on the basis of their origins is presented first, followed by the questions involving attitudes to various types of behavior/disposition.

Although the selection of countries presented in the figure below is limited, there is a variation in the degree of negative attitudes to various groups. In Figure 1, it is possible to see in this context that Sweden appears to be a country in which fewer than average have negative attitudes to various groups. Spain is also a country that shows fewer-than-average negative attitudes to other groups, while Turkey deviates from other countries in the selection by appearing to be the country with the largest share of negative attitudes to other groups.

The analyses show that people with substance abuse represent the group that the consistently largest shares of the populations do not want to have as neighbors. In most of the 11 countries – Turkey constitutes an exception here – views on being a neighbor with someone who is homosexual are more generous than views on substance abusers. In Turkey, a marginally larger group did not want homosexuals

Do not want various groups as neighbors (total average)

Country	Value
Turkey	66
USA	40
Germany	39
Slovenia	39
Australia	39
Poland	38
New Zeeland	37
Chile	35
Mexico	33
Sweden	27
Spain	27

FIGURE 1. Percentage not wanting to have various groups as neighbors.
Explanation: Data from the WVS 2010/2014. The responses to several different questions have been compiled and the diagram shows average responses to the questions concerning not wanting to have the following as neighbors: drug abusers, alcohol abusers, homosexuals, people of a different ethnicity, and immigrants/guest workers. Weightings to offset missing cases/data have been used in the calculations of the percentage shares.

as neighbors compared with those who did not want alcohol abusers as neighbors. Viewed as a whole, Turkey deviates in terms of generally less openness to the idea of having various groups as neighbors compared with the other countries. The difference is largest in terms of the view of homosexuals, with the population of Turkey showing
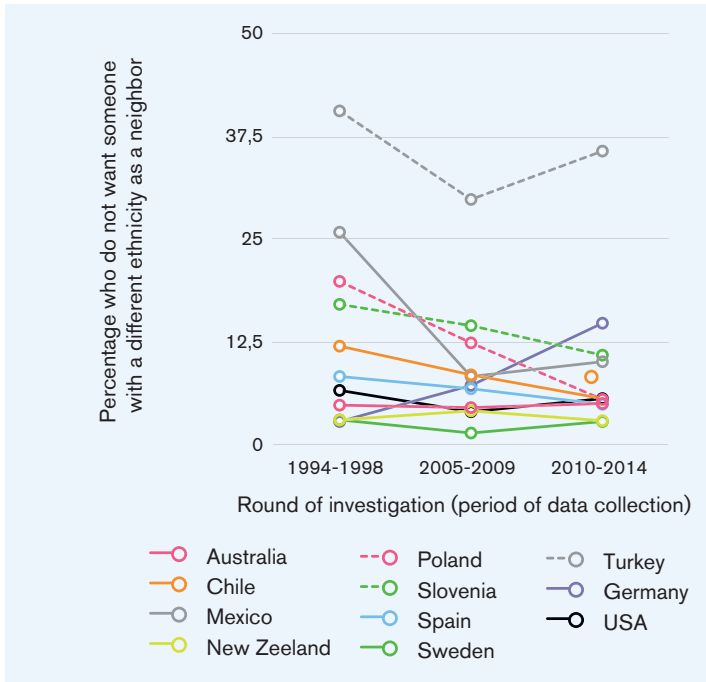
FIGURE 2. Do not want people of a different ethnicity as neighbors.
Explanation: Data from the WVS. A selection of OECD countries that have participated in all three of the recent rounds of surveys. Weightings have been used in the calculations of percentages.

markedly more negative attitudes to having homosexuals as neighbors than the other countries.

Another question is the extent to which attitudes to various groups are stable or change over time between the countries. Do these changed attitudes resemble what Inglehart and Welzel (2005) have described?
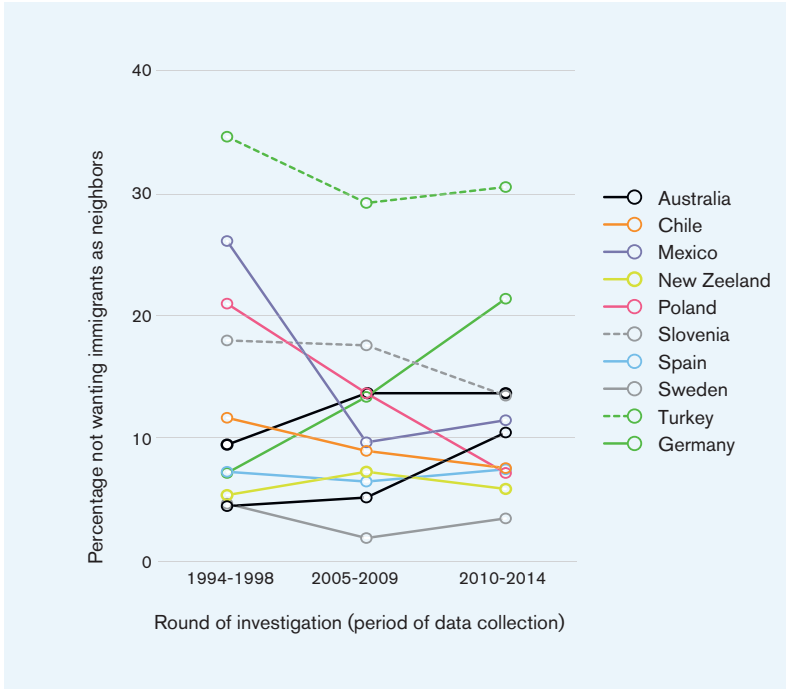
FIGURE 3. Do not want immigrants as neighbors. Explanation: Data from the WVS. A sample of OECD countries that have participated in all the three latest rounds of surveys. Weightings have been used in the calculations of the percentages.

The first dimension of tolerance concerning which people are not wanted as neighbors pertained to immigrants/guest workers and people of a different ethnicity.

Figure 2 shows that the trend in the 11 countries moves in several different directions in terms of not wanting to live as neighbors to people with a different ethnicity. In New Zealand and Sweden, there are marginal changes between the various rounds of surveys, and a
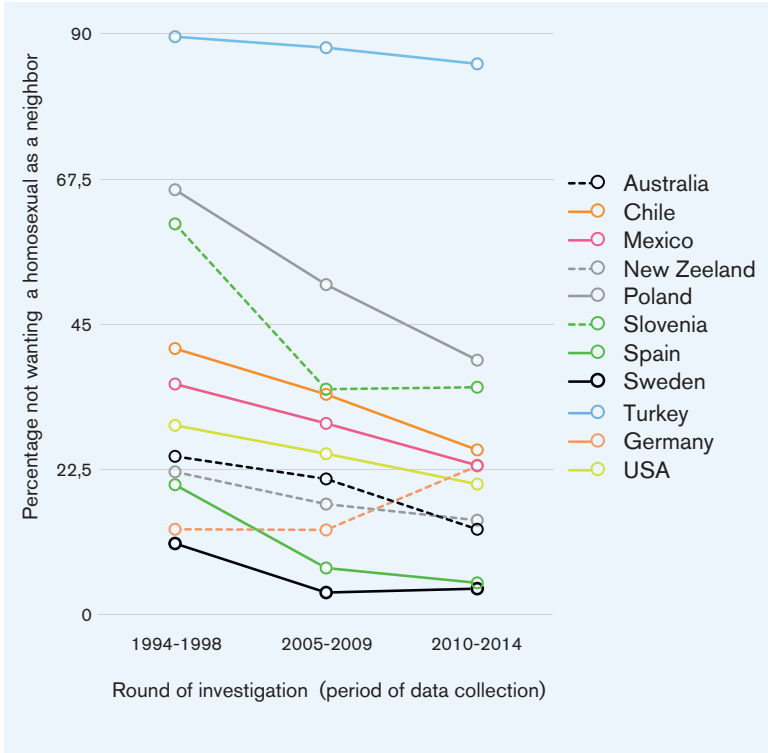
FIGURE 4. Do not want homosexuals as neighbors, change over time
Explanation: Data from the WVS. A selection of OECD countries that have participated in all the three latest rounds of surveys. Weightings to offset missing cases/data have been used in the calculations of percentages.

very small percentage of the respondents in these two countries give negative responses to having a person with a different ethnicity as a neighbor. In such countries as Poland, Slovenia and Chile, a declining percentage of the respondents did not want to have someone

with a different ethnicity as a neighbor. In Germany, however, the percentage that did not want someone with a different ethnicity as a neighbor showed a rising trend.

Figure 3 shows a similar development for the attitudes to having an immigrant as a neighbor as the attitudes to having a neighbor of a different ethnicity.

In sum, it shows that there is no overall trend in changes over time for these OECD countries. Countries that have become democracies more recently, such as Chile, Poland and Slovenia, display a trend whereby the populations have become less negative to having an immigrant as a neighbor. But populations of more mature democracies, such as Australia and Germany, show the opposite trend. In this context, the trend, particularly in Germany, is moving towards reduced tolerance towards immigrants and people with a different ethnicity.

The second dimension of tolerance pertained to tolerance in relation to groups on the basis of their disposition or behavior. As an introduction, views on homosexuals are presented.

In Figure 4, there is a distinct trend showing a declining share of the populations of these OECD countries that do not want homosexuals as neighbors, which indicates a growing tolerance of homosexuals. This development is in line with what Inglehart and Welzel (Inglehart, 1988, Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Welzel, 2013) have indicated as a trend towards more postmaterialist values, whereby acceptance of homosexuality is increasing as societies become more postmaterialist. One country that largely contradicts this trend is Germany.
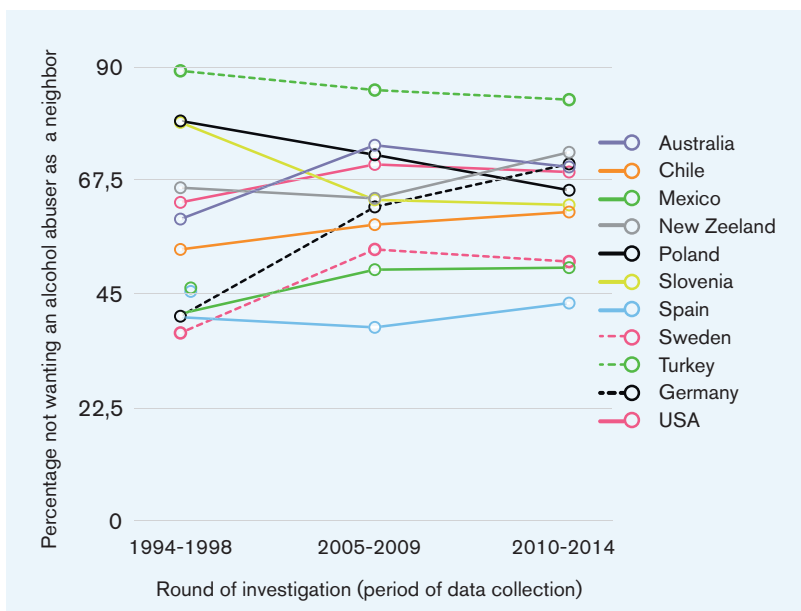
FIGURE 5. Do not want alcohol abusers as neighbors
Explanation: Data from the WVS. A selection of OECD countries that have participated in all the three latest rounds of surveys. Weightings to offset missing cases/data have been used in the calculations of the percentages.

Figure 5 shows that the trend with regard to negative attitudes to alcohol abusers is not so clear-cut. In a series of countries, such as Sweden, the proportion that does not want alcohol abusers as neighbors has actually increased somewhat since 1994/1998. The figure below shows a similar trend in terms of attitudes to drug abusers.

In Figure 6, the proportion that does not want drug abusers as neighbors has increased since 1994/1998 in the majority of the countries. This increase is also seen among the survey respondents in
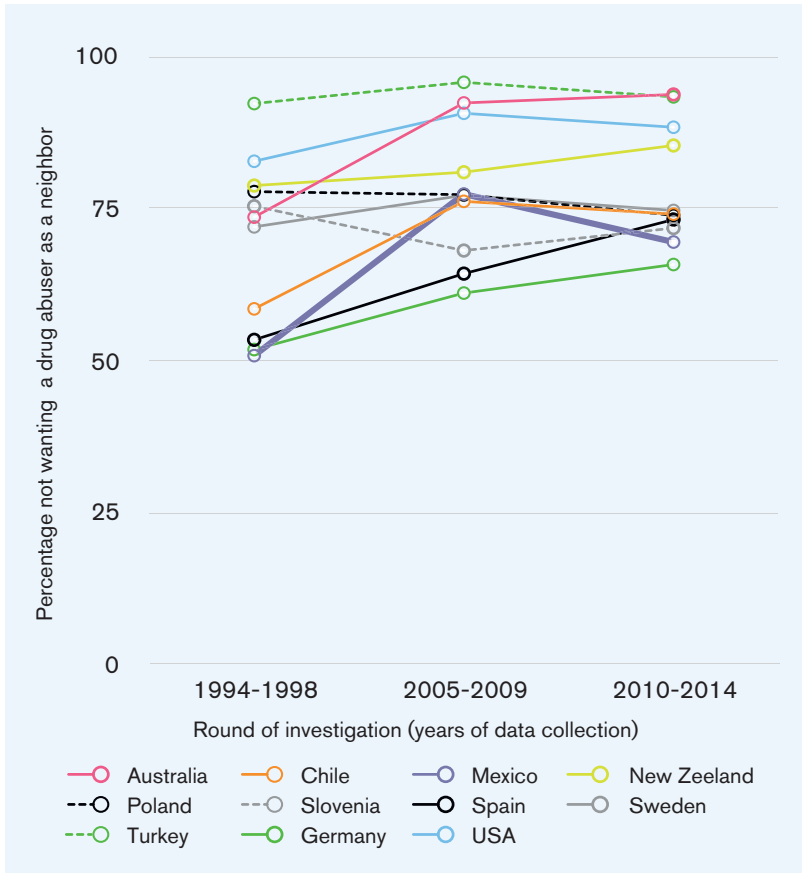
FIGURE 6 Percentage not wanting drug abusers as neighbors Explanation: Data from the WVS. A selection of OECD countries that have participated in all the three latest rounds of surveys. Weightings have been used in the calculations of percentages.
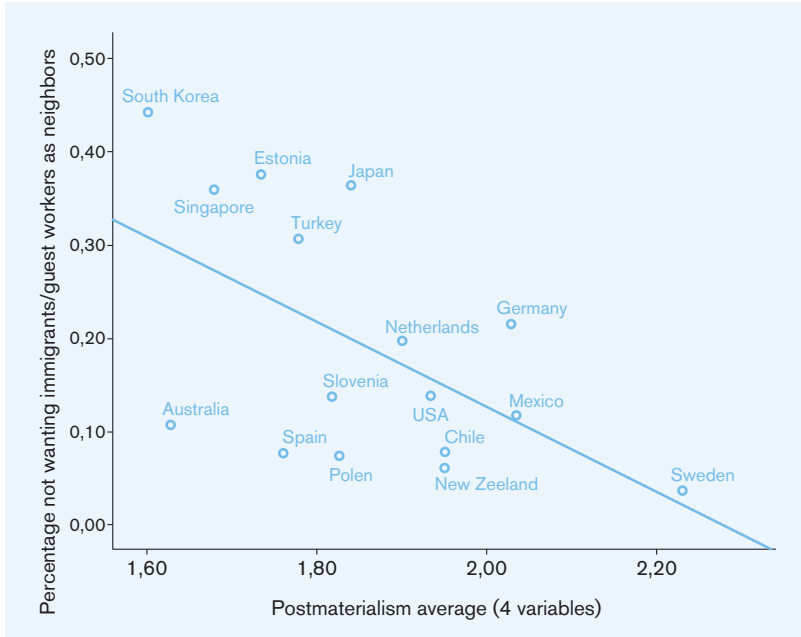
FIGURE 7. Postmaterialism and the percentage not wanting immigrants/guest workers as neighbors Explanation: Data from the WVS (2010/2014). OECD countries R2=0.32.

Sweden. The question is: is it possible to explain differences among the countries in terms of their degree of postmaterialism? In the following section, we will come closer to an answer to this question.

The importance of postmaterialist values
On the basis of the theories of Inglehart and Welzel (2005) concerning how the degree of postmaterialism in a country influences views on other groups, it is possible to expect a correlation between
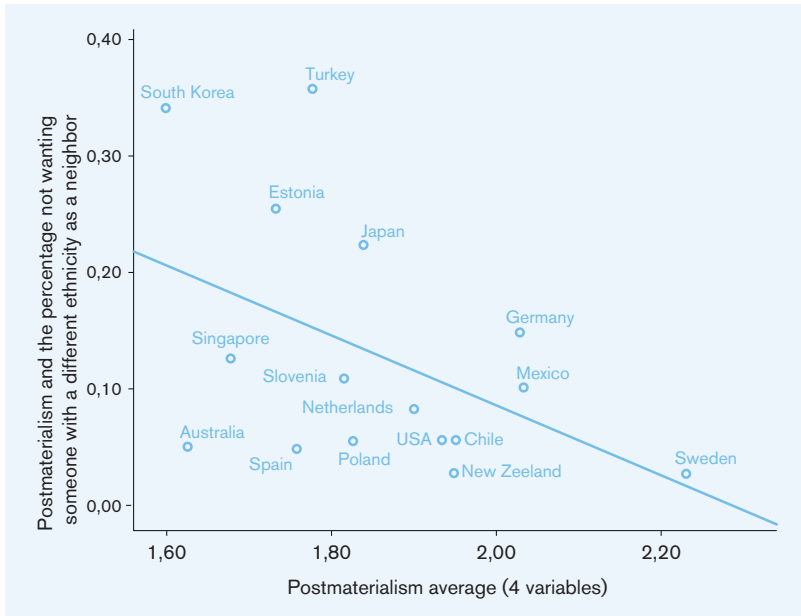
the degree of postmaterialism and tolerance towards other groups. Data on the OECD countries that participated in the latest round of the WVS are presented below. Figure 7 also shows that the countries in which a high proportion of the population states that they have postmaterialist values, a lower proportion state that they do not want immigrants as neighbors.

There is a similar correlation between the proportion of postma-terialist values and the proportion that do not want people with a different ethnicity from themselves as neighbors (see Figure 8).
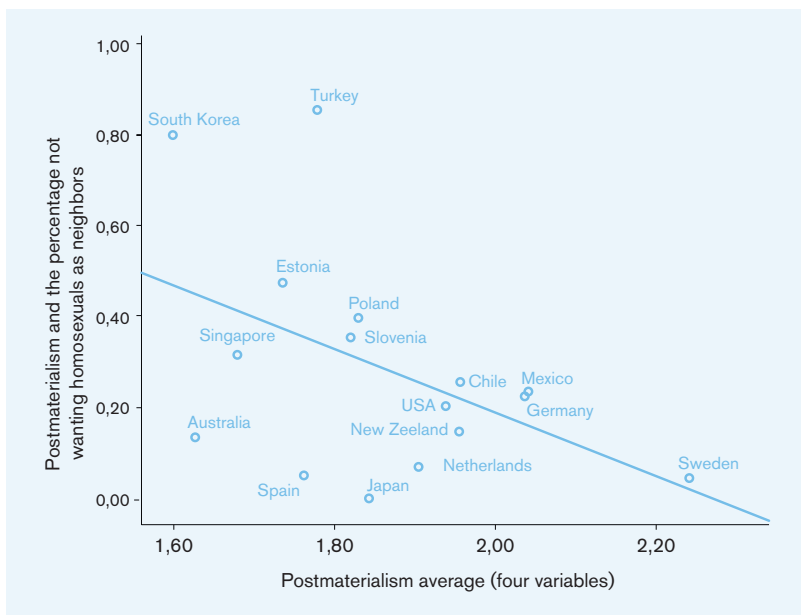
FIGURE 9. Postmaterialism and the percentage not wanting homosexuals as neighbors. Explanation: Data from the WVS (2010/2014). OECD countries R2=0.22.

The greater the proportion of people with postmaterialist values in a country, the lower is the proportion who state that they would not want people with a different ethnicity from themselves as neighbors. Accordingly, a certain correlation is apparent at the national level between the degree of postmaterialist values in a country and the views on people with a different ethnicity and immigrants.

However, the correlations in terms of the views concerning substance abusers are weaker in relation to the views on people with

a different background and homosexuality[3] This indicates that the factors that can explain tolerance towards substance abusers differ somewhat from the factors that explain views concerning people with a different background. Explanations that have been forwarded include the view that exposed groups have themselves to blame for their exposed position (Larsen, 2013). Also, tolerance towards these groups might be considered a threat to law and order in society (Svedin, 2015; Johansson, 2008). Historical studies have shown that tolerance towards abuse has declined in times of comprehensive social changes, such as in Sweden during the modernization era of the early 1900s (Johansson, 2008, pp. 345–346).

Importance of group factors

Another type of explanation for tolerance has been put forward by Blumer (1958). This explanation is that negative attitudes to various groups are due to the position that the groups have in society in relation to each other, and that attitudes between groups can be explained on the basis of belonging to various groups rather than differences in individual characteristics. According to Blumer, negative attitudes to other groups arise on the basis of a number of factors relating to both the own group's characteristics and the perceived characteristics of the other group. According to Blumer (1958, p. 4), negative emotions can arise if:

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3 These correlations are not reported on for reason of space. The correlation between degree of postmaterialist values and an unwillingness to have a drug abuser as a neighbour is Pearson's r=-0.21, and the correlation between degree of postmaterialist values and an unwillingness to have an alcohol abuser as a neighbour is Pearson's r=-0.14. Neither of the correlations is statistically significant.

- the own group is regarded as being to the other group,
- there is an understanding that the other group is inferior or different to the own group,
- there is an understanding that the own group is entitled to various benefits or privileges,
- there is an understanding that the other group harbors intentions to change the own group's rights or privileges for the worse

The fourth factor may be said to consist in viewing the other group as a threat. The threat may take the form of a perceived struggle between various groups over the limited resources possessed by society. If one group regards the other group as constituting a potential threat to its own group's status, this can contribute to increased conflict between various groups, and thus also to more negative attitudes towards each other (cf. Hjerm & Nagayoshi, 2011; Weldon, 2006; Putnam, 2007). For Blumer's group-oriented perspective on attitudes between groups to be possible, a number of different conditions need to be fulfilled (Hjerm, 2007). One is that the groups should be distinct in relation to each other and thus have clear-cut boundaries. The more difficult it is to transfer from one group to another, the more likely it becomes that conflicts will arise between the groups. Second, it has been pointed out that it is necessary that the differences between the groups is visible, and that it is possible visibly to identify the various groups. Third, the context – the historical, political and geographical framework – may be of importance to the extent to which conflicts between different groups arise. Earlier studies have indicated, for example, the importance of the level of economic development in a

country (Hjerm, 2007). If the economic development in a country is weak, the economic resources possessed by the country are fewer; and the struggle for these resources can thus be considered stronger, and therefore more of a zero-sum game. In addition, a country's political context may either dampen conflicts between various groups or reinforce the conflicts between them (Hjerm, 2007). One example of the latter could be how, in the rhetoric of political parties, a picture is painted of major differences between different various groups

Earlier studies have attempted to test the extent to which Blumer's various assumptions concerning causal relationships are true. In one study, Hjerm (2007) investigated the extent to which negative attitudes to immigration changed in line with the size of the non-native population in a country. The results show that the size of the percentage of immigrants in the population had no direct correlation with attitudes to immigrants. Other studies indicate that such factors as the extent to which institutions are regarded as fair and functional are also of importance to tolerance (Kirchner, et al., 2011).

Views on immigration in the EU

Many of the classical theories about how tolerance, prejudices and grudges between various groups arise have American origins. These theories are largely based on studies of differences between Afro-Americans and, primarily, the white population of the United States (Uslaner, 2012). Although scientific theories usually have a generalizing ambition, i.e., they aim to explain a phenomenon generally and independently of the specific context, it is important to stop and note the different approaches that often characterize studies of the

US and of countries in Europe. The US has largely come to identify itself as a country of immigrants (cf. Trägårdh, et al, 2013). In Western Europe, minorities consist to a great extent, but not exclusively, of a population that has immigrated from former colonies, of labor immigrants or, recently, of refugees. The composition of different groups of immigrants can also differ greatly from country to country, i.e., the extent to which a group consists of, for example, a highly educated workforce, or whether it comprises refugees from countries with nonexistent or highly deficient educational systems. In Eastern or Central Europe, meaning the former communist countries, the type of immigration that has happened in Western Europe has been more limited. Minorities often comprise other groups that have a relatively long history in the particular country. This may involve Roma or other nationalities that make up a more or less limited portion of the population (such as Hungarian speakers in Romania or Russian speakers in Latvia). Large differences may also exist among the countries in terms of the extent to which these minorities are actually visible. To make the countries somewhat more comparable, only data concerning the 15 countries that were members of the EU in 1995 are presented.

Immigration has become an issue that has found itself high on the political agenda in recent years. In the fifth round of the European Values Study (EVS), which was implemented during the period 2008/2010, i.e., before the major refugee crisis that was caused, among other developments, by the war in Syria, a number of questions were asked about views on immigration. The questions in the EVS are largely based on Blumer's view of what causes conflicts between various groups in society. In other words, there is the view that other groups of immigrants are an external threat; that the other group is inferior

Immigration increases criminality

Country	Value (scale 1–10)
France	
Luxemburg	
Portugal	
Great Britain	
Spain	
Irland	
Sweden	
Belgium	
Netherlands	
Finland	
Denmark	
Greece	
Italiy	
Germany	
Austria	

Scale: 1   3,25   5,5   7,75   10
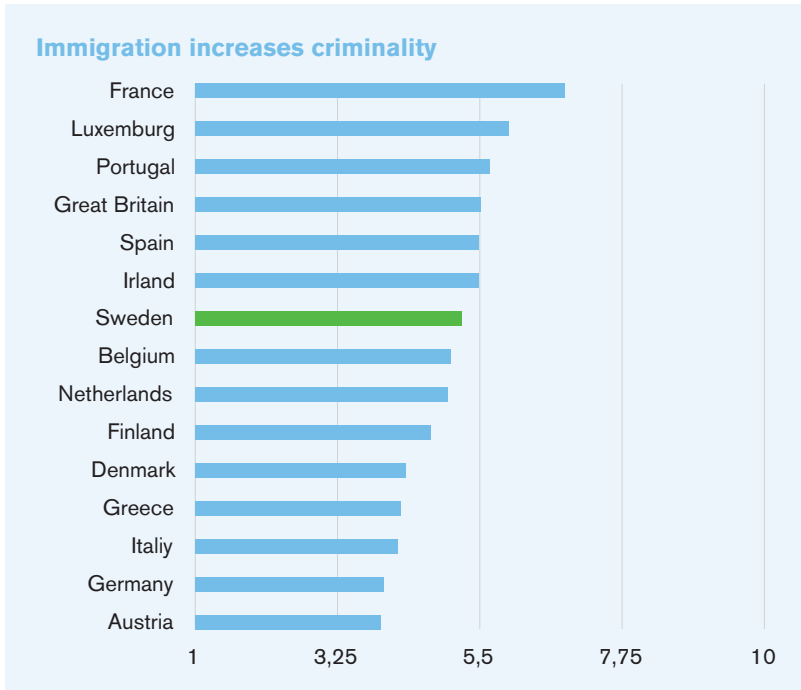
FIGURE 10 Immigrants contribute or do not contribute to increasing crime in the country
Explanation: Source EVS 2008/2010. Response scale: 1=Immigrants contribute to increasing crime, 10=Immigrants do not contribute to increasing crime.

or different compared with one's own group, and that the other group has the intention of changing one's own group's rights or privileges for the worse. A factor analysis shows that the questions presented below belong to a cohesive dimension.

One question that is asked in the survey pertains to views of immigrants as being different in relation to the respondent's own population by being more prone to commit a crime, and that they would thus contribute to increasing crime in the country. The ques-

tion has a response scale from 1–10, with 1 meaning that the respondent completely agrees with the statement that immigrants increase crime in the country and 10 meaning that the respondent completely disagrees with the statement that immigrants increase crime in the country. This means that the higher the average score achieved by a country, the more that the population disagrees with the statement.

As shown in Figure 10, there is certain variation among the countries. The population of Sweden positions itself somewhere in the middle among the countries in terms of the view that there is a connection between immigration and crime. However, the average score was below 5, which indicates that respondents in Sweden agree to a greater extent with the statement that immigration increases crime in the country.

Another question concerned the extent to which immigrants constitute a threat, or do not constitute a threat, to the domestic population on the labor market by taking jobs from domestic workers.

The results are presented in Figure 11. It is apparent here that the respondents in Sweden and Denmark deviate somewhat in relation to the other respondents because they consider to a greater extent than that immigrants do not constitute a threat to their jobs. This contrasts to the population of Spain where a significantly larger proportion of the population believe that immigrants take their jobs. In this context, it may be worth reflecting on the fact that Spain has had immigration from countries in Latin America and thus, to a great extent, has received Spanish-speaking immigrants who possibly, in a different way to what applies to immigrants to Denmark and Sweden, have been able to directly enter the labor market.

Immigrants take jobs from the domestic population
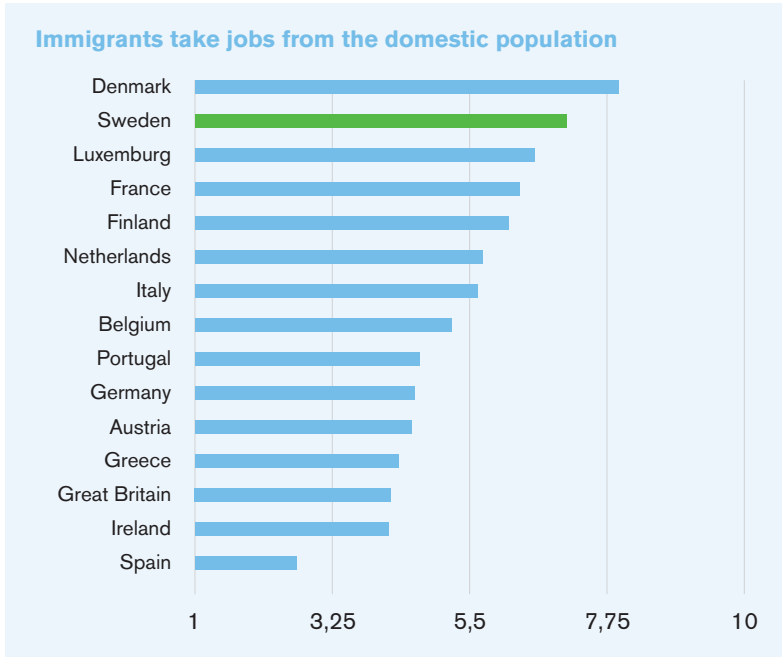
FIGURE 11. Immigrants take jobs, or do not take jobs, from the domestic population
Explanation: Source – EVS 2008/2010. Response scale 1=Immigrants take jobs from the country's population, 10=Immigrants do not take jobs from the country's population.

Two additional questions involving views of immigrants pertain to whether or not immigrants are a burden to the welfare system of the respondent's own country or whether or not immigrants will constitute a threat to society.

Figure 12 shows that the respondents in Sweden, to a lower extent than the populations of the majority of other countries, are of the opinion that immigrants constitute a burden to welfare systems. The average score is just above five, which indicates a kind of neutral

Immigration a burden to welfare systems

Country	
Spain	
Luxemburg	
Sweden	
Portugal	
France	
Italy	
Netherlands	
Finland	
Denmark	
Greece	
Belgium	
Austria	
Ireland	
Germany	
Great Britain	

1   3,25   5,5   7,75   10
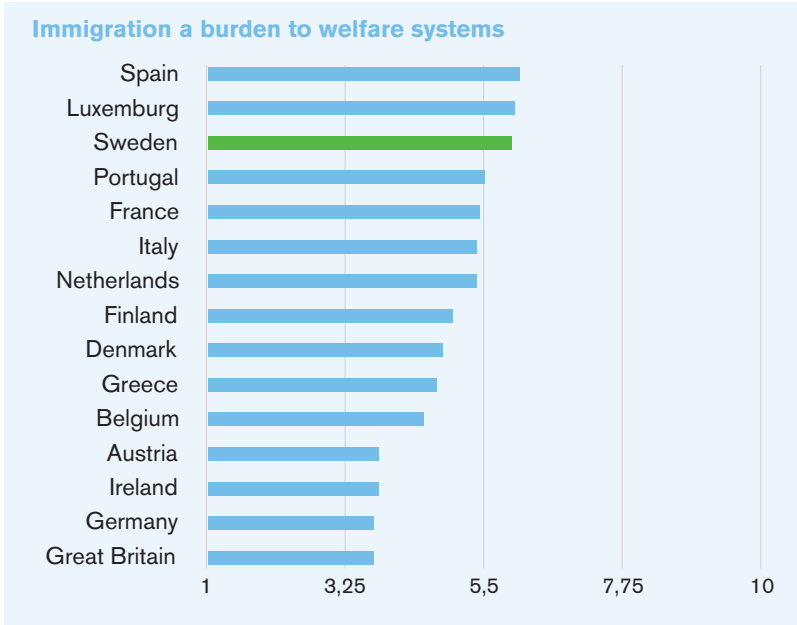
FIGURE 12. Immigration constitutes, or does not constitute, a burden to welfare systems
Explanation: Source EVS 2008/2010. Response scale: 1=Immigration constitutes a burden to welfare systems, 10=Immigration does not constitute a burden to welfare systems.

midway position. The countries where most respondents agree that immigration constitutes a threat to welfare systems include the UK and Germany.

With regard to whether or not immigration is considered to constitute a future threat to society, the countries responded relatively similarly. From Figure 13, it is possible to conclude that the attitudes are more distinctly negative in the UK than in Sweden. In the UK, the average score is less than 4, indicating that a larger proportion agree

Immigration will constitute a threat to society

Country	Value
Sweden	6.0
Luxemburg	5.6
Denmark	5.5
Spain	5.4
Portugal	5.2
Finland	5.2
France	5.2
Netherlands	5.0
Italy	4.9
Germany	4.6
Belgium	4.4
Ireland	4.3
Austria	4.3
Greece	4.0
Great Britain	3.8
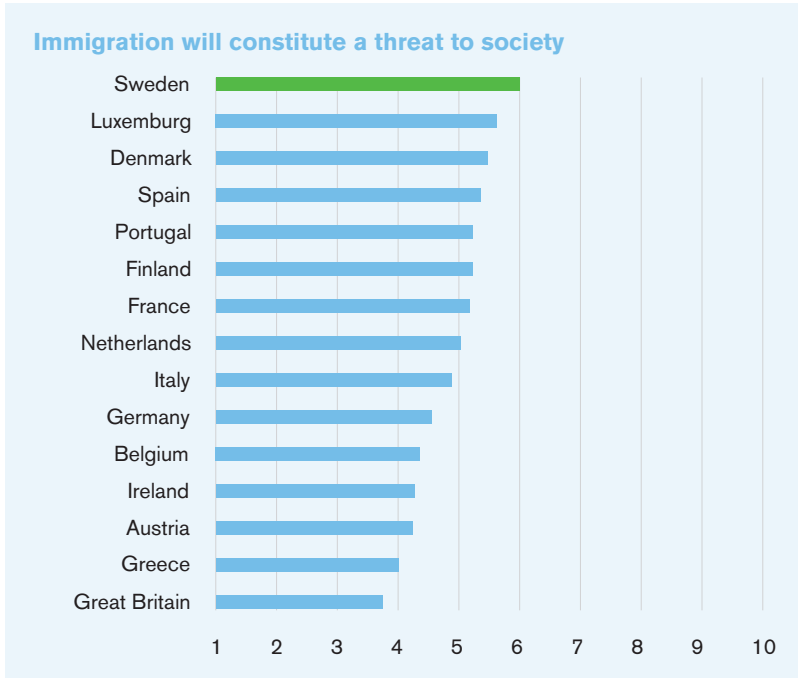
FIGURE 13. Immigration will/will not constitute a threat to society. Explanation: Source EVS 2008/2010. Response scale: 1=Immigration will constitute a threat to society, 10=Immigration will not constitute a threat to society.

that immigration constitutes a threat to society compared with the group of respondents who believe that immigration is not a threat to society. It is worth noting that this data was collected many years before the Brexit referendum. In the study by Larsen (2013) of how the media present various groups, it is shown that the media picture of immigrants was distinctly more negative in the UK than in Denmark and Sweden.

Average scores

Country	Score
Sweden	
Luxemburg	
France	
Denmark	
Finland	
Netherlands	
Portugal	
Italy	
Spain	
Belgium	
Ireland	
Greece	
Great Britain	
Germany	
Austria	

1   3,25   5,5   7,75   10
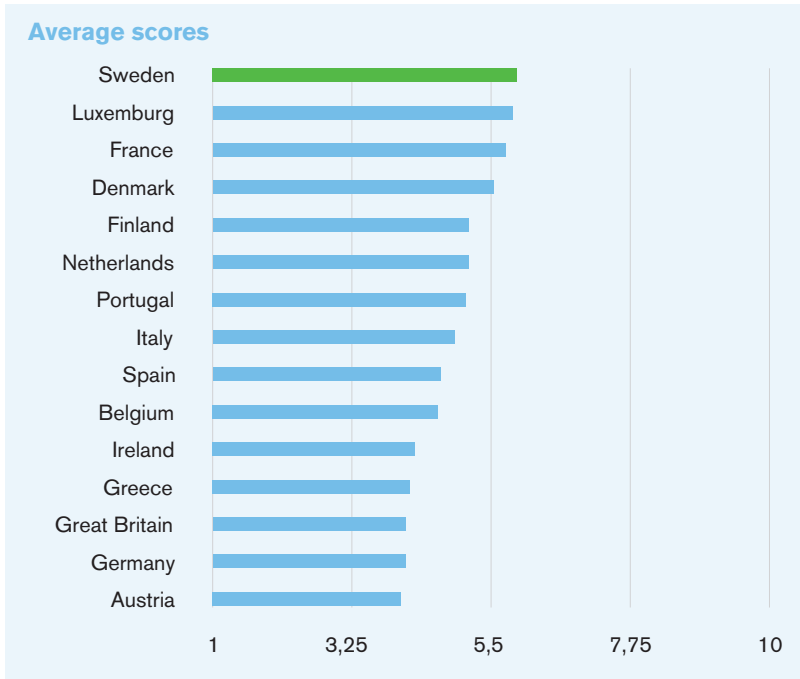
FIGURE 14. Average scores for attitudes to immigration. Explanation: Source EVS 2008/2010. Response scale: 1=agree entirely with the statement, 10=disagree entirely with the statement. The scores are based on the total average scores for the statements: "immigrants take jobs from the domestic population," "immigrants increase crime," "immigrants are a burden on welfare systems" and "immigrants are a threat to society."

What is the general impression given? Figure 14 is based on the aggregated average scores for the questions involving immigration. On the whole, the figure shows a relatively large breadth of variation between the EU countries' views on immigrants in society. The respondents in Sweden, in common with several previous studies (see,

inter alia, Hjerm, 2007), generally belonged to the group with the least negative attitudes to immigrants and immigration.

The explanations for the breadth in variation from country to country are complex. It is also important to bear in mind that the attitudes do not necessarily correlate with the number of immigrants in the population (Hjerm, 2007). In other words, the countries with the largest proportion of immigrants do not necessarily have the most negative populations and vice-versa. Accordingly, this also means that the responses to these questions are based to varying degrees on actual experiences, on the one hand, and vaguer conceptions about this group, on the other. However, these questions were asked several years before the large-scale increase in the number of asylum seekers to Europe, which has resulted in a sharp media and political focus on these matters. This has probably also contributed to greater interest in these matters among the populations.

Earlier studies of the variation in tolerance from country to country in Europe have also focused on, inter alia, differences in the degree of postmaterialism (Kirchner, et al., 2011). Figure 15 below shows that there is no distinct correlation among these 15 EU countries between the degree of postmaterialist values in the population and views on immigration and immigrants in the population.

Figure 15 shows, inter alia, that it is not possible to explain the attitudes in the UK, Germany and Austria solely by looking at the degree of postmaterialist values in the population since these countries have relatively high scores on postmaterialist values but generally more negative attitudes to immigration than, for example, Finland,
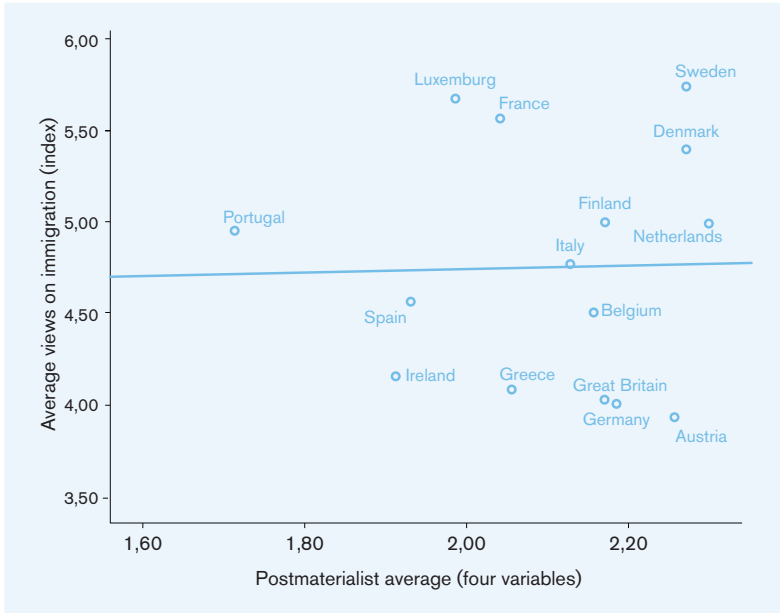
FIGURE 15. Postmaterialist values and views on immigration . Explanation: Source EVS 2008/2010. The same data as in Figure 14 were used for views on immigration. R2=0.00.

which has similar or lower levels of postmaterialist values. A similar situation applies for France and Luxembourg, which have a relatively positive view of immigrants and immigration but a relatively lower degree of postmaterialist values. Accordingly, more in-depth analyses are needed that take into account both individual and national factors to be able to explain rather than just describe the differences among the countries.

Conclusion

This chapter has described variations in tolerance in relation to various groups in a sample of OECD countries. As a first step, on the basis of data from the World Values Survey (WVS), changes over time concerning views on various groups were presented for the period 1994–2014. The groups included in the study were: 1) people with a different ethnicity, 2) immigrants, 3) homosexuals, and 4) substance abusers. As a second step, views on immigration in EU countries were also presented by using data from the European Values Study (EVS) from 2008/2010 It is important to emphasize that these data are not completely up to date and that changes may have occurred during the period that has passed. However, the countries' positions in relation to each other – meaning the relatively high or low tolerance of a country's population compared with other countries – change over time (cf. Inglehart & Welzel, 2005).

In this chapter, tolerance refers primarily to a willingness to tolerate or accept people or certain groups and their fundamental values and behaviors (Kirchner, et al., 2011).

The results from the WVS show that Sweden together with, for example, Spain are the countries whose citizens generally expressed the most tolerant attitudes to the various groups. However, the results in certain countries, particularly Turkey, show that citizens expressed intolerant attitudes

The results of the analyses also show that there is no overall trend when it comes to how the attitudes to various groups have developed over time. In fact, the results show variation between the various countries and depending on the group that was studied. While tolerance towards substance abusers is low but relatively stable in many

countries, tolerance towards, for example, immigrants and people with a different ethnicity is somewhat higher but varies over time in the various countries. In countries like Sweden, Spain and New Zealand, tolerance of people with a different ethnicity is high and relatively stable over time. Looking at the group comprising immigrants, more variation is noticeable among the various countries in terms of both levels and developments over time. A country that sticks out is Germany, where the population gives expression over time for reduced tolerance towards immigrants and people with a different ethnicity. However, the most distinct overall trend over time is found in views on homosexuals, where fewer and fewer in the surveyed countries state that they do not want homosexuals as neighbors.

This chapter has also presented results from a number of EU countries concerning views on immigration, a particularly red hot political issue recently. The results from the analyses show that there is variation in a sample of the EU's member countries with regard to views on immigrants. As in previous studies, respondents in Sweden show on average the least negative attitudes towards immigration (see, inter alia, Hjerm 2007; Kirchner, et al., 2011). Previous studies have also underscored how the Nordic countries, including Sweden, often constitute an exception in terms of the existence of certain values (Pettersson, 1988; Delhey & Newton, 2005). As previous studies have shown, views on other groups, such as immigrants and people with a different religion, appear less negative in Sweden than in most other countries in the West based on the data reported in the chapter (cf. Delhey & Newton, 2005).

Finally, this chapter also comes closer to an answer to how variations from country to country in terms of tolerance towards various groups can be understood. A theoretical explanation highlighted in

this chapter concerns the importance of modernization and postmaterialist values in a country. The analyses in this chapter show that the variation from country to country is due partly to the degree of postmaterialist prioritizations among the population (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). This perspective indicates that values are largely a consequence of the material standard of living under which the population grew up. According to Inglehart and Welzel (2005), the increases in welfare that have removed the threat of starvation in Sweden have contributed to more tolerant attitudes towards other groups. However, this is not sufficient to explain the variation in views on immigrants with regard to the EU countries studied in the chapter.

It is important to emphasize that in order to explain why tolerance towards different groups differs from country to country, the analyses required would have to be more comprehensive than those on which this chapter is based. The analyses in this chapter have shown, for example, that the degree of postmaterialist values cannot explain the differences in tolerance towards people with substance abuse, a group to which the citizens of many OECD countries harbor particularly negative views. An alternative explanation for why people express low tolerance towards these groups may be found in what is usually described as views on people in exposed situations (Larsen, 2013; Svedin, 2015). These groups are then considered to have themselves to blame for their weak position due to what is considered an immoral way of life and not looking after themselves. In Sweden too, looking after oneself by abstaining from drugs/alcohol has long been a desirable ideal, and substance abusers have historically also been considered to

constitute a certain threat to law and order in society (Ambjörnsson, 1993; Johansson, 2008; Svedin, 2015).

Another question is the extent to which an overall impression of other groups being well-behaved or not characterizes views of how they are tolerated or not in Swedish society. As pointed out by Larsen (2013), media reporting depicting young men with foreign backgrounds as criminals has also increased in Denmark and Sweden. This is the case even though the media in these countries – unlike, for example, the UK press – endeavor to a great extent to highlight positive examples. Earlier studies have indicated that whether and how issues are illuminated in political and media debates can contribute to shifts in the attitudes of the population (see, inter alia, Helbling, Reeskens & Stolle, 2015). In view of the major focus there has been on migration in political and media debates, it is extremely relevant to continue to monitor developments, not least in European countries, with regard to the views on immigration and also on other groups.

3. On the gap between abstract and concrete tolerance

Lars Trägårdh

Introduction: The paradox of tolerance

In his classic book from 1945, *The Open Society and its Enemies,* Karl Popper put his finger on a problem that to a great extent we are still living with today, what he termed the paradox of tolerance:

> Unlimited tolerance must lead to the disappearance of tolerance. If we extend unlimited tolerance even to those who are intolerant, if we are not prepared to defend a tolerant society against the onslaught of the intolerant, then the tolerant will be destroyed, and tolerance with them. (Popper, 1945)

On the basis of this, Popper concluded that, under certain circumstances, we should therefore claim, in the name of tolerance, the right not to tolerate the intolerant.

Popper's position is hardly surprising considering he wrote these words in the shadow of World War II, Nazism and the holocaust.

The issue is perhaps even more sensitive in Sweden than in other countries, since the Swedish government decided to negotiate and trade with Hitler rather than enter into war against Germany and refused to accept fleeing Jews rather than offer them sanctuary. Today, however, most people would probably agree that tolerance is hardly a defensible approach in response to an ideology and a power that systematically persecutes and exterminates groups of people – Jews, Roma, homosexuals, the mentally ill and people of low intelligence – who are viewed, on the basis of racial-biological and eugenic theories, as being of "less value". A similar logic applies to communism and its murderous rampage through such countries as the Soviet Union, China and other communist dictatorships. And the list can be extended to include both fascist dictatorships and the Islamic State.

But if phenomena such as these can be viewed as obvious examples of intolerance that cannot be tolerated, it is significantly more difficult to arrive at conclusions in the same self-evident manner when we move away from extreme cases towards the large gray zone where various norms and values collide without necessarily ending in bloodshed. Is, for example, male circumcision a custom that can be tolerated in the name of religious freedom – or must we, as proposed by, for example, the Swedish liberal Bengt Westerberg and others, condemn this practice as unacceptable, as a crime against "human rights"? (Bergström, et al., 2011).

And if we, on the other hand, accept male circumcision – which is after all a legal and socially acceptable practice not only in conservative Muslim societies and in Jewish culture but also in a modern and democratic market society such as the US – how should we then view female circumcision? During spring 2016, there was a debate in

the UK concerning the tolerance of cultural practices such as female circumcision and corporal punishment of children within the family. The question was asked whether one should not permit milder forms of female circumcision as long as it did not deform the women to an extent that went further than the long-established practice of male circumcision. And with regard to corporal punishment of children within the family, which in contrast to Sweden is permissible in both the UK and the US, the debate concerned where the lines should be drawn for what could and should be permitted rather than if a total ban should be introduced.

In this perspective, it becomes interesting to consider the Swedish debate regarding immigration and integration. Both the government's refugee policy and spontaneous civic engagement in support of migrants have to be understood on the basis of morally charged code words such as multiculturalism, pluralism and tolerance, ideals that have started to gain a quasi-official status in the many formulations of core values that both public institutions and private organizations have adopted in recent years.

These well-meaning but often not very well thought through declarations with dubious legal value were confronted by a more concrete reality when people with an extremely different view of, for example, gender equality and children's rights came to challenge values and informal social practices, on the one hand, and legislation and institutionalized family policies on the other. It is easy to theoretically embrace the idea of religious freedom, pluralism and diversity – and to accuse others of, for example, Islamophobia. However, when one moves away from abstract principle to concrete reality, it becomes more difficult.

Home schooling is an issue where this gap becomes extremely clear. In this case, the dividing line does not go between south and north or between Islam and the secular west. In the US, home schooling is a fundamental right linked to the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of religion and the parents' right to educate their own children according to their own values. Looking for guidance in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and other declarations on human rights does not provide easy answers either, since the convention includes paragraphs concerning the right of everyone – including children – to exercise their religion and to live according to their faith.

In Sweden, home schooling is, with minor exceptions, forbidden, a ban that says a great deal about Sweden's complicated relationship to diversity, tolerance and freedom of religion. From one perspective, the ban is an expression of something of which Swedes are proud: children's right to autonomy and to their own free choice. This may be said to be a lynchpin in the structure of the entire modern welfare state, whereby the state's role in protecting children from incompetent and dangerous parents has been central. Simultaneously, however, this legislation and its underlying values suggest something significant about how tolerance of diversity is conditional in Sweden.

In this respect, Sweden has a lot in common with countries like Denmark and the Netherlands, countries that have long had an identity that is linked to ideas of being progressive, open and tolerant societies. Today, however, Denmark is considered to be more of a stronghold of intolerance and xenophobia, and the most popular party in the Netherlands, according to opinion polls in the past year, is the right-wing "Freedom Party" (PVV/Partij voor de Vrijheid) led

by Geert Wilders. And what is interesting about the new xenophobia in countries such as Denmark and the Netherlands is that, in contrast to Hitler's Nazism, it aspires to defend values and practices that it is difficult to characterize as rightwing or racist in any simple manner

According to Wilder's predecessor, Pim Fortuyn, who was himself homosexual, it was necessary to limit or completely stop Muslim immigration since what was at stake was very liberal and tolerant culture that characterized the Netherlands. What had to be protected were such ideals as gender equality, the rights of homosexuals and children's rights, values and rights that many in West somewhat carelessly term "human rights," as if they were ideals that were universal, perhaps even self-evident, and rooted in common sense.

DThe interesting question in this perspective is: what – exactly – is the difference between, for example, a left-wing feminist and a Sweden Democrat (SD) in their views on Islam and the rights of children and sexual minorities? Where do you draw the line between the "norm criticism" of the left and SD's "xenophobia"? What becomes clear and visible here constitutes a blind spot in Dutch, Danish, and Swedish self-awareness: what at times constitutes a gigantic gap between the abstract and general tolerance that is included in the list of official Swedish virtues that make up the "core values" and the concrete tolerance we have for the specific practices and values that various individuals and groups regard as being of central importance to their own group identity.

Swedish tolerance

Comparative research about values, primarily the World Values Survey (WVS) and the European Values Study (EVS), seems to suggest that Sweden belongs to a group of countries characterized by both high social trust in and high tolerance for individuals and groups that have historically been the target of discrimination, for example homosexuals (see Wallman Lundåsen's chapter in this anthology). The picture of Sweden that emerges from these comparative questionnaire-based surveys matches the national self-image that emphasizes Sweden's status as a humanitarian superpower claiming to be at the forefront of realizing human rights and embracing diversity.

Connected to this is the notion that modern Sweden is characterized by universalistic values while no longer being infected by a narrow-minded nationalism that imposes sharp borders between "us" and "them". An idea of Sweden is promoted as country that welcomes immigrants and no longer insists on assimilation but rather embraces the multicultural society in which integration can be achieved while accepting cultural diversity. An expression of this positive view of diversity was the "we like difference" ("vi gillar olika") campaign pursued by the newspaper Aftonbladet through Facebook after Sweden's 2010 general election, when immigration-critical party, the Sweden Democrats, won enough votes to gain representation in the Swedish parliament. The idea was to take a stand against xenophobia by highlighting its opposite: that the people of Sweden not only thought that being "different" was OK but even more that diversity was intrinsically positive, something that was to be "liked" in the idiom of Facebook. (The page that Aftonbladet created on Facebook had by early January 2013 been "liked" by more than half a million people).

This view was challenged by the Swedish political scientist Andreas Johansson Heinö, who argued in the book Gillar vi olika? Hur den svenska likhetsnormen hindrar integrationen (Do we like difference? How the Swedish norm of being alike impedes integration) (2012) that this self-image was based on a false conception that underestimates the much more widespread tendency to preferring – or "like" – those who are similar to oneself. According to Johansson Heinö, a point of departure for a realistic policy has to be this universal tendency to prefer people who are like oneself, something that particularly comes to expression in the continued strong position of nationalism throughout the world.

This tension between affirming tolerance as an abstract virtue and disliking certain concrete expressions of actual diversity intensified in connection with the refugee crisis of the autumn of 2015 when Sweden, together with Germany and Austria, received a large number of refugees from Syria.

On the one hand, Sweden stood out as the country that was comparatively most open to receive refugees, an official policy that seemingly was confirmed by the outpouring of civic engagement in the form of giving and voluntary work to help the new arrivals. This applied not least to those individuals and organizations that had an explicit ideological profile that emphasized the ideals of open borders and human rights. In the field of politics, this included everyone from libertarian-influenced members of the Swedish Conservative Party (the Moderate Party) – including the Party's former leader and Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt – to members of the Green Party, whose ideological identity was profoundly connected to a generous asylum and refugee policy with distinct human rights overtones.

On the other hand, many others in Swedish society ended up siding with more the immigration-critical political parties that gave expression to concerns about how mass immigration of people with a completely different cultural background would affect social cohesion and the integrity of Swedish culture. This massive wave of immigration – 162,877 asylum seekers in total, 2% of the total population, as if five million had arrived in the US over a period of one year – may be viewed as a gigantic experiment to determine how much diversity a country can take without disintegrating.

Like the situation in Germany and Austria, the Swedish openness can perhaps be partly understood against the background of the dubious heritage from World War II, a way of paying off a historical debt. However, in the same way as in Germany, the debate soon ended up being about more than just open borders and human rights as opposed to closed borders and xenophobia. Predictably, incidents followed that revealed a problematical gap regarding values, particularly those that concerned women and gender equality, children and the rights of children; they involved molestation of women and girls in public places; they involved questions about veils and bans on veils, about separate swimming pools for men and women, and about the extent to which it was acceptable for devoted Muslims to refuse to shake hands with women.

In other words, it was about the gray zone between laws and norms where the limits of tolerance were unclear and contentious. This was a zone where Swedish tolerance was put to the test, but also where the will to stand up for and fight for the values and the society that had been built over generations could be questioned. We will return to this subject, but let us first probe the question about

Swedish values. This theme was in focus not least during summer 2016, very much in the wake of the debate about immigration and social unrest that followed the mass immigration of the autumn.

Swedish values – do they exist?

Are there Swedish values and is there a Swedish culture? And, if so, why are they important? On the basis of speeches made during Sweden's traditional week of political seminars in Almedalen, which dominated the media debate during the summer of 2016, it is easy to get an unreal feeling of having taken a time machine back to the early 1900s, a time when politicians and journalists eagerly and frivolously speculated in national characters and the "soul of the people". This was the type of literature that Henrik Berggren and I used as the starting point for our book Är svensken människa? (Is the Swede Human?) whose title was borrowed from one of this genre's many works (Berggren & Trägårdh, 2015). As historians who emphasized the importance of national narratives that joined together objective historical facts with more or less fanciful fiction, we sought to lay bare the elaboration of an imagined Swedish national community, to invoke the influential scholar of nationalism, Benedict Anderson. It became rather clear that there was an idea of a historical tradition, a Swedish culture and a national identity that assigned prominence to such values as liberty, individual autonomy and national democracy.

In our reading, the concept of culture involved more than anecdotal and frequently dubious statements about clichés such as midsummer and meatballs or shyness and modesty. As to values, we focused on modern research, not least the results of the WVS, whose

world values map is well known and frequently used by researchers worldwide. As opposed to many political scientists and economists, we also adopted a broader, anthropological concept of culture that included not only values but also practices and institutions. Our simple proposition was that culture was about a continuous interplay between values and institutions.

From this perspective, a number of conclusions can be drawn. On the one hand, Sweden is characterized by strong social values, expressed in considerable interpersonal trust and great confidence in common institutions. On the other hand, Swedes appear to a great extent to privilege values that emphasize freedom of the individual, the right of self-realization and independence, something that also includes embracing gender equality, children's rights the rights of homosexuals. The guiding light is the concept of autonomy.

This implies that it is not always easy to adapt or adjust to Swedish customs, values, practices, and established institutions. In fact, in a comparative perspective, Sweden is far from being Landet Lagom, "The Land of Moderation", that Swedes often claim it to be. As poignantly expressed by the sociologist of religion Thorleif Pettersson, Sweden is rather Landet Annorlunda, "The Land of Extreme Difference" (Pettersson & Esmer, 2006). This particularly applies to views on the family and other forms of community that exist between the individual, on the one hand, and the state and market, on the other. In comparative surveys, Swedes appear to be radically less intent on being governed by an ethic and view of life that subject the individual to the dictates of the traditional family, clans, faith-based communities and other "tightly knit" institutions in civil society.

This simultaneous enthusiasm for both social and individualistic values may be regarded as strange, but the paradox is resolved when one understands that the high level of Swedish trust involves a movement away from the hot but narrow trust in the family, clan, and religious and ethnic communities that characterizes the societies that are encompassed by what the WVS designates as "traditional values." Instead Sweden is characterized by so-called secular-rational values that involve a cooler but broader form of social trust with a wider trust radius, connecting individuals to shared institutions and to society at large. Historically, this has occurred as a result of the early transition in Sweden and the other Nordic countries from the rule of blood to the rule of law, according to the principle "land skall med lag byggas" ("land shall be built through the law").

The fact that these values are especially prominent in Sweden does not, however, mean that they should be regarded as "Swedish" in any mystical sense. On the contrary, the world at large seems to be moving in the direction of Sweden's current position; i.e., in the right-hand, upper corner of the WVS chart. Sweden sticks out as a radical outlier, but is also at the forefront of a general tendency. Thus the Swedish social contract is above all a local expression of universal values even if they have been institutionalized in an especially radical and characteristic way in Sweden.

Viewed in the light of the current debate about migration, pluralism and diversity, this analysis suggests both the need for reflection and a cautious optimism. On the one hand, the Swedish debate would benefit from a self-criticism that would tone down naive talk about Sweden's supposed tolerance of diversity. Swedish tolerance is brutally conditional in accordance to precisely what the WVS surveys
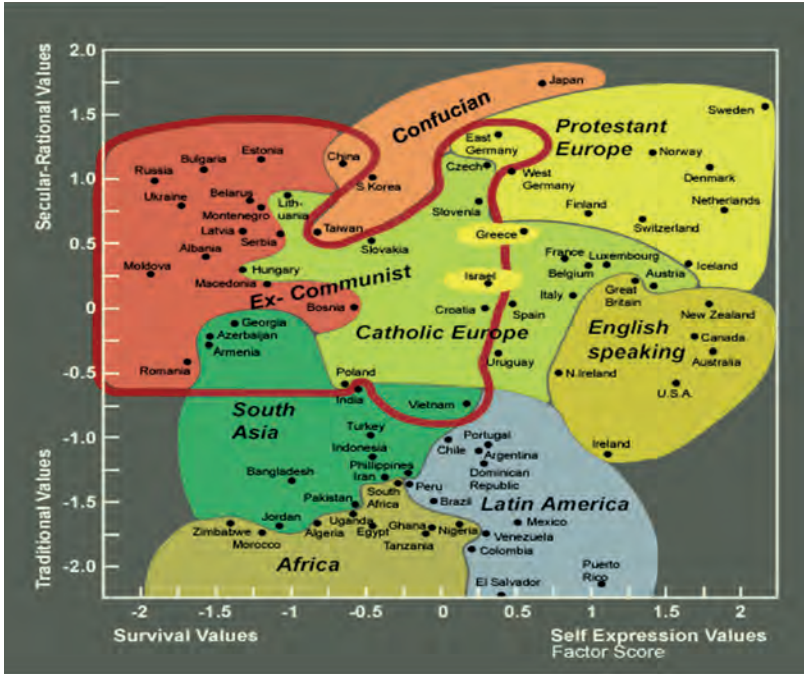
FIGURE 1. The countries are placed on two axes based on their values. The lower axis, the x-axis, measures the tension between "survival values" and "self-expression values," a measurement that largely involves the difference between poorer and richer countries. The further to the left, the more the values connected to survival are emphasized, i.e., access to basic utilities such as clean water, housing and healthcare. The further to the right a country is positioned, the more important the freedom, personal career and self-realization of the individual become. The left-hand axis, the y-axis, measures the tension between "traditional values" (furthest down), which are based on the respect for authorities and the primacy of values that center on the family, the clan and religious and ethnic community. At the top, we find "secular-rational values" which instead regard the individual as the basic unit in society and embrace non-hierarchical values such as gender equality, children's autonomy and tolerance of homosexuality.

indicate. The statist individualism of Sweden affirms the autonomy of the individual and the role of the state but causes problems for competing communitarian ideologies that place family, clans and religion in the center. Accordingly, tolerance is indeed considerable with regard to sexual minorities, demands for gender equality, the rights of children, the rights of people with disabilities, the rights of the elderly and other ideals that assert the individual's autonomy in interplay with the state. However, there is little scope for satisfying communitarian demands that view the individual's autonomy and the power of the state as secondary or as a threat to "conservative" or "patriarchal" family values, the primacy of the clan or religious dogma.

In this regard, the "Swedish ideology" – as Berggren and I somewhat provocatively designated it – is not only a question of values but even more importantly of highly concrete institutions. From individual taxation to public preschools, from our family law to rules for study grants, these conceptions of the individual's autonomy permeate laws, institutions and policies. For the people who immigrate to Sweden, this is not something that is negotiable in terms of pluralism or multiculturalism. The scope for religious free schools, not to mention the previous example of home schooling, is particularly limited. But this also applies to the role of the wage-earner in the Swedish social contract. The social insurance system is to a considerable extent based on all adults having employment – if someone chooses a different family or support model, the consequences are considerable for those who are housewives or stay-at-home dads. In this regard too, Swedish legislation stands out in terms of the logic of statist individualism.

On the other hand – but this requires both a cool head and a realistic migration policy – there is scope for optimism. Yet again, this has to do with the extreme position held by Sweden on the WVS chart – at the leading edge of the global trend. The values that are commonplace in Sweden also encompass a longing for freedom and independence, which are universal ideals, something that political scientist Christian Welzel analyzes in his masterpiece Freedom Rising, based, inter alia, on data from the WVS (Welzel, 2013). Assuming a development characterized by a reasonable rate of immigration and an integration policy that is also relatively crass and clear-cut with regard to the conditions for diversity and tolerance, there are good reasons to hope for a productive mix of assimilation; i.e., the adoption of the fundamental values and practices that characterize modern Sweden, and an affirmation of diversity, where the scope for tolerance is greater and the gains for society at large are obvious.

Civil society and the preconditions for tolerance

The value structure that is captured in the WVS surveys is reflected not only in our legislation and in the public institutions that characterize modern Sweden, in which the direct and unmediated relationship between the state and the individual constitutes a cornerstone of the social contract, which is both based on and reinforces values, with the emphasis on social equality and freedom of the individual. This also applies to Swedish civil society, which is certainly both substantial and characterized by inner conflicts and many interesting internal differences, but which, on the whole, still expresses similar values

with an emphasis on democracy, citizenship, individualism and equality. The archetype is the classic popular movement association based on voluntariness, membership and internal democracy.

To understand the relationship between tolerance, diversity and civil society, it is, however, necessary to adopt a historical and a comparative perspective. In both Sweden and other countries, it is possible to trace the modern civil society to the break-up of the social, economic and political structures of the early-modern era. As the old feudal order disintegrated during the 1800s, completely new opportunities presented themselves for political, social and economic self-organization. Old hierarchical and economic structures were buried, at the same time as the rapid upheaval of the economic and social order led to many people suddenly being without social and economic security and thus in need of new associations that could give them both a political voice and provide social services and security.

In what the historian Torkel Jansson has called "an explosive vacuum", new "associations" emerged in a multifaceted mix (Jansson, 1985). Some of these were political, others economic, religious or social, and they collectively responded to the needs of a new age in which individuals were liberated, for better or for worse, from the institutions of an older era. This new associational structure ended up playing a decisive role in the emergence of both a modern public sphere, with free and often oppositional media, and free civic associations, and of new forms of social community, religious affinity, welfare production and political organization.

Swedish civil society of that time was made up of an occasionally bewildering diversity of organizations and associations. There was

scope here for limited companies and workers' associations, nationally minded sports and gymnastics, religious revivalism and sharpshooter associations, savings banks and producer cooperatives, as well as study groups and women's societies, charities and philanthropies, and much more.

The Free Church movement, in particular, played a key role, and did so in a society that was dominated by the Lutheran state church. In the battle for freedom of religion, there is a historical heritage that is of great relevance today, when other religious societies are fighting for acceptance of their faith and identity. Another important part of civil society of that time were organizations that attempted to mitigate the consequences of poverty, unemployment and illness: liberal self-help groups, the labor movement's cooperatives, religious societies, middle class charities, and philanthropic foundations.

But while philanthropy and charities were experienced as virtuous and positive for the givers – an impulse rooted in altruism and compassion – such phenomena could also be regarded as profoundly offensive. Many in the labor movement held the view that philanthropy was based on undemocratic and unequal power relationships in which the common people were exposed to the degrading system of receiving alms from the more affluent in society. Liberating people from dependence on this form of upper-class goodwill, which was structurally linked to inequality and a hierarchical social order, became a prime objective of the emerging welfare state. During the 1900s, Sweden simultaneously became increasingly secular, something that would eventually weaken the Free Church movement.

In this process, charities, philanthropies and churches ended up as marginal actors in the history of modern Sweden, in contrast to the

US and countries in continental Europe, where philanthropy, charity and civil-society-based welfare, often connected to religious societies, ended up developing either as an alternative to public-sector health and medical care (US) or in close interplay with the state according to the subsidiarity principle (Germany). The US, Germany and Sweden resembled each other in many ways in the early 1900s and American and German influences were visible in, for example, democratic, member-based popular movements, in liberal self-help groups, and in Christian and upper class charity and philanthropy. But today, a hundred years later, these countries appear to be expressions of three different "models" for financing and producing welfare.

In this development, it may be said that civil society in Sweden has played a complex role, where one part of the civil society (popular movements connected to the Social Democratic Party) has attempted de facto to eliminate the other part (middle class and faith-based charities and philanthropies) – not directly, or as a goal as such, but because the political objective was to eliminate the conditions that constituted the impetus and raison d'être for philanthropy and charity. The aim of the Social Democratic Party and its support organizations in civil society was for the state to assume direct responsibility for the unemployed, ill, old, disabled, and so forth. Universal social rights were posited against degrading and stigmatizing charity. Rational science was posed against religious faith.

In addition, the political struggle for universal social rights and general welfare was not only targeted at the social divides and the economic inequality that was associated with the poverty that the charities attempted to mitigate. The emphasis on the citizen, the equality and autonomy of individuals, was based on a moral logic

that was permeated by individualistic rather than communitarian values. The statist-individualistic social contract that emerged ended up challenging all forms of community of a hierarchical and patriarchal nature that stood between the state and the individual, not only charitable organizations but also religious societies and traditional family structures. In this civil war within civil society, political voice was pitted against social service, rights against charities, the public interest against the particular interest, and universal individualization against communitarianism.

In this process, the Social Democrats and their allies in the popular movements could lean on not only modern political ideologies but also on Swedish historical traditions and a legacy comprised of a web of practices, institutions and values.

The central role of the Lutheran state church should be particularly emphasized. Modern Sweden may be viewed as a secularized version of a special type of protestant Christianity, the statist and individualistic Lutheranism – something that has far-reaching and enduring consequences for the possibility of religious pluralism in Sweden. What characterizes Lutheranism is the emphasis on the individual's direct, unmediated relationship to God and the bible, on the one hand, and the view that the state – the king – is the head of the church. Although the Church of Sweden of today is no longer a state church but has formally changed its status from a public institution to a civil society organization, it still labors in the shadow of this historical heritage.[1]

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1 See the new the chapter in "A Lutheran modernity" in the revised and expanded edition of Är svensken människa? Berggren & Trägårdh (2015).

To this can be added a tradition of equality connected to the relatively strong position of the peasants and their alliance with the king and the state against a nobility that was continuously endeavoring to cast the peasants into serfdom and to limit the king's power; high social trust related to the central role of rule of law ("land shall be built by law"), as well as a special family culture and marriage pattern that promoted relative equality between men and women (see also Berggren & Trägårdh, 2015). On the whole, this heritage gave legitimacy to a policy and a social contract that emphasized freedom of the individual and social equality, with the state as the ultimate guarantor of these values.

In this perspective, it should be noted that a large civil society is not in any simple way a goal in itself. Somewhat provocatively, it may be said that, historically speaking, the ambition has actually been to eradicate parts of the civil society – or more correctly, the need for it. The primary aim of the classic popular movements was to achieve democracy and social rights, and they sought by all means to fight poverty, dependence, inequality and the authoritarian, class-based and undemocratic state. From this perspective, a diminished need of religious associations and the charities and philanthropies of the upper class and the bourgeois appears to be a sign of progress.

That one price for this success in the struggle for freedom and equality would be a civil-society-based diversity that promoted tolerance of people with different faiths and profound differences in values was, perhaps, an unforeseen consequence. Rather, the emphasis was on the fusion of state and civil society in the form of a corporative state based on popular movement democracy, which in turn paved the way for an individualistic universalism and the ab-

stract tolerance that is captured in the WVS surveys. However, due to this development, Swedish civil society has ended up playing a double-edged role, viewed from the perspective of pluralism and one that is fundamentally the opposite if one compares with countries such as the US, Germany or the Netherlands, where pluralistic traditions are based on tolerance for and affirmation of various forms of communitarianism in civil society.

In the US particularly, the strict separation between both state and church and state and nation, combined with a strong anti-statist political tradition, has created unique conditions for diversity as a social practice and pluralism as a fundamental national value. By simultaneously limiting the power of the state over civil society and forbidding any impulse towards state religion, a constitutional order was created that became fertile soil for the emergence of a rich flora of subnational communities of an ethnic and religious nature.

This does not mean that racism, intolerance or fundamentalism is absent in the US. But the with respect to religious pluralism the dominant ethos has been one that has promoted a live and let live ideal within the framework of an open but also competitive society. Even as religious congregations compete with passion on the religious market to attract capricious and faithless individuals, since people in the US change faith as frequently as others change clothes, this battle for souls occurs against the background of an understanding that everyone has a shared interest in subordinating themselves and defending the constitutional order that guarantees religious freedom and diversity.

Institutionally, the premium placed on the autonomy of civil society and family values, coupled with an enduring suspicion of state

dominance has by extension guaranteed the diversity that characterizes the US in terms not only of religion, but also with respect to schools, universities, hospitals and care services – many of which trace their roots to various religious congregations. Both tolerance as a value and diversity as a concrete practice are based and dependent on this institutional independence from the state.

Swedish pluralism

In Sweden, a national identity connected to modernity, tolerance and pluralism clouds the view of a more complex, everyday reality. It also carries with it dangers for those who do not want to be included in this statist-individualistic social contract. Because what we are dealing with here is a conception that is partly an actual description of what modern Sweden looks like but is equally much an expression of a normatively charged view of how society should be. The gap between ideal type and reality tends to firstly make invisible phenomena on the margin of Swedish society – syndicalists, libertarians, members of radical free churches, for example – and, secondly, creates major challenges for contemporary and future nonconformists, including the Muslim minority.

There is lot at stake in a future perspective. Can Sweden harbor both a broader and a deeper diversity without threatening the social contract? Can its citizens handle a more pluralistic civil society without undermining the high degree of social trust? Will Swedes steeped in this social contract and its core values manage to work side by side with people whose values and practices they may dislike – apart from a common interest in precisely the idea of live and let

live? On the other hand, if the price of continued trust and cohesion is exclusion of those that are different, is this a price worth paying?

In Sweden, pluralism is somewhat like the cherished freedom of choice in terms of health care, schools and child care; it is fine as long as it does not apply to something truly significant but only concerns things that are basically superficial. A diversity that expresses itself in a broader choice of foods, music and clothes (except, perhaps, veils) is good, but if it concerns more difficult issues, such as religion or gender relations, such as the family's role with regard to power and responsibility for upbringing, schooling and care, then objections soon appear. These are usually advanced in terms of "quality assurance" and "evidence" that tend to lead back to standardization and uniformity in harmony with the inner moral logic of the Swedish social contract and the trump cards of the "shared core values": equality, the rights of children, gender equality, universalism and individualism.

For example, moral panic rapidly breaks out when the subject of religious free schools is discussed. According to the historian Jonas Qvarsebo, the frequently hateful rhetoric targeted at religious free schools is not based on hard facts, such as students being mistreated or suffering from a lack of basic care (Qvarsebo, 2013). Rather, this antipathy is an expression of an a priori view of religion as something negative, something that captures a fundamental lack of tolerance and acceptance of pluralism as soon as we move from the superficial and reach the significant, a diversity of deep difference.

In some regards, this suspicious view of religion is very odd. On the one hand, as noted earlier, the Free Church movement was the first and, for a long time, the most important part of Swedish civil society and, as such, was completely decisive for the emergence of a

modern society based on civil liberties. And also it is doubtful just how secularized Sweden is. Many surveys have shown that not only is it the case that 68.8% of the Swedish population were members of the Church of Sweden as late as 2011 but also that the percentage of explicit atheists is surprisingly low, even in a supposedly secularized country like Sweden. Depending on which survey one consults, between 18 and 23% of the population state that they are atheists (see Mellergård, 2013). But this way of making actual religiousness in Sweden invisible becomes easier to understand if one takes into account how intensively religious creeds and affinity to a faith have been privatized and effectively removed from the public arena. This marginalization of religion has also occurred against a backdrop of a generally accepted conviction that the world as a whole is becoming increasingly secularized. Believers are a dying breed; in a near future, religion will end up in the rubbish bin of history.

However, secularization theory is currently challenges and Sweden appears to be a special case – again – in a global perspective. In addition, certain researchers are of the opinion that the so-called "rocket generation" (born 1945–1960), informed by a revolt against still strong religious norms in an environment where secular and scientific belief in the future colored the cultural climate, possibly constitutes a historical parenthesis, as expressed by Pekka Mellergård, former director of the Örebro Mission School (Mellergård, 2013; see also Hagevi, 2009). The youth of today approach religion in a more open-minded way, and they do this in a situation where immigration to Sweden by people with a strong faith is rising. We are talking here not only or not even primarily about Muslims but also about all of the members of the various "immigrant churches", which include not

only the Roman Catholic church and various orthodox and oriental churches but also the African, South American and other so-called ethnic congregations that are closely related to the Pentecostalists or other Free Church faiths.

So far, we have focused on diversity in terms of religion, but belonging to a faith is only one dimension, albeit important, of the issue of tolerance and pluralism. Culture, ethnicity and race are also important and frequently reinforce each other. A black woman who is a Muslim and who has a view of the family and the woman's role in society that does not conform to the norms of Swedish society soon reaches the limits of pluralism in a number of regards. A particularly decisive factor is the difference between collectivist societies based on clans and strong family ties and societies, like Sweden, where the state, the law and individual citizenship constitute the foundation of society, as argued by journalist Per Brinkemo (2014) in his book Mellan klan och stat ("Between clan and state"). Specifically, the strength of the Swedish welfare state's institutional structure means that it is not easy to avoid its grip. The primacy of individualism and equality does not only show up in abstract values but also comes to expression in concrete routines in preschools, schools, workplaces, universities, hospitals, care facilities and many other public establishments.

The pride of the welfare state – the general welfare policy that is universal by nature and has the individual as its counterpart – is therefore itself the problem insofar as we want to affirm a pluralism and a tolerance for subnational communities, and more profound differences in values through which individuals are subordinated to sun-national collectives that challenges the primacy of statist indivi-

dualism. Sweden is not the US where the nonconformist can escape to his/her own community and its schools and other institutions. Or, to take an even more charged example that we have discussed before: home schooling under the auspices of the family and community, an activity that is more or less impossible in Sweden but that is a fundamental right in the US.

What we can learn from the Diversity and Trust barometers

Today, there are also empirical surveys that capture the tension between the self-image depicted in the media, political projects and popular attitudes concerning tolerance for diversity and the consequences of diversity for social trust. In the Mångfaldsbarometern (The "Diversity barometer") which researchers (formerly at Uppsala University, currently at the University College at Gävle) publish at regular intervals, the gap between abstract and concrete tolerance is clearly expressed.[2] And in surveys that measure social trust and confidence in shared institutions, including the Tillitsbarometern (The "Trust barometer") which researchers (myself included) at Ersta Sköndal Bräcke University College presented in the book Den svala svenska tilliten ("The cool Swedish trust"), it is also possible to discern correlations between diversity and social cohesion (Trägårdh, Wallman-Lundåsen, Wollebæk & Svedberg, 2013).

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2 The Diversity Barometer has been published annually, with the exception of 2015, first through Uppsala University and since 2013 through the University College at Gävle, initially under the leadership of Orlando Mella and currently of Fereshteh Ahmadi. The results from 2011, 2014 and 2016 have been used in this chapter.

The Diversity barometer for long seemed to confirm the impression of Sweden as an increasingly tolerant society. The responses to questions involving general views on diversity pointed to a declining trend over time in extremely negative attitudes towards diversity. For example, it was noted in 2011 that this group had decreased from 5.7% to 4.9%. A large majority of the respondents, nearly 70% during the same year, also gave expression to a positive view of diversity. However, further reading also showed that this tolerance was distinctly conditional. More than 80% of the respondents in 2011 held the view that immigrants have an obligation to adapt to the customs and values of the majority society (Mella, Palm & Bromark, 2011).

This applied not least to views on religion, Islam in particular. Accordingly, a clear majority (within a range of 54–58% between 2006 and 2016) held the view that "religious free schools counteract integration" while only a fraction (6–8%) disagreed with this statement. An even larger majority (within the range of 58–64%) believed that "Muslim women living in Sweden are oppressed to a greater extent than other women in Sweden." Views concerning veils indicate a similar trend, in particular full-cover varieties such as the niqab and burka, which 68.4% and 73.8%, respectively, of the respondents believed were completely unacceptable to wear at school and at work, while an additional approximately 20% viewed them as fairly unacceptable or were doubtful about them (the figures apply to 2014). In addition, 45% of the respondents in 2016 held the view that all religions do not have equal value, and 84% of those who held this view also pointed to Islam as a religion that clashes with human rights (Mella, et al., 2011; Mella, Ahmadi & Palm, 2014; Ahmadi, Palm & Ahmadi (2016).

Data from the latest Diversity barometer (2016) indicate that views on diversity are now becoming ever more critical, with significantly fewer respondents regarding diversity as something positive, at the same time as holding the view that people with a foreign background have a duty to adapt to Swedish customs was further consolidated (86% in 2016). The majority are of the opinion that "there are groups of immigrants who cannot manage getting integrated into our culture" and some 50% believe that diversity means that "some of our values are getting lost".

Looking at the data that measure trust, the latest WVS survey indicates that trust is diminishing in Sweden. Figure 2 shows the average level of general trust in the Nordic countries during the years 2002-2012. As shown in the results, the degree of trust increased in Sweden between 2002 and 2010 and subsequently declined markedly in 2012. In this regard, Sweden differs from the other Nordic countries where trust remained stable in 2010, even increasing somewhat.

A similar result emerges from data from the WVS for the years between 2006 and 2011 regarding young people. Figure 3 shows the percentage of respondents in various age groups in Sweden who stated that they trust most people. The decline in trust is particularly sharp for young people aged between 16 and 29, where the percentage who trust other people declined from 68% to 50% (see Figure 3).

If we then take into account the importance of religion, the pattern of declining trust becomes even more apparent. Figure 4 shows the percentage of respondents in various age groups who stated that they do not trust particularly much or do not trust at all people with a different religion. As shown by the results, trust diminished in all
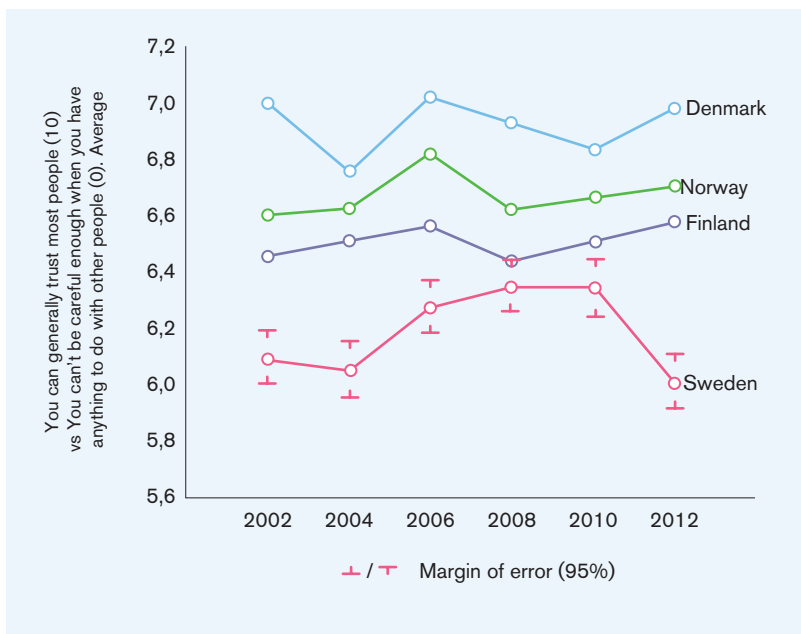
FIGURE 2. Trend in trust in the Nordic countries 2002–2012. Source: WVS/EVS.

age groups between 2006 and 2011 and in particular in the youngest group.

The Trust barometer also shows a significant variation within Sweden, with significantly lower trust in high-growth, urban areas, such as the municipalities of Malmö and Sundbyberg, where the lower trust is statistically connected to both immigrant-related diversity, segregation, and socio-economic inequality (see also Trägårdh, et al. 2013). It should also be pointed out that we still do not have access
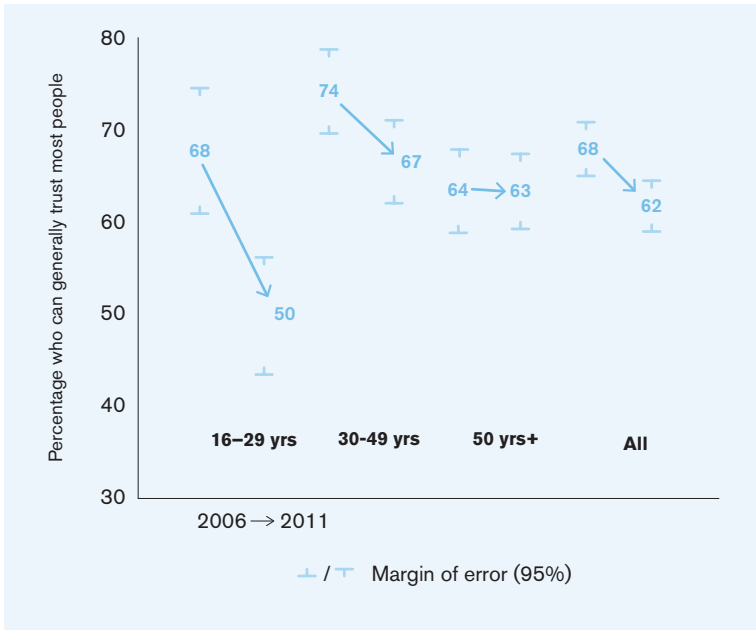
FIGURE 3. Trust in Sweden, 2006–2011, broken down into various age groups. Source: WVS

to data that capture the effects of the past year's turbulence related to the refugee crisis and mass immigration. It is possible that we now stand on the threshold of a crisis of trust in Sweden. A new Trust barometer survey will be carried out in the spring of 2017, allowing us to study any changes.
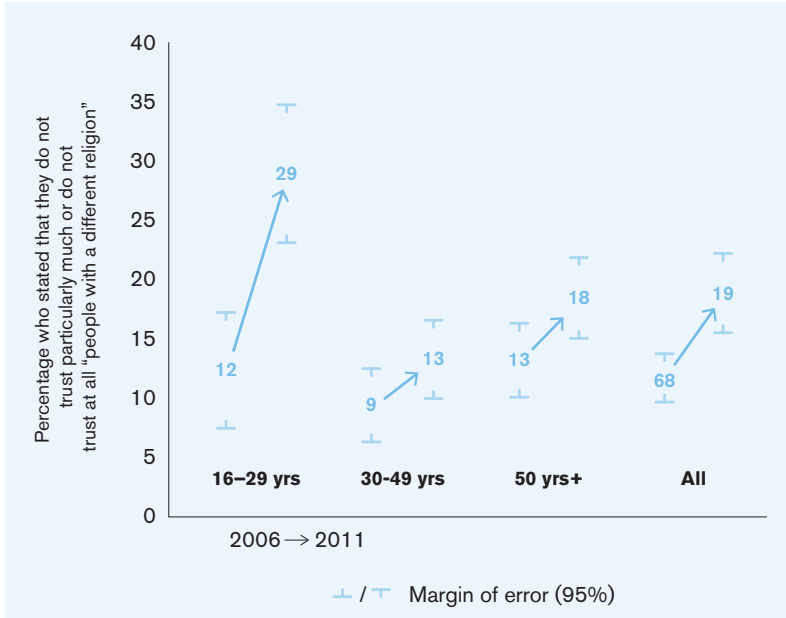
FIGURE 4. Trust in people with a different religion, 2006-2011, broken down into various age groups. Source: WVS

Conclusion: Pluralism and the Future

Sweden is torn between two different solidarity ideals; between two versions of the Swedish model, each central to Swedish national identity. How well the tension between them is managed will ultimately have consequences for the extent to which Swedish society will be able to retain its famed social cohesion in the future. On the one hand, we have the welfare state as a national project with a very specific culture consisting of both values and concrete institutions

and practices that are not especially negotiable. On the other hand, we have a conception of Sweden as a moral superpower boasting of a particularly pronounced commitment to human rights, pluralism and tolerance of diversity. It is unclear how it will be possible to square this circle. The gap is great between abstract tolerance inherent to the global, human rights vision and the concrete challenges that diversity and profound cultural differences actually entail at the level of the national welfare state.

The balance between universal and individualistic values and particularist and communitarian practices is difficult to achieve. In the US too there are limits to the reach of communitarian claims. When Mormons tried to realize their theocratic dream in Utah in the 1800s, it was stopped after federal military intervention. When the southern states insisted on the legitimacy of slavery, this ended in civil war. Nor is it possible in the US completely to disregard the constitution or the law in the name of higher values without dire consequences. In addition, the US is currently a profoundly polarized country where there is considerable division and distrust between people, and segregation means that ever more people are living in parallel worlds and in various forms of gated communities where they avoid rather than meet "the others".

The question we are faced with today in Sweden is whether we can find an institutional order that is simultaneously able to guarantee the individual freedom from involuntary community and offer voluntary associations protection from an absolutist, state-centered universalism. Possibly a state with more minimalistic demands – for example, that everyone has to abide by the law and will be allocated resources on the same terms, but that otherwise avoids admonitions

of the type that include "shared core fundamental values" – might gain legitimacy in the long run in a world where vague rhetoric about pluralism is overridden by concrete diversity.

At the same time, however, it is not possible to get away from the fact that there are portentous omens. The debate is characterized by a high-strung and panic-stricken tone, with the current Swedish Prime Minister, Stefan Löfven, designating a party that is supported by nearly one-fifth of the country's electorate as "Nazi". On the cultural pages of newspapers such as Dagens Nyheter, heated talk about the need for "norm criticism" is combined with a far less pronounced interest in directing the same critical attention to their own values; one rarely hears talk of the need to expose feminists to norm criticism in the name of family values. On the other hand, sympathizers of the Sweden Democrats dismiss all talk of human rights as hypocritical, politically correct ideology masquerading as social science.

There is an imminent risk that we will soon not only live in segregated, parallel societies but also converse only with and read the words of people with whom we already agree. Let us conclude by reminding ourselves of a few words of wisdom from Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor in his well-known essay "The Politics of Recognition" from 1992. On the one hand, he warned of the risks of the form of tolerance that only expressed itself in letting others live their own lives and keeping their values at a distance, without actual encounters and discussions with the objective of understanding and attempting to find the way to a shared picture of reality. In this context, Taylor used as his point of departure the idea of German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamers (1989) of a "merger of horizons", through which people with initially totally different perspectives can arrive at

a richer and shared framework of understanding. On the other hand, Taylor made readers aware that it was occasionally equally important to take a stand: to take up the struggle for what one believes in when there is no longer any room for negotiation, when a joint horizon of understanding is no longer possible. Because cultural neutrality is occasionally neither possible nor desirable. In his words: "Liberalism is also a fighting creed" (p. 62).

And now let us return to Karl Popper: Tolerance is good but sometimes you still have to fight for what you believe in, precisely in order to protect both liberty and tolerance. But to be able to determine when one should tolerate ideas and practices one personally finds strange, even detestable, and when it is necessary to take to arms, then a greater depth of knowledge is needed on the eternal question of the limits of tolerance – both on the abstract philosophical level and in the concrete reality we call Sweden.

4. About the prerequisites for and sustainability of tolerance – a commentary on Wallman Lundåsen and Trägårdh

Kari Steen-Johnsen

Introduction

In a time of political unrest, with both national and international conflicts, questions about the prerequisites for and sustainability of tolerance stand out as one of the most important areas of discussion. Although this anthology has the conditions affecting Swedish society as its point of departure, the comparative and institutional issues addressed in two of the chapters also give rise to questions concerning how tolerance can be created and maintained outside the context of Swedish society. When I was asked to comment on Susanne Wallman Lundåsen's (Chapter 2) and Lars Trägårdh's (Chapter 3) contributions to the anthology, I gratefully perceived an opportunity to delve more deeply into perspectives on the prerequisites for tolerance that have evolved from Norwegian research. The intention of my commentary is not to compare conditions in Norway and Sweden

but to use Wallman Lundåsen's and Trägårdh's texts as a basis for further reflection. On reading the texts, three different themes have become particularly important to me. First, I ask the question: how should we understand prerequisites for tolerance? Second, I want to discuss what research says about variations of tolerance in a given society. Thirdly, I ask the decisive and difficult question of the sustainability of tolerance. Since it would be impossible to provide exhaustive answers to these three questions in this context, I will let Wallman Lundåsen's and Trägårdh's texts, and my own reading of them, constitute the framework for what I choose to address.

Questions

Wallman Lundåsen and Trägårdh each present an interesting approach to a discussion about the form and content of tolerance that distinguish Sweden. They critically study a well-established assumption that Swedes are highly tolerant. Is it true that Swedes are more tolerant than many other nationalities? And what does this tolerance consist of? These are the questions that the authors ask.

Wallman Lundåsen looks for answers by means of a comparative analysis of data from attitudinal surveys conducted in Sweden and other countries. The emphasis is on the question of whether respondents would consider living as a neighbor to a person with certain special characteristics (WVS 1994–2014). Wallman Lundåsen's results largely confirm the impression that Sweden is a country with a very high tolerance level. The respondents had no difficulties considering living as a neighbor with immigrants, people with a different ethnic background, homosexuals, or drug/alcohol abusers.

Wallman Lundåsen also studies the Swedish population's attitudes to immigration in relation to other European countries, and ends up with a similar result. Swedes appears to be the Europeans with the least negative attitudes to immigration. The differences are stable over time during the period studied by Wallman Lundåsen, and the results also essentially correspond to earlier research (Sniderman, Petersen, Slothuus & Stubager, 2014, p. 13).

While Wallman Lundåsen's survey results can be considered as confirmation of an established and positive image of tolerance in Sweden, Trägårdh studies more critically what this tolerance actually encompasses – and also its limitations. Trägårdh works from a historical perspective. He focuses on the condition that tolerance results from institutional processes within the state and civil society, and how tolerance has been given an ideological content due to these processes. He recognizes a threat to Swedish "state individualism" that "affirms the autonomy of the individual and the role of the state but causes problems for competing communal ideologies that place family, clans and religion in the center" (Trägårdh, p. 81, my translation). On top of this critical reflection on the ideological boundaries for Swedish tolerance, Trägårdh wonders whether Swedish tolerance is sustainable in the long term. Above all, he sees a threat to tolerance in the development of discernibly diminishing trust between people in areas where there are lots of immigrants.

In my view, Trägårdh thereby presents a twin-edged challenge to tolerance in Sweden: first, a challenge concerning the values upon which tolerance rests and, second, a challenge associated with the sustainability of tolerance. I will return to this twin-edged challenge, and Trägårdh's proposed solution, towards the end of the chapter.

First, I will reflect upon the prerequisites for and the shifting appearance of tolerance, derived from my reading of both the texts.

Prerequisites for tolerance

Tolerance may be defined as the ability to accept and disregard things that one dislikes or opposes (Vogt, 1997, p. 1). This means that tolerance is related to differences between people or groups in society with regard to values, opinions or customs. The differences that tolerance affects must be of great importance to individual people and/or the entire society – otherwise it is unnecessary to devote time to the question (Vogt, 1997, p. 2).

Over time, theoretical and empirical literature about tolerance have both grown considerably. Wallman Lundåsen and Trägårdh give favorable illustrations of a couple of central and complementary approaches to understanding the prerequisites for tolerance. Wallman Lundåsen argues, on the basis of Inglehart's overriding theory, that tolerance is shaped by modernization processes (Inglehart, 1998). Here, it is assumed that modernization and growing material prosperity entail liberation from having to satisfy fundamental needs, thus enhancing the need and the potential to realize oneself. This experience could lead to the individual, at the next stage, accepting the desire of other people for self-realization and for making their own choices in life (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Wallman Lundåsen in this anthology). In the chapter, Wallman Lundåsen tests the modernization hypothesis by looking for correlations between postmaterialist values and views on immigration in 15 European countries. However, she finds no support for the hypothesis (p. 63), and states that more

in-depth analyses are needed that take into consideration both specifically national and individual factors. Although the modernization hypothesis seems to be applicable to Sweden, which is characterized by high tolerance and postmaterialist values, we are compelled to presume that modernization is not sufficient to explain the existence of tolerance in Sweden.

This is where Trägårdh adds a historical-institutional interpretation of what has shaped tolerance and its boundaries. He uses the World Values Survey's values chart as a point of departure. On this basis, he looks for explanations for why Sweden has ended up in the right-hand corner, where self-realization, secularization and rationalism are valued highly (p. 80). Trägårdh points in part to the central role played by classical popular movements in shaping the Swedish welfare state, and in part to the relationship between the state and civil society. The aim of the popular movements was to fight poverty, dependence, inequality and the authoritarian, class-based and undemocratic state. This was to be implemented through the establishment of a state that placed equality and freedom of the individual in the center (p. 86). The aims of the popular movements were to promote the values of self-realization, secularization and rationalism, values that characterize Swedish society. Somewhat provocatively, Trägårdh writes that the historical ambition of the popular movements was to eradicate the need for philanthropy, charity and religious societies. The result was a society, a population, that is generally skeptical to religious movements and to communities that can be suspected of unequal and patriarchal attitudes, such as honoring the family, the clan or the group.

Another approach that can be adopted for analyzing the pre-requisites of tolerance involves groups and group relationships. In this perspective, it is the relationship between various groups that is studied. This applies, inter alia, to the ranking of people as inferior and superior, the groups' relative positions of power, and the extent to which a group feels threatened by another group, which determines the group's degree of tolerance towards other groups (Blumer, 1958; Sullivan & Hendriks, 2009; van Doorn, 2014). Wallman Lundåsen uses the group perspective to understand differences in tolerance, in various countries, with regard to immigrants, homosexuals and drug addicts. She also points to a group's "deservingness" of support and help from the public sector as a factor that is of importance to the degree of tolerance (p. 39).

To understand the prerequisites for tolerance in today's Nordic countries, I believe that the group perspective is important – even more important than what is apparent from these two texts in the anthology. In our studies of the prerequisites for freedom of expression in Norway[1], we investigated the degree of tolerance of various political and religious groups: rightwing extremists, immigration-critical groups, Muslims, and Islamists. What we found was that the degree of tolerance varied a great deal between the groups and with regard to of the various types of rights that the questions concerned (Steen-Johnsen, Fladmoe & Midtbøen, 2016, p. 16). The rightwing extremist group was the one that received the least tolerance throughout. However, many were also reluctant to give certain rights to people who were critical of immigration. This applied, especially,

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1 In the project – Status of Freedom of Expression in Norway – financed by the Fritt Ord Foundation; see www.ytringsfrihet.no.

to employment in compulsory schools or being permitted to comment as a chronicler or in editorials in national newspapers. When the questions applied to the employment of teachers, we could see an interesting difference between tolerance for Muslims and for immigration-critical applicants. While 45% of the population said that they would have no reservations in employing a Muslim, only 12% responded in the same way to immigration-critical applicants (Steen-Johnsen, et al., 2016, p. 74).

The outcome could be understood as meaning that today's immigration-critical groups are perceived as challenging the social order with their opinions, and that they could be regarded as potentially threatening to other defined groups. This interpretation is endorsed by the fact that the responses to questions about tolerance are largely connected to the individual's own political opinions. Those who are placed on the left wing of Norwegian politics are more tolerant to Muslims and less tolerant to immigration-critical groups than others (Steen-Johnsen, et al., 2016, p. 75).

The relationships between groups, as they are described in public contexts, but also the relationships in daily life and in the local community, are probably highly important factors in relation to tolerance, in both the short and the long term. The long-term importance of such group relationships is exemplified well by Trägårdh when he describes how the ideological basis for the Swedish welfare state was formed as a result of ideological penetration into the broad layer of society and how popular movements also had an impact institutionally.

Variations in and boundaries for tolerance

Tolerance, as understood here, is as a phenomenon that is both contextually and historically conditioned. Accordingly, the political and social dividing lines that appear to be subject to conflicts in a given society will vary over time. For example, the US debate about tolerance was long dominated by the issue of tolerance of people of another race. Over the past ten-year period, tolerance of people with Islamic beliefs and Muslims has been a topical issue in both the American and European literature (Sullivan & Hendriks, 2009; van Doorn, 2014). But, even at a given point in time, there may be considerable variations in the groups, camps of opinion and practices that are tolerated by whom. Wallman Lundåsen and Trägårdh independently give interesting insights into such variations within and outside today's Sweden.

Wallman Lundåsen's point of departure in her analysis of tolerance comprises three different variations: from country to country, over time, and in relation to various groups of people. Her approach provides a number of interesting insights. For example, there is a general trend, regardless of nation, towards increased tolerance of homosexuals. However, the trends point in several different directions with regard to people with an ethnic minority background. Germany, for example, shows a "declining" trend here. Tolerance of drug addiction and alcoholism is also diminishing in many countries. In this regard, it is apparent from the analysis that the degree of tolerant opinions has to be viewed in the light of the groups to which the tolerance applies and how these groups are perceived in a given society.

Trägårdh regards the symbolic boundaries of tolerance as a central theme. He argues that there is a decisive difference in Sweden

between tolerance of ideas and behaviors that are positioned within the ideology of state individualism and those that are not. In other words, Swedes are willing to accept ideas and behaviors that emphasize freedom of the individual and the right to self-realization. This can explain, inter alia, the broad support for equality and for the rights of children and homosexuals (p. 81). However, tolerance is much lower for "communitarian" requirements. By this is meant the desire for recognition of phenomena that come from certain value communities based on culture, religion or ideology and that are considered as primary in relation to the power of the state and the autonomy of the individual. The people who choose to be part of these value communities, and who have little consideration for the customs of the rest of society, such as in terms of religious free schools or home education, are regarded with suspicion, according to Trägårdh. He considers that deviant religions and their communities are in an especially difficult situation in Swedish society. Trägårdh is of the opinion that there is a fundamental lack of agreement between the "abstract" Swedish tolerance, in the form of answers to questions about attitudes to immigration, and the much more limited "tangible" tolerance of various "value-based" applications.

Here, I believe that Trägårdh underscores a central point concerning the variations and boundaries of Nordic tolerance, and one which belongs to the Social Democratic welfare states and how they have emerged. I would still like to introduce another perspective on how the universal welfare state forms a willingness to show tolerance, in order to possibly add a further nuance to Trägårdh's line of thought. In a study conducted during and after the Danish Muhammad cartoon conflict in 2005–2006, the willingness of Danes to provide political

and social rights to various political and religious groups – including Muslims and Islamic fundamentalists – was surveyed (Sniderman, Petersen, Slothuus & Stubager, 2014). The somewhat surprising result of the study was that the Danes were willing, in the midst of an ongoing religious and cultural conflict, to give Muslims the same political rights as other controversial yet legitimate groups in society (for example, leftwing extremists and conservative Christians). The questions related to such matters as the right to avoid surveillance, freedom to congregate, and the right to participate in public debate (p. 45).

On the basis of their survey, Sniderman et al. argue that the Danes have internalized the welfare state's prerequisites and the value that the rights are universal. Even under pressing conditions, the Danes showed what the researchers call far-reaching tolerance, i.e. tolerance based on rights that also include groups in a contentious position. Central to this line of thought is that there is a line between those who are inside or outside the society, between what Sniderman et al. call groups that are "transgressive" and ones that are "out of the mainstream". Based on this logic, Muslims end up as "out of the mainstream", meaning that they as groups are perceived as different but still part of society. Islam fundamentalists end up outside.

The analysis of the Danes' opinions during the cartoon conflict suggests that protection of the rights of individuals is part of the value base of Nordic welfare states. This can also mean that things that are perceived as alternative values and religious communities are also tolerated. To a certain extent, this is the opposite of Trägårdh's analysis. On such an interpretation, the state becomes a guarantee for the fact that differences can be integrated, due to community in

society. In the previously mentioned studies of political tolerance in Norway, we found a pattern that resembles what Sniderman et al. describe (Steen-Johnsen, Fladmoe & Midtbøen, 2016). The tendency was for most of the people in the majority society to be of the opinion that Muslims should be acknowledged political rights in common with the rest of the population, particularly as, when formulating the question, we emphasized that the organization/person was presumed to abide by Norwegian law.

The view that the values that derive from the relationship between the state and citizens in the Nordic countries can be mobilized for the benefit of tolerance perhaps still does not challenge Trägårdh's argument. Trägårdh claims that it is in the tangible tolerance of specific phenomena, such as the right to wear a hijab at school or to give your children religion-based teaching at home, that the limitations arise. The Norwegian study still indicates that the boundary between what should be tolerated and what should not be tolerated can be drawn along lines other than between the abstract and the tangible. While the majority population unconditionally gives support to employing a Muslim as a social science teacher at a compulsory school, the support is much weaker for a Muslim party getting elected to the Norwegian parliament (Steen-Johnsen, Fladmoe & Midtbøen, 2016, p. 71).

One interpretation of this could be that Norwegians distinguish between rights that can be conceived as having major consequences for the entire society and rights that instead concern the individual. Such a delineation is found in international research. Verkuyten and Slooter (2007) have, for example, shown that Dutch tolerance of Muslims and the practice of Muslim religion varies according to who

says what and how the practice finds it expression (p. 45). Alternatively, this boundary can also be considered as emphasizing all peoples' individual right to the same opportunities rather than certain groups' right to collective mobilization.

Sustainability of tolerance

How sustainable is tolerance in times of major changes? The authors of the two chapters that I am commenting on both appear to have as their point of departure the idea that tolerance is related to over-riding social structures and cultures. This approach should make tolerance relatively stable over time. Wallman Lundåsen's historical-comparative analyses largely confirm the idea that tolerance in Sweden is stable, for example, when it comes to having neighbors with different ethnic backgrounds, and in various surveys concerning opinions on immigration. Accordingly, this should be regarded as good news for the sustainability of tolerance; however, Wallman-Lundåsen is careful to underscore that her data does not cover the latest period of growing streams of refugees to Europe in 2015 and 2016. For his part, Trägårdh claims that there are clear signs that tolerance is about to weaken. He points to the Diversity Barometer, which surveys the Swedish population's attitudes to ethnic and religious diversity. The 2016 Diversity Barometer was trending downwards with regard to general opinions on diversity and requirements that immigrants should adapt to Swedish conditions. Trägårdh also raises the question of whether trust in the Swedish social and institutional structure is diminishing faced with an increasing ethnic heterogeneity. During the period 2010 to 2012, there was a decline in social trust in Sweden,

as opposed to the other Nordic countries, and it was primarily among the youngest age groups that trust became weaker, claims Trägårdh. He also reports reduced confidence in people with other religious beliefs

Although Trägårdh's comments on the association between trust and tolerance are relatively brief, I still agree with him that the connection is both important and interesting. If one agrees that group definitions and relationships are of importance for creating tolerance, then it appears that "bridging social capital" (Putnam, 2000), meaning trust and networks between groupings that are different from each other with regard to religion, ethnicity, or ideology, could counter intolerance. In a Norwegian study of the associations between varying degrees of trust in and attitudes to the welfare state, the conclusion was that trust in immigrants was decisive for support for the welfare state. This applied both generally and to support for specific benefits, such as helping the poor and unemployed (Kumlin, Wollebæk, Fladmoe & Steen-Johnsen, 2017). The results make it clear that trust is an important element in the relationship between the individual and the state, and that this relationship can be sensitive to increased immigration. If the degree of tolerance among people in the Nordic countries is partly founded on the relationship between the state and the individual, changes such as increased immigration become of great importance to continued trust.

In this light, it seems important to follow closely how social and institutional trust changes with the degree of immigration. As pointed out by Trägårdh, Sweden differs from other Nordic countries in the development in generalized social trust in recent years. The degree of trust diminished in Sweden between 2010 and 2012, but remained

stable in Norway and Denmark. At the same time, it should be noted that generalized social trust is regarded as a highly stable attitude that is formed in early socialization, which makes it less liable to change than other forms of trust (Uslaner, 2002; Wollebæk, 2016). However, studies from Sweden and Norway show that trust in the local community – i.e., people in the immediate neighborhood – appears to be lower in local communities with a large degree of ethnic heterogeneity (Fladmoe & Steen-Johnsen, 2016; Wallman Lundå-sen & Wollebæk, 2013). Accordingly, the immediate neighborhood could prove to be a decisive arena for establishing and maintaining tolerance and trust between various groups.

Conclusion

As a Norwegian reader of two Swedish texts about tolerance, it was primarily the Scandinavian welfare state and how it both promotes and inhibits tolerance that roused most of my thoughts. Trägårdh considers it a serious dilemma that the Swedish emphasis on universal, individual and secular values can hardly be united with true understanding of cultural and religious customs that are connected to communities other than those created through the welfare state. He outlines a solution to the dilemma based on a state with minimal demands. Apart from the judicial system and a fair distribution of resources, the state would not become involved in the values of various groups or claim to create common core values (p. 99).

I am not sure that I agree with this. A minimalistic state may possibly be a way to face the values challenge depicted by Trägårdh. But it is not a way to strengthen the sustainability of tolerance. How

active the state should be in various political arenas is a far too expansive a question to be dealt with here. However, our studies of social capital in multicultural local communities in Norway show that it is of decisive importance that public authorities actively engage in a dialog in civil society. This applies to both immigrant associations and traditional Norwegian associations. By creating common arenas, public authorities can participate in creating "linking capital" and in building bridges between different and separate networks (Woolcock, 1998; Putnam, 2000; Ødegård, Loga, Steen-Johnsen, & Ravneberg, 2014). A lasting impression from the study by Ødegård, Loga, Steen-Johnsen and Ravneberg (2014) is that the bridging social capital does not arise by itself and that the alternative to the involvement of local authorities could be a higher degree of segregation than that currently prevailing.

Finally, it may be of importance to return to the insight that the boundaries for tolerance in a given society are not to be transgressed painlessly. The expansion of tolerance is the result of political conflicts between various groups, both historically and today. To be able to understand the conditions for how tolerance develops in a society, I also believe that it is important – and necessary – to consider the perspectives and processes at play in civil society. Discussions about the maintenance and boundaries of tolerance frequently focus on the public debate and on the (often polarized) positions that prevail. A civil society perspective also opens the way for analyses of differences of opinions at other levels, not least how various values become institutionalized and are managed by means of interaction between the state, organizations and individuals. A necessary and perhaps often forgotten part of the picture is the local level, where people and organizations encounter each other.

Part 2: The development and the expression of tolerance

5. The development of tolerance among the young[1]

Erik Lundberg & Ali Abdelzadeh

Introduction

A common way of explaining why we humans act and behave in different ways is to assert the importance of attitudes. When people are helpful, we can describe them as altruistic, and when we think that they are performing poorly, we can say that they lack motivation. Attitudes are often described in terms of a general approach towards someone or something. They are often attributed great importance, since they have been shown to affect the way we act, plan, and understand our surroundings (Olson & Zanna, 1993; Ajzen, 2005). By contrast with our personality, attitudes are largely learned and a result

of our social life This means that attitudes, in varying degrees, change over time, but are also possible to influence.

Tolerance has often been pointed to as a central component of democracy and as a balancing counterforce to xenophobia and racism. In a society that, in a fairly short time, has become more ethnically and culturally heterogeneous, tolerance is required for us to live and function together. Also, research has shown that countries and contexts with high tolerance constitute a resource that contributes, inter alia, to economic growth in the form of regional development (Florida, Mellander & Stolarick, 2008; Tabellini, 2010).

The significance of tolerance has raised the question of how institutions and organizations in society can act to promote it. In Sweden, alongside government agencies, such as the Living History Forum, the school is frequently singled out as of key importance (see, for example, Orlenius, 2001; Nykänen, 2008; Englund & Englund, 2012; Langmann, 2013. In the preamble to the national curriculum for compulsory school, pre-school and leisure facilities, it is stated that tolerance should be a central point of departure for the values and norms that set their stamp on education. There, it is written that the school has a role in fostering tolerance and countering xenophobia and intolerance through the provision of knowledge, open discussion, and the taking of other active measures (Lp, 2011). Other examples are various initiatives in civil society, such as the application of educational techniques with the aim of getting individuals with an intolerant worldview to become more tolerant (cf. Mattsson & Hermansson Adler, 2008).

The degree to which tolerance can be promoted, however, is dependent on the extent to which it is changeable. Although few doubt

that we can change individuals' attitudes, a current overall picture of tolerance development among youth and young adults is lacking (see Miller & Sears, 1986; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011; Poteat & Anderson, 2012; van Zalk & Kerr, 2014 for related studies). Is tolerance a stable or changeable attitude? When – if at all – does tolerance stabilize? In this chapter, we make a contribution to answering these questions Specifically, the purpose of this chapter is to analyze how tolerance develops during youth, from the ages 13 to 28.

To help us, we have unique data from an extensive research project on young people's socialization (Amnå, Ekström, Kerr & Stattin, 2009). The research project has followed 6,000 young people over a lengthy period, and gives us a rare opportunity to provide a rich and detailed picture of how tolerance develops during the years of youth. Such knowledge is urgently needed because it can give us valuable clues about when during upbringing efforts to promote tolerance are most called for

The introductory chapter to this anthology gives an account of the choices and challenges involved when it comes to how the concept of tolerance can be specified. The current chapter covers both the political and the social dimensions of tolerance. This means that tolerance is linked both to the individual's right to participate actively in political life and to the principles of freedom of expression, right to vote and stand for election, and interpersonal acceptance of other individuals and groups in society. Thus, to tolerate means to permit and acknowledge socio-cultural differences and lifestyles in society. This requires, in turn, an affirmation that all people are afforded the same political rights (cf. Weldon, 2006, p. 335; Sullivan et al., 1979, p. 1993).

The current chapter is divided into four sections. The following section describes theoretical approaches to tolerance in some detail, which helps us to orient ourselves towards the issue of its development among young people The third section reports on the material and method used. In the fourth and final section, the conclusions of our analysis are presented.

Starting points in the research

The question of the origins and development of political and social attitudes is a large and growing area of research (Sears & Brown, 2013; Huddy, Sears & Levy, 2013; Almond & Verba, 2015). Studies have been conducted in a variety of disciplines, such as sociology, psychology and political science, and have concerned a multitude of attitudes (Albarracin, Johnson & Zanna, 2014). The research has resulted in a series of different hypotheses and explanations about how attitudes take shape and develop in life. A fundamental question is whether attitudes are characterized by stability or change (Miller & Sears, 1986; Sears & Brown, 2013). According to the so-called persistence hypothesis, political and social attitudes are formed in childhood and then remain stable throughout the rest of life. In other words, upbringing conditions and experiences during upbringing set their stamp on attitudes later in life.

Another perspective, embodied in the so-called lifelong openness model, predicts that experiences during upbringing have significance for attitudes in later life to only a limited extent. Proponents of this view argue that attitudes like tolerance are formed on the basis of

experiences and impressions throughout life. Instead of being characterized by stability, attitudes are subject to change.

Empirical evidence supports both perspectives but also shows differences depending on which attitude is studied. In terms of party identification, i.e., citizens' emotional attachment to a political party, studies show remarkable stability throughout a person's life (Converse & Markus, 1979; Stoker & Jennings, 2008). In a similar way, studies that have followed the same adult individuals for five years show that prejudice and racism tend to be relatively stable, but that stability appears to be greater for individuals in middle age and with a higher level of education (Converse & Markus, 1979). Henry and Sears (2009), however, have shown that racist attitudes change throughout life in accordance with an inverted U-curve. The study shows that racist attitudes gradually increase from the age of 20, only to decrease slowly from the age of 40, which provides some support for the social-learning hypothesis.

In addition to these two perspectives, the teenage years are often pointed to as a particularly important time for the formation of social and political attitudes. According to the so-called impressionable years hypothesis, the teenage years are a time of life when many political and social norms and values are tested and are especially open to change. The premise is that social and political attitudes are incomplete when the individual enters the teenage years, only to crystallize during this period and remain relatively unchanged in later life (Sears, 1975; Dinas, 2010). The teenage years would thereby constitute a formative period of special importance for tolerance later in life. This is an idea that has been given some support in relation to the issue of tolerance. For example, Sears and Miller (1986) show

that experiences during the teenage years, of, for example, religion, upbringing conditions and parents' level of education, have a somewhat larger effect on tolerance of people of colour, women and homosexuals than experiences in adulthood (p. 232).

Alongside these perspectives, a number of explanations have put been forward that shed light on how social and political attitudes take shape. One criticism of the perspectives presented above is that they do not take account of any generation effects. Researchers take the view that the experiences of dramatic or momentous events during upbringing can leave traces on citizens' collective attitudes (Mannheim, 1970; Jennings & Niemi, 2014), and give rise to differences between generations. An example of a form of generation effect that is sometimes highlighted in relation to the Holocaust is what we usually call collective memory (Schuman & Corning, 2011). In a study of German and Japanese citizens who were born before and after the Second World War, Schuman, Akiyama & Knauper (1998) examined during which period of life the memory of events in the surrounding world around us has the greatest effect. The authors concluded, inter alia, that especially momentous events, such as the Second World War, had significant impacts on attitudes.

Overall, there are reasons to believe that youth is an important period for the formation of social and political attitudes, which justifies a study like this one Specifically, we will seek answers to how tolerance develops among youth and young adults, whether tolerance is a stable or changeable attitude, and when, if at all, tolerance stabilizes. Before we do this, however, we describe our way of proceeding in greater detail.

Procedure: Material and Method

To seek answers to these questions, we are aided by data from a longitudinal study (You and Society), which was implemented within the framework of a multidisciplinary research program set up by the Youth & Society (YES) research unit at Örebro University, and was funded by the Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences (Riksbankens Jubileumsfond). The principal purposes of the research program are to understand how young people of ages 13 to 30 express their political and civic engagement, and to explain the mechanisms and processes through which these young people develop different directions of engagement over the years (Amnå, et al., 2009). The spring of 2010 marked the start of the study, for which more than 2000 school students from a total of 13 different compulsory and high schools, and approximately 4000 (13–18 year-olds) young adults and their friends of different ages (20, 24, 28) have been followed for several years. Table 1 provides an overview of the data on which the analyses in this chapter are based. Material from five different cohorts was collected between the years 2010 and 2014. This means that individuals from the first and second cohorts completed the questionnaire on three measurement occasions, while the other cohorts answered the questionnaire on two occasions. The numbers outside the parentheses in the third column indicates the number of respondents at the first measurement. By contrast, the numbers inside the parentheses indicate the number of young people in the sample, i.e., the number of individuals in each cohort at which the survey was directed. In addition, the table shows that the percentage of responses within each cohort, especially within the two youngest cohorts, is high, and that the gender distribution among individuals is fairly even.

Cohort	Year when the first survey was performed	Number of respondents (sample)	Proportion of respondents	Proport-ion of girls
		2010/2011	%	%
1 (13, 14, 15)	2010	904 (960)	94.2	50.7
2 (16, 17, 18)	2010	892 (1052)	84.8	50.9
3 (20, 22)	2011	605 (980)	61.7	58.7
4 (24, 26)	2010	539 (932)	57.8	60.6
5 (26, 28)	2011	606 (990)	61.2	54.5

TABLE 1. An overview of the data material employed.

The empirical data material from all the cohorts of youth and young adults were collected through questionnaires. The younger participants (13–18) completed the questionnaire in the classroom during a period of about two lessons, after parental consent was obtained. Participation in the study was voluntary, and students could discontinue at any time they wanted. The older participants, however, received a questionnaire sent to them by regular mail with a cover letter containing information about the study. The city where the data collected was, at the time of the first data collection, in many respects quite similar to the Swedish national average on level of income, unemployment, the proportion of people with a foreign background, and so on.

Tolerance was measured using three questionnaire items. The respondents had to consider three propositions concerning people who

have fled to Sweden from other countries: (1) Our culture gets richer when people from other countries move to Sweden; (2) We should welcome people who has fled from the problems that existed in their own countries; (3) Immigrants should have the same rights as people born in Sweden. These three indicators will therefore, in this chapter, be used as a measure of tolerance. The response scale for all three statements was 1–4, from "doesn't apply at all" to "applies very well".

The current indicators, therefore, focus on immigrants and measures the extent to which youth and young adults allow, accept and acknowledge people from immigrant groups. Another way of measuring tolerance is to first let the respondent state whether people with different ethnic background, religion or culture, etc. are perceived as disruptive, and then to ask questions about the extent to which documents or individuals coming from these groups can be allowed and accepted (cf. Sullivan, Piereson & Marcus, 1979; Rapp & Freitag, 2015). This procedure lies closer to the traditional way of conceptualizing tolerance, in which it is defined in two steps: an individual harbours an initial resistance to somebody or something, which is then balanced by acceptance or affirmation (Forst, 2003). Such a measurement method, or operationalization, would be preferable, but the first measure (above) has been used in previous studies of tolerance (van Zalk, Kerr, Van Zalk & Stattin, 2013; Miklikowska, 2016) and also of attitudes to immigrants and exclusion (Meuleman, Davidov & Billiet, 2009). The reader should therefore take into account that the measure of tolerance draws attention to immigrants and captures the more affirmative aspect of the concept of tolerance.

The data have been analyzed using different statistical methods, such as correlation and means comparison. Correlations are a measure

of the strength of the relationship or association between two variables. The correlation coefficient can range from +1 to -1. A correlation coefficient close to 0 indicates a weak or no relationship at all.

Our research findings

Development of tolerance

One of the issues of interest we examine in this chapter is how tolerance develops during youth. With the help of our data material, we can take a closer look at young people's tolerance levels from ages 13 to 28. Figure 1 shows the proportion of young people in different age groups who indicated "applies quite well" or "applies very well".

A couple of interesting things emerge from the figure. First and foremost, we can conclude that tolerance levels increase with age, regardless of which of the three statements we look at. The differences between age groups are in some cases significant. For example, we see that 49% of 13 year-olds believe that our culture gets richer when people from other countries move to Sweden, while the corresponding figure for 26 year-olds is 79%, and for 28 year-olds 82%. Further, our analysis shows that the younger (13 and 16 year-olds) appear to distinguish between the various measures of tolerance. A lower proportion of young people indicate that Swedish culture gets richer when people from other countries move to Sweden, when compared with the proportion who indicate that immigrants should have the same rights as people born in Sweden. This indicates, therefore, that young people have a higher political than social tolerance,

something which is confirmed in studies of adults (Weldon 2006, p. 338). However, the differences decline with age.

In conclusion, our analyses demonstrate that tolerance is high among all the youth age groups, and it increases with age. In addition, young people, at least the younger of them, make a certain distinction

between political and social tolerance. To the statement that "our culture gets richer when people move to Sweden", the younger ones show a clearly lower rate of agreement. A possible interpretation of this is that the younger find it more difficult to understand the meaning of the claim that the culture "gets richer" because of immigration.

Who are the tolerant?

Now that we have an answer to the question of tolerance development during youth, another equally important question arises: Is there any correlation between degree of tolerance and socio-economic and other background factors? To answer this question, a mean index of all our three indicators of tolerance was created. Its scale runs from 1 to 4, where 1 is the lowest and 4 the highest level of tolerance.

Previous studies have shown, inter alia, that people with foreign backgrounds have higher levels of tolerance than men (Reeskens, 2013), and that women generally adopt a more positive approach to immigration (Demker, 2014). Further, studies have emphasized the importance of education (see, for example, Borgonovi, 2012). The Living History Forum's earlier studies have found, for example, that level of education and student' direction of study (academic or vocational) are related to tolerance (Severin, 2014).

Against this background, we look more closely at whether gender, ethnic background and study orientation has any bearing on young people's tolerance. We begin by studying the relationship between gender and tolerance. Figure 2 shows differences in tolerance between the genders for the various age groups. Two patterns are particularly clear. First, young females, on average, show higher tolerance than
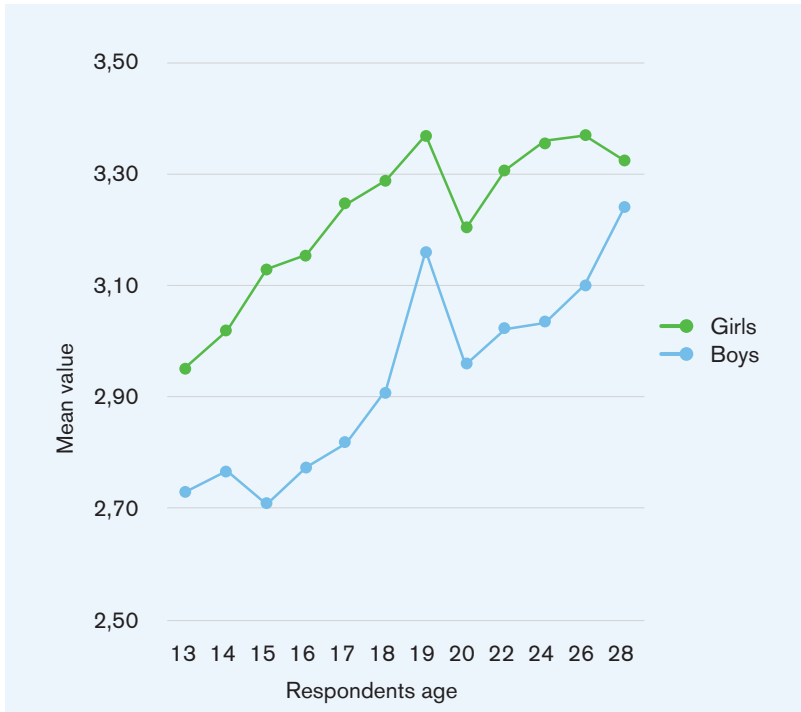
FIGURE 2. The mean values of tolerance of females and males at different ages.

young males. The differences in mean values were statistically significant for all the age groups, except for the 28 year-olds. Second, our analysis shows that the development of tolerance of the genders seems to go in the same direction within all age groups. Generally, we see an increasing degree of tolerance among both males and females between the ages of 13 and 28.

Further, we investigated whether young people's ethnic background is important for tolerance. On the basis of the young people's and

their parents' country of birth, we divided the youth into two groups: domestic- and foreign-born. Domestic-born comprises young people who were born in Sweden or the other Nordic countries and have at least one parent who was also born there. The foreign-born include young people who were born abroad (not in the Nordic countries) and have a parent who was also born abroad. Of the more than 800 respondents at each point of measurement, the proportion of young people with a foreign background was in the range 12% to 22%.

The differences in tolerance between domestic- and foreign-born are reported in Figure 3 below. Generally speaking, we can discern a link between young people's ethnic background and their level of tolerance. Young people with a foreign background are on average more tolerant than young people with a Swedish background. For example, the mean value of foreign-born 13 year-olds is 3.13, which is significantly higher than the mean value of those born in Sweden (2.75). In addition, Figure 3 shows that the difference between the groups decreases the older they become. We can state that the differences between domestic and foreign-born were statistically significant for the age group 13–18 and for the 24 year-olds. Thus, among the 20–22 year-olds and the 26–28 year-olds, there were no significant differences.

Taken together, these analyses indicate that the ethnic background of the young may be relevant to their attitude towards people from other cultures, but that its role seems to decline at higher ages. The results should be interpreted with caution. That young people with an immigrant background are more inclined to consider that others with the same experiences should be welcomed and enjoy the same rights need not be an expression of greater tolerance. The result could
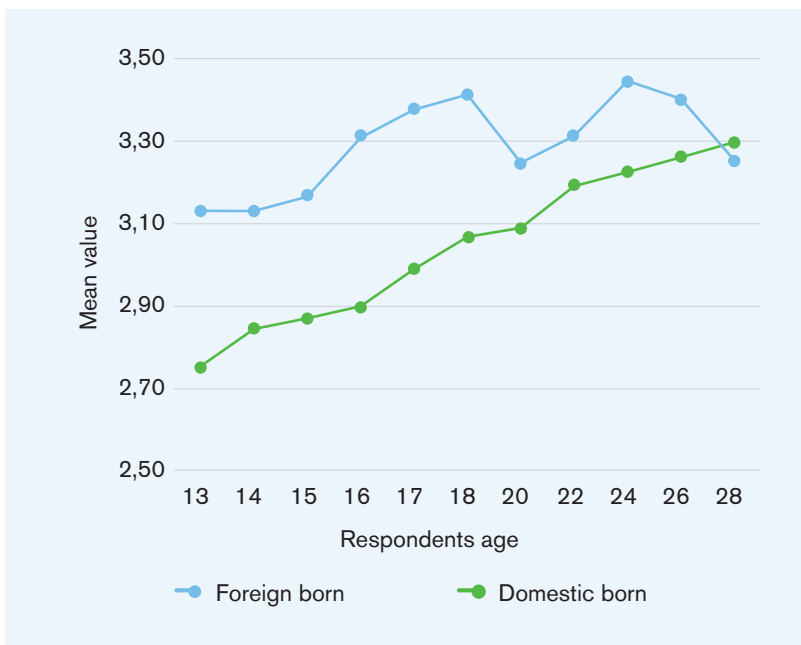
be interpreted, in part, as if youth are expressing themselves about the extent to which their own presence should be allowed and affirmed.

Finally, we took a look at the relationship between study orientation and tolerance at three measurement points. To investigate whether study orientation has any link to tolerance, we divided the young people (in this case, only the 16–18 year-olds) according to the Swedish high-school (upper-secondary school) program options: vocational and academic (preparation for college/university). The academic pre-university orientation covers a multitude of different

high school programs in various subjects, such as behavioral science, social science, natural science, the humanities, technology and aesthetics. The vocational orientation includes programs on children and leisure-time, construction and craftsmanship, and care. Between 12% and 20% of the more than 800 respondents on each measurement occasion went on programs with a vocational orientation.

The results are reported in Figure 4. A few interesting patterns emerge. First, there is a statistically significant difference between the educational groups in relation to tolerance at all ages. Young people on academic programs had a higher mean tolerance than those on vocational programs. Second, the figure shows a certain difference in how tolerance develops among young people according to the nature of their program. Among the young people on academic programs, tolerance seems to increase slightly over time. By contrast, among students on vocational programs, the tolerance level seems to decrease slightly during the same period. To test whether this longitudinal development pattern was statistically significant, we used so-called latent development models. The results of these analyses indicated that the increase in tolerance on the academic programs was statistically significant, but the decrease in tolerance on the vocational programs was not. The level of tolerance of the latter group was therefore more stable over time.

In sum, the results show that there is a link between some different background factors and tolerance. We see clear signs that girls on average have higher tolerance than boys, and that tolerance is higher among young people who go on academic programs than those who go on vocational ones.
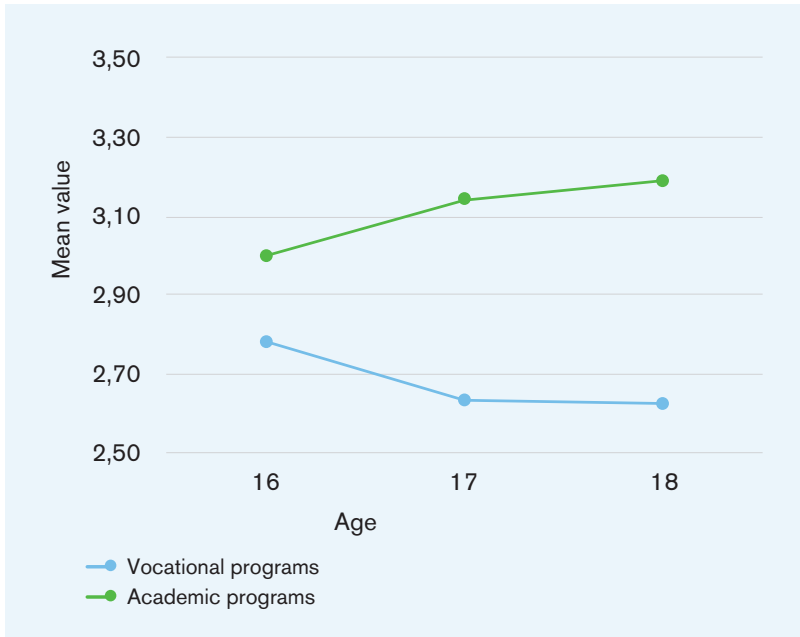
The stability of tolerance over time

As pointed out at the outset of this book, an important research issue is concerned with when – if at all – during an individual's lifetime, attitudes, values and standards are stabilized. To approach an answer to this question, we examined the correlation between tolerance at two different time points at an interval of one year for all the age groups. The reason why we chose to examine correlations at one-year intervals was because the survey among the older cohorts (i.e., cohorts 3, 4, and 5) was administered every other year.
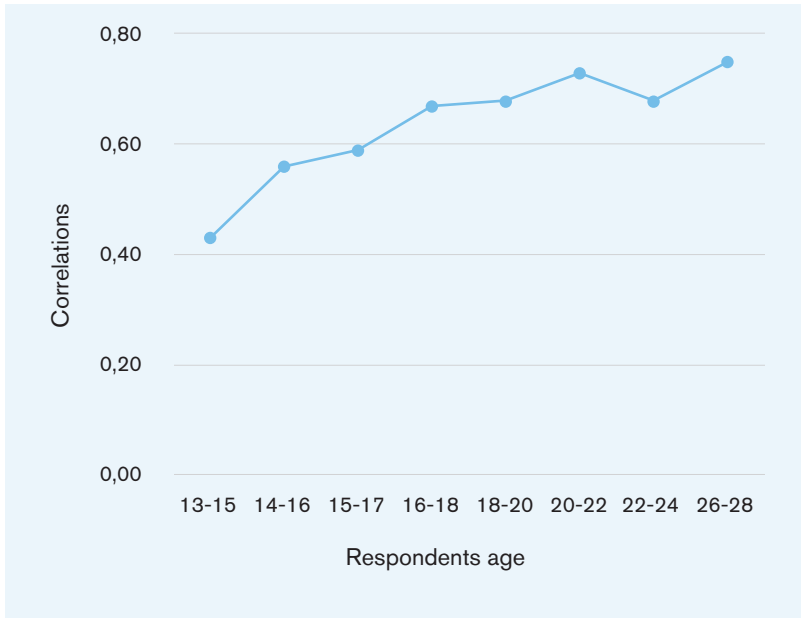
The correlation coefficients that describe how weak or strong the relationship between the tolerance measurements was between two different occasions are presented in Figure 5. Two important results are shown in the figure. First, there are positive and statistically significant correlations between tolerance on the two different occasions. This applies to all age groups. Put simply, the positive associations indicate that high values of tolerance on the first measurement occasion covary with high values of tolerance on the second. Thus, it is not surprising that young people who show high tolerance when first measured also tend to show high tolerance when measured two years later.

Second, the figure shows that the correlations become stronger as age increases. For example, we can see that the correlation between the two tolerance measures for the same young people at 13 and 15 years is r = 43, while the corresponding figure for the same young people at 26 and 28 years is r =.75. The increasing strength of the correlations indicates that tolerance stabilizes increasingly with age. Or put differently, among the younger the variation in tolerance is greater over the years than it is among young adults.

To find out when tolerance stabilizes at group level, we compared pairs of correlation coefficients. For example, we tested whether the correlation.43 significantly differed from the correlation.56. The results of our analyses showed that r =.43 was significantly different from all the other correlation coefficients. This means that at an aggregate level there is less stability among the youngest (13–15) than there is among the older youth. Further, between the age groups 16–18 and 22–24 there were no significant differences between the correlation coefficients, indicating that tolerance stabilized at group level during this period. The correlation of.75 for the oldest group (26-28) was significantly different from all the other correlation coefficients, which indicates a greater degree of stability of tolerance. Overall, the results show that tolerance seems to stabilize between 18 and 24 years of age, and that it is at its least stable among the youngest group (13–15) and most stable in the 26–28 group.

It must be noted, however, that the correlations presented in Figure 5 do not show intra-individual differences, i.e., how individuals' tolerance levels change over time. Although tolerance at the aggregated/group level seems to stabilize over the years between measurement 1 and measurement 2, changes can still have taken

place at individual level. It is possible that opposite changes taking place at individual level cancel each other out and become invisible at aggregated level (cf. Madsen, 2004).

To further explore changes at individual level, the youth at each measurement point were divided into three categories: low (under one standard deviation from the mean), medium (within one standard deviation of the mean) and high (more than one standard deviation from the mean). With the help of such a division, it can now be seen how (if at all) tolerance changes among young people over the years, i.e., if young people can, for example, go from low tolerance to medium, or high to low, and so on.

The results of these analyses are presented in Table 2. A few interesting patterns emerge. First and foremost, young people at all ages seem to change their level of tolerance over time. For example, only 41.5% of the 118 young people at the age of 13 (T1) who had a low level of tolerance remained in the same category at the age of 15 (T2). We can also see that 55.9% of 13 year-olds had moved from the low category to the medium category when they became 15 years-old. Finally, we can also see that 2.5% became more tolerant, i.e., they had moved from the low category to the medium between 13 years of age (T1) and 15 (T2). Thus, there are changes in young people's tolerance levels over the years, albeit with some variation between the age groups. Second, the table shows that young people who have a medium level of tolerance seem to be more stable over time. Looking at all the age groups, between 67.5% and 82.1% remained within the medium category over two years (T1–T2). Third, there is gradual stabilization of tolerance even in the low and high categories. The results show, for example, that 36.3% of 13 year-olds remained in the

T2	T1	Low	Mediuml	High	Number
	Low	41,5 (49)	55,9 (66)	2,5 (3)	118
13–15	Medium	13,8 (57)	79,0 (327)	7,2 (30)	414
	High	7,7 (13)	56,0 (94)	36,3 (61)	168
	Low	40,7 (37)	56,0 (51)	3,3 (3)	91
14–16	Medium	9,0 (39)	78,4 (338)	12,5 (54)	431
	High	4,8 (4)	39,8 (33)	55,4 (46)	83
	Low	46,3 (37)	46,3 (37)	7,5 (6)	80
15–17	Medium	13,8 (60)	67,5 (293)	18,7 (81)	434
	High	0,0 (0)	23,6 (21)	76,4 (68)	89
	Low	62,2 (56)	36,7 (33)	1 (1,1)	90
16–18	Medium	10,4 43)	72,7 (301)	16,9 (58)	414
	High	5,0 (5)	37,0 (37)	58,0 (58)	100
	Low	60,2 (50)	36,1 (30)	3,6 (3)	83
20–22	Medium	11,2 (32)	71,3 (204	17,5 (50)	286
	High	0 (0,0)	25,5 (24)	74,5 (70)	94
	Low	58,2 (32)	40,0 (22)	1,8 (1)	55
22–24	Medium	6,4 (16)	82,1 (206)	11,6 (29)	251
	High	1,1 (1)	35,2 (32)	63,7 (58)	91
	Low	56,3 (27)	43,8 (21)	0 (0,0)	48
26–28	Medium	7,3 (23)	77,9 (247)	14,8 (47)	317
	High	0,9 (1)	36,9 (41)	62,2 (69)	111

TABLE. 2. Tolerance. stability and mobility over time. Comment. One-year intervals were chosen because the surveys were administered every other year among the older youth (i.e., cohorts 3, 4 and 5).

high category after two years, while the corresponding figure for the 26 year-olds is 62.2%

Overall, these results indicate that young people's tolerance levels are variable, but that there is some stabilization, the higher up on the age scale they go.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have contributed to increased knowledge of how tolerance develops among youth and young adults from 13 to 28 years of age. We have stressed that knowledge of this kind is important for all actors in society who work for the promotion of tolerance. This applies particularly to the school, which, in Sweden, has an explicit mission to foster tolerance. Using data from a research project that followed the same people over seven years (Amnå, et al., 2009), we have drawn a picture of how young people's tolerance develops during childhood, and demonstrated the differences between males and females, broad ethnic categories (domestic- and foreign-born), and different educational programs (academic and vocational). By tolerance is meant the permission and acknowledgment of socio-cultural differences and lifestyles in society. To investigate tolerance, we have paid special attention to tolerance towards immigrants who, in the wordings of our various questionnaire items, were specified as people who have fled to Sweden.

The results show that young people become more tolerant as they get older, which applies regardless of the measure of tolerance we use. Further, our results indicate that tolerance seems to stabilize as the young grow older. Among the younger (13–16 years) the variation

in tolerance over the years is greater than it is among young adults (18–20 or 26–28 years) when tolerance appears to have crystallized. Thus, our results give some support to those who argue that social attitudes stabilize during the teenage years (Sears 1975; Alwin & Krosnick, 1991; Dinas, 2010). Our results are also in line with those of previous studies of tolerance (Miller & Sears, 1986), and even of social trust (Flanagan & Stout, 2010; Abdelzadeh & Lundberg, 2017).

In addition, the results show that girls are more tolerant than boys in all age groups, and that young people who are born abroad are more tolerant than those born in Sweden (or another Nordic country). We have also shown that young people who read academic programs at high school are more tolerant than young people on vocational programs. The difference between the foreign-born and the domestic-born, however, seems to decline as young people get older, so the two groups become fairly equal around the age of 20. However, the differences between the high-school programs persist throughout the teenage years. Young people on academic programs also seem to become somewhat more tolerant as they get older, which differs from young people on vocational programs where levels of tolerance are relatively unchanged between 16 and 18 years of age. There seems, in other words, to be a connection between tolerance and different socio-economic and social background factors, such as gender, education and ethnic background, during much of youth (cf. Weldon, 2006; Borgonovi, 2012).

The differences between groups of young people can be interpreted in different ways. An explanation concerning the difference between women and men seems to be that women tend to a greater extent

than men to emphasize the importance of interpersonal relationships (Gilligan, 1982), and that thereby they, by their nature, would be more tolerant. Another interpretation is that the gender difference is linked to how young people perceive their social roles in society, and that women are traditionally expected to be more nurturing and caring than men (Eagly, 2013). Thus, perception of one's own social identity would explain why women are more supportive of people who have fled to Sweden from other countries than men. Similarly, the difference between educational choices can be interpreted in different ways. One possible explanation is that it is linked to the school's socializing function, i.e., to its task of conveying the funda-mental norms and values that apply in society (Hello, Scheepers & Gijsberts, 2002, p. 9), where tolerance is particularly emphasized (Lp, 2011). Thus, the extent to which, and possibly also the way in which young people are exposed to the educational system would affect their tolerance. Young people studying on vocational programs, as well as having a different curriculum, are also rooted in occupational life, making them less directly exposed to the educational system and the norms and values mediated in school. Another explanation for the differences between educational programs relates to competition for resources between different groups in society (Esses, Dovidio, Jack-son & Armstrong, 2001). Individuals of higher status, e.g., those with more education and higher incomes, would, on this view, perceive people from minority groups as less of a threat than individuals with lower status in society who are less educated and have lower incomes, which, in turn, has consequences for tolerance.

The increased knowledge of tolerance presented in this chapter is not just a contribution to our assembled awareness of how social

and political attitudes develop and change among different groups of young people. It also offers insights to those actors who, in their daily activities, work for the promotion of tolerance. In fact, such knowledge gives us a clue as to when during youth tolerance should be promoted. As our results show, young people's tolerance is most variable during the early teenage years. This can be interpreted to entail that it is during this period that tolerance is shaped, and is more capable of being influenced, than during the late teenage years when tolerance appears to be more stable. Consequently, it would suggest that efforts to promote tolerance can have the greatest effect on the early teens.

At the same time, it is important to acknowledge a number of limitations to our results. First, the change in tolerance might simply reflect an increased consciousness among young people of the importance of tolerance and the moral correctness of keeping free from prejudices and intolerant attitudes. In other words, the results might be explained by an increased awareness of the importance of tolerance rather than actual change.

In this chapter, as stated earlier, we measure just some aspects of tolerance. An extended battery of questions that captures more and other dimensions of tolerance, e.g., towards other groups in society, might give different results. In relation to this, it should again be noted that the differences between the foreign- and domestic-born should be interpreted with caution because our questions about tolerance solely measure attitudes towards immigrants.

Finally, it should also be emphasized that the results do not mean that tolerance is incapable of being influenced during the older teenage years or later in life. Despite having an extensive data set, we have

no corresponding data on any changes before age 13 or after age 28. However, studies show that racism and prejudice change throughout life (see, for example, Henry & Sears, 2009). Thus, a similar pattern might be expected also to apply to tolerance.

In conclusion, there is also reason briefly to reflect on what current seemingly momentous political and social changes in the world around us have consequences for tolerance among today's generations of young people. Refugee migration and the terrorist attacks on European soil constitute events that potentially test and challenge tolerance, which, according to research on collective memory and generation effects, may set their imprint on attitudes later on in life. There is, therefore, every reason for both public institutions and actors in civil society to work to promote the tolerance, humanism and democratic norms that make up important and unifying elements in a strong democracy.

6. Tolerance and other citizen competencies[1]

Ali Abdelzadeh & Erik Lundberg

Introduction

In the public discussion about our democracy, young people are often highlighted as an important group to study. This is particularly the case because, according to research, attitudes develop relatively early in life. By studying the attitudes and values of forthcoming generations, we can obtain an indication of how the future may look like. This applies to many matters, ranging from the preparedness and willingness of young people to stand up for democracy to their attitudes to various political and social issues.

The discussion about young people's democratic attitudes and values has occasionally also been intensive but also fragmented. Cer-

tain studies show that young people strongly support the basic principles of democracy in terms of everything from social involvement to political interest (Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society, 2013; Amnå & Ekman, 2014). Other studies, using basic data from, inter alia, the World Values Survey, show that about 10% of Swedish youth are dissatisfied with democracy and that 20% could consider selling their vote for money. Young people's political convictions and willingness to stand for democratic values have also been questioned (Lindberg & Svensson, 2012).

A democratic value or attitude that is increasingly in focus in the public discussion is tolerance (see the Introduction to this anthology). Tolerance is often pointed to as a linchpin of democracy and a prerequisite for a multicultural and pluralistic society (Dahl, 1992; Walzer, 1998). At the same time, the concept of tolerance has been criticized for being difficult to define, and because the number of definitions of it abound. In this chapter, tolerance is defined as permitting and affirming socio-cultural differences and lifestyles in society. This presupposes in turn the affirmation that all people are afforded the same political rights (cf. Weldon, 2006, p. 335).

A number of studies suggest that most young people can be regarded as tolerant (Abdelzadeh, Amnå & Lundberg, 2016; Severin, 2014), and that tolerance seems to increase and become more stable as young people become older (see Lundberg & Abdelzadeh in this anthology). We also know, however, that certain young people harbor intolerant attitudes and seem to have a lower preparedness to stand up for democratic ideals and principles (Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society, 2013). Knowledge about what characterizes these young people is particularly important for the actors in society who

attempt in various ways to promote tolerance and reduce xenophobia and racial intolerance.

The purpose of this chapter is to further this knowledge. Specifically, we will contribute insights into the factors that characterize young people who express different levels of tolerance. We will do this by analyzing tolerance in relation to other attitudes and competencies that are of value to democracy (cf. Ekman & Zetterberg, 2010), such as social trust, views about equality, political trust, political interest, and social involvement. By so doing, we can increase knowledge not only about whether young people's tolerance is related to other citizen competencies but also about what characterizes the young people who develop high and low levels of tolerance. For example, we can answer the question about whether young people who develop a higher level of tolerance also become more trusting, more content with democracy and more involved and interested in politics. Correspondingly, we can also approach an answer to the question of whether young people who over time express declining tolerance also become less politically interested and harbor less trust in people in general. In other words, the aim of the chapter is to analyze how – if at all – the tolerance of young people is related to other attitudes and skills that are of value to democracy, which we will henceforth designate citizen competencies. To help us, we will use unique data from a research project on young people's socialization (Amnå, Ekström, Kerr & Stattin, 2009). The research project has followed 800–1,000 young people in various age groups over a period of several years and gives us a rare opportunity to provide a rich and detailed picture of how tolerance is related to various citizen competencies.

In the following section of this chapter, we will describe what we mean by citizen competencies, and then in the third section we will account for the material and method that have been used. In the fourth section, the conclusions of our analysis are presented, and then in the fifth section, our conclusions will be brought together.

Citizen competencies

Researchers in political science have long endeavored to describe and establish norms and characteristics for the ideal citizen, someone who is of importance for a well-functioning and democratic society (Almond & Verba, 2005). For this purpose, research into democratic theory and political culture repeatedly pointed to a number of citizen competencies, behaviors, norms and attitudes that were key prerequisites for a well-functioning democracy (Dalton, 2008; Ekman & Zetterberg, 2010). However, the particular citizen competencies that have been highlighted have varied as the research has developed and according to the fundamental views on democracy adopted at the time.

A first dimension of a competence skill involves fundamental *democratic values*. The conception of the types of values that are adjudged to be desirable and that are expected to characterize society varies in time and space and is also subject to socio-cultural conditions. In relation to the core values and mission of schools, for example, a number of values can be enumerated that should characterize education in the school, including the sanctity of people's lives, freedom of the individual and integrity, equality, solidarity, generosity and tolerance. The UN's Universal Declaration of Human

Rights is another example of a document in which a number of values are listed. Fundamentally, this involves values and attitudes that are associated with social citizenship and that are related to our relationship to other individuals and, ultimately, to society at large (Marshall, 1992; Dalton, 2008, p. 79); in brief, significant democratic characteristics that are vital to a flourishing democratic culture and a well-functioning society.

In this chapter, particularly interest is devoted to tolerance. Since democracy is a system in which we are assumed to respect and affirm differences, tolerance is often put forward as one of these fundamental values. Considerable discussion in the scientific and public conversation has focused on how tolerance should be defined and described in greater detail. In the general meaning of the term, tolerance has been associated with respect and openness, and with democratic and universal human rights and the fundamental liberties of all people (UNESCO, 2015). In a stricter philosophical sense, tolerance is about permitting and occasionally also upholding actions and individuals that are considered to be problematic or difficult (Sullivan, Piereson & Marcus, 1993; Forst, 2013). As stated in the Introduction to this chapter, we are using a more affirmative definition whereby tolerance is defined precisely as permitting and upholding socio-cultural differences and lifestyles in society. This presupposes in turn an acknowledgment that all people are afforded the same political rights (cf. Weldon, 2006, p. 335).

Another valuable attitude that has been highlighted in recent decades as an important democratic value is social trust, or inter-human trust. The belief that people in general are just and credible has proven to be decisive for the democratic process. A number of studies have

shown that countries characterized by high trust have better functioning democracy and higher economic development (Newton 2001; Rothstein & Uslaner, 2005). Individuals characterized by high trust are also on average healthier, use less drugs, commit fewer crimes, have a more positive view of the future and are more satisfied with life than those who believe that people in general cannot be sufficiently cautious in their contacts with other people (Uslaner, 2002).

A second fundamental citizen competence of importance to democracy is *political trust*. Political trust includes both citizens' trust in politics and their trust in our political representatives and the democratic system in general. There are a range of ways of defining precisely what political trust encompasses and explaining what it means. The point of departure for one of the more established descriptions is the political system theory of the political scientist David Easton (Easton, 1965). Easton distinguishes between two types of political support in relation to the political system: diffuse and specific support. The former is described as a deep-rooted and enduring set of political attitudes that are transmitted to the younger generations via political socialization. This type of support can be likened to a reservoir of goodwill that helps citizens to accept the legitimacy of the state and the democratic system, even at times of diminishing effectiveness and increasing dissatisfaction with specific political processes or leaders. Specific support, however, relates more to the performance and effectiveness of the political authorities and institutions. According to Easton, support of these types can be directed at three different objects in the political system: the political authorities, the political regime, and the political society.

A third citizen competence that is frequently highlighted in research is *political efficacy*. Although *political efficacy* can include citizens' conceptions of the responsiveness of the political system, the term is often defined as citizens' perceived trust in their own political ability; i.e., the citizens' confidence in their own ability to act politically in order to achieve change (see, inter alia, Niemi, Craig & Mattei, 1991; Sohl, 2011). A number of studies have illustrated the importance of political efficacy for, inter alia, social involvement (Capara, Vecchione, Capanna & Mebane, 2009). Research also shows distinct associations between *political efficacy* and a number of social background factors. For example, analyses show that people with a higher socio-economic status generally have higher political efficacy than people with a lower socio-economic status (Sohl & Arensmeier, 2015).

An additional citizen competence that is emphasized in literature is *political knowledge*. According to the political scientist Robert A. Dahl, good citizens should be politically interested and have good knowledge of politics to be able to participate in and perform their democratic obligations effectively (Dahl, 1992). In concrete terms, this could entail a series of different things, such as fundamental knowledge of the way society is built and the ability to interpret and critically examine various statements and occurrences in the world around us (Sherrod, Flanagan & Youniss, 2002).

Finally, citizens' *political participation* is frequently emphasized. A continuous dialog between decision-makers and voters is important for the legitimacy of and efforts to gain support for democracy in society. Apart from the opportunity to participate by voting, the importance of the citizen making his voice heard in other ways is also emphasized. An important channel for involvement is through orga-

nizations in civil society (Lundberg, 2014). Associations and interest organizations have also been pointed out as "schools of democracy". By participating in associations, discussing and jointly making decisions, individuals also learn democratic practices (Warren, 2001). In connection to this, we would also like to highlight interest in politics and social issues, since this is intimately related to the political participation of young people. Earlier research has shown that a person's political interest and interest in what is happening in our society is strongly connected to actually also attempting to influence problems in society and politics in practice (Shani, 2009; Strömbäck & Shehata, 2010).

As a whole, we have described a number of important citizen competencies. These are summarized in Table 1, where we also describe in some detail the aspects of each citizen competence that we consider empirically in the chapter. Before presenting the results of

Democratic values	Political trust	Political efficacy
Tolerance, here in the form of attitudes to immigrants and their rights. Equality between women and men, and social trust.	Confidence in institutions and politicians, as well as satisfaction with democracy.	Perceived political capabilities.
Political knowledge	Political participation	
Knowledge of politics, democracy and society.	Involvement in associations and participation between elections, as well as political interest.	

TABLE 1. Citizen competencies. Source: Ekman & Zetterberg (2010). Partially adapted.

our analysis, we will describe our methodological approach in greater detail.

Procedure

The current chapter will use the same data material as that used for the chapter "The development of tolerance among young people". Accordingly, the definition of tolerance and the way that tolerance has been studied are identical to what is shown there. In this chapter, however, we will solely focus on the very youngest youth; i.e., 13 year-olds, over a period of three years. We chose to focus on the youngest ages because of the results shown in the chapter on the development of tolerance (Lundberg & Abdelzadeh in this anthology), in which it became apparent, inter alia, that tolerance is least stable among the younger youth. Greater variation, or instability if one prefers, also means that there is much more to explain.

To answer our questions and fulfill the aims of the chapter, we used three distinct statistical methods. The first method comprised a series of correlation analyses that were implemented to study whether there were any relationships at all between tolerance and the various citizen competencies. Correlation coefficients can vary from +1 to -1, with high values indicating stronger associations (positive or negative) and values close to zero indicating that there is no linear association between the variables in question. We also used mean value analyses to determine whether there were any differences between the various groups of young people with different development tracks with regard to tolerance. Finally, we analyzed our data material using an advanced statistical technique known as latent growth curve mo-

deling. This technique is very helpful if the aim is to study changes in and between individuals over time. In this case, we wanted to study changes in the young people's tolerance in relation to the development of their other citizen competencies over time.

Development tracks of tolerance

As already noted on a couple of occasions, the purpose of this chapter is to explain the factors that characterize the young people whose tolerance develops in different ways during the teenage years. We have also explained that we intend to do this using various that are designated as citizen competencies in this chapter. As a first step in fulfilling the purpose and in answering the questions, we implemented correlation analyses to study whether the change in the tolerance of young people is related to the way other skills and attitudes of value to democracy develop.

The results show that there are positive and statistically established correlations between tolerance and nearly all of the citizen competencies. The only exception is social involvement. The strength of the correlations varies and is generally not very strong (see Appendix 1). On the whole, the correlation coefficients show that tolerance is positively related to the majority of important citizen competencies. This permits us to proceed in our quest to find an answer to how these factors relate to tolerance over time.

One objection to the earlier research was that it far too rarely studied the development of tolerance over time (see Lundberg & Abdelzadeh in this anthology). In an attempt to increase knowledge about the change in tolerance among the young, we identified various
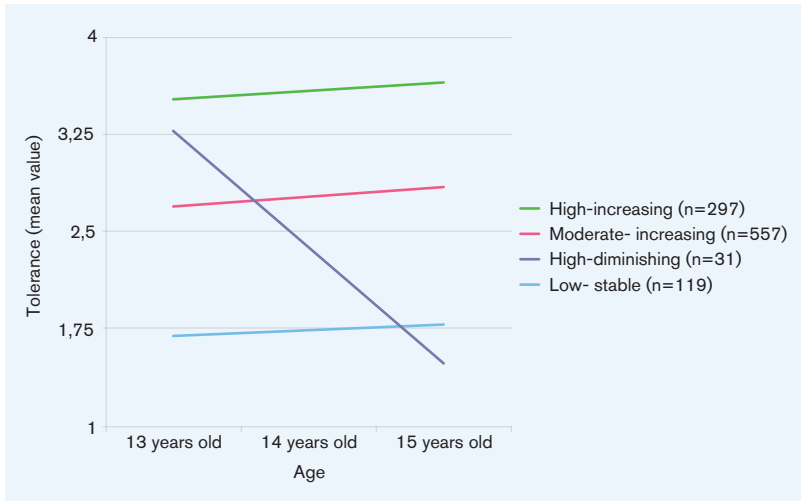
FIGURE 1. Development tracks of tolerance

groups of young people with different development tracks of tole-
rance. [2] As shown in Figure 1, we found four groups of young people
with varying degrees and developments of tolerance. The first group
("high-increasing") comprised young people who express high and
growing tolerance over time. The second group ("moderate-increa-
sing") expressed a lower degree of tolerance compared with the first
group, although their tolerance also increased significantly over the
years. The group designated as "high-diminishing" comprised young
people who at the first measurement point (i.e., 2010) expressed a
high degree of tolerance, but tolerance had diminished by the second
and third measurement points. It is this group that shows the relati-

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2   To do this, we used the statistical technique called Latent Class Analysis (LCA).

vely greatest change in tolerance over the years. Accordingly, young people in this group had almost the highest tolerance at the age of 13 years, but two years later it had declined to a bottom level. Finally, we have the group designated "low-stable". The group is characterized by young people who express low yet stable tolerance over the years.

As a whole, there are two important findings. First, young people express different levels of tolerance at the different points. Second, young people's tolerance changes at different rates and in different directions over time. While certain of them express stable tolerance, the tolerance of others diminishes or increases. An important question for the chapter was whether these different development tracks of tolerance relate to other important citizen competencies. We will seek the answer to this specific question in the following section.

The groups in relation to various background factors

What are the distinctive features of young people with different development tracks for tolerance? How does the development of tolerance relate to the development of other citizen competencies? Before answering the question, we will take a closer look at how the four groups that we identified above differ in terms of various socio-demographic factors.

The results are presented in Table 2 and show that the proportion of girls is significantly higher in the groups that express a high and moderate degree of tolerance. For example, 62% of the young people in the group with high and increasing tolerance were girls. This can be compared with the group that express high but diminishing tolerance, where only 17% are girls. In addition, the analyses show that

the group that expresses high and increasing tolerance comprises a lower proportion of young people with Nordic ethnic origins than other groups. Expressed differently, young people who were themselves born outside Sweden/the Nordic region, or who have at least one parent born outside Sweden/the Nordic region, express a higher degree of tolerance. However, this should be interpreted with caution, since the questions we use to measure tolerance address attitudes to immigrants. The result could be interpreted, in part, as if the young people are expressing opinions about the extent to which their own presence should be allowed and affirmed. Finally, the table shows that neither socio-economic status nor religion seems to have any significance for how the tolerance of the young people developed over a three-year period.

Now, when we know a little more about the factors that characterize young people with different development tracks of tolerance in

	Moderate–increasing	High–increasing	Low–stable	High-diminishing
Gender (girls)	,51[a]	,62[a]	,32[b]	,17[d]
Ethnic origin (Swedish)	,83[a]	,66[b]	,88[a]	,81[a]
SES*	-,02[a]	.00[a]	.01[a]	,05[a]
Religion*	3,93[a]	4,95[a]	4,28[a]	4,94[a]

TABLE 2. Socio-demographic differences between groups Comment. Various characters (i.e., a, b, c) indicate statistically confirmed (at a significance level of 1%) differences between groups. *Higher values indicate a higher socio-economic status and higher levels of religious beliefs. The level of religious beliefs was measured using the following question: "Regardless whether you belong to a religious community or not: How religious would you say you are?" The scale ranged from 1 (not religious at all) to 10 (very religious). SES relates to a socio-economic status and is an index comprising five different questions, such as "If you compare with the other in your class, do you have more of less money to buy things? and "Does your family have more or less money than other families where you are living? "

terms of various socio-demographic factors, we will take a closer look at the importance of the citizen competencies that we have pointed to above. As explained earlier, we will study how the different development tracks of tolerance relate to the development of these citizen competencies. To study this, we used the statistical technique called latent growth curve modeling, which is useful in analyses of changes in and between individuals over time. A summary of the results, sorted by type of citizen competence, is presented below.

Tolerance and equality

The first citizen competence that we have placed together with tolerance pertains to democratic values, which include the young people's perception of equality, their social trust, and their humanistic values. Figure 2 presents the development of tolerance in relation to equality; i.e., the young people's attitudes to whether women and men should be afforded equal rights. The results show that young people's attitudes to equality were stable among all the groups of young people over the three years that we studied them. The young people also expressed high and increasing tolerance and significantly higher positive attitudes to equality between women and men compared with the other three groups during the first year of the study (i.e., 2010).

Tolerance and social trust

In this section, we will take a closer look at social trust, which concerns whether the young people believe that it is possible to trust the majority of other people and whether the majority of other people are fair and do not try to exploit them. The results show that trust
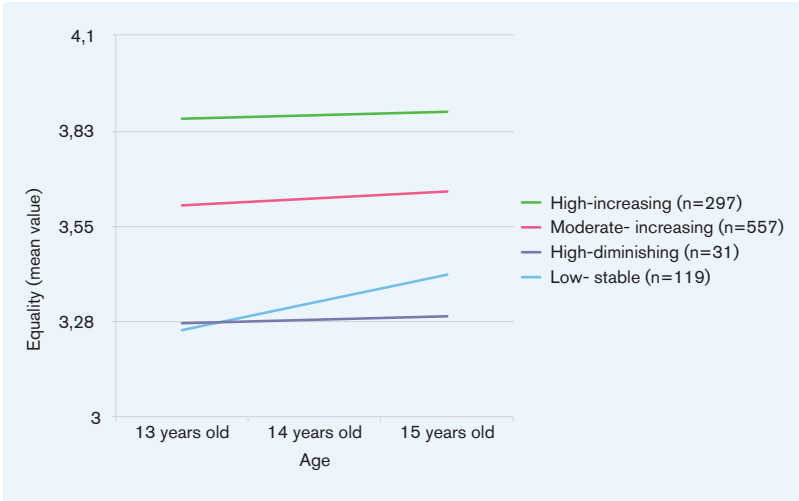
FIGURE 2. Tolerance and equality
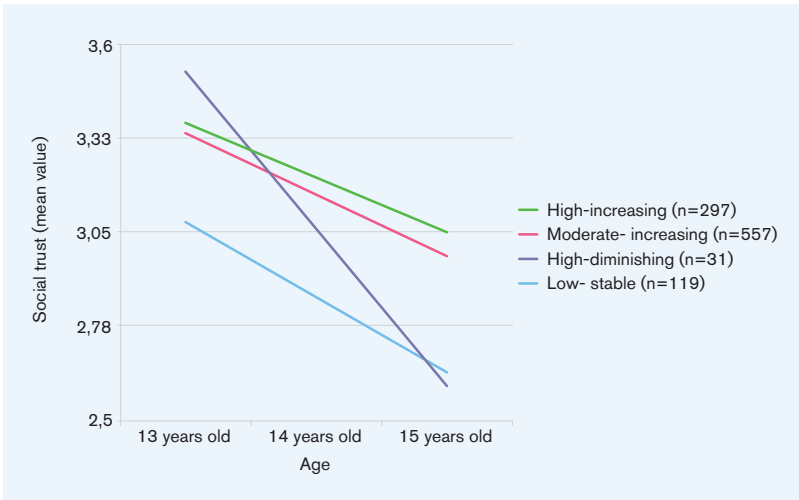
FIGURE 3. Tolerance and social trust.

declined among all of the groups of young people between the ages of 13 and 15 years. However, the decline was greatest among the group of young people who expressed high and diminishing tolerance (Figure 3). For these young people, the diminishing trend in tolerance of immigrants went hand-in-hand with diminishing trust in people in general. We also saw during the first year of the study – i.e., when the young people were 13 years-old – that young people who had expressed low and stable tolerance had the lowest social trust compared with the other groups. However, at the age of 15, the group that had expressed "high-diminishing" tolerance had reached the same low level of trust as the group with "low-stable" tolerance.

Tolerance and political trust

The second category of citizen competencies, political trust, encompasses two variables. The first of these involves the young people's institutional trust – i.e., confidence in parliament and courts of law – and the second the young people's satisfaction with how democracy functions in practice.

When it comes to the young people's institutional trust, or confidence in our public institutions, the results in Figure 4 show that confidence during the first year of the study was higher among the young people who expressed high-increasing tolerance than among those who expressed low-stable and moderate-increasing tolerance. However, a significant increase in confidence was shown for all three groups over a period of three years. Nonetheless, no marked difference between the groups was detectable in terms of the increase in confidence.
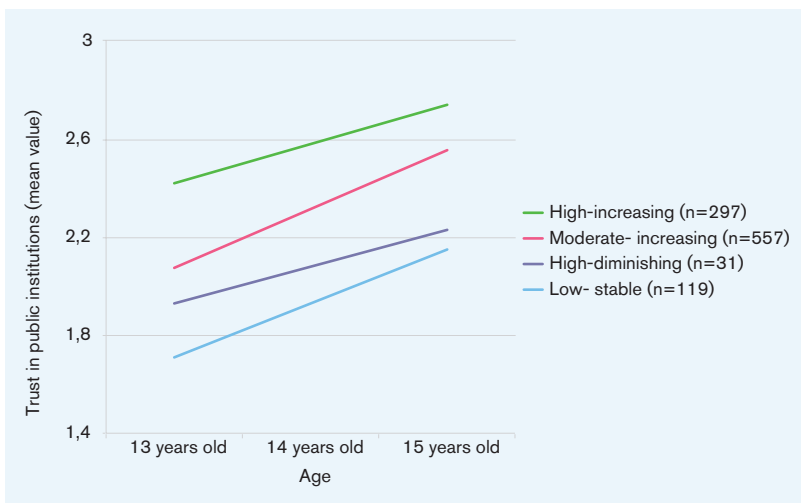
FIGURE 4. Tolerance and political trust (trust in public institutions)
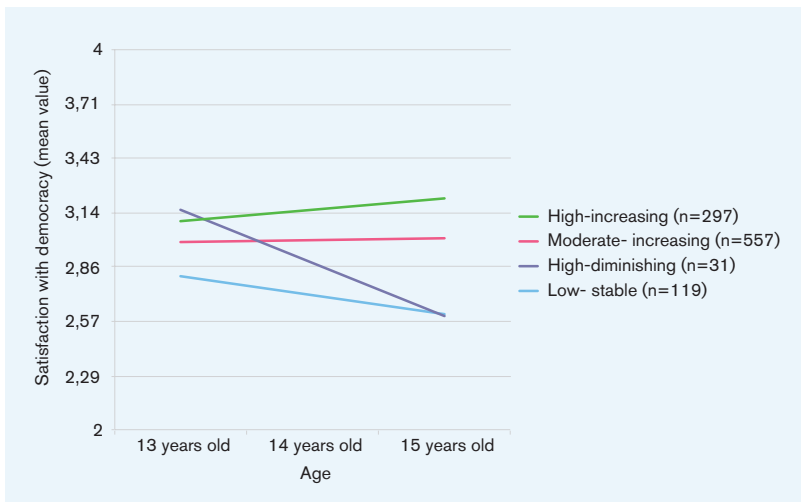
FIGURE 5. Tolerance and political trust (satisfaction with democracy).

When it comes to the young people's satisfaction with democracy, our analysis shows that this is significantly lowest among members of the group that expressed low and stable tolerance. Accordingly, the young people who expressed low tolerance of immigrants also showed low satisfaction with the functionality of democracy. As shown in Figure 5, the young people's satisfaction with democracy also declined for two of the four groups, namely, among the groups of young people who expressed high-diminishing and low-stable tolerance. In other words, the young people who initially showed high but diminishing or low and stable tolerance also expressed declining satisfaction with democracy.

If we look at the group of young people who expressed high-increasing tolerance, the opposite pattern is shown. These young people expressed increased satisfaction with democracy and increased tolerance of immigrants. Among the group that expressed moderate-increasing tolerance, no change was discernible in terms of satisfaction with democracy.

Tolerance and political efficacy

Another citizen competence that we studied in relation to tolerance was political efficacy. This variable measures whether the young people believe that they can manage to become involved in certain political activities, such as being an active member of political organizations, helping to organize a political protest, discussing politics with people who have more experience than themselves and taking part in a political demonstration.
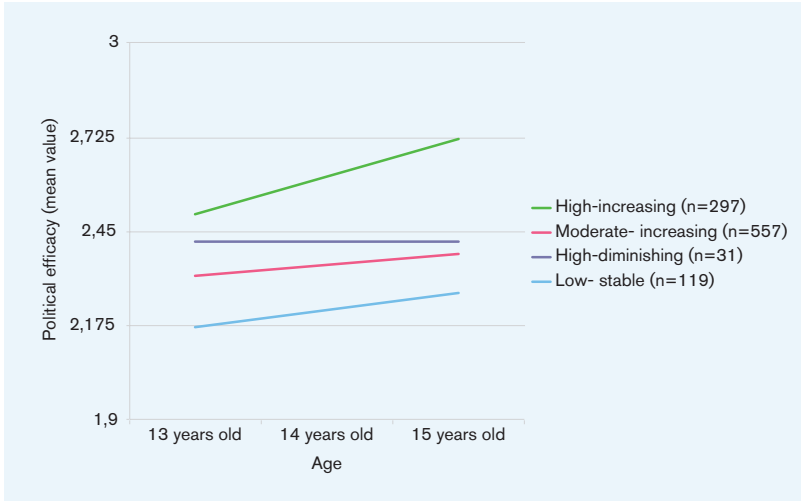
FIGURE 6. Tolerance and political efficacy.
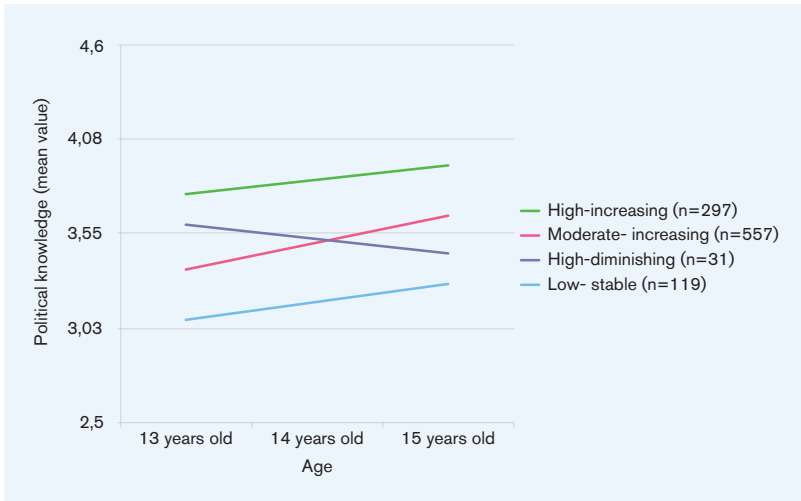
FIGURE 7. Tolerance and political knowledge.

The results are presented in Figure 6 and show that political efficacy in the first year of the study was significantly higher among members of the group that expressed high-increasing tolerance compared with those who expressed moderate-diminishing and low-stable tolerance. During the three years of the study, political efficacy increased slightly among the group with high-increasing tolerance. There was no statistically confirmed increase/decrease in the other groups.

Tolerance and political knowledge

In addition, we studied the relationship between the young people's tolerance and their actual *political knowledge*. Questions that were used to measure the young people's political knowledge pertained to such matters as their knowledge of the political systems of Sweden and the EU, definitions of certain key words (such as international assistance, the right of access to private land, recession and the principle of public access to official records), and recognition of the flags of various countries.

The results are presented in Figure 7 and show that political knowledge in the first year of the study was significantly higher among the group that expressed high-increasing tolerance compared with those who expressed moderate-diminishing and low-stable tolerance. During the three years of the study, political knowledge increased slightly for all of the groups, except for the group with high and diminishing tolerance. Among the young people in that group, a decrease in political knowledge is noticeable, which goes hand-in-hand with their reduced tolerance during the same period. In other
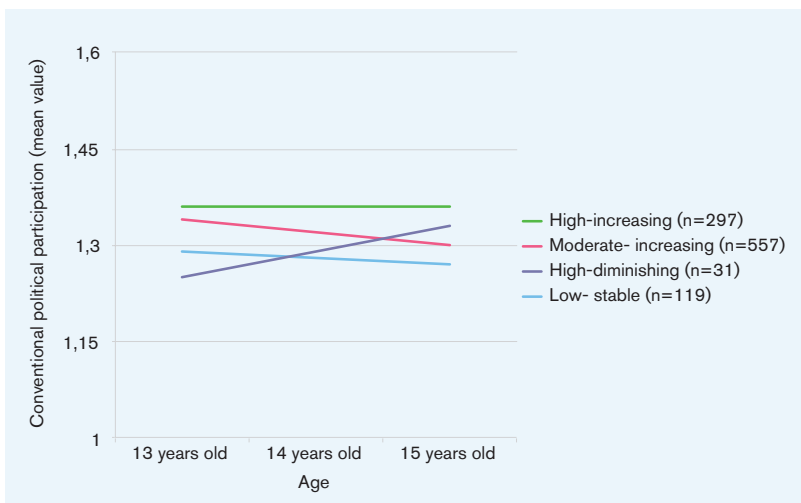
FIGURE 8. Tolerance and conventional political participation.
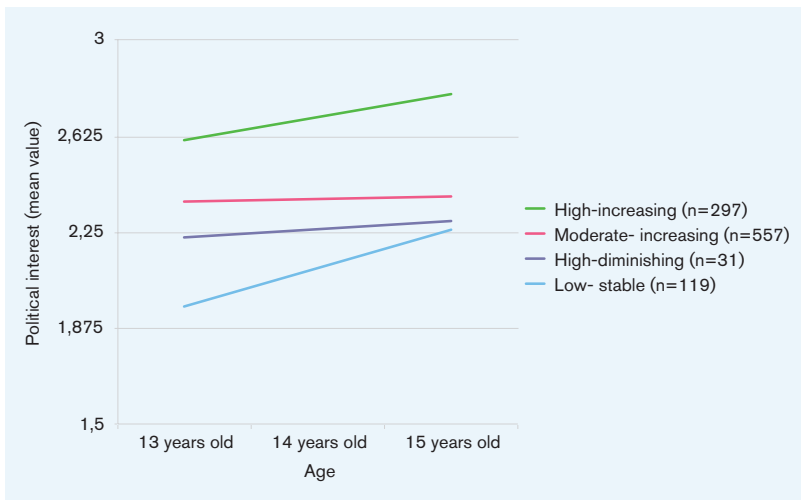
FIGURE 9. Tolerance and political interest.

words, the young people who gave expression to reduced tolerance to immigrants seem to have political knowledge that diminishes.

Tolerance and political participation

The final category of citizen competencies that we investigated was political participation. This factor included two indicators: conventional political participation and political interest. Conventional political participation pertains to the young people's actual political participation and was measured by asking the young people whether they had been involved during the past year in certain political activities, such as signing a petition, participating in a meeting that concerned politics or public issues, participating in a legal demonstration or strike action or contacting a politician or civil servant. Political interest concerned how interested the young people were in politics.

With respect to conventional political participation, the results showed no statistically confirmed difference between the groups (see Figure 8). This result goes hand-in-hand with the results from the correlation analyses, which showed weak and non-statistically confirmed associations between tolerance and participation. Nor were there any statistically confirmed increases/decreases within the groups.

In terms of political interest, the results showed that political interest was significantly higher in the first year of the study among the group that expressed high-increasing tolerance (see Figure 9). For that group of young people, interest in politics also increased over the three years of the study. Political interest also increased among the young people who gave expression to low-stable tolerance. However,

no statistically confirmed increase or decrease could be shown within these two groups of young people.

Final discussion

We started this chapter by pointing to the importance of studying the attitudes of young people since, according to research, attitudes evolve relatively early in life. Earlier studies have shown that most young people can be regarded as tolerant, and that tolerance seems to increase as young people become older. At the same time, there are also young people who disregard democratic principles and who show the opposite trend in tolerance compared with the general picture. In an attempt to approach the question of what it is that characterizes the young people who between 13 and 15 years of age express different levels of tolerance, we have investigated in this chapter whether the development of tolerance, or the change in it, if one so prefers, co-varies with the development of other types of citizen competencies.

To help us, we used unique data from an extensive research project that for several years studied the same young people (Amnå, et al., 2009). As a first step, we identified various groups of young people with different development tracks of tolerance, namely young people aged 13–15, who gave expression to:

1. High and increasing tolerance.
2. Moderate and increasing tolerance.
3. High and diminishing tolerance.
4. Low and stable tolerance.

At the second step, we investigated how these groups of young people with different development tracks of tolerance related to each other in terms of the development of other citizen competencies, namely:

1. Equality
2. Social trust
3. Political trust (trust in public institutions and satisfaction with democratic functionality)
4. Political efficacy
5. Political knowledge
6. Political participation (participation and political interest).

The results show that one group of young people stood out, namely the young people who during the first year of the study expressed a high level of tolerance but who, progressively over the three years, of the study gave expression to declining tolerance. For these young people, predominantly boys, the development of tolerance moved hand-in-hand with the development of certain citizen competencies, namely social trust, political knowledge and, to a certain extent, satisfaction with democracy. Accordingly, our analyses indicated that the young people who gave expression to declining tolerance between the ages of 13 and 15 also expressed declining social trust, lower political knowledge and diminishing satisfaction with the functionality of democracy.

The results can be interpreted in a number of ways. A cautious interpretation is that the young people whose tolerance declined also showed increased dissatisfaction with how our institutions perform, increased mistrust of people in general, and declining knowledge of politics and society. In turn, this could indicate that the young people

whose tolerance declined are in various ways turning their backs on the democratic system and on people in general, and that they do not quite have the same level of ability as other young people of the same age to understand or show an interest in fundamental public issues.

In this context, it should be noted that we have not studied the matter of cause and effect in this chapter; i.e., the causal relationship between tolerance and other types of citizen competencies. Accordingly, we cannot draw conclusions about whether, for example, the diminishing level of satisfaction with democracy is the reason for the declining level of tolerance or if the opposite applies; i.e., that tolerance explains the declining satisfaction with democracy among certain groups. Regardless of the theoretical lines of thought that one ends up with regard to the relationship between tolerance and various citizen competencies, this chapter has presented results that are worth taking into account. First and foremost, by studying the young people's tolerance over a period of three years, we have been able to conclude that there is variation in how young people develop tolerance over time. While some young people showed a stable level of tolerance, the tolerance of others increased or decreased during the same period.

Second, we have shown that some socio-economic background factors do not seem to be of great importance to the development of tolerance over time. This is an important conclusion, since it is not completely in line with certain studies that highlight the importance of various background factors. However, the results are completely in line with earlier studies that show that young people's gender is of importance to their tolerance (Zick, Küpper & Hövermann, 2011; Severin, 2014). Girls show higher tolerance and they make up a lower

share of the group of young people who show diminishing tolerance. In other words, the group that gives expression to declining tolerance predominantly comprises boys.

Finally, we have studied how the development of a large number of citizen competencies are connected to the development of tolerance. By studying how changes in one citizen competence relates to a change in another citizen competence over time, we have been able to move away from conducting surveys of simple correlations between the factors concerned. As a whole, this chapter thus offers more nuanced and in-depth knowledge of the development of tolerance among young people and its relationship to important citizen competencies.

It is also worth pointing out that it is not possible to attribute the attitudes of young people and their opinions of people from other cultures and backgrounds to a single factor. A number of factors from various contexts interact and jointly contribute to the creation and formation of the tolerance of young people. In this chapter, we have identified some of these, which should be taken into account when considering measures designed to strengthen or arouse the interest and involvement of young people in important matters related to tolerance.

In conclusion, what we have not addressed in this chapter is the question of which factors explain why certain groups of young people develop lower or higher tolerance. One group that particularly stands out in this study is the group of young people who at the start of the study, at the age of 13, displayed very high tolerance but, for some reason, showed a sharp decline in tolerance over a couple of years. In this chapter, we cannot provide any clear-cut answers to why such a

negative development occurs. However, it is an important question that should engage both researchers and politicians. Accordingly, future research will have to seek deeper knowledge about underlying mechanisms and causes among this group of young people. Without knowledge of the factors that explain such a development, we cannot take actions targeted at reversing this trend among young people.

| | | Tolerance | | |
		13 years	14 years	15 years
DEMOCRATIC VALUES				
Equality	13 years	.25	.27	.30
	14 years	.16	.25	.21
	15 years	.17	.23	.31
Social trust	13 years	.13	.14	.08
	14 years	.11	.22	.17
	15 years	.18	.21	.19
POLITICAL TRUST				
Satisfaction with democracy	13 years	.13	.16	.16
	14 years	.21	.29	.26
	15 years	.22	.25	.23
Institutional trust	13 years	.31	.29	.24
	14 years	.23	.33	.25
	15 years	.20	.27	.27
POLITICAL EFFICACY	13 years	.14	.18	.17
	14 years	.14	.21	.20
	15 years	.13	.20	.21
POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE	13 years	.13	.16	.12
	14 years	.10	.22	.15
	15 years	.12	.17	.11
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION				
Conventional political participation	13 years	.04ns	.07ns	.06ns
	14 years	.05ns	.09	.15
	15 years	.07ns	.09	.12
Political interest	13 years	.10	.10	.06
	14 years	.07	.11	.11
	15 years	.10	.15	.16

APPENDIX 1. Correlation between tolerance and various democratic competencies over time. Comment. NS (not significant) indicates a result that is not statistically significant. Other associations are statistically confirmed at a significance level of 1 percent.

7. Young people's views on tolerance

Cecilia Arensmeier

Introduction

Certain common approaches are needed in order for people to be able to live together. The larger the associations of people and the larger number of differences that are included in them, the greater becomes the need for shared structures and values. Democracy can work in this way. Democracy is based on the idea of the equal value of people and their ability to determine their own interests, thus requiring that joint decision-making includes everyone (see, inter alia, Dahl, 1989). Democracy can also be viewed as a way of dealing with differences and continuously creating temporary agreements (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996).

Tolerance thus becomes central, both in view of fundamental democratic values such as equality and liberty and in relation to democratically made decisions. All voices must be heard and tolerated in the process and, in the final analysis, democratically reached decisions are accepted, also by people who do not support them. However, majority and minority perspectives do not always harmonize. The

facts that decisions may be perceived as particularly problematical by certain groups and that certain voices find it more difficult to be heard give rise to difficulties (see, inter alia, Miller, 2003). Tolerance is also highlighted in these discussions.

Accordingly, tolerance is often regarded as a positive and desirable value. As demonstrated by Elisabet Langmann in her chapter in this anthology, however, the concept of tolerance is multifaceted and partly controversial. As a result, people can refer to different things when talking about tolerance and it can therefore be difficult to gauge how tolerant people are. However, in the contributions made by Erik Lundberg and Ali Abdelzadeh in the anthology, the tolerance of young people seems to strengthen with rising age, and there are signs of differences between various groups of young people. The tolerance of young people is addressed in this chapter too. The emphasis is on the meaning of the concept of tolerance from a layman and a youth perspective.

The objective is to study the conceptions of tolerance held by young people aged 17–18 years, and the following questions are addressed in particular:

- The meaning: What are the conceptions of the concept of tolerance? What is it that should be tolerated?
- Value: Is tolerance regarded as something that is desirable? If so, why?
- Responsibility: Who are the ones that should be tolerant, and do certain people have a particular responsibility?
- Boundaries: How far does tolerance reach?

Attention is focused throughout on both similarities and differences in approaches, and on any differences between the various groups of young people in the way tolerance is viewed. The study is based on focus group interviews, and the conceptions of the young people are related to perspectives addressed in the theoretical discussion of tolerance.

Theoretical perspectives on tolerance

In this section, a number of theoretical approaches to the concept of tolerance are summarized. Three different approaches to the concept are presented, and power dimensions and boundaries for tolerance are also addressed. Subsequently, these themes recur when the views of the young people are presented.

Tolerance as non-involvement – particularly to ensure stability

The concept of non-involvement is central to the first approach. Being tolerant means refraining from obstructing someone from having an opinion, or acting or living in a way that one does not approve of. And this is true, despite the fact that it pertains to something that is perceived as important, and despite the fact that one might have the opportunity to put a stop to the opinion, action or way of living (Galeotti, 2015).

In this case, stability is the main argument for acting tolerantly. This view of tolerance is usually linked to how governments needed (need) to behave, primarily in relation to religious dissidents. Tolerance in relation to these groupings was (is) a way of avoiding conflict

and creating stability. The alternative, a strong form of control by the state, entails in part a need for a (repressive) control apparatus and in part a risk that fanaticism and social unrest will arise. When peaceful and free coexistence is the aim, tolerance becomes a means to achieve this. Accordingly, tolerance as such has no actual intrinsic value; it is more a "lesser evil" compared with conflict (Del Águila, 2005).

Tolerance as neutrality – because diversity has an intrinsic value

The second approach puts neutrality in focus and considers a society characterized by diversity and pluralism as having an intrinsic value in itself. In this case, the body that wields the power (particularly the state) not only refrains from persecuting anyone who thinks and lives differently but is also neutral in relation to the differences and does not assert a position of its own. The aim is that everyone is to be assured the same rights and liberty to live as they want. A state that takes a neutral stance to different ways of living also expects that its citizens take a tolerant stance in relation to each other (Galeotti, 2015).

This approach is closely linked to liberalism as a concept. The autonomy of people, freedom and the right to make one's own choices in life are emphasized, and development optimism prevails. According to this approach, tolerance is assigned an intrinsic value and becomes a type of duty (Del Águila, 2005). However, the neutrality principle is frequently difficult to apply. Accordingly, some argue that, in practice, this tolerance ideal also mainly targets stability and coexistence, rather than constituting a principled defense of diversity (Galeotti, 2015).

Tolerance as recognition – for inclusion

The different opportunities in society for various groups is the point of departure taken in the third approach. In most societies, certain groupings, identities, social practices and ways of living dominate and are considered normal. As a result, deviants are placed in the focus of tolerance. The neutrality principle guarantees everyone the same liberties and rights. However, it does not take into account the fact that minorities are rarely given the same recognition as the majority for their ways of living. It can be particularly important for minorities to gain access to and be accepted in the public space, for example, to erect religious buildings (Galeotti, 2015).

The view of tolerance as recognition emphasizes the importance of equal rights and, in addition, strives to achieve a type of pluralism that embraces and recognizes differences. As long as everyone's liberties and rights are upheld, questionable and controversial differences should also be regarded as legitimate elements in society. It is only on this basis that all members of society can feel equal, included and respected. Veils, tattoos andpiercings, can be used as examples (Galeotti, 2015). Regardless of whether we feel acquainted or comfortable with these expressions, or alien or uncomfortable in relation to them, we should recognize them and view them as legitimate. This should be done out of respect for the people encompassed by the practices; that is, for their sake. Recognition of subordinate groups is particularly important.

Tolerance and power

A central aspect of tolerance focuses on power. Being tolerant means having the capacity to act intolerantly but refraining from doing so. It thus becomes completely misleading to talk about requiring people in inferior positions to tolerate people in power or prisoners to tolerate their guards (Del Águila, 2005). They are not in a position of power and have no choice.

As shown above, tolerance as recognition places particularly emphasis on power aspects. Recognition is particularly important for groups that are subordinate or marginalized in various ways. For them to really be included in society, their ways of being and living should be assigned a value, not only be accepted. This could also contribute to a positive self-image among minorities, which is also necessary to strengthen their position (Young, 2005).

Tolerance thus places the focus on power in a number of ways. Institutions, groups and individuals who are in a position of power in relation to others are those who should primarily be tolerant. Those who need tolerance the most are people who, for various reasons, are in an inferior position or are considered subordinates.

The boundaries of tolerance

Although it is not possible to draw a definitive line, there is a major discussion under way about where to place the boundaries for what should be tolerated. Tolerance should not be applied in relation to all types of opinions, actions or ways of living. Four approaches to considering where to draw boundaries will now be highlighted. These complement each other and certain overlapping occurs.

The first focuses on characteristics that cannot be changed, such as ethnic origin, gender (identity), sexual preference or functional impairments. Disregarding the fact that, for example, someone is of an origin that one dislikes should not be regarded as tolerance. Conversely, opinions that, for example, denigrate women or homosexuals should not be tolerated. A second boundary involves matters that the vast majority regard as categorically wrong and unjust, such as murder or torture. Such actions should not be tolerated (Galeotti, 2015).

Thirdly, a closely related view can be found in the thought that we should not tolerate anything that although being an expression of free choice nevertheless causes harm, particularly for other people. This is generally designated the harm principle. A fourth boundary focusing on autonomy and free choice states that anything that results from compulsion should not be tolerated (Del Águila, 2005).

The point of departure for the latter two boundaries described above is that tolerance, and the rights that result from this approach, must be understood within the framework of a certain (liberal) system of values. Unrestricted tolerance should therefore only apply in relation to ways of living that respect people's rights and autonomy (Del Águila, 2005).

While in principle it may be possible to draw a line for what should be tolerated, it is naturally much more difficult deciding where to draw the line in complex practical situations. It is always possible to have different views on what characteristics should be viewed as changeable, what should be regarded as categorically unjust, when something injurious occurs, or when choices may be said to result from compulsion.

Summary

The themes included in the theoretical discussion touched upon above are briefly summarized in the table below. They recur when the views of the young people are presented.

Perspectives on the concept of tolerance	
Meaning and value	**Three different approaches:** ▪ Non-involvement – creates stability ▪ Neutrality – nurtures diversity ▪ Recognition – inclusion
Responsibility	**Superiority and subordination:** ▪ Responsibility, mainly of people, groups, and institutions with power ▪ The need is greatest for subordinates, those in an inferior position
Boundaries	**Principles:** ▪ Characteristics that cannot be changed ▪ The unjust ▪ The injurious ▪ Things resulting from compulsion

TABLE 1: Theoretical perspectives on tolerance

Research method

The investigation is based on four focus group interviews with young people from four different schools and studying four different programs in grade 2 at Swedish high school (upper-secondary school).

Focus group interviews – about the method

In focus group interviews (Morgan, 1997; Wibeck, 2010) the researcher meets a group of people for a discussion. Depending on the focus of the study, the emphasis of the analysis is placed either on the content of the discussions or on the interaction of the group. In this survey, the focus was on the content of the discussions.

A major benefit arising from conducting interviews in a group is that it is possible to utilize the dynamic that usually arises when people engage in discussions. Opinions and views are formed through interaction with others, and focus group interviews provide opportunities to agree, question, add new lines of approach, clarify and develop ways of reasoning. Accordingly, using focus groups is usually a good method for obtaining an impression of complex and multidimensional matters. It can also be easier for participants who initially feel uncertain to join in as the discussion progresses by adding their thoughts in a group situation. In individual interviews, uncertainty about a subject could result in the interviewee being reticent and reserved. Participation in focus groups is usually regarded as positive and the literature about the method talks about the possibility that positive side effects – such as new knowledge, or an improved self-image – could arise.

The limitations of the method mainly include difficulties in conducting the important role of leading the discussion. It is necessary to find a balance between steering the discussion towards the desired focus and allowing the participants to freely make associations. Without being perceived as restrictive or domineering, the discussion leader occasionally needs to hold back people who take too much space in the discussion and encourage more reticent participants. An ethical dimension also rises in focus groups, which is important to highlight. The researcher may promise confidentiality and anonymization to the participants but may not demand or check that the participants keep such promises in relation to each other. Accordingly, it is important to make the interviewees aware of this and, in the discussion, to emphasize the expectation that the participants show respect for each other and that what is said will stay in the room.

Focus groups in the study – about selection and implementation
A sense of security is important for bringing about a good discussion and, in this study, the participants in each group knew each other. Four groups of young people were included in the selection. Each group comprised a number of students who were part of the same second grade class at Swedish high school (upper-secondary school). To achieve as wide a spread as possible of the participants when viewed in total, the students attend four different schools and four different study programs. Two of the groups comprise both young women and men, and two of the groups comprise only women or men. A total of 28 students were members of the focus groups, 12 women and 16 men. (See Table 2).

Study orientation		Type of school and fictitious names	Participants	
Vocational program	Building and energy area	*The Job School (Jens, Jonas, etc.)* Municipal, several municipalities Emphasis, vocational programs	Men	10
	Service area	*The Service School (Sara, Samuel, etc.)* Municipal, several municipalities All types of study programs	Women and men	7
Academic program	Science/technical area	*The Alternative Free City High School (Angelica, Ahmed, etc.)* Independent, larger towns Only academic programs	Men and women	8
	Humanities/social sciences area	*The Grammar School (Gabriella, Gina, Greta)* Municipal, larger towns. Only academic programs	Women	3
Total number of participants				**28**

TABLE 2: Overview of the sample

On a voluntary basis, with the consent of school management and assisted by teachers, groups were created in the selected classes. The point of the departure was that the students were to have relatively different opinions, feel comfortable discussing the subject and function together in a discussion. The young people were adjudged to be sufficiently old to be able to decide for themselves that they wanted to participate.

The discussions were framed within a semi-structured interview guide containing a number of general questions.[1] Considerable space was provided for the participants' reflections and associations (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014). As an introduction and as a conclusion, it was emphasized that the material should be treated as confidential and that the participants were to be made anonymous when writing the report. It was also clarified that the idea was that the discussions would stay in the room, and that teachers and school supervisors were naturally not to be given access to individual statements and opinions.

The interviews were implemented in separate premises in the various schools. They took between 70 and 90 minutes, were recorded (audio) and transcribed. To enhance readability and to avoid making the participants sound "stupid" (Eriksson-Zetterquist and Ahrne, 2015), a certain amount of linguistic editing has been done in connection with citations. In certain cases, a number of throwaway words – such as "like", "you know" and "kind of" – have been removed. The […] marking means that parts of a statement or conversation have been omitted.

The interviews generally worked very well, and the discussions turned out to be rewarding for both the study and the participants. The climate was respectful and the young people confirmed and developed each other's lines of reasoning. In all interviews, there were students who talked a great deal, while others were less active in the discussion.

When the interviews had been completed, the participants were asked to respond to a very short questionnaire about their back-

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[1] An example of the questions that were asked initially was: "What do you think of if I say the word tolerance?"

ground, and had an opportunity to provide written comments about how they perceived the discussions. The questionnaire shows that the participants in the different groups differ somewhat in terms of socio-economic background and social interests.[2] To a very large extent, the comments provided about the discussions showed that participation was experienced as interesting and educational (cf. positive side effects above).

In the analysis of the discussions, a number of different viewpoints and conceptions could be discerned. Although these mainly related to the theoretical perspectives of tolerance, which were presented in the preceding section (cf. Walton, Priest & Paradies, 2013), the discussions also gave rise to an additional number of approaches. Occasionally, what was said could primarily be related to groups; in other cases, to individual participants (Eriksson, 2006, p. 54; Morgan, 1997, p. 60).

The groups have been assigned names that indicate the study program attended by the students (see Table 2 above). In the text, the participants in the various groups have been assigned fictitious first names, which are used in quotations and for reference purposes. The first letter illuminates the group to which the participants belong. For example, those whose name begins with J attend the Job School (vocational). For reasons of anonymity, not even the fictitious names are provided in certain cases; only what is said (if more than one

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2 Even though this does not apply to all individual participants, there is a pattern in that students on academic programs come from homes with a higher level of education than the students on the vocational programs. The group from the Alternative Free City High School includes students who speak languages other than Swedish at home, while other groups only have participants from Swedish-speaking homes. Interest in political and societal issues is generally lower in the vocational groups, and their participants also discuss these types of issues less with friends and parents.

student participated in the discussion, this is shown by means of the first letter and a number, for example, A1, A2 etc.).

Young people's views on tolerance

The viewpoints that arose from the discussions are presented in this chapter. The general impression that emerged is illustrated first throughout; this is followed by any nuances and differences that can be discerned. The chapter has five sections, which in sequential order focus on the meaning, practices, value, responsibility and boundaries of the concept of tolerance.

Main meaning of tolerance – acceptance for what is not liked

Acceptance for what is not liked turned out to be a theme in all discussions when the question of what tolerance means was asked. However, the approaches differed somewhat between the participants, and a number of different tracks could be distinguished in the discussions. The lines of thought of the young people can generally be linked to the theoretical perspectives highlighted above, although there are also a number of additional approaches.

The young people clearly connect tolerance with being able to deal with what one does not like. Tolerance is about "how much you can put up with" and "cope with" and about things you have to "live with" and need to "stand up to" and "keep your head" in the face of. Some associated it with patience. Jens responded as follows to the question about who it is that he has to tolerate:

Well idiots, and the people you don't like (Jens).

Aisha explains that tolerance is about situations in which you don't fully agree with people but "accept it anyway".

The word *accept* is used frequently, particularly by the participants from the academic programs:

> Tolerance is a sort of measurement of what should be accepted (Alfred).

> Maybe you don't agree, but you accept it anyway (Aisha).

> You know, accept each other (Gabriella).

> I think that accepting is like showing that although I don't have this opinion, it's OK that you are the way you are. I think it's a little like just accepting someone (Greta).

> Like, everyone has to be OK and everyone has to accept certain things (Sara).

When it comes to the question of what it is that has to be accepted, the focus is frequently on differences. The fact that it is difference that creates the need for tolerance is touched upon several times in the group from the Alternative Free City High School.

> Yeah, it's probably when differences arise, that's when you have to start tolerating. […] If we have the same opinion, the same religion, the same everything, then you don't have to tolerate. Because then, we're all the same. It's probably not until you start having different opinions, maybe look different – if anyone has a problem with that – it's not

until then that you have to start tolerating and accepting (Angelica).

We are different. We have different values, and it's that you have to tolerate. You can do it either because you think you have the same values or that you work things out the same way. But it's when you don't, that's when the problems arise. […] That's when tolerance comes to the test, or whatever (Albin).

Four main approaches can be distinguished in terms of what creates the need for tolerance. Three involve differences and the fourth circles around things that cannot be influenced. Several of the participants start their reflections from the perspective of the individual and focus on individual differences. For example, in the group from the Grammar School it is said initially that tolerance is about letting everyone be what they are or want to be, and that tolerance is needed in relation to "people who are different from me. And that's like everyone (Gina)." The word "different" is also used in the Service School:

You can't discriminate someone just because they're different (Samuel).

In response to the question concerning which type of differences this involves, Gina states that this can be about a number of things: about appearance, ways of thinking or being and interests. In another group, Jesper states that "people are different from person to person."

Another approach focuses on groups. The first point raised by one of the participants from The Alternative Free City High School in response to the question of what tolerance means is this:

I think about ethnicity, religion or sexual preference. You know, it can be about what others tolerate in a society (Ahmed).

Aisha, when talking about the problem of prejudice against cultures and religions, also displays a distinct group and societal perspective. The discussion at the Grammar School also partly reveals such an approach.

A third perspective involves opinions. This is a theme that recurs in all discussions, often in relation to boundaries (also refer below). Here too, it is mainly the perspective of the individual that is displayed, meaning that it is primarily individuals who represent opinions.

Like political opinions, which are very individual, then you have to tolerate each other, you have to accept […] what each other […] think and believe. (Albin)

We all think differently, and it's OK to think differently (Sofia).

It's also you know being able to think and believe what you want (Jens).

The common denominator for the three viewpoints presented to date is the focus on differences. The fact that people are, live or think differently is the reason why tolerance is needed. These perspectives are also highlighted in several statements simultaneously:

There are plenty of people who don't accept others for what they are or how they look, what they think. Or perhaps only for their gender. You know, they don't think that they

should do certain things just because they happened to be who they are (Gabriella).

That you from the starting point at any rate tolerate all types of people, that you tolerate the fact that we are different and have different opinion and we think differently (Albin)

The fourth perspective, which arises in discussions with the students at the Job School and the Service School, has a different focus. It involves decisions, rules or circumstances that are disliked but cannot be influenced. At the start of the discussion, Jesper associates school with something that has to be coped with and put up with, despite not liking it. A little later Jonas returns to this point of view by relating to a potential situation at a place of work where you can be faced with things that have to be done even if you think that it's hard work.

A couple of participants in the group from the Service School return to the fact that there are things in society that you don't like but that you cannot influence at all and therefore must accept. One example that is used entails shortcomings in the welfare system, another is the large number of refugees that come to Sweden. A couple of the participants are critical of the latter since they regard it as being associated with considerable costs and that other social support functions have to take the back seat:

Many find it difficult to accept – you know, like all the immigration and such, things to do with refugees and so on. I also find it difficult to accept. You know, the situation.

> […] I know what I think and believe myself. But I know that I don't have a chance to influence anything. And then you just have to accept it anyway.

Another participant in the group is very critical to this, and sees no contradiction between helping several groups simultaneously, regardless of whether they have been in Sweden for a long time or are fleeing here to avoid war.

The practice of tolerance – primarily not interfering

Taking a tolerant approach seems primarily to mean *non-involvement*:

> You accept the way they are and then you ignore them (Jonas).

> It's probably letting everyone be the way they want to be. […] You know, you keep your distance, that's what I think (Gabriella).

> You have to hold your tongue and not disagree. That's their problem, you shouldn't interfere and you should show tolerance (Sofia).

> You just have to put up with it, even though you maybe think that it's wrong. You don't say anything (Andreas).

There are certain indications of a neutrality perspective, but they are not particularly explicit. Ahmed touches on the thought of re-

sponsibility for society (possibly the state) in a statement in a discussion about people having different levels of tolerance.

> It's very, very individual and also – you know – it has a lot to do with what society thinks, and the majority who are that way, for … [the sentence is not completed]

Since the perspective of the individual, and things of a more everyday nature, are most prominent in most of the discussions, the attention paid to the state/society is limited, and the idea of a neutral state is not considered. However, connections are made to diversity as an intrinsic value (see also the following section) and the idea that being tolerant is a kind of duty appears to be strong.

Thoughts about recognition can gradually be discerned in a number of lines of thought in the academic programs. The group from The Alternative Free City High School talks a great deal about the need to try to understand others. Amin emphasizes the importance of basing a fundamental similarity on the fact that we are all humans, and Aisha makes it clear that we first have to understand in order to be able to accept. However, the idea of tolerance as recognition is expressed most clearly on one occasion in the group from the Grammar School. In response to the question about what society can do to be more tolerant, Gina says:

> You know, you should be tolerant towards groups, all people. Then you have to also consider the group's history. How they have been treated, you know, before. Because then you can put your finger on how you perhaps should treat them now.

Gina states, for example, how certain words and descriptions of groups can indicate superiority or inferiority, and should therefore be avoided.

Even when I ask explicitly, the participants from the vocational programs do not reflect in terms of certain groups having a special need of being tolerated or recognized:

Interviewer: Are there any groups that it is particularly important to be tolerant to?

Sofia: Difficult.

Sara: I guess they all are.

At the Job School, it is stated that it could possibly be desirable to understand others, but that it is difficult, particularly when the difference is very tangible..

Interviewer: If you continue with the things you dislike, some of the things that you dislike you can possibly quite easily ignore.

Jonatan: Yes.

Interviewer: Or […] are there reasons to sometimes actually try to understand the things you dislike […] or the way of living, opinion, that you do not share – do you have any type of responsibility that you should try to put yourself in their place or not?

Jonatan: No.

Jesper: I guess you're just frightened of what is new.

Jonas: But obviously you have to have a little understanding for what others think and believe, that's a fact, but...

Jonny: You don't have to agree.

Jonas: No. It's very difficult if it's [...] miles away from what you think yourself.

Someone states that it can personally be both useful and interesting to understand more about others, another that most people, however, are more fixed in their own way of thinking. Later on, after a couple more statements, when I ask whether the group thinks that people in general are satisfied to accept others or whether they also try to understand and respect, the response is that most people just ignore the issue – they don't get involved at all.

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As is apparent, the discussions in all of the groups concern similar dimensions when the meaning of tolerance is addressed; however, there are also certain differences in what is brought up. The differences between the groups of students in this area could be connected in part to relatively dissimilar lines of approaches to power and to different experiences (see also below). With regard to ways of reasoning, these are significantly more comprehensive in the groups from The Alternative Free City High School and the Grammar School. In these groups, the participants connect to a great extent to each other's lines of thought and develop them. In the vocational programs, the

statements are shorter and less nuanced. The discussion leader has a more active role and asks more follow-up questions. Particularly short statements are made at the Job School and the discussion often takes the form of one person saying something, with which one or more of the others then agree using one or two words. The participants from the Service School make somewhat longer statements, but sometimes find it difficult to think of examples when these are asked for.[3]

The value of tolerance – stability, diversity and inclusion

Tolerance is without a doubt something positive for the young people and, as shown above, being tolerant appears to be something of a duty. In response to the question of why tolerance is something that is good, all of the three theoretical perspectives that were addressed in the theoretical section are raised.

In line with the emphasis on tolerance as non-involvement, *stability and avoiding conflict* are prominent reasons. In a discussion about different styles, Samuel states that one should occasionally refrain from making denigrating statements about things we do not like, since it is "unnecessary to create a conflict." Several lines of thought resemble this:

> [If everyone were to] say exactly what they thought and believe because they were allowed and wanted to. Then there'd be chaos. […] There'd be war (Sara).

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3 It is worth reflecting over the fact that who does the interviews may be of importance. The participants who are most unlike me are the young men at the Job School, while the women and participants on the academic programs can identify with me to a greater extent.

If you can't put up with it and cannot tolerate that you have different opinions, this would obviously lead to conflicts. But, you know, building something long-term gets difficult if […] different groups can't accept each other (Albin).

It's really about being able to live with each other. If we hadn't been able to accept, we would have been arguing all the time. Then society wouldn't be able to work (Andreas).

You know, I think it's really hard to like avoid conflicts in general. […] Sure you can question things but kind of accept them anyway. The fact that people are different and think differently (Gina).

As is apparent, the focus often ends up on opinions. A certain emphasis on individual actors can also be discerned, although there are also those who adopt a wider societal perspective by focusing on stability and harmony:

You know, tolerance is necessary to be able to live together as a society. Because if we're not able to tolerate each other, we wouldn't be able to live as a society, and be able to express ourselves as a society and […] live together. It's not possible to live together if you can't tolerate each other. If everyone detests and hates each other, then they live individually (Amin).

In the discussions about the value of tolerance, the idea that differences and diversity have an intrinsic value is also asserted. At the Job

School, a question about whether it would be easier if all people were more similar received negative answers:

> Life would be boring if like nobody was different. You know, you have to have that person who's a little different. Otherwise life would be no fun (Johan).

On a few occasions, similar reflections were made at the Service School.

> You know, we think meeting someone who is different from ourselves is always fun. Otherwise life would be so boring (Sofia).

> Yeah, well, it would be really boring if everyone was the same. […] It's like the differences that make you unique and special (Samuel).

Connections are also made to social development benefitting from differences – especially in terms of ideas. If all people were alike, society "would probably not develop the way it should," says Johan and, on another occasion, Jonas talks about the need for multiple opinions to enable us to "invent new things." Sara states that "if nobody were to have said anything, we would never have got anywhere." When the discussion is being rounded off, Sanna also makes a connection to democracy:

> But if everyone were to think exactly the same, then we wouldn't have needed any democracy or anything. Being allowed to think what you want is actually fun. Not having to feel compelled to think the same as others (Sanna).

Lines of thought about the value of pluralism and how this can result in social development too also enter into the discussion at the Alternative Free City High School:

Alfred: To a really great extent, tolerance is about accepting each other's differences. And not just purely how we look but also how we think and how we are. You know, you can learn a great deal when you accept each other's differences. You develop a lot as a person, and function […] better together. That's what's needed to like move forward, both yourself and as a society.

Andreas: Yeah […] if we weren't able to be with each other and live with each other, we would never be able to get to grips with the development of our society. Then we'd all be doing our own thing. […] We can cope with most of the social problems that exist.

On a later occasion, Ahmed also says that diversity is a fact and that thinking in any other way is therefore irrelevant:

As a certain party leader said, "a completely homogeneous society would work much better" but in fact that is like […] totally irrelevant. Because we are not all the same. So why should you even […] bring that up at all?

The point of the departure for the theoretical discussion about tolerance as recognition is that subordinate groups need to be recognized to be able to be fully included in society. As shown above, a number of the young people have reflections of this type, notably

Gina, who exemplifies it by saying that it is important that black people are not talked about in a way that indicates subordination and repression. In other cases, however, direct questions on the theme of "recognition" do not result in any reflections to the effect that tolerance should mean this.

At the same time, all groups talk about the fact that stigmatizing images of groups is something negative. This connects to the thought that it is more difficult for people who are viewed with suspicion to feel included. One example used by two of the groups involves Muslims. One of the participants from the Job School states that in today's world, "Arabs and Muslims" are often associated with terror organizations and emphasizes that "that does not apply to all of them." Another participant adds that it is wrong to "tar them all with the same brush." Aisha states that media reports about those killed by ISIS contribute to many concluding that "ISIS comes from Islam, and then that that's the way Muslims are."

In the group from the Service School, the problem of categorization and exclusion is highlighted by referring to the ongoing US primary presidential election campaign and the denigrating comments about Mexicans made by Donald Trump. The main problem with this, according to one participant, is that "he lumps everyone together" (Sofia). On another occasion, Samuel refers to the idea of inclusion:

> You know, if you can't accept them, they can never even have a chance of coming into society.

Amin is talking from his own experiences of how classmates from a previous school used to express themselves about all Muslims being

perpetrators of violence but that this naturally did not apply to him. But, says Amin; "well I am a Muslim". Ahmed also has experiences from compulsory school and relates how one teacher, after the class had talked about a bombing, emphasized with his eyes directed at him that not all Muslims are like that. Ahmed talks about another experience. In connection with an occasion when a message was to be sent as part of a charity project, he hesitated to sign it with his own name due to concern about what the reaction of the recipients would be:

> *Ahmed:* At times like that, I can feel a little – bad. I think, yeah well these people who criticize what I have written […] and how I am – and everything...

> *Angelica:* You're worried that they will do that, is that what you mean?

> *Ahmed:* Yes. I'm not saying that this will happen, that this person maybe thinks that way, but I always have that feeling.

Alfred, who is dark-skinned, also reflects over the fact that he often detects more or less subtle reactions when he introduces himself using his Swedish-sounding name. For example, substitute teachers can suggest that he is taking the mickey out of them. Aisha follows suit and gives an example of how many pronounce carefully and try a little extra when saying the names, they are not acquainted with – like her own name. In this discussion about names, however, the group

agrees that in most cases this is not due to malice, so it should be possible to disregard it.

The stories about their own experiences illustrate that not being included in a self-evident way hurts and affects their self-image negatively; in fact, their group affiliation or their names instead make them suspect.

The three participants from the Grammar School also talk about experiences of being treated differently. At middle school, the fact that boys were unruly was accepted, they say, while, by virtue of being calm, girls were instead given a role of responsibility for the boys in the classroom. It was only afterwards that they reflected on the benchmarks that were applied. The perception is that things are not the same today, and that if they happened now they would react:

> If that were to happen now, we would get really angry, and wouldn't have thought that it was OK that someone did something like that [...]. But you know we didn't realize then that everyone should be treated the same way (Gabriella).

Thus, several examples of, and indignation over, different groups being treated differently are represented in the discussions. The value of being included on the same terms is thereby emphasized. Only in a few cases, however, is this idea extended to thoughts of tolerance as recognition. In the talks, however, discussions are held that could be described in terms of recognition of individuals. The relatively extensive discussions about the boundaries for tolerance actually frequently relate to insults and, in the examples, the value of tolerance is largely connected to respect for the differences of individuals and the

individuals' right to not be insulted (see also below). This view may be formulated as the importance of being respected for the person one is, for one's individuality.

> You want to […] that all the others tolerate you too. It doesn't matter whether you are very sure of yourself or not, being allowed to be yourself is very important to you. Because then you can feel that you can be yourself and that it's OK, and that it's something good. You know, that you're allowed to think what you think anyway. That you're allowed to look the way you want. Then you don't have to like pretend that you're someone else and feel bad because of that (Gabriella)

<div align="center">*</div>

Accordingly, when it comes to the value of tolerance, the young people largely talk about similar things. Here too, comparatively more developed lines of thought are pursued in the academic groups. The students attending vocational schools did not use equally abstract language, and appear to be less accustomed to discussing questions of this type. Own experiences also seem to be of importance, and some of the participants from the academic programs talk about events that can be understood in terms of not feeling fully included in society.

Responsibility for tolerance – everyone's responsibility, but also differences in power

The fact that all people should behave in a tolerant manner in relation to others is a recurring theme in these discussions. As already

mentioned, being tolerant appears to be a type of duty. When explicit questions are asked about who should be tolerant and whether somebody or some people have a particular responsibility for showing tolerance, one reaction is that it is everyone's responsibility. "Everyone," responds Sofia, while Greta says that "everyone should tolerate each other, surely."

Questions of power and an extra responsibility for superiors are also raised in all discussions. However, the examples differ from each other. The participants from the Service School and the Job School maintain that adults – by being role models, being more experienced and knowledgeable – have a particular responsibility in relation to children. At the Service School, connections are made to the fact that in their future professional roles they will need to be especially tolerant in relation to customers.

In one of the academic groups too, adults are highlighted in relation to children, although here additional perspectives are presented.

> They're also people who have leading positions. Like, people you look up to. […] You know; more people see them maybe (Gina).

As previously shown, Gina also talks about the need to have a historical perspective, and to understand how certain groups have been subordinated and that today these must therefore be shown particular consideration.

This is discussed extensively in the group from the Alternative Free City High School, and the matter is immediately linked to the societal level:

> *Interviewer:* Who or what people should tolerate? Who are we talking about when we say that you should be tolerant?

> *Ahmed:* The majority, I would say.

> *Aisha:* Society. Society, first and foremost.

> *Ahmed:* Because, you know, it's usually about things that are outside the norm that you kind of feel that you have to start coping with or tolerating. […] It's not the case that I have to tolerate anyone who's the same as me.

> *Albin:* That's just it. But at the same time everyone has to […] have tolerance. If they don't have it, then everything will be like the other way round.

However, the last statement also asserts that being tolerant is the mutual responsibility of everyone. Albin also reasons – on the basis of an example of people in the group behaving nastily to each other – that it may be necessary for the person who feels oppressed also to tolerate, in the sense of putting up with and accepting things (which, for that reason need not be right) so that they don't "sink entirely". Accordingly, this is a case of individualization.

A little later, the group also discusses the fact that laws and rules can represent a guideline for what should be permitted and that laws can be changed if people have a reason for doing this. This is problematized through the example of homosexuality and the fact that this was previously classed as an illness and forbidden. Ahmed states that

there arises: "a certain problem there, since the minority is the group that has to act."

A couple of others follow on and talk about how *subordinated groups* have a weaker position that the majority may not be willing to change. A little later, Albin states that "depending on their position in society, this usually affects minorities in a different way." The experiences of people being regarded as Muslim and on the basis of their name, as illuminated in the preceding section, can also be understood in terms of power.

Some of the young people from the Service School and the Job School also talk about a position of power, but in a completely different way. They return on a couple of occasions to how they feel a certain powerlessness themselves. It is on the basis of such a feeling that they, for example, talk about tolerance meaning putting up with circumstances you dislike. As already mentioned, some of the service school students use prevailing immigration policy as an example of a circumstance that they have to accept, despite not liking it. A main reason is that they do not believe they can influence the matter. To get to vote (in the future) every fourth year does not seem enough.

In the group from the Job School, a discussion is also conducted about opinions relating to immigration. Here, frustration is expressed about not being listened to and only being dismissed and incorrectly judged. What upsets them most is that opinions – from which they distance themselves– are forced on them.

> *J1:* We can take racism again then. I think that it can
> come up very quickly, as soon as you have an opinion
> about anything. […]

Interviewer: So you believe that if you say something, you are being considered a racist […]?

Several: Yes.

J2: It's also, you know, being able to think and believe what you want (Jens).

J3: Judged.

J2: … Being jumped on by someone or getting judged for doing something.

J4: You get judged for something that is possibly not true. […]

J1: Yeah, of course you get pissed because, you know, that person....

J2: But that's something you have to put up with (ironic).

J5: Yeah, and then one of them can spread the word to the others, and then you get....

J1: Yeah exactly, you get judged by others who haven't heard it either.

This theme is also touched upon in the group from the Alternative Free City High School. Here, however, there are more nuances and the participants do not seem to feel that they are pointed out and

judged in the same way for bringing up the matter (the discussion, slightly abbreviated):

A1: The fact that you close your borders to refugees, that is at any rate not a matter of racism in all contexts. Because […] the countries that do that do it because they feel that "we can't cope with" …

A2: Economically…

A1: Yeah, exactly, purely economically and because of the housing situation. […] You try to get it to, like, benefit yourself. And when you feel that, that if we accept a hundred thousand refugees, then we will […] not have the economic funds to […] I mean you don't have to think like a racist, instead there can also be political thinking involved. Then if that's wrong or not, well I'm not the right person to answer that.

A3: […] It ends up a little like this, it's not only a couple of countries that have to accept them, you know, we're talking about people! […] The majority of countries have to do it. It's like A1 said, if one country opens up to all refugees, then I mean the economy will plunge, but if many countries accept them, the economy will not change. Because then everyone helps out. But then you hear things like this in social media; "refugees come here, and then this and that has happened, etc., etc." And then […] you have to understand that it's not all refugees.

I mean it's a just couple of idiots who do that, but you shouldn't blame all of the others.

A4: I may be sidetracking a bit now but, in any case, the fact that nations can think that money is more important than people's lives is a little absurd.

The boundaries of tolerance – insults, laws and principles

How far should the tolerance reach is the question that gives rise to most discussion. There is no doubt that the question is very complex, and several comment that the subject is difficult. However, insults constitute a central theme in all interviews, and is where the emphasis is often placed in discussions. Anyone who insults, hurts or causes pain need not be tolerated.

I mean that's if it insults someone. You know that's when you have to say stop (Gina).

If you see that someone is treating someone badly. Then you just can't tolerate it (Sofia).

Maybe I don't tolerate that you're insulting someone, I can't stand that, and it's then I say what I think. But the fact that you're just a normal person, and your way of behaving, the things you do, that you have your own values, I have to tolerate that (Amin).

To a great extent, opinions are at the center of the discussions about boundaries and, in all of the groups, a difference is made

between thinking and believing (having an opinion) and expressing this (speaking). The dominating viewpoint seems to be that we cannot or should not influence people's opinions, but we can demand that they are not expressed if they are hurtful or insulting.

> I was about to say the same thing, that as soon as you hurt someone else, then I don't think you should say it. But maybe – if you do have something to say, then say it in a kinder way. If you now happen to come to that boundary (Sofia).

> You don't have to say it, I mean you can think it (Gabriella).

> Thinking something does not hurt anyone (Greta).

> I mean you can think what you want but you maybe should think about the way you say it (Jonny).

In a number of the lines of thought, freedom of expression is simultaneously maintained as very strong:

> *We have […] a dilemma here. We have freedom of expression, but how should we, I mean where do you draw the line […] what can we say and what can't we say? […] There are many who […] say this and that […] without thinking what it can lead to (Aisha).*

> *Jesper:* But I mean we have our freedom of expression. We're allowed to say like....

Jonas: Yeah, you're allowed to say that but you have, I mean you don't have the right to insult someone just for that.

The fact that people can simultaneously have very different views of what is insulting is raised in all interviews when the participants talk about boundaries. Accordingly, the benchmark for insults very much appears to be *individual*:

It's probably from person to person. Deciding where you think you should draw the line (Jonatan).

Where do you draw the line, it's maybe a long way away. And others may draw the line very close by. That others are not so thick skinned (Aisha).

Friends and close relations are often used as examples of how something that could be hurtful to one person does not necessarily have to be considered the same way by others.

If you like know them in that way, then you know exactly what to say to hurt them. So that you know who is easily hurt and who isn't *(Jonny)*.

I mean there are quite a lot who say insulting things in a joking way, like they say "you're so ugly" jokingly. […] If you're used to doing that to your friends, you'll do the same to someone else who does get hurt, that's the problem – then it becomes an insult, even though it maybe wasn't meant as one *(Greta)*.

Samuel: As long as it's insulting. […]

Sara: But […] what is the radius that includes the word insulting?

Sanna: It's up to the person himself. […] Sara maybe doesn't even think it's insulting.

Because the view of what is hurtful varies from person to person, it is not so easy to establish where the boundary for being insulting should be drawn.

However, reasoning is also pursued at a more over-riding group and societal level.

All this about insulting people […], I mean it's important to talk to those who can be insulted. Where they think the line should be drawn. So that they get to decide it generally, like […] I mean someone who is not homosexual can't know where the line should be for when a homosexual thinks someone is insulting them (Gina).

Sofia uses Donald Trump as an example, when I ask where the line should be drawn for what should be said:

Sofia: I'm thinking of Trump, for example. He could keep a little quieter instead.

Interviewer: About what questions are you thinking?

Sofia: Well about Mexicans, and everyone who shouldn't be allowed in the country, that they're destroying the

country. But it's such people as Trump – in my opinion – who destroy. That he, he has too many opinions. He can keep his opinions a little more limited if he says. […]

Interviewer: Why is it a problem that he […], why does that cause problems?

Sofia: Because that hurts a lot of people. And it is – as soon as you hurt people then that's a bad idea.

This is met with both agreement and counter-arguments. Some of them also state that there can be things that can be good if someone says them, that critical voices are needed.

Ahmed also problematizes this by saying that things may need to be questioned, but on the basis of a completely different perspective:

JI feel that, if we draw the line, then it's not possible to break the norm in any way. In the old days, women did not have the right to vote, and if we set a boundary so that you were not allowed to break the norm, then I mean nothing would ever be changed for the better. I mean you don't know what is best before it is changed.

In all groups, lines of thought are pursued that connect to the thought that denigrating opinions and statements that concern things that can't be changed should not be tolerated. The discussions moved on both an individual and a group/societal level. Some of them mention personality when formulating statements:

It's maybe you, your personality (Saga).

Gabriella uses the concept of identity:

> I think that it's the type of thing that many find difficult to tolerate, that someone else points out – about you and things like that. […] It's probably, you know, to do with your identity, that you think that you are this way. And if someone then comes and points this out, then you maybe think that this sounds negative, or that they're distorting it. And that's what happens, you know that they influence your identity, and who you are. And maybe what you feel about yourself.

In another discussion, she touches on the idea that intolerance in relation to things that you cannot change is particularly serious:

> It is probably also the fact that you can't help where you come from and what you were born as. But you can help your opinions. You can influence them (Gabriella).

Ahmed gives a similar response to the question of what it is most important to be tolerated for:

> The things about yourself that you can't change, I would say […] such as homosexuality and gender – if people don't like me just because I'm a bloke, then I wouldn't be so happy.

In a section when the group focuses on appearance and ways of being as important for not feeling insulted, Jonas also adds religion. On a later occasion, it is made clear that he is not interested in religion himself, but that it can be important to others:

For myself, I don't think religion is so terribly important. Cos I don't find anything in it. If I would go and believe in something or not, that wouldn't change my life. Makes no difference. But I also understand those who […] do (Jonas).

After the discussion in this group had moved on to the Sweden Democrats, and how this party – according to some – is constantly dismissed as being racist despite the fact that that is possibly "not what they mean," I ask if a line of argument that is explicitly racist is OK. Several give negative responses. "Racism is not OK," says Jens. When I continue with this line of questioning, he distinguishes between thinking and saying, and makes it clear that thinking is OK but saying is not. I wonder why:

Because that insults other people, […] just because they look different or have another color of skin. I mean that shouldn't make any difference. You know, they're still people (Jens).

In the group from the Alternative Free City High School, Aisha says "racism shouldn't exist in the year 2016." *Laws* and *rules* constitute a recurring point of reference in the discussions about boundaries for acceptable ways of being or living.

I mean there are laws for what you're allowed to do too (Gabriella).

We have our laws here in Sweden. And they also have to tolerate them even if they maybe don't want to (Angelica).

At the Grammar School, the discussion focuses on newly arrived refugees in one context. That they have not got to learn what laws and rules apply means that they – without themselves knowing or being guilty of it – may act in a way that gives the wrong signals to others and can be a danger. The example given is the use of head protection by children riding bikes.

The theoretical perspectives can be recognized in the lines of reasoning about boundaries. It is taken for granted that things that are considered self-evidently unjust, such as killing or threatening, should not be tolerated. Here drawing the line is relatively straightforward.

Another boundary brought up in the discussions is things that are *harmful*. Andreas's reasoning is that people should be allowed to decide for themselves in their everyday lives, "as long as it doesn't affect anyone negatively." In response to a question about whether it's OK to hit children for the purpose of educating them, Jens says that it is not since it "hurts another person." Others express themselves as follows:

> You have to draw the line for what to tolerate so that you don't hurt anyone else in any way (Ahmed).

> If someone goes in and hurts someone else […] then I mean you should make sure that [they know] that this isn't OK (Gabriella).

> You have to choose sides. […] I can't stand animal cruelty, assaulting people, the sex trade, […] and that's when I make a stand (Aisha).

When it comes to things that hurt, however, it is more difficult to decide on a boundary. One basic approach is that it may be OK not to get involved in what is decided by the individual, while anything that harms others should not be tolerated.

> If it doesn't involve others, and it makes me happy, then you should be able to tolerate it in any case (Amin).

> It's one thing if I decide for myself to take drugs or hurt myself. But I should never get others involved (Sara).

However, it is not so easy to know if something will harm others or not. The fact that, for example, the use of drugs can result in negative consequences for others is touched upon in the groups that discuss this point.

In the interviews, it is also stated that anything that is based on *compulsion* and practices that undermine *the equal value of everyone*, should not be tolerated. Amin uses the expression "your freedom ends where that of other's begins." The group at the Service School moves on to violence and rape when I ask if all ways of living should be accepted. Attention is also directed at violence against women and children, and that rape is not regarded as a crime in certain countries, and the participants emphasize that this is not acceptable. When I ask why, the answer is:

> Because everyone should have an equal value, and the women should be able to live – I mean have an equally high value as the men have in these countries. […] Men and women should be on the same line, so to speak. Child-

ren should be able, I mean they should get to do, what they want, as long as it doesn't cross the line.

Another participant adds that violence and rapes happen in Sweden – despite the fact that "it's not legal" – even without immigration. but maybe not to the same extent.

The importance of everyone's equal value is respected in a number of ways in all discussions. On the subject of corporal punishment of children, Jonas says that – in addition to hurting – this is also about "seeing the person as being less worth". Gina expresses herself in a similar way:

> I don't think it's OK to hurt anyone or look down on anyone, or that "you can't do that cos you're a woman, or cos you're children."

When it comes to compulsion, however, it can be difficult to determine what has been chosen by the individual and what has not. At the Job School, the discussion moves on to ways of dressing. Someone mentions that he has heard that "full-cover veils, where you only see the eyes" when driving a car has been forbidden somewhere, because it involves a risk to others. When I ask for their views on the matter if it didn't apply to a practical situation but generally, in the square or at school, a discussion arises (here, slightly abbreviated):

> *J1:* But if it doesn't involve a risk then I don't think it matters.

> *J2:* Ah, well.

J3: But it's also a kind of oppression of women, doing that. Cos they have to wear it.

J4: Yeah, but it's the men who have told them to, or yeah it's according to religion, so...

J1: Not everyone.

J3: It's not everyone. […]

J2: Yeah, […] like you said then that they've decided themselves, I don't think that any woman from the start has actually written the basic laws that they have in those countries. […] Not here either maybe. What I think is that to a large extent they are written by men, so it's probably a little from our viewpoint mainly. So let's take Europe or the US, there (things have) changed a lot now. But they still live a lot in the old way. […]

Interviewer: The difficult thing here is knowing what is chosen freely and what is not. Let's look at it from the extremes, what you said […] On the one hand, things you choose yourself and that don't affect anyone else are not a problem, but things you haven't chosen for yourself and can be seen as problematical, maybe we shouldn't tolerate that, or?

J3: Yes.

J5: Well, if you're forced to do something, well that's no fun. So that's not something we should accept.

Interviewer: No. What sort of things could that be?

J5: Like being forced to dress that way if you don't want to.

Interviewer: But how can we know, when it's been chosen then, that's the question here?

J5: That's what we can't do.

How to deal with potential clashes is also touched upon later in the discussion. Jonas mentions religion. Someone who is religious must also "abide by the rules that apply here." Another time, he says (without delving further):

I mean all religions should be respected, but then some special thing within them maybe should be taken up and discussed. Things that maybe we don't think are right.

At the end of the discussion, after the group from the Job School has discussed whether a return to more culturally homogeneous societies could entail less conflict, I ask whether it would be easier if we could redraw the world, the reactions are:

Jonatan: No, I mean no...

Jens: That would lead to a greater level of tolerance.

Jonatan: Exactly.

Perspectives on the concept of tolerance

Meanings	Tolerance means putting up with, being able to cope with and accepting things that are disliked. Things that should be tolerated are: ▪ Differences of an individual nature, such as ways of being and looking ▪ Differences at a group/societal level, such as culture, religion and sexual preference (primarily academic programs) ▪ Different opinions (of which, individuals primarily are the bearers) Decisions, rules or circumstances that are disliked (primarily participants from the vocational programs) To behave tolerantly is a type of duty, and means: ▪ Not getting involved (domination perspective) ▪ Assigning a value to differences (although not explicitly connected to the neutrality perspective) ▪ Recognizing exposed groups (primarily the academic programs)
Value	Tolerance is positive because: ▪ Conflict is avoided and stable coexistence can be attained (dominating perspective) ▪ Diversity has an intrinsic value (emphasis on the perspective of the individual) ▪ Inclusion is something desirable – being considered inferior hurts and creates a negative self-image (own experiences from academic programs) ▪ Respect for individuality can be achieved.
Responsibility	Everyone has a responsibility for tolerance (implied duty) However, power analyses emphasize: ▪ That groups in superior positions (such as adults) have a particular responsibility ▪ That subordinate groups have a weak position in relation to the majority in society (primarily academic programs) ▪ That there is frustration over their own powerlessness and being misunderstood and dismissed (vocational programs)
Boundaries	Being insulting is not permissible: ▪ Particularly concerning characteristics that cannot be changed. ▪ However, the benchmarks are to a great extent individual Opinions are focused sharply, and a difference is made between: ▪ Thinking (everyone's right) ▪ Expressing (responsibility to refrain from things that hurt/insult) Boundaries should be set at things that ▪ are unjust, such as killing or threatening ▪ hurt others ▪ are a consequence of compulsion or dismissal of the equal value of everyone Laws and rules can serve as boundaries ▪ However, in practice, a difficult balancing act (primarily academic programs) ▪ Democracy is a way to decide.

TABLE 3: The views of the young people – a summary

Jens: You have to remember that things are different where they come from. And adapt yourself a little to that too. Not just say that they should adapt to how things are here.

The discussion on similar themes is more extensive in the Alternative Free City High School

Andres: There should be guidelines that everyone has to keep to. Even though you maybe come from a different culture and need […] to pray at lunch or whatever […] But that you anyway have to keep to work hours […]. That you stick to the basics and then how you live your daily life in other ways you get to decide for yourself. As long as it doesn't affect anyone else negatively.

Albin: But […] when you get so very much migration here to Sweden, then you have people who want to have prayer criers in the cities. […] Because they want to use their culture here in Sweden. And that when people […] maybe oppose them. […] Cos it affects them, cos they maybe think it's a pain that someone comes and cries out […] at six in the morning. And surely you can understand that that can be a pain. […] But then maybe the others don't tolerate their opinions, because […] we have to get to express ourselves how we want to and so on. That's when things get the way they are towards each other. […]

Aisha: A dilemma.

Angelica: It becomes difficult.

Albin: Yeah, it gets so difficult to draw the lines.

Several participants: Mm.

Albin: And like you can understand both sides.

Alfred: But lifestyles really. […] It's so damn difficult to actually affect them. We live in a country where there are loads of cultures. […] You know, it's not like North Korea, where you have to be locked to something. So purely spontaneously it feels like, well that they can all come here and like do what they want. If you're thinking about ways of living. But […] there would still be many clashes anyway.

The discussion then moves on to how there is a tendency to connect Islam with terror and violence, and not with the fact that that religion is about "being a good person," as Aisha puts it. A little later, she comments that it's not so easy being Swedish "cos how are you when you're Swedish"? And, she adds a little jokingly:

[There are also] those who go home and eat meatballs and potatoes. […] Believe me, that happens (Aisha).

The fact that laws and rules do not constitute something given or unchangeable is also discussed and problematized in this group against the background of a question to the effect that there may be laws that are regarded as unreasonable and unnecessary. Albin

thinks that it is possible to join forces and try to change, and if you don't succeed you have to accept things the way they are. That the laws reflect the circumstances that prevailed when they were enacted can be a problem, says Andreas, since society changes. A little later, this is problematized additionally by Ahmed, from a type of power perspective, in relation to homosexuality.

> That turns into a certain problem. Where it is the minority that has to act.

Clashes between different boundaries are also made visible when one participant talks about how his mother, during a holiday trip in another country, witnessed how a woman slapped her child around the ears, and that such an occurrence resulted in a tricky situation, since corporal punishment of children is permitted both in the country they were in and in the country the woman came from.

Some of the participants' state that *democracy* is a way to establish the boundaries, even if this is not so easy.

> I guess I'm talking about […] fundamental rules established by the UN and the like, that many people have set up together, agreed on. […] It must be things that many people say, or well, a number of people who are voted to do so by a larger number, who get to decide because you think like them. Maybe not about everything, but certain things in any case (Jonas).

> Democracy in that case. There shouldn't be just one person who sets the rules, it should be all of the people who […] unite and try to find a way. But then maybe it would be the

same as we have in society right now, that everyone has different opinions and don't know where things are going (Sofia).

We can […] like in a democratic way arrive at answers and how we should deal with certain problems (Andreas).

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Here again it is possible to state that there are a great deal of parallels to the theoretical discussion, and that the content of the discussions is similar in many ways. Just as before, it is apparent that the students attending the academic programs appear significantly more accustomed to contemplating and discussing problems of this type.

Conclusions and closing remarks

The main points of the young people's discussions about tolerance are summarized in the table below. It shows that the discussions largely center on themes that are highlighted in the theoretical section, but that in certain respects the argumentation is more explicit than in others. The most prominent features are that tolerance is regarded as acceptance for things that are not liked and are different from their own views, that everyone should be tolerant – even if groups in superior positions also have a particular responsibility – and that tolerance largely entails not getting involved, particularly to avoid conflict. Even if the people concerned are very different, what is brought up in all discussions is experiences of not being accepted for who you are or for your opinions; of being regarded as inferior and of feeling powerless. When boundaries are discussed, being insulting is

highlighted as a clear boundary, while the benchmarks are primarily regarded as being individual. Nor should things that are obviously unjust, that do harm or are expressions of compulsion be tolerated. The fact that it is difficult in practice to draw the lines is addressed, and democracy is raised as a practical way to handle this.

The individual-oriented approaches are prominent in the young people's discussions, although there are also participants who connect more to group and social-oriented discussions of principle, which account for a considerable amount of the theoretical literature. This is done, for example, by asserting that certain groups have a more exposed position, both for historical reasons and due to negative stigmatizing pictures of them in today's society. Overall, however, the lines of thought of the young people can primarily be interpreted in a liberal system of values. The individual perspective, with the emphasis on everyone's equal value, on rights and individuality, is prominent and tolerance appears as an implied type of duty.

Even if the content themes in the discussions between the four groups included in the study largely resemble each other, there are also differences. These involve in part the argumentation and in part certain perspectives. The participants from the academic programs engage in both longer and more developed lines of thought compared with the participants from the vocational programs. They use concepts and examples that are more precise and nuanced. In these groups, there are also students who have their own experiences of being questioned for being the person they are, which is connected to more overall power analyses. However, there are also participants who make connections of this type without actually having experienced what they are talking about.

The participants from the vocational programs generally make briefer statements and find it more difficult to develop their lines of thought and to give examples when follow-on questions are asked. The discussions rarely end up on more than a general societal level. The students' own experiences are found here too when they talk about feeling resignation in relation to a societal situation they dislike, or being incorrectly pointed out or dismissed as racists due to their opinions. The participants do not express themselves in these terms, but their way of talking can be interpreted as if they perceive themselves as subordinates and powerless.

Tolerance is regarded as something positive by all of them, and all participants also regard themselves as tolerant people. However, this picture of themselves appears most self-evident in the groups from the Alternative Free City High School and the Grammar School. In the groups from the Job School and the Service School, there are participants who express themselves in a way that can be understood as if they do not consider that their surroundings always view them as tolerant.

There are studies indicating that cognitive development and maturation contribute to increased complexity in reasoning about tolerance. In an Australian study (Witenberg, 2007), children aged 6–7, 11–13 and 15–16 years are compared with each other. The young people included in the present study are older, and all of participants are of the same age. The differences noted in terms of the way of speaking can possibly instead be connected in part to interest in politics and social subjects and in part to the fact that the students' study programs differ from each other. Interest in social subjects is generally higher among the students attending the academic programs and

their education includes significantly larger elements of subjects and teaching involving complex and multidimensional matters such as tolerance. The fact that the discussions in these groups are characterized by comparatively more developed argumentation, more advanced use of concepts and an apparently greater confidence and habit of discussing topics of this type is possibly therefore not so strange.

8. What are we doing with tolerance?

Johan von Essen

Introduction

When Yasri Khan, a nominee to the executive council of the Swedish Green Party, refused to shake hands with a female journalist in spring 2016, the resulting criticism led to him resigning from his political assignments. Insisting on greeting women without taking their hand not only put an end to his political career, but also gave rise to a media and political debate about what should be tolerated in Swedish society. Some claimed that people who live in Swedish society should accept shaking hands with everyone regardless of gender, and refusing to take a woman by the hand should not be tolerated. Prime Minister Stefan Löfven expressed this standpoint during Question Time in parliament on April 21, when he stated: "When people greet one another in Sweden, they take the other by the hand, both women and men. There was also an opposing point of view, as argued by, inter alia, Khan himself in an interview: "How I choose to greet people must be my own personal decision and everyone should be able to decide over their own body" (Aftonbladet, Apr 20, 2016). Khan and many others

claimed that people should be free to make their own decisions about anything that involved their own personal lives.

Although these two opinions were naturally opposed to each other, a binary view of society arises if they are combined, whereby society consists of a public sphere with limited diversity since people as citizens should adapt to their shared society, and a private sphere where people as private individuals are free to act according to their own convictions or traditions[1] VAccordingly, what should be tolerated varies according to whether it pertains to public life or private life. However, what was probably more important and more productive than Khan's greeting without touching hands was the debate that followed, and this debate took place in a public realm that transcends such a binary view of society.

This binary view of society does not harmonize with the fact that people actually do express views and take actions that deviate from society's norms, and that affect other people and therefore cannot always be reduced to private concerns. Since civil society is a public sphere in which individuals are not only anonymous citizens but also members of organizations or communities, scope is provided for discussions about views and actions of the type that are important to and affect others, and can therefore be political discussions. Civil society then becomes a political sphere that transcends institutionalized politics since it provides scope for conflict-laden discussions about the common society.[2] Civil society then encompasses what

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1 See Walzer, 1997, p. 40, for a description of such a social order.

2 By the expression "institutionalized politics," I refer to the political parties' efforts in parliament, county councils and municipalities, as well as the parliamentary system as such, as opposed to politics in a broader sense, which can take place in organizations in civil society, such as social movements and interest groups (see Sörbom, 2002; 2010).

Chantal Mouffe, among others, has called "the political" and that she distinguishes from "politics" (Mouffe, 2006, p. 323). "The political" refers to the hostility and antagonism that exists latently in all societies, while "politics" refers to the practices, discourses and institutions that seek to accomplish social order.

I started with an example of the frequently intense discussions, talks, debates and arguments that have focused on what should be tolerated in Swedish society. In this chapter, I will endeavor to show that tolerance has not only been the object of discussions of tolerance but also a prerequisite for them. I argue that without tolerance, it would not even have been possible to get into disputes about the borders of tolerance. Regardless of how intense these discussions have been, they are preferable to polarization, in which various parties stop talking to those with whom they disagree and only talk to those with whom they feel secure. When "the other" is no longer encompassed by joint discussions then resistance to facts, polarization and dehumanization are close by. Since tolerance is a prerequisite for conflict-laden conversation, I believe that there is a need to reach beyond the un-reflected good ideal of tolerance and work out what tolerance is and talk about how tolerance can be used.

What is tolerance?

That society is tolerant is, of course, important, since it offsets destructive conflicts and protects minorities from oppression and persecution. Accordingly, state institutions, like the schools, have been assigned an important role in fostering tolerance (see, inter alia, Langmann's, and Lundberg and Abdelzadeh's contributions to

this volume). This has also resulted in tolerance being regarded as good without having to reflect about what it really means. That the tolerance ideal is so self-evidently good makes it easy to take what it means for granted, and regard it as an open, generous and forbearing attitude to the world at large. However, if we study how tolerance is used, it becomes apparent that tolerance also presupposes that there are aspects that cannot be tolerated. This duality is reflected in several of the official documents that aim to promote tolerance, because they also aim to counteract certain ideas, primarily racism and pro-violence extremism (see, inter alia, how the Swedish government describes efforts to promote tolerance www.regeringen.se). This complexity shows that understanding tolerance in general positive terms is not enough. So what is tolerance and how should a tolerant approach contribute to a pluralistic society?

Tolerance refers to a personal approach, a politically institutional practice or a philosophical or religious ideal that can arise or be called for by conflicts, and is something that is shown in relation to people or groups that are considered to have opposing views or to be deviant, or in relation to stances and practices that are considered alien and provocative (Habermas, 2008, p. 257; Sigurdson, 2009, p. 174f). Accordingly, tolerance presupposes a conflict, and is something that is shown in relation to those whose viewpoints or practices one rejects but accepts in order to coexist with them.

Thus, for the concept of tolerance to have a content, a latent or explicit conflict is necessary. It is therefore meaningless to talk about tolerance with regard to that to which we are indifferent or with which we agree. Tolerance is also delineated by the legal framework. It is therefore not meaningful to talk about tolerance in connection

with criminal acts. Tolerance thereby relates to legal but conflict-laden viewpoints and practices. In this context, I support the views of the theologian Ola Sigurdson, who states that tolerance pertains to that which exist between the indifferent and the unlawful (Sigurdson, 2009, p. 174f).

In my opinion, however, delineating tolerance to that which we are indifferent is not sufficient because there are things that people dislike, and are thus not indifferent to, but that are not important enough for it to warrant talking about tolerance. You may be keenly active in a sport, politics or culture and regard those who have different views as opponents, without it therefore being meaningful to say that you tolerate them. I am of the view that it is meaningful to talk about tolerance when something is so conflict-laden and so provocative that you could consider whether it would not be better if it were not a part of shared society.

Since the concept of tolerance presupposes a conflict for it to be meaningful, tolerance has been regarded as patiently enduring opinions and practices of the type that are deviant or provocative (Sigurdson, 2009, p. 175). Like patience, tolerance is more a passive acceptance by society than an active approach. When tolerance is defined as "live and let live" we avoid conflicts by accepting that society encompasses that which we regard as alien or that we dislike. But it could also be a resignation to the fact that we have to endure what we would prefer to exclude from society but cannot affect. Tolerance then becomes a kind of distinction between individuals or groups that is maintained by a mutual assurance to permit each other's differences. By tolerating others in return for being left in peace, we avoid meeting people that we dislike. Such a "tolerance of distinction" is reminiscent of the view that we need not or should not take a

position on what other people do in their private lives, but in return we are entitled to not be disturbed by "the other".[3]

With such an understanding, tolerance can easily become something that imposes no duty to manage to bridge the gap between groups or alleviate resistance to anything that is alien. Rather, tolerance through distinction can make society more static and, in the worst case, lead to a more fragmented and polarized society in which people prefer to seek confirmation of their opinions in their own group rather than to permit their opinions to be confronted with what is alien and provocative. My view is that the tolerance ideal when understood as passive acceptance of or resignation to a conflict-laden plurality is a static way of viewing society and one that can give rise to parallel societies that neither have the resources for being changed through interaction with those who are different nor the resources for alleviating the alienation in relation to "the other" that risks giving rise to destructive conflicts

In this case, the concept of tolerance has no political content. Tolerance instead becomes a rational order of things for avoiding conflicts in a heterogeneous society. However, this interpretation makes the concept of tolerance contradictory, since conflict is central to giving tolerance a meaningful content. Accordingly, I argue that it is more fruitful to understand tolerance as a political stance taken voluntarily by people in relation to those people with whom they

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3 By the expression "the other" I mean something above and beyond the trivial idea of how people relate to other people and manifestations of other cultures. The expression refers to meeting and recognizing the otherness or alterity that potentially exists in all meetings but that can become an issue in meetings with anything that is alien or conflict-laden. Here I connect to the rationale of David Tracy (1987) and Emmanuel Levinas (1969) concerning "the other".

coexist but whose viewpoints and practices they reject (cf. Habermas, 2008, p. 258).

Since my view that tolerance as distinction or resignation actually risks increasing alienation rather than resolving conflicts, there is a normative argument against a tolerance ideal that entails endurance or resignation. But there are also conceptual arguments against regarding tolerance as endurance, irrespective of whether tolerance is expressed as generosity or resignation. This derives from the duality implied by tolerance. There has to be both a conflict with and an acceptance of the object of tolerance. For it to be meaningful to talk about tolerating something, it must relate to something that we distance ourselves from but simultaneously accept. Tolerance by means of "live and let live" is to avoid the inherent conflict in tolerance by separating oneself from the aspect that is conflict-laden. Resigning oneself to whatever we cannot affect does not mean that we have accepted the conflict-laden other. By contrast with the way political philosopher Michael Walzer argues about tolerance, I am therefore of the opinion that tolerance is not compatible with resignation in relation to whatever has to be endured (see Walzer, 1997, p. 10). There are, of course, things in the common society that citizens are compelled to accept but that they do not tolerate. Naturally, this does not, of course, prevent forced coexistence from leading to acceptance of the conflict-laden other and thereby to tolerance.

That it is not meaningful to talk about tolerance in relation to that to which we are indifferent has two aspects. Indifference naturally concerns what it is that engages, but it also concerns something that is a shared issue or a private matter. I will now talk about the latter

aspect. I will return to the first part in connection with the criticism that has been directed against the tolerance ideal.

Claiming that we are free to live the way we want, since this is something that is not the concern of other people, entails a privatization of our actions. Most people believe that external parties have no say in matters that pertain to their private lives. Should our surroundings interfere anyway, we can disregard this because it is frequently an expression of curiosity and bad judgment. Accordingly, indifference is not just a matter of the content that a specific phenomenon has; it also presupposes that it is a private concern. People naturally have the right to a private life and we should leave anything that is not shared in peace. However, feminist philosophers, in particular, have criticized and problematized the division into public and private (see, inter alia, Fraser, 1992; Pateman, 1983). What this criticism shows is that the distinction between public and private is something that is constructed and occasionally upheld in order to avoid insight and criticism. Nor is the borderline between private and public a given but is renegotiated continuously.

In sum, tolerance presupposes some form of conflict and what we reject must be something that concerns us, both for reasons of content and because it is a feature of the common society. At the same time, tolerance is a recognition of the aspect that has to be tolerated, so that we accept living with it in a common society.

Criticism of tolerance

Despite the fact that tolerance aims to facilitate peaceful coexistence and provide protection for dissidents, the concept of tolerance and

how it is used in liberal regimes have been criticized (for example, by Brown, 2008; Langmann in this volume; Sigurdson, 2009, pp. 173–183). Since we assume that tolerance is essentially good and we therefore rarely reflect about what the concept of tolerance actually means, it is important to take this criticism seriously. I will now address the part of this criticism that is directed against the tolerance ideal and use it to argue for a way of thinking about tolerance and how this can contribute to dynamic discussions about the communal society.

The first objection to it being obvious that tolerance is a desirable ideal is that a prerequisite for tolerance is that there are also things that are not tolerated. That tolerance presupposes intolerance may appear to contradict an intuitive understanding of tolerance as something generous and permissive. However, if there is nothing that cannot be tolerated, the concept of tolerance becomes meaningless and superfluous. This duality means that the party who tolerates also draws a line for what should not be tolerated. This entails that the concept has an implicit political meaning since it underscores what the good society encompasses and thus also what should be excluded.

That the concept of tolerance encompasses both inclusion and exclusion becomes problematic when individuals or institutions with formal power exercise vertical tolerance by drawing lines for what should or should not be tolerated.[4] When this happens, viewpoints or practices can be excluded or made suspect despite them being legal expressions of the free choice of people, such as when the prime

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4 When the state and public institutions exercise tolerance, I will henceforth designate this as "vertical tolerance." Here, I am using Sigurdson's terminology (p. 175) in order to distinguish the state's tolerance in relation to its citizens from how groups in civil society tolerate each other, which is then called "horizontal tolerance".

minister stated that everyone living in Swedish society should shake hands with both men and women. However, vertical tolerance can also be problematic for those who are tolerated. When public institutions, such as the school system, want to contribute to tolerance of exposed groups, it is easy to say that this is an expression of those in power being able to afford to tolerate those with no power, making it a type of repressive tolerance (Sigurdson, 2009, p. 176f). Since it is a question of wanting to do good, it can be difficult to identify and even more difficult to provide opposition to the paternalistic relationships that result from this form of tolerance. When the power-wielding institutions in society particularly point to certain groups and urge the majority society to tolerate them, these groups become dependent on the good will of society, at the same time as being characterized as so deviant that they should be tolerated. There are good reasons to be suspicious when power-wielding institutions draw lines between what should and should not be tolerated.

The concept of tolerance is politically charged since it stipulates the borderlines for the good society and anything that can be subject to vertical tolerance risks being stigmatized. Sigurdson illustrates this, using a thought experiment, by reasoning about whether the state and society should tolerate homosexual relationships (Sigurdson, 2009, p. 175f). Sigurdson asserts that the thought experiment shows that simply asking the question of whether homosexuality is something that should be tolerated makes homosexuality something deviant and that the tolerance ideal is therefore a politically charged and ambiguous one.

Despite vertical tolerance signaling generosity, it creates normality by distinguishing what is deviant. Accordingly, vertical toleran-

ce can conceal the political conflicts and demands for civil rights behind paternalistic magnanimity. Sigurdson also asserts that it is therefore unreasonable that the state is tolerant when it is actually an expression of a prejudiced view of people and repressive policies. This is a reasonable criticism and there are good arguments for why power-wielding institutions should not point to what should be tolerated or not. To avoid the repression that is associated with vertical tolerance, power-wielding institutions should address the viewpoints and practices that fall within the legal framework, such as civil and political rights, and these should be neither held suspect nor treated as so deviant that they have to be tolerated.

That I agree with Sigurdson's criticism of vertical tolerance should not be interpreted to mean that I believe that the state is (value) neutral. The political parties that are active within institutionalized politics are naturally not value neutral. However, the parliamentary system and the regulations that govern public administration also rest upon specific values (Mouffe, 2006, p. 320f). Institutional politics should rather be considered as negotiations, in which various ideologies and visions can be heard and reshape each other. Thus, the fact that public institutions should not be permitted to decide what is to be tolerated means that the hegemony and public power that these negotiations lead to should not be allowed to determine what is deviant.

However, the tolerance ideal is problematic even if it is not associated with formal power. It could, for example, take the form of a non-obligatory benevolent and apolitical approach to "the multicultural society" that tolerates difference in order to avoid taking a position on and recognizing conflict-laden and challenging religious

convictions, political demands, customs, identities, etc. By tolerating music, food, clothes and other things that provide society with a cosmopolitan nimbus, i.e., things that may potentially cause conflicts are trivialized because the aspects that are tolerated are separated from the identities, faiths, traditions and political positions with which they are expressions of and intertwined. The one who tolerates then assumes the right to separate the aspect that is tolerated from the aspects that are conflict-laden. When this occurs, the tolerance ideal can be criticized for concealing political conflicts by reducing what is different to something well-known or trivial. In the above, I discussed privatization as a form of indifference. This is another way of making the conflict-laden something indifferent, but by trivializing and thus reducing the importance of the aspect that is tolerated.

Moreover, the tolerance ideal's generous recognition of that which is different also conceals a static way of approaching "the other". To avoid the conflict that is associated with confronting the aspects that are different, the aspect that is tolerated can be transformed into something unchangeable. It can then be described as something given by nature or be culturalized so that it becomes a part of a static culture and tradition (Sigurdson, 2009, p. 180). This means that when we tolerate to avoid change, shared concerns, which can give rise to political conflicts, are reshaped into static private concerns. If we take the criticism of the tolerance ideal seriously, tolerance presupposes that something is at stake and that the one who is tolerant exposes herself to "the other", which is different and thus at risk of being changed.

The criticism of how the tolerance ideal is regarded and used shows that tolerance can exclude, stigmatize and trivialize. Accor-

dingly, tolerance is not to generously accept difference, but rather a tolerant approach implies a specific idea of the good society. Tolerance is obviously desirable as an acceptance that society encompasses a plurality. However, for tolerance not to become a "betrayal of sympathy", it cannot conceal or trivialize the conflict that is the actual basis for talking about tolerance (Sigurdson, 2009, p. 177). The criticism shows that it is attractive to avoid or disarm the conflict that gives rise to tolerance by reshaping the other as something well-known. Accordingly, there is justifiable normative criticism of tolerance since it risks devaluing the other. There are, however, also conceptual arguments against tolerating by trivializing conflicts, since it is superfluous and thus meaningless to tolerate anything with which one agrees or to which one is indifferent. It is specifically the viewpoints and practices that provoke and are conflict-laden that are actually meaningful to tolerate.

In light of this conflict-oriented interpretation of the concept of tolerance, there are reasons to question what it means to not tolerate. If tolerance means a preparedness to be exposed to "the other" as different, what we do not tolerate should be the type of thing that we do not want to be exposed to, and therefore not accept and not recognize as a feature of the common society. To tolerate is to recognize the other as an opponent in a conflict. To not tolerate is thus to repudiate the other and to reject the coexistence that is a prerequisite for the conflict.

The normative pluralism of civil society

So far, I have sought precisely to define the concept of tolerance, and thus what it means to be tolerant, by using some of the criticism that has been directed against the tolerance ideal. In order to argue about how tolerance relates to the occasionally conflict-laden discussions that are held between individuals without formal power, I will now leave the matter of vertical tolerance and discuss instead the tolerance that prevails in horizontal relationships.

I agree with Sigurdson's criticism and hold the view that there are good reasons to be suspicious of vertical tolerance since it is exercised by public institutions with formal power. In addition, vertical tolerance specifies how public institutions relate to people as citizens, which means that the state, indirectly, morally regulates what it means to be a citizen. I also take the view, like Michael Walzer, that there are therefore reasons to differentiate how power-wielding institutions and institutionalized politics act from what can be tolerated in civil society. He believes that the state can and should exclude antidemocratic parties from participating in general elections but allow the non-liberal groupings in civil society that precede such parties to take part (Walzer, 1997, p. 9). Like Walzer, my view is that tolerance between individuals who are members of and represent organizations in civil society are shaped by conditions other than vertical tolerance, which presuppose formal power, since this is connected to public institutions.

In horizontal relationships too, power is of course unequally divided, but this is not expressed in the same way because the organiza-

tions in civil society do not have access to formal power.[5] Moreover, this involves relationships between individuals as opinion-shapers for or members of organizations in civil society, and these organizations do not represent public interests and do not represent the entire society. In fact, many of these organizations arise in order to create political subjects who claim the own group's interests and are expected to realize a certain ideology or societal vision (Lichterman & Eliasoph, 2014, p. 812). Accordingly, the civil society's organizations may be in a position of opposition to public institutions and in conflict with the majority society or other organizations in civil society (Trägårdh, 2010; Wijkström, 2001, p. 139f).

This means that when we talk about horizontal tolerance, we need not take into account the responsibility of public institutions to represent and include all citizens and treat them on equal terms. Instead, we have to relate to the many different and not rarely competing ideologies, faiths, societal vision and values that organizations in civil society are expected to realize.

Civil society fulfills several different contradictory functions and the concept of civil society is therefore ambiguous and normative (von Essen, 2012, p. 27f). There is an academic and political interest in civil society functioning as a school of democracy, a watchdog, a welfare producer, and a political sphere. More seldom, however, civil society is also highlighted as an arena of conflict that encompasses

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5 The Swedish Sports Confederation and the Swedish National Council of Adult Education are organizations in civil society that are intended to operate "in the place of an authority" and therefore have a position that resembles that of a public administration. Certain organizations in civil society also serve as bodies that are appointed to consider proposed legislation and thus have an influence on public administration. So, certain organizations in civil society also have some access to formal power. This, however, applies to relatively few organizations and the opportunity to influence public institutions is limited.

normative pluralism.[6] If we accept that the political, religious and other opinions that are linked to outlooks on life that we empirically find in organizations in civil society constitute civil society, there is no given privileged normative position on the basis of which we can assign a value to these competing ideologies and societal visions. According to who one is, some of the opinions that are expressed in civil society will be regarded as provocative and even dangerous. But if we accept civil society's normative pluralism, the ideologies that the majority society distances itself from will not be excluded from civil society on the grounds of being adjudged to be uncivilized. However, that there is no privileged normative position does not mean that civil society is amoral or apolitical; in fact, it is shaped by strong ideological positions and political conflicts.

That civil society is shaped by a provocative normative pluralism means that we will also encounter provocative expressions of tolerance. Accordingly, there is reason to return to Sigurdson's thought experiment concerning whether society should tolerate homosexual relationships. Sigurdson claims that the question about tolerance of homosexuality shows that vertical tolerance can be an expression of a prejudiced view of people and a repressive policy. However, he also seems to be critical of horizontal tolerance, since he believes that private individuals reveal their own prejudice and reproduce asymmetrical power relationships when they assert their tolerant approach to the individuals and groups in society that they regard as deviant (Sigurdson, 2009, p. 176). Accordingly, Sigurdson's view is that there is scope for being critical about the tolerance of people if it rests on invalid premises, because it is then a form of repression. Here, it is important to underscore the fact that Sigurdson is talking about

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6 Texts that illuminate this aspect of civil society include Amnå, 2005; von Essen, 2012, p. 37ff; von Essen & Segnestam Larsson, 2013; and, Wijkström, 1998.

the concept of tolerance and not about the values that people have. Jürgen Habermas adopts a similar approach and claims that valid reasons are required in order to reject the viewpoint that is tolerated. If one does not have valid reasons for what one rejects, it is actually not tolerance that one is displaying but prejudice and discrimination. Habermas's view is that tolerance is only possible once discrimination and prejudice have been defeated (Habermas, 2008, p. 259).

Thus, Sigurdson and Habermas argue that the concept of tolerance as such has a definite normative meaning. Accordingly, the concept of tolerance is dependent on a certain type of values, and it is not the tolerating subject herself who decides which values determine what is to be tolerated. In contrast to this way of determining what tolerance is, I take the view that the concept of tolerance cannot have a specific normative meaning if it is to be meaningful to use for the relationships that prevail in civil society and its normative pluralism. .

It may be illuminating to consider, like Sigurdson, that the concept of tolerance is a "normatively conditional concept", which means that it must be taken back to some sort of normative position (Sigurdson, 2009, p. 183).[7] This means that, depending on the normative opinions that people have, they will reject and rebut the viewpoints and practices that conflict with their own opinions. The thing that is tolerated is then something that people reject but can still accept to coexist with. But if we follow Sigurdson and Habermas, the concept does not seem to be dependent on any type of moral conception, but only the conceptions that are morally valid. This means that a person

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7 Sigurdson states that the concept of tolerance presupposes some "concept of justice". I have chosen the broader expression – normative position – to avoid limiting the rationale to theories of justice, thus highlighting a view that differs from the one proposed by Sigurdson.

who, on the basis of her values or outlook on life, does not accept homosexuality or a religious faith but claims to be tolerant of homosexuals or religious people, is actually not tolerant but prejudiced. Thus, according to this way of viewing the concept of tolerance, it is not sufficient to reject certain viewpoints and practices in order to be tolerant, it is also necessary to have valid reasons for making the rejection. In that case, only those who have a certain type of values or outlooks on life can be considered tolerant. Those who do not have valid values are actually concealing their prejudice behind hypocritical tolerance or have not understood what tolerance is.

My view is that when it comes to vertical tolerance, there is scope for criticizing the tolerance ideal since it applies to the relationships between individual citizens and public institutions, which have to take into account a certain constitutional and legal order. However, civil society is shaped by other conditions and my view is that we must relate to tolerance in another way.

Vertical and horizontal tolerance are naturally mutually dependent. Both the demarcations made in the legal framework between what is permitted and not permitted and general opinions about what is decent and not affect what is tolerated by individuals in civil society's organizations. Accordingly, the normative pluralism of civil society is affected by power relationships and subconscious norms. However, how values or outlooks on life arise does not change the fact that individuals and groups have different and contradictory values, and that, on the basis of them, they consider themselves tolerant to that which they dislike but accept. I argue that if a certain type of tolerance is categorized as prejudice, this is actually a criticism of the values that result in tolerance being regarded as prejudice or

oppression. Considering the concept of tolerance as a normatively conditional concept is correct because it rests on the values held by the person who is tolerant. Tolerance then has no given liberal, conservative, religious or other content but is a function of the values and concepts that people actually have. We can criticize the values that result in our believing that tolerance is an expression of prejudice and paternalism, but this does not stop us from accepting that tolerance is dependent on the values held by people.

Since people have different conceptions, what people tolerate will vary, thus making tolerance a conflict-laden and politically charged issue. Since I am interested in how tolerance can uncover conflictual interfaces between people and groups in civil society, and how tolerance can contribute to dynamic discussions I accept that what is tolerance for some people is prejudice and paternalism for others. Accordingly, I share Sigurdson's view that tolerance presupposes *some sort of* normative viewpoint. However, because I am interested in reasoning about tolerance in civil society, my view, as opposed to those of Sigurdson and Habermas, is that the concept is not dependent on *a specific* normative viewpoint.

A minimal conception of tolerance

With the understanding of the concept of tolerance that I propose, it seems that tolerance is reduced to an analytical tool that is devoid of content and is therefore trivial. My view, however, is that while the concept does not have a definite normative content, it presupposes the implicit taking of a position that provides it with content and makes it somewhat more than just an analytical tool. In the way I have

reasoned about the concept of tolerance, tolerance can be described as the tension that arises when people agree to coexist with views or practices that they reject. It is thus not meaningful to talk about tolerance regarding anything about which people are indifferent. Nor is it meaningful to talk about tolerance when we have resigned to the fact that we have to coexist. In the first instance, this would mean that we tolerate that to which we are indifferent; in the second, it concerns what we actually have not accepted about the other. Intolerance then means to exclude "the other" in some way from the communal society. That which is not tolerated is so reprehensible that not even the conflict is meaningful, and what then remains is separation or repression.

I have not examined the concept of tolerance just in order to define it, but to study which resources it contains that could contribute to a society in which people can coexist with their differences, and in which conflicts can offer productive political opportunities. It is close at hand, however, to romanticize difficult and dangerous antagonisms, because the diversity of ideologies and societal visions that characterize civil society also encompass that which is repressive, threatening and dangerous. This means that even with a conflict-laden interpretation of the concept of tolerance, we cannot tolerate everything and it is hard to avoid the issue of where to draw the line for tolerance. It is also close at hand to envisage that the normative pluralism of civil society applies solely in civil society. Civil society would then be a moral free zone, in which people can articulate and test their moral viewpoints together with others (see, inter alia, Amnå, 2005). However, people do not hold political opinions simply in order to test them in civil society, but rather they fight to imple-

ment them throughout society, and sometimes they succeed. Some of the political positions that we find in civil society must therefore be taken with the utmost seriousness, and institutional politics must be able to defend the remainder of society.

In addition to the fact that the conflict-laden interpretation of tolerance, of which I am a proponent, runs the risk of concealing tangible threats, it also has an inherent contradiction. That tolerance does not negate but actually presupposes conflict means that the other is accepted, at the same time as the views and practices of the other are rejected and subjected to influence. This means that the one who tolerates wishes that the thing that is tolerated was different. This may appear to be an unfortunate contradiction, and mean that understanding tolerance in this way is ill-conceived. My view, however, is that acceptance of the thing that is rejected describes a dialectic that can provide scope for a specific interaction. The contradiction between acceptance and rejection then becomes a prerequisite for this type of interaction. Should the contradiction be dissolved, tolerance would lose its meaning and be transformed into indifference or resignation, and the interaction would cease because the conflict-ridden "other" would disappear[8] Accordingly, we have arrived at the point where we can discuss the conversation as an opportunity for change.

8 See also how Bengt Kristensson Uggla describes Ricœur's dialectic between the self and otherness (Kristensson Uggla, 2011, p. 27). See also Trägårdh's contribution to this anthology.

Conversation beyond indifference, self- affirmation and repression

By means of introduction, I put my foot down against a binary view of society in which the only important aspects were institutionalized politics and private life, since tolerance is superfluous in a society where deviant opinions and practices are not permitted or are private. Nor does such a society attach any significance to conversations between groups and individuals, or to the political importance that these conversations have (Mouffe, 2006, p. 320; Walzer, 1997, p. 89).

I argue that civil society can provide scope for conversations that are neither trivial nor private and that can change society. It is in conversation with "the other", regardless of whether it is an individual or text, that we can change because we have an opportunity to reinterpret that which we have taken for granted (Tracy, 1987) and, with the help of the other's criticism, to (re)consider our vision of the good life (Ricœur, 2011). But, by debating with those with whom we disagree, we can, on the other hand, also understand how important it is actually to defend our conceptions and we get help in sharpening our arguments (Tännsjö, 2013). Conversation is also the form of communication we have to, when possible, talk sensibly with each other with the objective of letting everyone's voice be heard when we make decisions (Dryzek, 1990). Finally, it is in conversations with those with whom we disagree that our views can be charged with political importance beyond private opinions (Alexander, 2006). Conversation sounds civilized and suggests common agreement. However, conversations can also be highly conflict-laden and heated, not aimed at reaching agreement, but at revealing conflicts and threatening positions. In this context, I am using conversation as a generic

term, which pertains, inter alia, to those interactions in which antagonism may become agonism (Mouffe, 2006, p. 323). Conversation then means that the conflict-laden other stops being an enemy that has to be excluded and becomes a political opponent who has to be convinced and changed.

To avoid the risk of romanticizing the conversation, it is important to remember the necessary contradiction between accepting and changing the other. Open conversation is all too frequently used to threaten and insult people. By referring to the conversation and freedom of expression, one legitimizes hate and insolence targeted at people who express their views. However, this is actually an attack dressed up as a conversation, since the conversation is used in a way that counteracts its purpose. Threats and insults do not mean that one accepts the other despite a conflict but that one wipes out the other, and this is not included in what I designate as conversation.

Thus, conversation, in the broad sense that I give the term, is productive in various ways, can have various expressions, and is the form of coexistence to which we have access so that exclusion, or living with a conflict, does not become the only way to resolve the conflict. This means that conversation between people who coexist in the same society shapes both people and society, thus making it the way politics operates (Arendt, 2005).

Tolerance is considered to be a sign of maturity, and the intolerant is easily regarded as repressive and unimaginative. At the same time, tolerance means accepting that which is conflict-laden and provocative. To be able to be tolerant without exposing yourself to the conflict-laden other, and thus to neither risk being changed nor being repressive, it is appealing to separate oneself from those one

believes are not worth talking to. Although refusing to recognize the other is occasionally regarded as courageous or clear-sighted, it means that the other remains an enemy and that the conversation as an opportunity for change is lost. The fact that people join together in organizations is necessary to make their voices heard and form a joint identity. It is specifically such organizing that constitutes the normative plurality of civil society and provides scope for "politics". But to separate oneself and refuse to criticize, argue, influence and converse with those whose views one rejects is to relinquish an opportunity to affect the communal society that we have at our disposal, rather than choose separation or repression.

9. Schooling tolerance – an educational art

Elisabet Langmann

Introduction

GIs it possible to teach away xenophobia and intolerance? Can we be cured of the "xenophobic within us" (SOU 2012:74)? In such case, what characterizes education of this kind? These questions seem as relevant today as when Theodor Adorno (2003/1966, my translation), in a radio talk fifty years ago, suggested that the school's main task is to ensure that it never re-creates a new Auschwitz. Although the wording is incisive, in light of Adorno's statement, it can be seen as a failure of the Swedish school's work on values that every seventh voter in the Swedish general election of 2014 voted for a party that has historical ties to the white supremacist movement. The refugee drama since the election that has taken place in Europe and the terrorist attacks that have shaken its foundations have not only made people, in different contexts, start to talk about solidarity and global justice. They have also contributed to sharper border controls, greater

antagonism between "us" and "them", and a reinforced fear of the other.

In this chapter, I will approach the question of the school's opportunities to counteract xenophobia and intolerance in the growing generation by taking a starting point in democratic society's perhaps most fundamental but also disputed value – tolerance.[1] Ever since the "values crisis" of the 1990s, when politicians put the handling of pluralism and diversity at the center of school activities, talk in the 2000s about the Swedish school has almost exclusively focused on a "knowledge crisis" (Bergdahl, 2014; Liedman, 2016). Declining results in international measurements of achievement and inadequate subject knowledge have for long been highlighted as the school's biggest challenges. Due to a one-sided focus on students' academic results, the school's work on values has been increasingly characterized by ready-to-use method material, for use on concentrated specific theme days, or separated from the regular curriculum so as to be outsourceable (Bergh, 2013; Englund & Englund, 2012; Skolverket, 2012; SOU, 2012:74). One tendency is for the school to start to rely on external actors' promises of goal achievement and successful outcomes when it comes to teachers' fostering tasks, while professional responsibility for and responsiveness to what happens in the concrete teaching situation are overshadowed.

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1 It is common for a distinction to be made between institutional and interpersonal tolerance (Forst, 2013). Institutional tolerance concerns the relationship between a democratic state and its citizens. Interpersonal tolerance is about how we live and shape our lives with others on an interpersonal level. While the former has its roots in the Enlightenment and the handling of religious conflicts, tolerance as an inter-human phenomenon is a much older idea in Western thought (Fiala, 2005). It is interpersonal tolerance that is in focus in this chapter.

The purpose of this chapter is to offer teachers an alternative entry-point to the pedagogy of tolerance by establishing that the school's work on values also has a substantive dimension and is therefore something that should permeate all subjects. This idea is also present in the national curriculum where the professional teacher's "dual mission" is to integrate knowledge and upbringing in education and not to see them as two separate pedagogic tasks (Lp 2011). Inspired by continental philosophical thinkers, like Hannah Arendt and Klaus Mollenhauer, and with concrete examples from the classroom, I problematize what I call the "methodology of tolerance", where the responsibility for didactic situations of choice tends to be assigned to someone other than the teacher and located outside the teaching situation (Langmann, 2013). Instead, I want to propose more fruitful ways for teachers to progress in their teaching, if the purpose is to school resistance to xenophobia and intolerance in the growing generation.

The chapter is divided into three parts, each of which corresponds to one of didactics' basic questions: Why should we teach about tolerance? In what does the educational matter of tolerance consist? How can the concept of tolerance be opened up and arouse interest in the study of different subjects? A central point of the chapter is that the school's task is not to produce tolerant people, or citizens, but to arouse an interest and a willingness on the part of the growing generation to shape and reshape the principles of tolerance in their own lives and in those situations where the principles are brought to a head. For such a form of address in teaching to be possible, teachers need to take their point of departure in the rich, but also multi-layered, story that the concept of tolerance carries with it, while keeping

the fundamental principles of tolerance open to retesting and reforming. If we follow Arendt (2004), it is precisely in this encounter between "the past and the future," between the tested and that which has still not been formed, that the growing generation's resistance to streams of totalitarianism can grow.

Contradictory tolerance: why should we teach about tolerance?

I choose to start this text in a classroom, specifically during a history lesson in an upper-secondary (junior high) school class somewhere in Sweden. The reason is that a key challenge to the school's work on tolerance seems to be constituted by the following question: How do I, as a teacher, convey the importance of showing tolerance in meetings with other people, without simultaneously stigmatizing some lives and bodies as abnormal and less desirable in the community? If this question remains unreflected upon in education, there is the risk that the school's work on tolerance only confirms an us-and-them mentality in the students, a way of thinking that neither leads to greater mutual understanding between people nor counteracts xenophobia and intolerance in the growing generation: "we" who are normal and ordinary should be tolerant of "those" who are strange, different or abnormal.

The event reported on is inspired by a lesson in a set of method material in Swedish called Ten lessons about tolerance (Mattson & Hermansson Adler, 2012, p. 131-132). Although the event is fictitious, its reliability rests in the extent to which the phenomenon focused upon is recognizable and linked to teachers' and students' everyday

world of experience (van Manen, 1990). A history lesson has just begun, and its theme is tolerance and the lessons we can draw from history. The teacher has just finished a story about how Jewish refugee children were received in Sweden during the years 1938–39, and the resistance and strong reactions aroused in many Swedes against welcoming the children. With the help of authentic life fortunes and photographs from the past, the characters in the teacher's story have temporarily emerged as living people of flesh and blood. Although no explicit parallels have yet been drawn to the current refugee situation in Europe, it constitutes, indirectly, a background against which topical issues can be discussed.

The atmosphere in the classroom is strikingly serious when the teacher now chooses to introduce the discussion exercise "Can I live next to you?" Sitting on the teacher's desk, the teacher reads out a number of sentences to the pupils, and poses the same question after each one of them. Each question is followed by a short pause for the students to have an opportunity to write down their spontaneous thoughts and feelings:

> The teacher: "I'm handicapped. Can I live next to you?" Pause. The students write. "I'm an alcoholic. Can I live next to you?" Pause. The students write. "I'm gay. Can I live next to you?" Pause. The students write. "I am poor and get income support from social services. Can I live next to you?" Pause. The students write.

The idea of the lesson arrangement is to allow the students' responses to provide the basis for a joint discussion of the principle

of all people' equal worth and the need to show tolerance towards vulnerable and marginalized groups and individuals in society.

At the same time, the lesson and exercise "Can I live next to you?" provides a vivid example of the criticism that has recently been directed at the school's work on tolerance (see, for example, Bromseth and Darj, 2010; Ambjörnsson, 2004). Although the discussion exercise is intended to be about all people's equal worth, it is based on a specific relationship between the one who tolerates and the one whom is tolerated, a relationship or state of togetherness that can almost be described as that between a generous host and a less welcome guest. When the teacher, through the various questions, presents the students with the choice of living next to people they in advance are supposed to have a more or less negative attitude towards – the functionally disabled, homosexuals, alcoholics and social-welfare recipients – it is not only an us-and-them mentality that is reinforced in the teaching. The teacher has also intimated that some people – like the Jewish refugee children during the late 1930s – are only the open and democratic society's guests and therefore do not really belong there.

Why teach about tolerance?

Against this background, it might be asked why at all tolerance should be made into an object of the school's work on basic values. Why not just leave tolerance behind us in our efforts to counter xenophobia and intolerance in the growing generation, and focus instead on more positively charged concepts, such as responsibility, generosity or respect?

A simple answer to this question is that the concept of tolerance is found both in the document controlling Sweden's national schooling and in the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the text on basic values in Swedish school curricula (Lp 2011), tolerance is treated as one of the virtues that schools should foster; and, in the UN Declaration (Article 26 § 2), it is stated that education should promote tolerance between nations and also between different racial and religious groups. Also, when teachers are asked to reflect on which democratic values they consider to be most important in education, tolerance was one to which they often return (Afdal, 2006). Similarly, tolerance is one of the values and principles in philosophy and political theory that historically has been highlighted as a bearing idea for a democratic, peaceful and egalitarian society (Forst, 2013).

At the same time, it is important to note that it is not as an abstract moral principle or as a universal democratic value that the need for tolerance is brought to the fore in everyday life's lived and sometimes conflict-filled encounters. Here, it is enough to turn to the xenophobic tendencies and extremist acts that seem to be gaining an ever stronger foothold in both Sweden and Europe, for us to be reminded of the importance of what I will continue to call a lived and practiced tolerance (Langmann, 2013). Nor is it sufficient in education to offer enlightenment concerning the general principles of a tolerant behavior, if the purpose is to school a resistance to xenophobia and intolerance in the growing generation. Children and young people also need to experience the basic, but also difficult-to-interpret, conditions for the lived dimension of tolerance in education, if they are to be able to shape their lives as if the principles actually

mean something (Todd, 2010). Or, to use the philosopher Jon Elster's description of the complex in the value- and rearing-task:

> As every parent knows, you must first teach your children the importance of distributive justice, and then how insignificant this is compared with the importance of generosity and compassion. The first is simple because you just need to follow the rule book; the second is incomparably more difficult (Elster, 1983, p. 52 [my translation]).

I would like therefore to offer teachers a more sophisticated answer to the question of tolerance's being or not being in the school's work on basic values by getting a grip on the fact that we are all born into a world that we share with others from the very beginning, and that plurality and difference therefore constitute a fundamental mode of existence for human togetherness (Arendt, 1998; see also Ruitenberg, 2015). Plurality is a factuality, as Arendt puts it. The writer, Göran Rosenberg, has described an individual's constitutive dependence on others to become herself as follows: "When a human being takes her existence for granted, when she believes she is the product of her own works, when she gets the idea that she is not dependent on anyone else to be able to be herself ... she has lost touch with the basic conditions for her humanity" (2003, p. 13, my translation).

That the school's work on tolerance is based on the human being's dependence rather than her independence requires that we, as teachers, are aware that our students are already open to difference (Ahmed, 2000). Sometimes, students encounter differences in life that can challenge and change them in a creative and playful way. Sometimes, they are faced with differences that can threaten or even

destabilize the conceptions they have about themselves and others, as when some students say they feel worried, perhaps even fearful, or uncomfortable when they encounter individuals from nearby refugee accommodation or students wearing nationalist or religious symbols in school. In both cases, the individual encounter testifies to a fundamental openness or vulnerability to difference, an openness, without which human interaction would become static, and teaching and learning more or less impossible (Biesta, 2006; Todd, 2010).

It is also in this context that the importance of a lived, embodied and molded tolerance is actualized as a central question for the school's work on basic values. Characteristic of tolerance, both as a concept and a lived phenomenon, and which distinguishes it from other closely related concepts, is that it is only in encounters with that which, for various reasons, we find disturbing, threatening or have difficulty accepting in other people, that the need for a lived and molded tolerance arises (Brown, 2006; Forst, 2013). If we perceive the encounter with the other as positive, unproblematic, or even just neutral or indifferent, what is there to tolerate? This special feature of tolerance can be traced to the concept's etymological origin, tolerantia, which can be translated into to endure, to bear a burden, or to put up with something (Oxford Latin Dictionary 1976, pp. 1946-1947). When we, in everyday contexts, say that a person has a high pain tolerance, we also mean that the person has the capacity to bear and endure something that most of us regard as negative, namely pain and suffering.

Therefore, in philosophy and political theory, the areas in which the special features of tolerance have been most thoroughly discussed, the following kind of definition has been offered (see, for

example, Forst, 2013, pp. 17-26; Fiala, 2005, pp. 18-20; Routledge Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, 1998, 429-433). An individual is tolerant in her encounter with another human being if she: 1) harbors negative feelings or opinions about something in the other; 2) has an opportunity and thereby the power to act on her negative feelings or opinions, but voluntarily chooses to refrain from acting; and 3) draws a boundary between what should and what should not be tolerated in the other.

A more existential way of giving expression to the special features of tolerance is to say that a lived and practiced tolerance' is about the encounters in life where the choices between openness and the drawing of boundaries, between welcoming and hostility, between bearing and enduring our negative emotions and judgments about another person or acting upon them are no longer taken for granted and therefore are brought to their head (Langmann, 2013). It is also because such hard-to-assess encounters seem to be an unavoidable part of human togetherness and the world we share with others, that it becomes both urgent and meaningful to make tolerance a part of the school's work on basic values.

Back to the classroom

To illustrate this distinctive feature of tolerance, we head back to the classroom, this time for a lesson in a Swedish high school. The event that is described is again fictitious and inspired by the exercise "I tolerate you" in a body of Swedish method material, called BRYT!, about norms in general and heteronorms in particular (Darj & Nathorst-Böös, 2008, pp. 69-71; see also Edemo & Rindå, 2006).

A lesson in civics starts to come to an end, and the purpose of the lecture in question has been to problematize the relationship between the one who tolerates and the one who is tolerated, thereby putting issues of power and norms in the center. There is an excited atmosphere in the classroom, and the students are scattered in small groups for discussion. The following has just taken place. At the beginning of the lesson, the students were divided into two and two by the teacher. Then, they were instructed to say a little about themselves to each other. Based on what was said, they then took turns in assuming the role of being the one who tolerates or the one who is tolerated. The one who tolerates was urged, kindly and without judgment, to comment on both the other's appearance and life choices by expressing her tolerance in different ways. The tolerated was asked to say "Thank you" after each comment. To get the students going, the teacher gave the following example at the start of the lesson:

> The teacher: "Ok, have you all understood what you are going to do?" A murmur of assent is heard from the students. The teacher continues: "So, when you are the one who tolerates, you should avoid putting any judgments into what you say, like, 'You have nice hair' or 'Your shoes are stylish,' but just comment on what you see. For example, 'I can put up with your hair being that color' or 'For me, it's ok that you're wearing brown shoes'. Are you with me? A scattered "Yes" is heard from the students. The teacher: "Good! The same applies when you are going to comment on each other's life choices, you do not make any judgments, but just say, 'I have no problem with you playing ice-hockey during your leisure-time' or 'I accept

your having a girlfriend'. And you, who is being tolerated, don't forget to say 'Thank you' after every comment."

The idea of the lesson design is to get the students' experiences of the exercise to act as a basis for a conversation about the unequal power relationship that arises between people who are inside the norm (and thereby have the power to choose to tolerate other people's appearances and life choices) and people who find themselves outside the norm (and are often expected to be grateful for any tolerance shown).

Although the exercise "I tolerate you" clearly takes as its starting point in the criticism that has been directed at work for tolerance in school. I would maintain, at the same time, that one of the unique features of tolerance is lost in the lesson design. The examples initially given by the teacher, and that set the tone for the aspects of the other that can be highlighted and commented upon in the exercise, are of rather trivial things that can only exceptionally be said to mean anything of importance for the students. I would like to go as far as to say that, without an element of resistance, aversion or fear of the other's otherness, it is doubtful whether the exercise in general can be even said to be about tolerance (Langmann, 2013). If the teacher had instead given examples like "I can put up with you having swastikas on your shoes," or "I accept that you do not take women by the hand in public", then suddenly something else is at stake. A conversation could have been pursued on the basis of issues central to tolerance: Should I accept this or say no? Where is the boundary to my tolerance? How much "negative" difference am I able to bear and endure? (Langmann, 2013). These and similar questions are absolutely central

to the school's work for tolerance, because the need for tolerance only arises when something about the other disturbs or even disrupts an individual's perception of what is right and wrong, good and evil, familiar and unfamiliar. As the philosopher, Andrew Fiala, aptly puts it: "Individuals cannot share a life in common without giving up something of value. And tolerance requires us to sacrifice the comfortable sense of self-certainty that is found in closed communities (2005, p. 2).

A question for each one of us

In what follows, I want therefore to propose an alternative approach to how teachers can teach about tolerance that takes both tolerance's unique characteristics and the criticism that has been leveled against the school's work for tolerance seriously. While education for tolerance has been criticized for consolidating we-and-them thinking in students by focusing on already vulnerable or marginalized groups in society, such education takes its point of departure in that we as teachers are never in advance able to determine the situations in students' lives where the need for a lived and embodied tolerance will arise. While social norms are mandatory and universal, values are always particular and founded in experience. "Norms compel us, values attract us," writes Rosenberg (2003, p. 19).

The educational challenge of the school's work for tolerance becomes therefore how teachers in the education they provide can arouse a desire and an interest in the growing generation to embody or "translate" the general principles of tolerance in an individual and specific case, i.e., in the concrete situations in students' lives where

a shaping of the principles of tolerance requires them to adopt a position (Todd, 2010). Thereby, tolerance is not only a question of how individuals who find themselves inside the norm should relate to different minority groups, but it can be made into an existential and universal human issue for everyone.

Putting something on the table: in what does tolerance's educational matter consist?

So far I have dwelt on the following didactic question: Why should we teach about tolerance? I have argued that, even though teachers find formal support in both the national curriculum and the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the answer to this question should be based on the idea that the need for a lived and molded tolerance seems to be an unavoidable part of human coexistence and a world we share with others. From this point of departure, I now turn to the second didactic issue in focus of this chapter by drawing attention to the school's work on basic values also having a specific knowledge content. If tolerance is to be made into an educational issue for each and every one of us, there also needs to be something concrete to explore and investigate, something that I as a teacher can "put on the table" to turn up and around with the students. In other words: In what does tolerance's educational matter consist?

Although the book has received less attention in a Swedish context, Klaus Mollenhauer's Forgotten Connections: On Culture and Upbringing (2014) is internationally regarded as one of the most important continental philosophical contributions to education in the

2000s, Mollenhauer argues here that education and teaching are not, in the first instance, to be understood in terms of learning processes and various teaching techniques, but in terms of how the teacher selects, presents and transmits the content of a shared cultural heritage from one generation to another. As each new generation needs to be introduced to a world that precedes it, education and teaching are by necessity directed at the past. Like for Arendt (2004), therefore, the central pedagogic issue for Mollenhauer is the relationship between the generations and how teachers in their work can relate to the field of tension that arises between the world as it is and the world as it should be able to be, between freedom and restriction, between the actual and the possible. Against this background, the school's work on basic values is ultimately concerned with introducing children and young people to the democratic values and principles that previous generations have held in esteem and regarded as central to human coexistence, without, for that reason, closing the door to the renewal of their content that each new generation bears with it.

If we follow Arendt (2004), we live simultaneously at a time when the West's traditional ideas and values have largely lost their self-evident authority and meaning. After the Nazi and Stalinist totalitarian regimes of the 1900s, our established categories and concepts, according to her, seem no longer to be sufficient to understand and respond to the unimaginable horrors, and the extinction of plurality and human difference, that followed in the wake of these regimes. The core democratic values and principles that have previously guided us, and that we wanted to transfer to the growing generation come across therefore, according to Arendt (2004), as drained of significance and meaningful content, like empty shells on the beach.

In the same way, tolerance seems to be a concept that has largely lost its meaning in the school's work on basic values. Although the word itself appears in education-policy documents, in textbooks and pedagogic initiatives, it is far from clear what tolerance, as a concept and lived phenomenon, is more specifically envisaged to represent. As the educational researcher, Paul Vogt, puts it:

> Tolerance has often become one of those empty goals that sound important but commit educators to very little. Seldom has explicit attention been paid to what tolerance in fact is and, therefore, to how one could hope to teach it. (Vogt, 1997, p. 177; see also Afdal, 2006)

Against this background, a central task of the school's education for tolerance is to return to the idea's traditions of thought so as distil from them anew their original spirit which has so sadly evaporated from the very key words of the political language's keywords (Arendt, 2004). Such content-oriented education of tolerance must, at the same time and of necessity, have an experimental and exploratory element to have a bearing on our contemporaneous challenges. For Arendt, our time's educational challenge consists in how children and young people can learn to think and use their own judgment without the guidance of the given models and rulebooks that the tradition has previously offered. "With the loss of tradition," Arendt writes, "we have lost the thread that safely guided us ... but this thread was also a chain that shackled every succeeding generation at some predetermined aspect of the past." "Maybe," she continues, "the past will only now open up to us with unexpected freshness and tell us things that no one before had had ears to hear" (2004, p. 104 [my translation]

The point of Arendt's analysis is not that the democratic society's traditional values and principles have lost their significance and position in the school's work on basic values. It is rather a different approach to how we, as teachers, can select, present and transfer the content of a given cultural heritage to the growing generation that she offers. While advocates of conservativism usually see the content of tradition as something relatively unproblematic to transfer and preserve in education, progressive advocates regard such transfer as highly problematic since the tradition always represents a certain group's values and norms (in this case, those of the Western world), and will therefore always reproduce social injustices (Gordon, 2001). This criticism is relevant not least in a pluralistic and multicultural society, where questions about what should be preserved in a given cultural heritage and what needs to be changed constantly arise. What Arendt draws our attention to in relation to the school's work on basic values is that we as teachers do not have to choose between these two extremes. Without a specific content to the school's work for tolerance, students have nothing that they can uniquely create in their encounter with other people. And without that which is uniquely shaped or created, the content of a given cultural heritage cannot be renewed and live on.

In other words, we need to focus attention on how study of the rich but also multi-layered tradition borne by the concept of tolerance can arouse interest in the growing generation in translating and shaping the general principles of tolerance in practice and in life. Or, to put the issue another way, how can we turn to tradition while, at the same time, keeping the bearing principles of tolerance open to retesting and reshaping? According to the educational philosopher, Sharon

Todd (2015), the answer to this question lies precisely in teachers' developing what she calls a perspective of specificity in education:

> Developing a perspective of specificity in education is not some sly maneuver that ushers relativism in the backdoor. It is a rather complex moral and political engagement with pluralism that allows us to focus on the ways in which individuals, and their becoming, matter to the furthering of justice –and education itself. Far from being a top-down approach, it enables us to put particularity and universality in conversation with one another and to confront the limitations and possibilities that inhere within inherited ways of thought as they come into contact with the students we teach (Todd, 2015, p. 155).

On the basis of such a perspective, the general principles and the lived practice of tolerance become two aspects of the same phenomenon. It is also in the dialogue between the principles' universality and the particularization processes of practice that the students' own thinking and judgmental capacity can be exercised in education for tolerance.

The topography of tolerance: didactic points of entry and exit

The third and final didactic issue that I want to shed light on in this chapter is therefore how such a conversation between the universal and the particular and, more specifically the general principles of tolerance and the students' own shaping of them, may take form and

be concretized in education. In other words: how can the concept of tolerance be opened up for and arouse interest in the study of various subjects?

One way of opening up education for tolerance for study is for the teacher to proceed from something I call a topography of tolerance (Langmann, 2013). The word topography comes from the Greek words topos, meaning "place", and graphia, meaning "write" (Ernby, 2008). Even in Aristotle's Rhetoric (2012) topos learning is described as a way of studying a problem or a concept from several different perspectives when there no unequivocal way of reasoning on the basis of given rules and models.

The pedagogical idea of using didactic topos in education for tolerance is for the teacher to work together with students to bring out the "place" or "mindscape" from which shared study of the basic conditions for a lived and shaped tolerance can begin. The mapping of the topography can beneficially be done in parallel in different subjects, and several teachers can collaborate in organizing it. Here, in fact, endless opportunities are opened up to approach tolerance both as a concept and as a lived phenomenon on the basis of the contents of different subjects. The aim is jointly to introduce a string of distinctions in order to demonstrate that tolerance is a multiface-ted and partially contradictory concept in Western thought. In fact, today, it is almost impossible to find research and scientific works on tolerance that, in one way or another, do not relate to tolerance as a more or less paradoxical concept (Forst, 2013). Three recurring issues have traditionally been the focus of the conversation: Where is the boundary to my tolerance? How much am I able to tolerate? Is tole-rance a hierarchical or equal relationship between me and the other?

What Arendt helps us with is to pay attention to in this context is that the answers to these questions may never be learned as an "ingrained mindset" in the growing generation if the purpose is to school a resistance to xenophobia and intolerance. For a tolerant behavior to be universal and generalizable, it must first be deprived of its particularity, which means that the principles of tolerance will simultaneously come to be alienated from the life we share with concrete and specific others. Arendt's (1996) analysis of what she calls the "banality of evil" can be seen as a reminder of the detachment from the world and indifference that, according to her, stems from people's inability to see and take responsibility for their own actions in their encounters with other people beyond an abstract world of general values and principles.

To avoid transferring answers to the central questions of tolerance to pre-prepared method material or to a tradition that seems to have lost its authority, we, as teachers, can benefit from using metaphors in education, so as thereby to invite and awaken an interest in study, creativity and innovative thinking in our students, and thereby again "distil" the original spirit of tolerance. A proposal for a more vibrant and metaphorical language usage, something I explore and present in greater detail in my thesis on a pedagogy of tolerance (Langmann, 2013), is to describe the general principles of tolerance using various comparisons: tolerance is like welcoming, tolerance is like bearing a burden, tolerance is like drawing a boundary, and so on. With the aid such metaphorical and existential language usage, didactic points of entry to interest and study can be opened up in more or less all school subjects. Another proposal is to highlight in the teaching the dilemmas that a lived and shaped tolerance can impose on the individual in

her encounter with the other. Put rather simply, the dilemmas can be described as follows: to be tolerant (open, welcoming, and positively acceptant), I need, at the same time, to be intolerant (antagonistic, draw boundaries, and bear negative emotions and negative judgments about the other) (Langmann, 2013). By presenting the central issues of tolerance as inherent dilemmas in the encounter with the other rather than as general problems with given solutions, students are challenged to use their own thinking and capacity to judge so as, in the future and when required, to be able to affirm and embody the general principles of tolerance in the individual and specific case. In the end, tolerance is not something you are, but something you choose to live and embody in certain specific encounters in life.

For just this reason, I end this chapter without answering my initial question of whether it is possible to teach away xenophobia and intolerance in the growing generation. The answer to that question I leave to the teacher's professional judgment. The school's work for tolerance is ultimately about daring to think alongside students about difficult issues and phenomena. As teachers, our task is not to shape our students into specific types of people or to tell them how they should live their lives. What we can do is to arouse an interest in and a commitment to important issues and phenomena. Or, to use Arendt's words, "in upbringing, it is determined ... whether we love our children enough to neither ... abandon them to themselves nor to snatch from them the opportunities to do something new, and, for us, unexpected" (Arendt, 2004 [my translation]).

Part 3. Mechanisms of tolerance

10. The apple does not fall far from the tree or does it? –The role of parents in development of tolerance and intolerance among adolescents[1]

Marta Miklikowska

Introduction

Tolerant and intolerant attitudes towards various ethnic groups can be observed among children as young as four years old. This shows how early tolerance and intolerance start to develop. But how does this happen?

One view that is occasionally heard in the public debate, when the issue of tolerance is brought up, is that children and adolescents learn attitudes from their close relations, particularly parents. But is this assumption correct? To what extent parents affect their children's to-

lerance or intolerance? Or could it perhaps be the opposite, i.e., that children influence their parents' attitudes? Are there any protective factors against the potential negative influence of parents? Finally, how important is parental influence compared with the influence of friends or school?

These are the questions that are answered in this chapter. The chapter is divided into four sections. In the first section, theories about parental role in the development of adolescents' tolerance and intolerance are discussed. Empirical evidence showing how the attitudes of parents and adolescents influence each other is also presented here. In the second section, factors that moderate – i.e., increase or reduce parental influence – are discussed. In the third section, parental influence is compared with the effects of other social contexts, such as peers, intergroup friends (i.e., friends with an immigrant background) and democratic school climate. The chapter ends with conclusions and practical implications.

Do parents influence their children's tolerance and intolerance?

Psychological research has focused on a number of explanations of why social contexts have an impact on the development of ethnic attitudes such as tolerance or intolerance towards immigrants. Two perspectives are particularly prominent: social learning and socialization theories (Allport, 1954; Grusec, 2011), which assume that parents play an important role in the development of tolerance and intolerance, and socio-cognitive development theories and theories about social identity, which assume either no parental influence

(Aboud, 1988; 2008; Harris, 2000) or a marginal influence (Nesdale, 2004).

Social learning and socialization theories attribute ethnic attitudes to early socialization processes such as the influence of parents, friends, school or the media (Smith & Mackie, 2007). Parents are often described as particularly important since they are the primary caregivers (Allport, 1954; Bandura, 1977; Grusec, 2011). They are assumed to influence children in at least two ways. On the one hand, parents are role models for their offspring. Children observe and imitate their parents and internalize (i.e., accept), parents' attitudes in order to receive parental acceptance (Bretherton, Golby & Cho, 1997; Stayton, Hogan & Ainsworth, 1971). On the other hand, parents, by emphasizing obedience and authority, can create an atmosphere that might lead to the child obtaining a hierarchical view of social relations, whereby certain individuals have a higher status than others. This, in turn, forms a foundation for intolerance. Recent socialization theories emphasized that it is not only parents that influence children but that the influence can also work in the other direction i.e., that children can influence their parents (Bretherton, Golby & Cho, 1997; Stayton, Hogan & Ainsworth, 1971).

As opposed to social learning and socialization theories, the theory of social identity (Nesdale, 2004; Nesdale & Flesser, 2001) and socio-cognitive theory (Aboud, 1988; 2008) assert that parents play a limited role when it comes to the ethnic attitudes of children and adolescents. According to social identity theory, children identify with people who resemble them (the in-group) and this leads to development of positive attitudes towards members of their own group and negative attitudes towards members of other groups (out-

groups) (Nesdale & Flesser, 2001). Socialization by parents plays a minor role in this process. Socio-cognitive theory suggests that cognitive maturity drives how intergroup attitudes of children and adolescents develop (Aboud, 1988; 2008; Piaget & Weil, 1951). This theory suggests that the cognitive limitations of children (such as in the processing of information) make them intolerant regardless of parental influence.

In sum, the theories indicate opposing opinions concerning parents' role in the development of attitudes towards other ethnic groups. What does the research say? The simplest way of investigating the role played by parents in the development of ethnic attitudes among children and adolescents is to show correlations between parents and children's attitudes (i.e., how similar the attitudes of parents and children are at a specific point in time). Studies of correlations between parents and children's attitudes show varying results (Degner & Dalege, 2013). Some of the studies on young children have shown a connection between parents and children's intolerant attitudes (Katz, 2003; Mosher & Scodel, 1960), while other studies have shown no connection (Aboud & Doyle, 1996; Towles-Schwen & Fazio, 2001). The few studies that focus on adolescents have found significant correlations between parents and adolescents' intolerance (Carlson & Iovini, 1985; O'Bryan, Fishbein & Ritchey, 2004).

Existing research offers no clear-cut account of the role of parents in development of children and adolescents' ethnic attitudes. In addition, correlations. are weak evidence for parental influence since they do not show how the relationship between parents and children's attitudes develops over time. Correlations also make it difficult to answer the question about parents' influence on their children's atti-

tudes because a correlation can just as easily result from adolescents' influence on their parents (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004). To find out about whether parents influence the attitudes of their children, we have to show that parents' attitudes predict changes in their children's attitudes. This requires data that track the same parents and children over time (longitudinal data).

In sum, the results from earlier research give no clear answer to the question of whether the attitudes of parents influence their children's attitudes. To be more confident about the actual parental effects on their offspring we need studies with longitudinal data. This was the intention of the first study that we report upon here.

Study 1. How do parents and their children influence each other's tolerance and intolerance?

This study investigated the relationships between parents and their adolescent children‹s tolerant and intolerant attitudes towards immigrants from a longitudinal perspective (i.e., over time). I examined whether parents' tolerant and intolerant attitudes would predict changes in the tolerance and intolerance of their adolescent children and whether adolescents› tolerant and intolerant attitudes would predict changes in their parents' tolerance and intolerance.

Material and method

The data comprised of representative sample of 891 adolescents (aged 13-14, of whom 50% are girls) and their parents (Amnå, Ekström,

Kerr & Stattin, 2010). Because the purpose of the study was to investigate tolerant and intolerant attitudes of majority youth towards the minorities i.e., immigrants, adolescents with an immigrant background (whose parents were born outside the Nordic countries) (N = 199) were excluded from the analyses. The respondents were residents of the seventh largest city in Sweden, which resembles the national average in terms of such factors as population density, levels of income and unemployment.

The data were collected on two occasions (Time 1 and Time 2) two years apart (2010, 2012). Adolescents filled out the questionnaires, during school time. They were informed that their participation was voluntary and that their answers would not be revealed to parents, teachers or anyone else. Each class received EUR 100 for participation. Parents received their questionnaires and return envelopes by regular mail. A total of 507 parents responded.

Tolerance was measured using five statements: (1) Immigrants should have equal rights as Swedes have (2) Immigrants are good for the Swedish economy (3) We should have a welcoming attitude towards immigrants who would like to live in Sweden (4) The Swedish culture gest enriched by immigrants coming to Sweden (5) In the future, Sweden will be a country with exciting encounters between people who come from different parts of the world.

Intolerance was measured using three statements: 1) Immigrants often come here only to take advantage of the welfare in Sweden (2) Immigrants often take jobs from people who are born in Sweden (3) It happens too often that immigrants have customs and traditions that not fit into Swedish society. The response scale for all statements was 1–4 (from 1 = doesn't apply at all, to 4 = applies very well). The

mean values for tolerance and intolerance for all young people at Time 1 were: tolerance = 2.67, intolerance = 2.21. The mean values for tolerance and intolerance for all parents at Time 2 were: tolerance = 2.94, intolerance = 2.08.

In order to analyze parents and adolescents' influence on each other's attitudes, structural equation modeling was used. In contrast to correlation, which shows how strongly the attitudes of parents and adolescents are related, structural equation modeling can show whether the attitudes of parents predict changes in adolescents' attitudes over time (i.e., from Time 1 to Time 2) and vice-versa; i.e., whether adolescents' attitudes predict over-time changes in parents' attitudes. Compared with correlations, such method offers stronger evidence of the actual influence. The measurement of influence ranges from 0 to 1. A result of nearly zero indicates weak or no influence at all, and a coefficient of nearly 1 indicates strong influence. In psychology, a result of around .20 is considered to indicate medium influence and a result of around .50 strong influence.

Figure 1 shows a model that was built to study the relationship between parents and adolescents' tolerance and intolerance towards immigrants. The green line shows the change in adolescents' attitudes from Time 1 to Time 2. The blue line shows the change in attitudes of parents from Time 1 to Time 2. In addition, the red line shows parental influence on adolescents' attitudes and the yellow line adolescents' influence on their parents' attitudes. Finally, the black lines show the correlations between parents and adolescents' attitudes. The value of the red line shows how strongly parents' attitudes influence the attitudes of their adolescent children. The value of the yellow line

shows how strongly adolescents' attitudes influence attitudes of their parents.

Results

Figure 1 shows the results from (A) the model of parental influence on adolescents' tolerance and adolescents' influence on their parents' tolerance and (B) the model of parental influence on adolescents' intolerance and adolescents' influence on their parents' intolerance.

Model (A) shows that parents' tolerance predicted changes in adolescents' tolerance (red line) and that adolescents' tolerance predicted changes in their parents' tolerance (yellow line).

Model (B) shows that parents' intolerance predicted changes in adolescents' intolerance (red line) and that the adolescents' intolerance predicted changes in their parents' intolerance (yellow line).

The results show, that parents' attitudes towards immigrants predicted over-time changes in tolerance and intolerance of their adolescent children. This means that parents transmit a part of their tolerance and intolerance to their offspring: i.e., that they influence the development of their children's attitudes. These results support the theories suggesting that the attitudes of parents are one of the sources of children's tolerance and intolerance (Allport, 1954; Bandura, 1977; Grusec, 2011). The results of this longitudinal study also show that the influence of parents is similar in strength to the connection between parents and children's attitudes shown in previous correlational studies, indicating medium parental influence (Degner & Dalege, 2013).
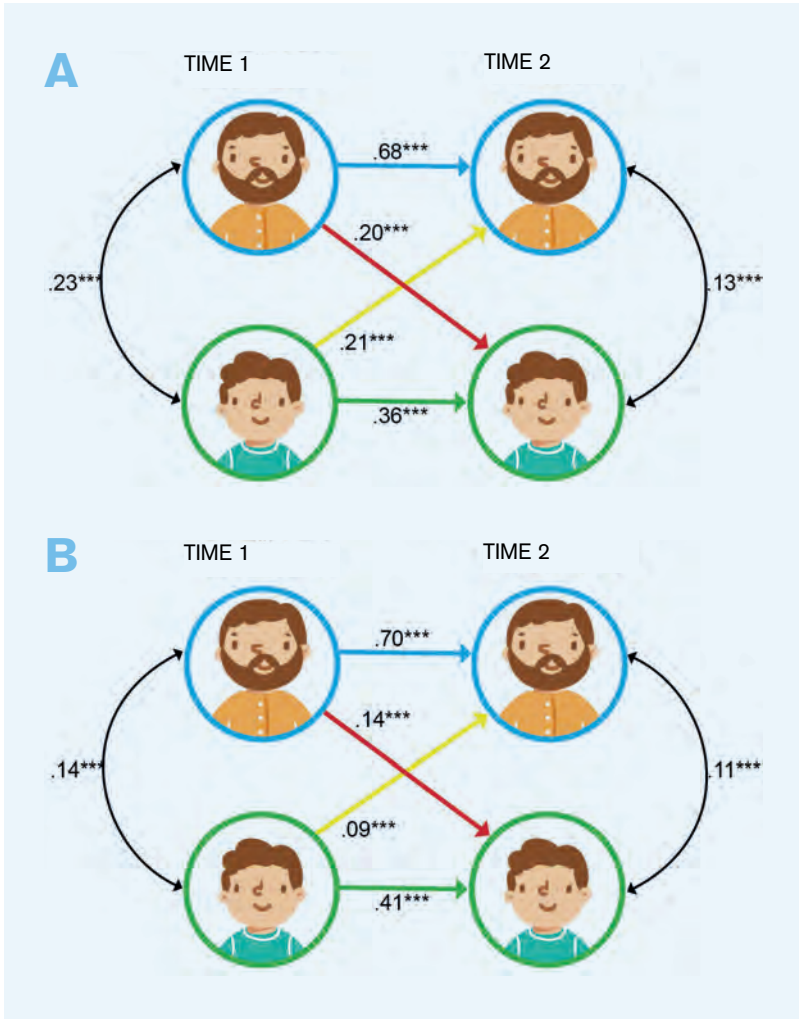
FIGURE 1. Results from two models of parent-children transmission of (A) Tolerance and (B) Intolerance. Red line = parents' influence on adolescents. Yellow line = adolescents' influence on their parents. Significance ***

The results also show that adolescents' attitudes predicted over-time changes in parents' tolerance and intolerance, and that the strength of adolescents and parents' effects was the same. This means that young people affect their parents' attitudes towards immigrants. This is in line with the theories indicating that adolescents can influence their social contexts (Grusec, 2011; Sameroff, 2009). Thus, we should be cautious when interpreting correlations between parents and children's attitudes as evidence of parental influence since they also reflect the impact of young people on their parents.

Are there ways of reducing the negative effects of parental intolerance on their children's attitudes?

Identifying factors that increase or decrease parental influence might help us find ways of reducing the negative effects of parental intolerance on their children's attitudes.

Theories suggest that supportive parenting – i.e., parenting that addresses children's emotional and relational needs – might increase parental influence. This means that parents who are supportive would have more influence on their children's attitudes. According to attachment theory, children are more willing to identify with parents and internalize (i.e., accept) their expectations if parents are supportive (Bretherton, et al., 1997). Similarly, Allport (1954) and Grusec & Goodnow (1994) argued that children would adopt the attitudes of parents to the extent that the children desire approval from their parents. This idea has been supported by correlational research (i.e., measuring the attitudes of parents and children at a given point in time) (Sinclair, Dunn & Lowery, 2005.

Conversely, there are also factors that can reduce negative parental influence. According to the theory of intergroup contact, having intergroup friends (friends with an immigrant background) can reduce intolerance (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Friendship with members of ethnic minority groups (such as immigrants) increases the ability to see things from their perspective, reduces anxiety concerning the unknown, and increases empathy for the groups, which, in turn, reduces intolerance. Consequently, research shows that correlations between parents and adolescent's intolerance are lower for children who have immigrant friends (Dhont & Van Hiel, 2012; Edmonds & Killen, 2009), suggesting that such friendships might reduce the negative influence of parents.

In light of these theories and research, we need to longitudinally (i.e., over time) examine whether parental support and having friends with an immigrant background could increase or decrease parental influence. These were the aims of the second study reported upon here.

Study 2. Are there ways of reducing or increasing parental influence on their children's attitudes?

This study investigated whether the influence of parental intolerance on their adolescent children›s intolerance was stronger when parents were supportive, and whether it was weaker when adolescents had immigrant friends.

Material and method

The data and the measurement of intolerance are identical with those that were used to study the relationship between parents and their children's attitudes (see above, Study 1). In addition to this, measurements of supportive parenting and intergroup friendship have been included. To measure supportive parenting, five statements were used that measured the extent to which adolescents experienced that their parents gave them support. Adolescents were asked to respond to the following statements: 1) I know that my mother/father is there when I need her/him; 2) I willingly share my private thoughts and feelings with my mother/father; 3) I feel that I can try out new things because I know that my mother/father supports me; 4) When I'm angry, sad or worried, my mother/father makes me feel better; and 5) My mother/father encourages me to realize my dreams. The response scale for all questions was 1–7 (1 = doesn't apply at all, to 7 = applies very well). The mean value for supportive parenthood was 5.39.

To measure intergroup friendship, adolescents were asked to identify up to eight of their best friends at school. Adolescents who nominated at least one immigrant friend (i.e., whose both parents were born outside the Nordic countries) were classified as "adolescents with immigrant friends", and those who did not nominate any immigrant friend were classified as "adolescents with no immigrant friends". 33% of adolescents nominated at least one immigrant friend.

As in the first study, structural equation modeling was used to analyze moderators, i.e., factors that increase or reduce parental influence. First, it was examined whether supportive parenting increased parental influence on their children's intolerance. To do this, I examined whether the strength of parental influence differed

between adolescents with supportive parents and adolescents with non-supportive parents. Second, it was examined whether having an immigrant friend reduced parental influence on adolescents' attitudes. To do this, I examined whether the strength of parental influence differed between adolescents with immigrant friends and adolescents without immigrant friends.

Results

The results show that for adolescents with supportive parents, parental intolerance influenced their adolescent children's intolerance (.27, significant). However, for adolescents with non-supportive parents, parental intolerance had no effect on the young people's intolerance (.01, not significant).

The results also showed that for adolescents with immigrant friends, parental intolerance had no effect on adolescents' intolerance (.07, not significant), but for adolescents without immigrant friends, parental intolerance influenced their adolescent children's intolerance (.18, significant).

These results show that parents' intolerance made their adolescent children more intolerant in cases where youth perceived their parents as supportive. When the parents were non-supportive, parental attitudes had no effects on their children's attitudes. These results suggest that supportive parenting can increase parental influence on their children's attitudes towards immigrants.

These results also show that adolescents with immigrant friends were affected less by their parents' intolerance compared with adolescents without immigrant friends. These results suggest that having

an immigrant friend can reduce the negative impact of parental into-lerance on their children's attitudes towards immigrants.

The results provide evidence for the theories suggesting that supportive parenting motivates children to please their parents and accept their attitudes (Allport, 1954; Bretherton, et al, 1997; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). The results also provide support for previous studies suggesting that intergroup friendship (i.e., friendship with children with an immigrant background) can reduce potential nega-tive influence of parents on their children's attitudes (Dhont & Van Hiel, 2012).

What are the effects of parents, peers, intergroup friendships and the classroom climate?

Parents are not the only social context that influences the attitudes of children and adolescents. Psychological theories have suggested that the attitudes of peers at school, the classroom climate, and intergroup friendship also play a role (Allport, 1954; Grusec, 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Similarly, to the effects of parental attitudes, the effects of peers' attitudes have been explained in terms of social learning and sociali-zation. Children and adolescents learn attitudes through observation and imitation of peers in order to gain their acceptance (Allport, 1954: Bandura, 1977; Grusec, 2011). The influence of the classroom climate has also been explained in terms of social learning theories. The classroom has been likened to a mini-society, in which the rules of social interaction are learned. A democratic classroom climate that that emphasizes fairness, cooperation, and respect of others' opinions

might promote tolerance, and vice-versa. The influence of intergroup friendship (such as with an immigrant friend) has been explained in the light of intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Friendship with members of ethnic minority groups (such as immigrants) increases the ability to see things from their perspective, reduces anxiety concerning the unknown, and increases empathy for the groups, which, in turn, reduces intolerance (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Research provides support for these theories. When it comes to peers, a longitudinal study of van Zalk, Kerr, van Zalk and Stattin (2013) and experimental studies of Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham and Vaughn (1994) and Sinclair, Lowery, Hardin and Colangelo (2005) have shown the effects of peers' anti-immigrant attitudes on adolescents' attitudes. These studies show that peers' anti-immigrant attitudes affect the development of intolerant attitudes among adolescents. When it comes to a democratic classroom climate, studies have shown that adolescents who experience an open and inclusive home or classroom climate have more tolerant attitudes (Gniewosz & Noack, 2008; Miklikowska & Hurme, 2011). Research has also repeatedly found that individuals with friends from other ethnic groups (such as immigrants) are more tolerant (Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew & Wright, 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Previous research has not compared the influences of various social contexts... Thus, we do not know how strong parental influence is compared with influences from peers, or a classroom climate. Theories suggest that lasting and close relationships with parents might have a greater impact on adolescents' attitudes than the less stable or optional relationships with peers (Allport, 1954; Grusec,

2011). However, there are no relevant empirical studies on this topic. Thus, in the third and final study I report on, I compare the effects of parents, peers, intergroup friends, and the classroom climate on the development of adolescents' tolerance towards immigrants.

Study 3. What are the effects of parents, peers, intergroup friends, and the classroom climate?

Study 3 compares the influences of parents and peers' tolerance, intergroup friendship (i.e., friendship with children with an immigrant background), and the democratic classroom climate on the development of adolescents' tolerance towards immigrants.

Material and method

The data and the measurement of tolerance are identical to those used for the previous studies (see above). As opposed to the first study, however, five data-collection points were used here to study whether tolerance increases or declines in the teenage years, and to compare the long-term effects of parents, peers, intergroup friendship, and the classroom climate. The data were collected during 2010-2014. Adolescents who participated in the study were aged 13 years at Time 1 (2010) and 17 at Time 5 (2014).
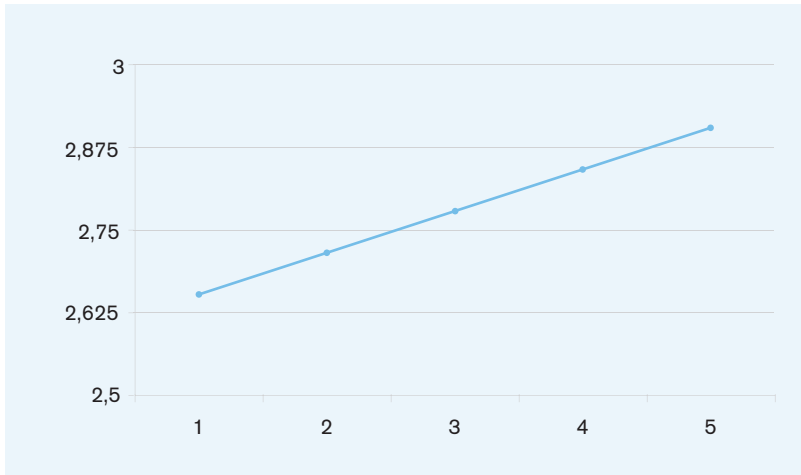
To identify adolescents' peers, adolescents were asked to write down the names of their eight best friends at school. 96% of adolescents nominated at least one friend. The name of the first nominated friend was matched with his/her level of tolerance. Having an inter-

group friend meant that adolescents nominated at least one friend with an immigrant background (whose parents were born outside the Nordic countries). Thirty-three adolescents nominated at least one intergroup friend. The classroom climate was measured with four statements: 1) We help each other in my class; 2) We like doing things together in my class; 3) I feel alone and left out in my class; and 4) We are nice to each other in my class. The response scale for all of the statements was 1–4, from "doesn't apply at all" to "applies very well".

To examine whether adolescents' tolerance has increased or declined and to compare the effects of the parents and peers' tolerance, intergroup friendship, and the classroom climate on the development of adolescents' tolerance, a statistical method called growth modeling was used. Growth modeling shows the level of adolescents' tolerance at Time 1 (the starting level) – i.e.' when adolescents were 13 – and how their tolerance changed over five years (the change). It can also identify the effect that parents, peers, intergroup friendship and the classroom climate had both on the starting level and on the change in adolescents' tolerance over a period of five years.

Results

Figure 2 shows how adolescents' tolerance developed over time from Time 1 (adolescents aged 13) to Time 5 (adolescents aged 17). The results from the growth model show that adolescents began with a mean value of tolerance, *Starting level* = 2.65 (significant) and that the mean value then increased between Time 1 and Time 5, *Change* = 0.06 (significant).

The results also show that parents and peers' tolerance, intergroup friendship, and the classroom climate all impacted on the starting level of adolescents' tolerance (parents' influence on the starting level = .19, significant; peers' influence on the starting level = .17, significant; impact of intergroup friendship on the starting level = .14, significant; classroom climate's influence on the starting level = .17, significant. However, the results showed that only parents' tolerance affected *the change in* the young people's tolerance (parents' influence *on change* = .05, significant). The tolerance of peers', the classroom climate, and intergroup friendship had no impact on the change in the tolerance of adolescents during the period investigated.

Figure 3 shows the influence of parents' tolerance on the development of adolescents' tolerance. It shows how differently tolerance
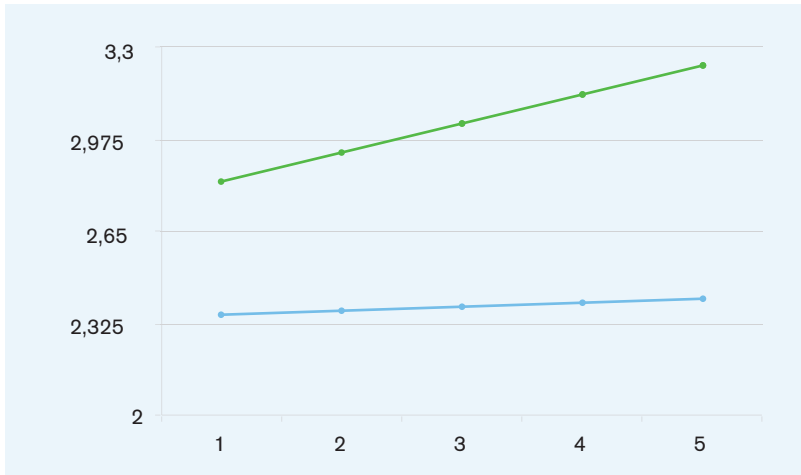
FIGURE 3. Development of young people's tolerance between the ages of 13 and 17. Young people with highly tolerant parents (red line), young people with parents with low tolerance (blue line).

developed for adolescents who had tolerant parents and for adolescents who had parents with low tolerance. Adolescents who had parents low in tolerance (blue line) *started* lower on tolerance at the age of 13 and increased at a slower rate between ages 13 and 17 than adolescents with parents high in tolerance (red line).

The results show that the average tolerance of adolescents increased between the ages of 13 and 17, which corresponds with earlier studies showing that adolescents become more tolerant as they get older (Owen & Dennis, 1987; Lundberg & Abdelzadeh in this anthology). At the same time, the results show that all social contexts (attitudes of parents and peers, friendship with immigrants, and classroom climate) affected the starting level of adolescents' tolerance

at the age of 13 years). However, only parents' tolerance influenced the change in adolescents' tolerance between the ages of 13 and 17. Adolescents with highly tolerant parents had a higher level of tolerance at the start of the study (when they were 13 years old), and their tolerance increased significantly more than tolerance of adolescents whose parents were low in tolerance.

In sum, although these results indicate the importance of all social contexts for *the level* of adolescents' tolerance, they emphasize the importance of parents' attitudes for the *change in* youth tolerance during teenage years. The tolerance of adolescents with highly tolerant parents increases more than tolerance of adolescents with parents' low in tolerance.

Summary of results, discussion and conclusions

This chapter has presented three studies that have analyzed the role parents play in development of their adolescent children›s ethnic attitudes, i.e., tolerance and intolerance towards immigrants. Three questions were asked: 1) How do parents and their children influence each other's tolerance and intolerance? 2) Are there ways of reducing or increasing parents' influence on their children's attitudes? 3) What are the effects of parents, peers, intergroup friends, and the classroom climate? To address these questions, I used a database tracking over time the same majority youth (i.e., youth with parents born in the Nordic countries) and I conducted three studies.

The first study showed that parents transmit a part of their tolerance and intolerance to their adolescent children. This study

showed that parents' attitudes towards immigrants influenced the development their children's tolerant and intolerant attitudes. It also showed that adolescents influenced their parents' attitudes. These results imply that we should be cautious when interpreting similarities between parents and children's attitudes as evidence for solely parental influence, as they also reflect the impact of youth on their parents.

The second study showed that supportive parenting (i.e., parenting that satisfies children's emotional and relational needs) increases parents' influence on their children's attitudes towards immigrants. This study also showed that having an immigrant friend protects adolescents from the negative impact of their parents' intolerance. This means that potentially intolerant parents succeed in transmitting their intolerant attitudes more if the parents are supportive and if their children do not have friends with an immigrant background.

The third study showed that not only parents influence adolescents' tolerance. Various social contexts such as parents, and peers, intergroup friendship and democratic classroom climate affect the level of adolescents' tolerance in their early teens. However, the study also showed that only the attitudes of parents might influence the change in adolescents' tolerance. This means that young people with tolerant parents are more tolerant in their early teens than adolescents with non-tolerant parents, and that thereafter they increase in tolerance more than adolescents with non-tolerant parents. This also means that democratic classroom climate, peers, and intergroup friends might be less important for the development of youth tolerance than attitudes of their parents.

As a whole, these studies indicate the importance of parents in development of children's tolerance and intolerance. Parents' tolerant

attitudes increase their children's tolerance and parents' intolerant attitudes increase youth intolerance. Parental attitudes might be more important for development of their children's tolerance than democratic classroom climate, attitudes of peers, or having friends with an immigrant background. This means that if we want to promote the development of tolerance among children and adolescents, we should try to influence the opinions about immigrants that are exchanged at home. We can also counteract the negative influence of parental intolerance by creating opportunities for friendships between children with different ethnic backgrounds since such friendships seem to protect from the negative impact of parental intolerance on children's attitudes towards immigrants.

11. The role of friends in the emergence of tolerance towards immigrants among young people[1]

Viktor Dahl

Introduction

The composition of our Swedish society has increasingly become ethnically mixed and multicultural. This gives rise to challenges. One challenge comprises growth in prejudices and intolerant attitudes towards people with a foreign background. In the election to the European Parliament in 2014, for example, increased support could be noted for extreme right-wing parties pursuing policies of a definite anti-immigrant and anti-tolerance nature (Mudde, 2013). Against this background, there is reason to take a closer look at the circumstances that could reduce prejudiced and intolerant attitudes and instead promote tolerance. Accordingly, this chapter will explore

the role that friends play in the emergence of tolerance to immigrants among young people.

Tolerance

The concept of tolerance is the subject of differences of opinion. In research, several different definitions have been used over the years (for an overview of the theoretical approaches to the concept of tolerance, reference is made to Arensmeier in this anthology). According to one approach, the concept of tolerance can be divided into three different components: cognitive, evaluative and political (Côte & Erickson, 2009). The cognitive component focuses on understanding the existence of the problems of discrimination, the evaluative on the feeling that minorities are valuable and should exist in society and the political on welcoming more immigrants, and providing support to minorities. The fact that citizens tolerate ideas and group interests that they would otherwise have opposed is generally viewed as an asset to our democratic societies (Dahl, 1998; Gibson, 1992; Orlenius, 2008; Sullivan & Transue, 1999). In the words of Gibson et al: "[…] a democratic citizen is one who believes in individual liberty and who is politically tolerant […]" (Gibson, Duch & Tedin, 1992, p. 332).

In addition, a tolerant attitude is to be understood as the willingness to tolerate or accept persons or certain groups as well as their underlying values and behavior by means of a co-existence (even if they are completely different from one's own)." (Kirchner, Freitag & Rapp, 2011, p. 205). Freitag and Rapp also explain that: "There are

multiple targets of and ways to exercise tolerance: For example, one may be tolerant towards groups, actions or values" (2015, p. 368).

Purpose and structure

The purpose of this chapter is to study the role of friends in determining how young people develop tolerant attitudes towards immigrants.

The chapter is divided into five sections. Following this introduction, the importance of friends in the emergence of political attitudes, such as tolerance, is described. This is followed by a section that describes the material, method and statistical analyses that have been used. Subsequently, the results of the analyses upon which this chapter is based are presented. Finally, in this section, the results are summarized and discussed.

The social network

Influence of friends

Many different factors form the foundation for how and why political values and attitudes develop among young people. Earlier research shows that, with the greatest probability, young people are shaped by their surroundings; parents, school, associations and friends are generally regarded as important for how and why specific political attitudes develop (Amnå, Ekström, Kerr & Stattin, 2009). It is also probable that certain individuals stimulate their own development of tolerant attitudes more than others (McDevitt, 2006; Ström-

bäck & Shehata, 2010). Usually, the foundation for how and why a young person develops tolerant attitudes is probably a result of a combination of the specific individual's inner drive, as well as his/her surroundings.

As mentioned above, this chapter will focus on the influence of friends on how young people develop tolerant attitudes towards immigrants. The teenage years are usually presented as a time when friends become an increasing source of the political preferences of young people (Coleman, 1961; Buhrmester & Furman, 1987). For example, research shows that the time spent on discussions with friends increases during the teenage years (Berndt, 1982).

A common approach to studying how important friends are to the emergence of political values and attitudes is to study the extent to which friends resemble each other in terms of a particular characteristic, such as tolerance. The idea is that in those cases where friends display similar levels of tolerance, there is reason to believe that these similarities have been formed as a result of the interactions that friends generally have with each other. Earlier research on the influence of friends has usually, mainly for practical reasons and for reasons of cost, studied the extent to which only two friends affect each other's political preferences (see, inter alia, Tedin, 1980; Kuhn, 2004). However, most young people have more than one friend, and therefore for an analysis that endeavors to understand whether and how friends influence the manner in which young people develop tolerant attitudes towards immigrants, it is more adequate to study the social network of friends that most young people have. By so doing, it is also possible to capture the dynamic inherent in social relations; for example, young people occasionally make new friends or lose contact

with other friends, while some friendships are maintained over time. The way in which this dynamic in friend relationships influences the emergence of political preferences, such as tolerance, is captured in a social network analysis like the one in this chapter.

One idea about how young people can develop tolerant attitudes towards immigrants is the influence hypothesis. According to the hypothesis, tolerant attitudes among people result from the influence of other people (Côté & Erickson, 2009). Various causes can underlie why such an influence succeeds: adaptation to a social norm, a willingness to resemble someone (perhaps a role model) or when people attempt to strengthen each other's attitudes and behaviors (Kandel, 1978; Savin-Williams & Berndt, 1990). In order to test this hypothesis, a study is made of the extent to which an individual over a period of time becomes more like his/her friends with regard to, for example, tolerance. If such a resemblance increases over time, this may be explained by the influence of friends (e.g., van Zalk, Kerr, van Zalk, Stattin, 2013). In summary, the main argument in the influence hypothesis is that the influence of other people can explain why a young person becomes more (or less) tolerant towards immigrants.

In studies of the type of effects that can emanate from the influence of friends, it is of decisive importance to simultaneously take into account and control for what are known as selection effects. This is because there is an alternative hypothesis that states that, in addition to the influence that can result in friends showing similar levels of tolerance, the reason for the similarities that friends often display is a willingness among people to socialize and interact with people with similar views (for an overview article, refer, inter alia, to McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001). Research has also

shown that we as people tend to find new friends among those who have values, attitudes and behaviors that are similar to those that we have ourselves (Berger & Calabrese, 1975; Byrne & Nelson, 1965; Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954). In other words, the fact that friends display similarities in terms of such characteristics as tolerance is an effect of selection; people veer towards other people who hold or express opinions and preferences that are similar to their own. Various theories and assumptions underlie selection as a process. Those who assert the importance of selection effects believe, inter alia, that one reason why people choose to socialize with people with similar views is that similarity results in predictability which, in turn, facilitates communication (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). One thought is that when people have similar opinions, this removes a certain degree of uncertainty and thus makes discussions and the like easier. Another is that people tend to seek similar company because similarities strengthen opinions and outlooks, and when people feel that their opinions are listened to they also feel better (Clore & Byrne, 1974). In conclusion, a study that attempts to understand how friends influence each other's tolerance does not only study influence processes but also selection processes.

In studies of influence and selection processes, the purpose is to distinguish between the two processes. In so doing, it becomes possible to understand the extent to which the similarities between friends with regard to a specific characteristic can be traced to influence or selection or to the nature of a combination of the two. What is necessary for such a procedure is a simultaneous analysis through which potential influence and selection effects can be separated from each other. To date, only a few studies of tolerance have been condu-

cted with the aim of studying these specific processes simultaneously. One reason for this is that a correct analysis of these influence and selection hypotheses requires longitudinal data (one of the few to be conducted is van Zalk et al., 2013).

The influence hypothesis that will be studied in this chapter is as follows: Young people with friends who are on average more tolerant towards immigrants than the friends of others will – because these young people assimilate and strengthen their friends' attitudes towards immigrants – also develop over time more tolerant attitudes towards immigrants.

The alternative hypothesis is that potential similarities shown by young people in terms of tolerance towards immigrants are due to selection; young people acquire friends with the same opinions of immigrants as their own. Those who, for example, display a highly tolerant attitude towards immigrants have found people with similar views who are also very tolerant towards immigrants.

Procedure: Material and Method

Just as in the chapter The development of tolerance among the young in this anthology, the results shown in this chapter are based on data collected in the longitudinal questionnaire-based study Youth & Society (Amnå et al., 2009). For overall information about these data, reference is made to the above-mentioned chapter. In this chapter about the role of friends, data from only the two youngest cohorts have been used. The first three points of time in the data collection have been employed, meaning when the study participants in Cohort

1 were aged 13, 14 and 15 years, and in Cohort 2 aged 16, 17 and 18 years

As mentioned above, it is reasonable to assume that people can be tolerant in various ways, and that tolerant attitudes can exist in response to both actions and values and to groups in society. In this chapter, tolerance is studied in relation to a specific group, namely immigrants. The chapter will also follow the type of reasoning that assumes that tolerant attitudes towards immigrants are based on an abstract understanding that all people have an equal value (van Zalk et al., 2013). Non-tolerance and xenophobia for their part have their origins in feelings based on irrational thoughts and fear (Hjerm, 2005; Côte & Erickson, 2009; Paluck & Green, 2009). Accordingly, a tolerant attitude may be regarded as being on a different dimension to non-tolerance, anti-foreigner views and xenophobia.

As a measurement of tolerance towards immigrants, an index is used in this chapter that comprises the young people's responses to four statements. First, the section was introduced in the questionnaire, in which tolerance was addressed by the question: "What are your views of people who have moved here from other countries?", following which the study participants were asked to state their opinion (1 – doesn't apply at all, 2 – doesn't apply so well, 3 – applies rather well 4 – applies very well) to the following statements: "Our culture gets richer when people from other countries move to Sweden," "In the future, Sweden will be a country characterized by exciting meetings between people who come from different parts of the world," "The fact that people move to Sweden is good for the Swedish economy", "We should welcome people who have fled problems in the countries they come from." The empirical studies that have previously

used this index have shown that these statements appear to measure exactly the same dimension and that, considered as a whole, the index is highly reliable (see, inter alia, van Zalk et al., 2013; Miklikowska, 2016).

To be able to study how networks of young people evolve over time, data about the structure of the circles of friends are needed on each data-collection occasion. Accordingly, using the following request, all of the study participants were asked on each data-collection occasion to name up to eight friends with whom they associate at school: "At most schools, there are groups of young people who socialize, talk and do things together. Please write below the first and surnames of those with whom you socialize the most at school."

Statistical analysis

As already mentioned, the main purpose of the network analysis upon which this chapter is based is to understand in greater detail the extent to which friends' similar tolerant attitudes towards immigrants can be understood to result from influence, selection or a combination of these two processes. As already mentioned, a simultaneous analysis is required for it to be possible to distinguish between these processes. The data used in this analysis are processed so that at every observed point in time (T1, T2 and T3), the analysis is cognizant of each individual's a) attitudes towards immigrants, and b) networks of friends.

In other words, the network analysis will study how tolerant attitudes towards immigrants change over time, at the same time as it investigates dynamics in young people's networks of friends. Are

new friends admitted? Are old friends lost? Is the circle of friends constant? The influence and selection processes will be modeled in a stochastic actor-based model using the software Simulation Investigation for Empirical Network Analysis (SIENA) (Ripley, Snijders, Boda, Vörös & Preciado, 2016). This software can satisfy the requirement of simultaneous analysis of both the network of friends and the dynamic of tolerance over time. The software will implement data simulations with the aim of finding a network configuration that should have been able to result in the observed data that were collected at the three points in time.

In the model that is presented in this chapter, observed network configurations are used from three points in time (T1, T2 and T3). The analysis proceeds in such a way that between each observed network configuration, it is assumed that the network undergoes a number of latent changes. These latent changes are based on each actor (individual) and are simulated as changes either in an individual's network of friends or as changes in an individual's tolerance. The actual simulation of the changes works like a randomized game of chess, whereby the individual who is in focus can: 1) "choose" to either nominate a new friend, terminate a friendship or not do anything (when the choice is about the network of friends), or 2) increase their level of tolerance, reduce their level of tolerance or not change their level of tolerance at all (when the choice is about tolerance). Based on the observed data contributed by the network configurations at T1, T2 and T3, the simulations use probabilities to calculate the choice that each individual will make if given the chance.

For readers who are interested in more in-depth descriptions of the specifications of models such as the one used in this chapter,

the assumptions underlying the model or the like, reference is made to Snijders, Steglich et al. (Snijders, van de Bunt & Steglich, 2010; Steglich, Snijders & Pearson, 2010). In order not to get caught up in details, the results that will be reported in the next section of this chapter will focus on those aspects of the analysis that are required in order to serve its purpose.

Since it has been shown that the emergence of tolerance can be traced to causes other than the influence of friends, the network analysis will simultaneously also control for a number of factors that, in one way or another, are assumed to form the foundation for tolerant attitudes. Accordingly, the analyses will conduct controls for gender, education, socio-economic status and immigrant status. It is necessary to control for these aspects to ensure that the influence and selection effects that are studied will be reliable (e.g. Côte & Erickson, 2009; Hjerm, 2009).

Research findings

The tolerance of young people and their friends
The social network analysis upon which this chapter is based assumes that young people and their friends resemble each other in terms of tolerance. Accordingly, to test that the assumption is correct, it is first necessary to report a correlation analysis, which studies the extent to which young people and their friends have similar tolerance towards immigrants. When comparisons were made of the level of tolerance of young people and friends in the younger cohort, a positive cor-

relation (rT1-T2-T3 = 0.16 − 0.26, p < 0.01) was found. The same positive correlation (rT1-T2-T3 = 0.37 − 0.39, p < 0.01) was also shown for young people and friends in the older cohort. In other words, regardless of age, it appears that young people display levels of tolerance that are similar to those of their friends Accordingly, there is reason to further investigate what these similarities in tolerance could depend on.

The social network analysis

The results of the social network analysis will be reported in the following section. The two hypotheses that were described in the introduction of this chapter – the influence hypothesis and the alternative hypothesis – are what are assumed to reflect the factors underlying why friends show similar tolerance towards immigrants.

The influence hypothesis

With regard to the influence hypothesis for the younger cohort, the analysis showed that a circle of friends that is more tolerant than average appears to have a positive effect (= 0.47, SE = 0.10, p <0.01) on the young people's own level of tolerance over time (see Table 1). Accordingly, it appears that, over time, young people in their early teens tend to assimilate the same level of tolerance as their friends.

For the older cohort too, the analysis displayed a positive result for the effect that investigates this association (= 0.60, SE = 0.12, p <0.01). In other words, both the cohort analyses showed that in circles of friends with higher than average levels of tolerance it is more probable that young people will develop tolerance towards immigrants.

Development of tolerance towards immigrants			
Form: linear	**Unstandardized parameter estimates**	**Standard errors**	**t-values**
Form: quadratic	0.12 ***	0.03	4.07
Tolerance – influence effect from average circle of friends	-0.03	0.03	-1.01
Effect of gender (0 = girl, 1 = boy)	0.47 ***	0.10	4.70
Effect of education	-0.21 ***	0.06	-3.51
Effect of socio-economic status	0.13 ***	0.04	3.35
Effect of immigrant status	-0.04	0.04	-0.88
	0.08	0.04	1.82
Cohort 2			
Form: linear	0.32 ***	0.04	-0.01
Form: quadratic	0.04	0.04	0.01
Tolerance – influence effect from average circle of friends	0.60 ***	0.12	-0.02
Effect of gender (0 = girl, 1 = boy)	0.00	0.09	0.02
Effect of education	0.05	0.05	-0.02
Effect of socio-economic status	-0.01	0.05	-0.00
Effect of immigrant status	0.06	0.06	0.03

TABLE 1. Estimates, standard errors and t-values for the development of tolerance in Cohort 1 (N = 1047) and Cohort 2 (N = 1077). Comment: The linear effect represents young people's relative tendency for tolerance towards immigrants. The quadratic effect represents the relative tendency of young people with high tolerance to increase their tolerance and of young people with low tolerance to reduce their tolerance. The quadratic effect is also dependent on the young people's initial level of tolerance. *** = $p < .001$.

TABLE 2. Estimates, standard errors and t-values for the network's development for Cohort 1 (N = 1047) and Cohort 2 (N = 1077) Comment: * = p < .05, *** = p < .001, a SES = socio-economic status..

The networks	Cohort 1			Cohort 2		
	Unstandardized parameter estimates	Standard errors	t-values	Unstandardized parameter estimates	Standard errors	t-values
Density	-5.63***	0.08	-72.04	-5.26***	0.07	0.09
Reciprocity	1.28***	0.03	40.85	1.67***	0.04	-0.06
Triangle friendship	0.22***	0.01	41.63	0.31***	0.01	-0.06
Gender alter	0.12***	0.02	4.83	0.11***	0.03	-0.01
Gender ego	-0.05***	0.02	-2.18	-0.11***	0.03	-0.01
Same gender	0.54***	0.02	22.57	0.48***	0.03	-0.07
Education alter	-0.01	0.01	-0.66	0.01	0.01	-0.00
Education ego	-0.01	0.01	-0.94	-0.02	0.02	-0.00
Similar education	0.26***	0.07	3.68	0.26***	0.09	-0.04
SESa alter	-0.03*	0.01	-2.04	0.01	0.02	-0.01
SES ego	-0.02	0.01	-1.68	0.01	0.02	0.05
Similar SES	0.15	0.09	1.58	0.04	0.06	0.01
Immigrant status alter	0.05***	0.01	3.60	0.10***	0.02	0.04
Immigrant status ego	0.06***	0.01	4.44	0.11***	0.02	0.03
Same immigrant status	0.18***	0.02	7.96	0.32***	0.03	-0.06
Same school	2.67***	0.07	37.42	1.76***	0.06	-0.14
Same class	0.51***	0.03	17.98	0.56***	0.04	-0.06
Tolerance alter	-0.02	0.02	-1.46	0.06***	0.02	0.02
Tolerance ego	-0.01	0.02	-0.43	0.01	0.01	0.03
Similar tolerance (selection)	0.28***	0.09	3.18	-0.13	0.07	-0.03

The alternative hypothesis

The second hypothesis upon which the analysis focused – the alternative hypothesis – states that the reason for the similarities often displayed by friends is a willingness among people to socialize and interact with people with similar views. For the younger cohort, a positive association is displayed in Table 2 (= 0.28, SE = 0.09, p <0.01) for the effect that investigates the selection hypothesis. This result should be interpreted to show that young people in the younger cohort tend to interact with friends and acquire new friends among young people reporting the same level of tolerance as their own.

For the older cohort, this effect was not significant (= -0.13, SE = 0.07, p >0.05). In other words, for the older youth, no support was obtained for the idea that friends display similar levels of tolerance because people in general prefer to socialize and acquire new friends from among those who are approximately equally tolerant as themselves.

Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to study the role of friends in determining how young people develop tolerant attitudes towards immigrants. The starting point for the chapter was the assumption that friends usually resemble each other in terms of tolerance. The analysis also showed that young people displayed similar levels of tolerance to their friends. Two explanations for these similarities were studied:

similarities resulting from influence (the influence hypothesis) and similarities resulting from selection (the alternative hypothesis). In addition to these explanations, the analyses also modeled effects that are usually presented as important for the emergence of tolerance.

With regard to the first hypothesis, the analysis showed that influence from friends appears to be a relatively general process during which young people become more tolerant towards immigrants. Regardless of cohort, and with rigorous controls for alternative processes, the social network analysis found support for the idea that young people with a circle of friends that is more tolerant than the average become more tolerant towards immigrants over time. However, the support for the alternative hypothesis was fragmented; it appeared that the young people in the younger teenage years chose to socialize with friends with a similar level of tolerance, while no such effect was seen in the analysis of the older cohort. Accordingly, the results showed that the similarities shown by young people in both of the cohorts in terms of tolerance towards immigrants, regardless of the age of the young people, appear to be explained as an influence and socialization tendency. On the basis of these analyses, it also appears that it is in the younger teenage years that young people choose to prefer to socialize with friends who display similar levels of tolerance. However, no such selection effect – that young people choose friends on the basis of similar levels of tolerance – was displayed in the analysis of the older youth.

In conclusion, it appears that friends play a dual role in the younger teenage years; friends function here both as a source of influence for tolerance and also as a target for those with similar levels of tolerance. However, no such dual role was found in the older teenage

years. The analysis showed that the older youth tend to be influenced by their friends and, in so doing, develop similar levels of tolerance as their friends over time. However, it seems that selection is unable to explain similar levels of tolerance among the older youth.

The teenage years are usually presented as being a highly important time for the development of political values, attitudes and behaviors (Sears & Levy, 2003). It is therefore important to point out that the influence and selection effects that were modeled were controlled simultaneously for each other. The simultaneous analysis of both influence and selection processes over time in two youth cohorts contributes to our understanding of young people's development of tolerance towards immigrants.

The analyses upon which this chapter was based show that friends play an important role in the development of tolerant attitudes among young people. In this chapter, tolerance towards immigrants was investigated. The general influence effect that appears to exist in the teenage years is an important contributor to our understanding of how young people develop tolerance. The most recent elections to the European Parliament showed increased support for populist and radical parties with xenophobic and non-tolerant policies on the right (European Parliament, 2014). At the same time, research into this area shows that xenophobic and immigrant-critical opinions are on the rise in most parts of Europe (Artiles & Meardi, 2014) and that the increased support received by right-oriented parties in recent decades has changed the political discourse and moved the political agenda and policy ambitions with regard to immigration and integration to the right (Mudde, 2013). In light of these political changes, it is important to understand that tolerant friends can be of decisive

importance for how young people develop tolerance. These results are also in line with research that provides support for social norms and friendship discussions being important for reducing intolerance and prejudice (see, inter alia, Paluck & Green, 2009).

It is also of current importance to highlight additional aspects that the influence and selection processes are probably affected by. Despite what has been claimed in political bills and government acts in Sweden in recent times (Parliament of Sweden, Report 2015/16:SfU16; Department of Justice, 2016), tolerance towards immigrants is something that is valued by Swedish society in general (Hjerm, 2005; Sandberg & Demker, 2013). Accordingly, the fact that the data upon which this chapter is based has been collected in Sweden in particular influences why the social network analyses found a mutual impact effect in terms of tolerance towards immigrants among friends. It may be that, in the Swedish context, people more easily allow themselves to be influenced by highly valued norms and values, such as tolerance towards immigrants. In studies of the role of friends in how young people in Sweden develop tolerance towards immigrants, the results should naturally be understood as being surrounded by a context in which tolerance is a highly valued social norm.

This chapter shows that influences from a tolerant circle of friends appear to be an important factor for how young people develop tolerant attitudes towards immigrants. Young people seem to socialize with friends who have similar levels of tolerance to their own. Regardless of age, a probable explanation for this is that over time young people with a circle of friends that is more tolerant than average become more like their friends. However, it appears that it

is mainly in the younger teens that similar levels of tolerance among friends can be attributed to young people choosing new friends with which to socialize on the basis of similar levels of tolerance. On the whole, it appears that friends play a significant role for how and why young people develop tolerance towards immigrants. At a time when intolerance towards immigrants and support for extreme right parties and policies is growing in Europe, this is an important conclusion. It is of decisive importance to continue to attempt to understand the processes and underlying mechanisms that contribute to increased tolerance. Given the clear-cut influence that a more tolerant circle of friends seems to have on its members, friends should therefore be regarded as one of the more important sources of tolerance towards immigrants.

12. A school of tolerance? Participation in associations and youth tolerance[1]

Erik Lundberg & Ali Abdelzadeh

Introduction

There are many actors in society that are of direct or indirect importance to communicating, maintaining and strengthening democratic values and norms. In Sweden, popular movements and other organized groups in civil society have been attributed considerable importance for our democracy. In addition to representing the interests of citizens, associations also function as a critical and investigating voice in public debate, while highlighting injustices, as well as positive conditions, in society. Another benefit assigned to associations is that they are considered to function as "schools in democracy" (Warren, 2001). A person who asserted this at an early stage was the

political scientist Alexis de Tocqueville. He believed, inter alia, that when individuals participate in associations and therefore make joint decisions, discuss and converse, a form of learning is created about the practice of democracy and the knowledge and values upon which our democracy is ultimately based (de Tocqueville, 1997).

Recently, ever greater expectations, especially from the public sphere,[2] have been placed on participation in associations with regard to contributing to resolving the many challenges in society (Lundberg, 2012; Amnå, 2016). One context in which associations have been highlighted is in relation to the immigration of refugees in recent times. An increasingly ethnically and culturally heterogeneous population has not only offered new opportunities and encounters but has also given rise to concern and xenophobia, thus emphasizing the importance of tolerance. In this context, associations, thanks to their significant roots in relation to many of the country's young people, have been highlighted as an important resource.[3] In addition to their competitive advantages economically, the spotlight has not least been on associations' potential to promote confidence-creating relationships and tolerance. Many associations also show a will and desire to contribute to and promote tolerance and other democratic values.

Against this background, our focus in this chapter is on the following question: To what extent is participation in an association a "school of tolerance"? Specifically, we sought answers to the following two issues: 1) Are young people who are active in associations more tolerant than those who are not active? 2) Do young people become

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2 See, inter alia, the Swedish prime minister's keynote speech of October 5, 2010, p. 19 and directions to the Swedish Sports Confederation, 2016 fiscal year pertaining to appropriation 13:1.; Bill 2009/10:55.

3 See, inter alia, Committee Directive 2016:47; SOU 2016:13.

more tolerant by participating in an association? In order to answer these questions, we were aided by unique data from an extensive research project on young people's socialization, which was implemented at Örebro University (Amnå, Ekström, Kerr & Stattin, 2009). The research project has followed young people for several years and gives us an opportunity to answer the question about which role participating in an association plays in the tolerance of young people. In this chapter, we pay special attention to tolerance towards the group of immigrants that was specified as people who have fled to Sweden.

The chapter is designed as follows: Following this introduction, we present the second part of the argument for why participating in an association is expected to contribute to promoting tolerance. In the third section, we present the material and method used. In the fourth section, the results of our analysis are presented, followed by the conclusions drawn in the fifth and sixth sections.

Participation in associations and tolerance

In the scientific and public discussion, many positive aspects of participating in an association are often asserted. In addition to offering an opportunity to find an outlet for political interest and involvement, the value of involvement in promoting social relations is also highlighted (Warren, 2001). In the early 2000s, the political scientist Robert Putnam (2000), among others, asserted a proposition about the impact on social capital or social trust of participating in associations. According to Putnam, citizens who participate in associations develop a strong trust and social norms concerning mutuality that "spill over" to confidence in people in general. Putnam's

line of thought also attracted considerable attention in countries like Sweden, which are characterized by a high degree of participation in associations (Jeppsson-Grassman, Olsson & Svedberg, 2005). However, the proposition about the positive effects of participating in an association have also been criticized because few empirical studies have been able to secure support for any correlation between participation in associations and greater social trust.

A closely related value or attitude that has attracted much less attention in this context is tolerance (see, however, Rapp & Freitag, 2015). Tolerance is a multidimensional and hard-to-define concept and a number of definitions of it are found in the literature. From a strictly philosophical point of departure, an individual is tolerant if he or she harbors negative feelings or judgments concerning something about the other but voluntarily opts to refrain from acting on the negative feelings and judgments (see Lundberg and Langmann in this anthology). From this standpoint, tolerance is a reaction to what the individual regards as disturbing or problematic, or a threat. Another way of defining the concept, and the one that will be used in this chapter, is to relate tolerance to an absence of prejudices, stereotypes and xenophobia. Tolerance from this perspective means permitting and affirming socio-cultural differences and lifestyles in society. This requires, in turn, an affirmation that all people are afforded the same political rights (cf. Weldon, 2006, p. 335; Sullivan et al., 1979, p. 1993).

Earlier research focused, inter alia, on the type of factors that are linked to and explain the degree of tolerance. Research has been conducted in various subject areas and opinions vary about which factors seem to be overarching, i.e., which get the individual to abstain from

his/her negative feelings and attitudes or affirm and welcome the other. Besides the individual's personality and the importance of public institutions, such as schools, the individual's social network is frequently put forward as a factor that can affect tolerance (Côté & Erickson, 2009; Freitag & Rapp, 2013). In addition to the workplace, the circle of acquaintances and the neighborhood, researchers have highlighted associations as an important social network.

According to what is known as the contact hypothesis, prejudices and negative attitudes can, under certain circumstances, be reduced through the interaction and contact that individuals have with each other (Allport, 1954; Rydgren & Sofi, 2011). It is claimed that understanding is created when people have an opportunity to communicate and discuss with each other, at the same time as prejudices and negative attitudes are reduced. In the same way, it is conceivable that when people join together in an association in which they communicate, solve problems and participate in various activities, this alleviates prejudices, concerns and feelings of being threatened by, for example, other groups in society. Expressed differently, tolerance is created through the contacts formed with people with various backgrounds in an association. However, for contact to have this effect, researchers have asserted the importance of the contact being personal, positive and occurring on an equal basis (Côté & Erickson, 2009).

The proposition that participation in an association has a positive effect on tolerance can naturally be questioned. First, the extent to which contact in an association fulfils all of the aforementioned conditions is an open question. Second, it is important to maintain that there are also associations that have an anti-democratic and intole-

rant agenda. Such types of associations are unlikely to have a positive effect on tolerance.

In connection with this, it is also possible that associations' capacity to promote tolerance may differ. One hypothesis put forward in research on social trust is that organizations in which individuals of a similar background congregate, such as political and ethnic organizations, have a less positive effect than, for example, cultural associations or sporting associations (Stolle & Rochon, 1998; Wollebæk & Selle, 2002). One reason for this may be that the latter type of organization has greater potential to gather people of different backgrounds and thus better opportunities to offer contact between people that are more unlike each other, which in turn furthers trust. It is possible that similar patterns can be identified with regard to tolerance.

Another criticism of the idea that participation in an association would have a positive effect on tolerance is connected to what is usually called a selection effect. According to some researchers, studies that claim to show correlations between participating in an association and various forms of democratic attitudes are in many cases an effect of selection (Quintelier, 2012). In this context, it is possible that people with already tolerant views are more likely to become members of and participate in associations. To be able to establish with certainty that participating in an association has an effect on tolerance, it is necessary that the individual's level of tolerance is studied even before the person becomes active.

To summarize, we have presented arguments for why participating in an association may have a positive effect on tolerance but we have also shown the opposite, and that the effect can vary according to the type of organization. We have also maintained the importance

of studies that investigate the effect of participation over time, in order fully to understand the role that participating in an association plays in terms of tolerance.

Material and method

The empirical data for this chapter derives from a longitudinal study (Youth and Society) that was implemented within the framework of a multidisciplinary research program at Örebro University, Sweden. As noted in other chapters in this anthology, the principal purposes of the research program have been to understand how young people aged 13 to 30 express their political and civic engagement, and to explain the mechanisms and processes through which these young people develop different directions of involvement over the years. Spring 2010 marked the start of the study, for which more than 2,000 school students from a total of 13 different compulsory and high schools, and approximately 4,000 young adults and their friends of different ages (20, 22, 28) have been followed for several years. In the present chapter, we focus primarily on the two youngest groups, namely young people who were 13 and 16 years-old, respectively, at the first measurement point of the study. As a whole, we are talking about some 2,000 young people, with an average age of about 15 years at the first measurement point (Year 1).

In common with several other chapters in this anthology, interest has been focused on tolerance towards immigrants. Here tolerance is defined with the support of three statements on which the young people had to take a position: (1) Our culture is enriched when people from other countries move to Sweden; (2) We should welco-

me people who has fled from the problems that existed in their own countries; and (3) Immigrants should have the same rights as people born in Sweden. These three indicators will be used as a measure of tolerance. The response scale for all three statements was 1–4, from "doesn't apply at all" to "applies very well".

In this study, participating in an association is defined as whether young people have been members of an association. In the questionnaire, the young people were asked to take a position on the following questions: "Are you a member of an association/associations?" The response options were "yes" and "no" with an opportunity to specify membership of various types of associations. The types of associations that the young people could choose from were: sporting association, cultural association, religious association, hobby association, recreational association, political association, association for peace and human rights, immigrant association, environmental association, and any other association. This enabled us to analyze the importance of membership of various types of associations, and the importance of being a member of several associations.

One weakness in this approach, however, is that membership of an association does not necessarily entail that inter-human contact, which is a prerequisite for promoting tolerance, actually takes place. It is also possible to be a passive member. In an attempt partially to offset this weakness, we have also included an additional measurement of participation, namely voluntary work.[4] In the questionnaire, the young people were asked to take a position on how often in the

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4 It is possible to direct similar criticism against voluntary work. Such activity can be performed independently of interaction with other people taking place. As opposed to membership, however, voluntary work presumes some type of activity on the part of the individual and probably also contact with other people.

past 12 months, they had worked voluntarily for a good cause. The response options were "yes, once or twice," "yes, a number of times", and "no".

Taken as a whole, we therefore surveyed whether membership as such had any importance for the tolerance or the number of memberships in associations. We also took into account the importance of voluntary work. Thanks to the longitudinal data, we were also able to study the importance of membership and how long the voluntary work had lasted. The data in this chapter have been analyzed using different statistical methods, such as means comparison, frequency tables and development models.

Results

Young people's participation in various associations

In this section, the results from the empirical analyses are presented. Before starting to study the role that participation in an association plays in a young person's tolerance, we take a closer look at the types of associations that young people choose to become members of. The results are presented in Table 1, and show that three types of associations attract a particularly large share of young people, namely sporting associations, cultural associations and religious associations. More than half of the young people (Year 1) are members of a sporting association, approximately one-fifth are members of cultural associations, and more than one-tenth are members of a religious association. However, certain types of associations are less popular.

As shown in Table 1, a significantly lower proportion of the young people are members of, for example, recreational associations, immigrant associations, political associations, environmental associations, and associations for peace or human rights.

The analysis also shows that, for most associations, participation tends to decline as young people become older. This trend is most apparent for sporting associations, in which more than 51% of the young people were members during the first year compared with 38% at the fourth measurement point (Year 4). A similar trend can be noted for cultural associations, for example, in which nearly 22% of the young people were members in Year 1 but less than 15% three years later (Year 4). However, certain types of associations show a moderately opposite trend in terms of attracting young people. For example, fewer than 12% of the young people (Year 1) were members of a religious association, while the corresponding figure for Year 4 was just over 13%. A similar trend is noticeable for political associations. In other words, young people are attracted by somewhat different types of associations depending on age.

Our analyses also show how large a percentage of the young people state that they have worked voluntarily for a good cause in the past 12 months. Approximately every second respondent stated that they have done voluntary work.

*Are young people who are active in associations
more tolerant than those who are not?*

To answer the question of whether membership of various associations can explain the development of tolerance over time, we need to first establish whether there are any differences at all in the level of

| Type of association:	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Sport	51,5	48,4	42,0	38,0
Culture	21,7	19,8	16,8	14,6
Religious	11,9	15,2	13,9	13,4
Hobby	8,0	5,9	5,6	5,9
Recreation	4,3	3,9	2,2	2,5
Political	3,2	3,9	4,1	3,7
Peace/Human rights	3,2	1,7	1,9	3,9
Immigrant	2,9	1,6	1,4	1,7
Environmental	2,3	1,8	1,6	2,7
Other association	9,8	6,5	6,7	7,0
Worked voluntarily for a good cause*	52,6	47,0	51,4	46,8

TABLE 1. The proportion of young people who are members of various types of associations, and the proportion of young people who have engaged in voluntary work (%). Comment: Average age of the young people at the various measurement points: Year 1=15.04 years. Year 2=15.84 years, Year 3=16.94 years, and Year 4=17.32 years; *The proportion responding "yes, once or twice" or "yes, a number of times".

tolerance between young people who are and are not members. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 2, which shows the mean values in tolerance for members and non-members broken down by type of association. To begin with, we can state that there are statistically established differences between young people who are and those who are not members of a number of associations. Statistically established differences are indicated with figures in bold.

Type of association:	Member?	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Sport	No	2,96	3,05	3,06	3,11
	Yes	2,86	2,89	2,97	3,13
Culture	No	**2,85**	**2,90**	**2,97**	**3,06**
	Yes	**3,12**	**3,29**	**3,29**	**3,48**
Religious	No	**2,87**	**2,94**	**2,98**	**3,09**
	Yes	**3,14**	**3,17**	**3,31**	**3,29**
Hobby	No	**2,91**	**2,98**	3,03	3,12
	Yes	**2,75**	**2,74**	2,94	3,04
Recreation	No	2,91	2,97	3,02	3,11
	Yes	2,85	3,04	3,26	3,20
Political	No	2,90	**2,95**	**3,01**	**3,11**
	Yes	3,00	**3,35**	**3,33**	**3,33**
Peace/Human rights	No	2,90	2,97	**3,01**	3,10
	Yes	2,91	3,33	**3,54**	3,45
Immigrant	No	2,90	2,97	3,02	3,11
	Yes	2,95	3,00	3,24	3,13
Environmental	No	2,91	2,97	**3,02**	**3,11**
	Yes	2,89	3,26	**3,64**	**3,26**
Other association	No	**2,94**	2,97	3,01	3,09
	Yes	**2,64**	2,96	2,92	3,10
Worked voluntarily for a good cause	No	2,81	2,89	2,97	3,03
	Yes, once or twice/a number of times	3,00	3,08	3,07	3,22

TABELE 2. Table 2. Differences in tolerance between members and non-members (average mean values on a scale between 1 and 4). Comment: 1) Items marked in bold indicate statistically established differences in tolerance between members and non-members of the various associations. 2) Average age of the young people at each measurement point: Year 1=15.04 years, Year 2=15.84 years, Year 3=16.94 years, and Year 4=17.32 years; 3) The overall measurement of tolerance runs from 1 to 4, where 1 indicates low tolerance and 4 a high degree of tolerance.

We can also state that members of cultural and religious associations express more tolerant attitudes at all four measurement points. A similar pattern is shown for young people who are members of political associations (Years 2, 3 and 4) and for young people who are members of environmental associations (Years 3 and 4) and associations for peace and human rights (Year 3). Two types of associations show opposite results, however. Hobby associations and other associations stand out in that non-members express somewhat more tolerant attitudes than members. Finally, we can also note that young people who have engaged in voluntary work once or twice or a number of times in the past 12 months express somewhat higher tolerance than those who have not engaged in corresponding activities.
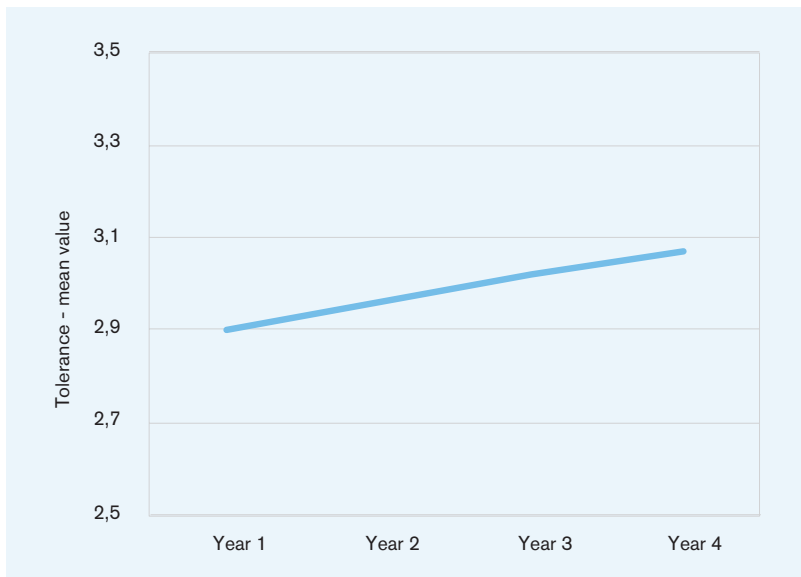
FIGURE 1. Development of tolerance over time.

On the whole, we can therefore state that young people who are members of certain types of associations, particularly cultural and religious associations, express somewhat more tolerant attitudes towards immigrants than those who are not members or those who are members of other types of organizations. We can also conclude that young people who have engaged in voluntary work express somewhat more tolerant attitudes towards immigrants than those who have not.

Do young people become more tolerant by participating in an association?

The second question that we intend to answer in this chapter pertains to whether the young people's membership of various associations, and engagement in voluntary work, affects the development of their tolerance. To be able to answer this question, a statistical method known as development modeling was used. Aided by this method, we were able to study the status of the tolerance of young people at Point 1 (the starting level) and how tolerance changed over four years (change).

The results from the development models are presented in Figure 1 and show that the young people's mean value for tolerance at the first measurement point was 2.90 (the starting level) and that the mean values increased by an average of .06 (change) per year between the first and the fourth measurement point. This increase is not large, but it is statistically significantly. Accordingly, these results show that the tolerance of the young people increased over the four measurement points.

	Starting level for tolerance (2.90)	Change in tolerance over time (.06)
Membership Year 1 (1=member of at least one association; 0= not a member of any association)	,20***	,00
Number of members Year 1 (0 to 5)	,14***	,01
Membership Year 1 (1=member of at least one association during all four years; 0= not a member of any association at any time)	,37***	-,07
Voluntary work (1=worked voluntarily one or more times; 0=have not worked voluntarily)	,11***	-,02
Length of the voluntary work (1=worked voluntarily one or more times; 0=have not worked voluntarily)	,22**	,06
Parents' country of birth (1=both parents born in Sweden, 2= one of the parents born in Sweden, 3= both parents born outside Sweden)	,23***	-,06
Gender (0=girls, 1=boys)	-,24***	-,09*
Age	,07**	-,09*

TABLE 3. Impact of membership and voluntary work on the starting level for tolerance. Comment: In all analytical models, checks were made for the effect of gender, age and parent's country of birth. **P<0.05; * P< 0.01; **P<0.001.

In a next step, the development models were used to test whether participating in an association has any impact on the starting level[5] and the change in the young people's tolerance over time. With these objectives in mind, we created five variables that correspond to the measurements of participation that were reported above, namely: the importance of membership; the number of memberships of various associations; how long the membership lasted; voluntary work and how long the voluntary work lasted.

For it to be possible optimally to analyze the impact on tolerance, if any, of participating in an association, we chose to analyze membership of the associations where we could discern statistically established differences with regard to tolerance between members and non-members (see Table 2 above) at any of the four measurement points. More specifically, the overall measurement of membership has been based on membership of cultural associations, associations for peace and human rights, and religious, political and environmental associations. When so doing, we also checked whether the young people's age, gender and their parents' country of birth had any impact.

The results of these analyses are presented in Table 3, which shows that all aspects of participating in an association plus gender, age and the parents' country of birth had an impact on the tolerance of young people at the first measurement point (starting level). This means that the young people who were members of at least one of the aforementioned associations, were older, a girl or had parents with a

5 What is meant by starting level is the tolerance expressed by the young people at the first measurement point, i.e., during the first round of the questionnaire-based survey.

foreign background[6] expressed higher tolerance at the beginning of the study (starting level). A similar result is arrived at in terms of voluntary work, which affected the starting level of tolerance but not the change over time. However, the results show that the young people's gender (-.09, significant) and age (-.09, significant) had a statistically significant impact on the change in tolerance during the period that was studied. This means that the boys' tolerance increased less than the girls' between the first and the fourth measurement point. Table 3 also shows that the tolerance of the older youth increased to a lesser extent than that of the younger youth (-.09*).

As a whole, the analyses of participating in an association affected the starting level of the tolerance of young people but did not explain the change in tolerance over time. A similar result is provided for the effect of the young people's voluntary work. For this, the results show that voluntary work affected the starting level of the young people's tolerance but not the change in it. Accordingly, the analysis does not provide any support for the idea that participating in an association explains the young people's development of tolerance over time.

Summary and conclusions

Recently, the activities of associations have been subject to ever greater expectations, especially from the public sphere, with regard to contributing to solving the many challenges in society. One context

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6 To find out where the youth's parents were born, the young people were asked to answer the following question: "Where were your parents born?" In this chapter, the variable (the parents' country of birth) moves on a scale from 1 to 3, where 1 stands for both parents being born in Sweden, 2 for at least one of the parents being born outside Sweden, and 3 for both parents being born outside Sweden.

in which associations have been highlighted is in relation to the immigration of refugees in recent times (cf. Committee Directive 2016:47, SOU 2016:13). An increasingly ethnically and culturally heterogeneous population has not only offered new opportunities and encounters but has also given rise to concern and xenophobia, thus emphasizing the importance of tolerance. In this chapter, we have contributed to knowledge about the role of participation in associations in the development of the tolerance of young people. Specifically, we asked the following two questions: 1) Are young people who are active in associations more tolerant than those who are not active? 2) Do young people become more tolerant by participating in an association?

In this chapter, tolerance means permitting and affirming socio-cultural differences and lifestyles in society. We paid special attention to young people's attitudes to immigrants who, in our questions, were specified as people who have fled to Sweden. In this study, participating in an association referred to whether or not young people have been members of one or more association. In addition to membership, whether young people had done voluntary work was regarded as an additional measurement of involvement.

Aided by data from a research project that has followed the same people for several years (Amnå, et al., 2009), we presented results that show: 1) the types of associations that young people in various age groups choose to participate in as members, 2) differences in tolerance between members and non-members of various types of associations, and 3) a possible answer to the question of whether young people become more tolerant by participating in associations.

The results show, first, that sporting associations are the most popular type of association in which young people choose to participate as members. We have also shown that the young people's membership of several types of associations tends to decline as the young people become older. Second, for the majority of associations, our results show statistically established differences between members and non-members. In all types of associations, apart from recreational, hobby and immigrant associations, members express a higher degree of tolerance than non-members at least at some point. Third, the results show that membership of associations co-varied with the starting level of tolerance but it not affect the change in tolerance over time.

Accordingly, we cannot find any unambiguous support for the idea that membership of an association increases the tolerance of young people. In fact, the young people who chose to become members do not appear to have significantly increased their tolerance as their membership continued. A similar result arises when we studied the importance of more informal forms of participation, namely doing voluntary work (cf. Rapp & Freitag, 2015).

On the basis of statistical observations, however, it is difficult to provide a definite explanation for why members of certain types of associations express higher tolerance than others. A theoretical explanation may be that certain types of associations are characterized by strong ties among members in highly homogeneous groups, which in this case would mean that they do not develop as high a level of tolerance in relation to other groups of individuals (cf. Putnam, 2000).

It is also important to emphasize that the results reported above do not say anything about the direction of the correlation between

tolerance and participating in an association; i.e., whether it is membership that has an impact on young people's tolerance or whether it is young people with higher tolerance who choose to become members of associations. Accordingly, it is possible that what we have identified in terms of young people participating in an association and voluntary work can be explained as effects resulting from self-selection. We also want to remind readers of that the young people who were already members at the start of the study expressed a high level of tolerance, which means there is limited scope for them to increase their level of tolerance after just three years, and thus there are only small differences to explain.

As a whole, this analysis therefore does not provide any clear-cut support for the idea that participation in an association constitutes "a school of tolerance" in that it cannot explain the development of tolerance over time. In fact, the results seem to suggest that parts of life in an association comprise a meeting place for already tolerant young people (cf. van der Meer & van Ingen, 2009).

In this context, it is important to note that in this survey we have only focused on a couple of aspects of participating in an association, namely formal membership and voluntary work. A membership can, but does not need to, mean that interaction between various individuals takes place, which is a prerequisite for tolerance to arise. It is also possible that voluntary work a limited number of times does not itself result in the positive effects on tolerance that the theory presupposes. The results should therefore be interpreted with caution. It is, for example, possible that other aspects of participation in an association, such as taking part in various association meetings and activities, can have positive effects on young people's tolerance. Here,

it is also important to underscore the potential of participation in associations to work as an arena in which young people can form bonds of friendship with people from different ethnic backgrounds, something that appears to have favorable potential to promote tolerance in relation to immigrants (see, inter alia, Miklikowska and Dahl in this anthology). It may be beneficial for future research to study the role that other dimensions of participation in an association play in the development of tolerance. It is also necessary that such studies look at participation in associations over a longer period of time to be able to document the role that participation in associations plays in the tolerance of young people.

13. The role of school context in adolescents' attitudes towards immigrants and inter-ethnic friendships[1]

Metin Özdemir and Sevgi Bayram Özdemir

Introduction

In today's world, societies are becoming increasingly diverse due to the large number of people migrating to places where they hope to find jobs, security, and opportunities that are not available in their home country. As of 2015, 244 million people lived in a country other than where they were born (United Nations, 2016). Sweden receives its own share of people in the global shift of populations. In 2015, over 162 thousand people applied to obtain refugee status in Sweden (Migrationsverket, 2016). Currently, 1.6 million people living in Sweden were born in another country (SCB, 2016), and make up

more than 15% of the overall population. The proportion of people of immigrant origin increases to 27% after including children born in Sweden to foreign-born parents (SCB, 2016).

Increasing migration brings its own opportunities and challenges. Immigrants may contribute to the growth and sustainability of the economy. A recent report from the Swedish Employment Agency states that Sweden should continue to accept large number of immigrants to prevent shortages on the labor market (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2015). On the other hand, ethnic segregation and social integration remain problematic. Negative views on immigrants and increasingly vocalized anti-immigrant ideas are among the major barriers for immigrants to feel welcomed and accepted, and motivated to be part of society (Bayram Özdemir, Özdemir & Stattin, 2016a). There has been an increase in anti-immigrant political views and ethnically motivated hate crimes in recent years (BRÅ, 2013). Thus, there is a need to counteract negative opinions and promote positive inter-ethnic interactions. But, the question is how?

The answer to this question lies partially in the context where young people develop their attitudes towards "others". The long tradition of research into where children and youth develop their opinions about other people from different cultural, religious, and ethnic groups emphasizes the family, the peer group, the school, and society at large as important contexts (e.g., Aboud & Amato, 2001; Aboud & Doyle, 1996; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014). Among other settings, the school has special importance for the development of young people's views about differences. Around the world, children and adolescents experience most of their social interactions with other youth, and form their friendships in school. In addition,

almost all children in modern societies attend school regardless of whether they are native-born or immigrant, and spend a substantial amount of their active daytime in this context. Accordingly, schools are places where positive opinions and behaviors may systematically be promoted for almost all children. Recognizing these aspects, the Swedish Parliament assigned schools the task of promoting tolerance of differences. The Education Act (2010:800) states: "schools should promote understanding of other people and the ability to empathize so that no one should be subjected to discrimination or other degrading treatment on the grounds of gender, ethnic affiliation, religion or other belief systems, transgender identity or its expression, sexual orientation, age or functional impairment" (Lindström, 2013, p. 29). In short, schools make up the main context where youth's inter-ethnic attitudes and behaviors can be promoted. However, allocating such an important task to the schools cannot ensure the effectiveness of this parliamentary directive. How schools can achieve the task is a burning question, and, unfortunately, scientific research provides relatively little information about which characteristics of the school context may promote inter-ethnic relationships.

In this chapter, we aim to contribute to understanding of inter-ethnic relationships among youth. Unlike most prior studies, we focus on both inter-ethnic attitudes (specifically, positive attitudes towards immigrants) and friendships simultaneously. We took this approach because positive attitudes can be considered as a precondition for good inter-ethnic relationships, whereas cross-ethnic friendships are concrete demonstrations of existing relationships. In our analysis of inter-ethnic attitudes and friendships, we focus on two aspects of the school: (1) the school's ethnic composition (i.e., whether the school

has a low or high number of immigrants relative to the approximate representation of immigrants nationwide), and (2) teachers' initiations of discussions of political issues in the classroom. School ethnic composition is an important indicator of whether students have the opportunity to be in contact with different ethnic groups. Teachers' initiation of political discussions is a precursor of whether students are exposed to ideas and opinions that are not necessarily in line with what they personally believe in and/or hear from their parents at home. We expect that opportunities to be in contact with immigrant peers and experiencing discussions on Swedish and world politics may promote a positive view of immigrants and the development of inter-ethnic friendships. In sum, we ask two main questions: (1) Does school ethnic composition have an impact on positive attitudes towards immigrants and inter-ethnic friendships? and (2) Do teachers' initiations of political discussions in the classroom promote positive attitudes towards immigrants and inter-ethnic friendships? We also examine whether the effect of school ethnic composition and teachers' discussions vary in relation to youth's age and gender, and their parents' attitudes towards immigrants.

In the following sections, we first provide an overview of existing knowledge about the associations between features of the school (specifically school ethnic composition, and teachers' behaviors) and youth's inter-ethnic attitudes and relationships. Then, we present our own research, aiming to address the questions above. Finally, we discuss our findings with an emphasis on the study's potential implications for schools.

School ethnic composition and inter-ethnic relationships

The demographic characteristics of the school context, specifically the school and classroom ethnic composition, have been the primary focus of previous research on inter-ethnic attitudes (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014). Most of the previous research has tested models based on Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis. The contact hypothesis presumes that people tend to develop more positive attitudes towards others when they have opportunities for contact with members of the out-group (compared with those with few opportunities for contact). The basic premise of the contact hypothesis is that people are less positive towards the unknown – the people they do not know.

The studies available on the impact of school and classroom ethnic composition on inter-ethnic attitudes and friendships have come to different conclusions. Specifically, several studies have reported that students in ethnically diverse classrooms have more positive multicultural attitudes (van Geel & Vedder, 2011) and positive out-group evaluations (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2013) than those in less diverse classrooms. Similarly, native children have been found to be more likely to be friends with non-native children (van Houtte & Stevens, 2009) and immigrant children (Schachner, Brenick, Noack, van de Vijver & Heizmann, 2015; Titzmann, Brenick & Silbereisen, 2015) than those in immigrant-sparse schools. But, contrary to the findings suggesting a benefit of increased contact, there are a few studies that show school ethnic composition to have contrasting or null effects. For example, Vervoot and colleagues (2011) showed that Dutch adolescents tended to have negative out-group attitudes when they were in a classroom where immigrant students outnumbered native youth. In their cross-national study, focusing on 14 year-olds

across 25 countries, including Sweden, Barber and colleagues showed that school ethnic composition was not related to youth's support for immigrant rights (Barber, Torney-Purta, & Fennelly, 2010). Similarly, Dejaeghere, Hooghe and Claes (2012) reported that school ethnic composition did not impact the development of ethnocentric views (i.e., negative attitudes towards immigrants and diversity) among adolescents in Belgium. Taken together, the findings from studies focusing on the role of school demographic composition are mixed. Also, they are not always in line with the contact hypothesis. These mixed findings may be related to overlooking the possible interactions between school ethnic composition and youth's individual characteristics (e.g., age and gender) and family characteristics (e.g., parents' inter-ethnic attitudes). In any case, the current studies do not provide a clear understanding of how these different factors work together and influence inter-ethnic relationships. In this chapter, we aim to address this gap in knowledge.

Teachers' role in inter-ethnic relationships

Teachers generally have more opportunities to monitor interactions among students than other adults. Thus, they have the potential to supervise and influence youth's interactions with each other. They can be a role model for students, promote openness to diversity through discussions in the classroom, and integrate strategies to promote interactions among students of different ethnic backgrounds into their educational approach. Supporting these arguments, Gniewosz and Noack (2008) found that native German students who were encouraged to express their opinions by teachers were more tolerant

towards immigrants. Similarly, Verkuyten and colleagues showed that Dutch students whose teachers emphasized equality and diversity in the classroom, or who discussed racial issues, cultural differences and similarities, were less biased in their evaluations of immigrant (compared with native) peers (Kinket & Verkuyten, 1999; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2001). Similar findings have also been reported from large-scale cross-national studies. For example, a large study of a sample of over 85 thousand students from 25 countries, including Sweden, reported that a classroom climate for open discussion promoted support for immigrant rights among adolescents (Barber, Torney-Purta & Fennelly, 2010). These findings have been further strengthened by experimental studies. Specifically, an intervention study showed that guiding students to focus on the internal qualities of a person rather than racial differences reduces prejudiced attitudes over time (Aboud & Fenwick, 1999). In sum, these studies suggest that teachers may promote the development of positive attitudes towards immigrants by discussing issues related to diversity and by creating an open classroom climate where students can express their own views.

Nevertheless, there are some important limitations to the current research. First, there has been very little focus, if any at all, on whether teachers influence the formation of inter-ethnic friendships. Formation of friendships among native and immigrant youth can be considered as an important indicator of social integration. And, another important gap in the literature is related to whether the impact of teachers' behaviors is conditional on student characteristics. For example, adolescents may interpret teachers' messages about diversity differently depending on what they already think and know about "others" (Bigler, 1999). Teachers' messages may either confirm

or challenge existing out-group images. Although the current evidence generally suggests that teachers' behaviors may promote inter-ethnic attitudes, their role cannot be understood without taking other factors into account. Nevertheless, to date, no study has examined the role of teachers in promoting inter-ethnic relationships while considering various youth characteristics (i.e., age, gender, and parental inter-ethnic attitudes).

Research questions

In this chapter, we focus on both attitudinal and behavioral aspects of inter-ethnic relationships. Regarding the attitudinal aspect, we focus on the positive attitudes of Swedish youth towards immigrants. As for the behavioral aspect, we focus on Swedish youth's cross-ethnic friendships (i.e., having a friend with an immigrant background in the school peer group). We aim to answer the following three questions regarding inter-ethnic relationships:

1. Does school ethnic composition play a role in Swedish youth's attitudes towards immigrants and their inter-ethnic friendships?
2. Do teachers' discussions of political issues have any effect on Swedish youth's attitudes towards immigrants and inter-ethnic friendships?
3. Does the effect of school ethnic composition and teachers' discussions of politics vary in relation to youth's characteristics (age, gender, and parental inter-ethnic attitudes)?

Methods

To answer our questions, we analyzed data from the Political Socialization Program (PSP) of the Youth & Society (YeS) research group at Örebro University in Sweden. The original research was developed as a longitudinal study to examine the everyday experiences of young people from age 13 to 30 regarding politics, and to understand how their views on society develop over time. The design and goals of the study are described in detail elsewhere (Amnå, Ekström, Kerr & Stattin, 2009). In the current analyses, we focused on adolescents of Swedish origin. We treated having a Swedish origin as being born in Sweden to parents who were also born in Sweden or another Nordic country (i.e., Denmark, Norway, Finland). We also focused on adolescents who were in grade 7 (around age 13) and grade 10 (around age 16) when the first data were collected. The same adolescents were asked the same set of questions one year later, when they were in grade 8 and grade 11, respectively. Details concerning the analytic sample are provided in Table 1. Overall, 1416 youth participated in the first data collection. One year later, the research team reached a majority of the participants (84%). We analyzed the data to see if any specific group of adolescents was more likely to drop out of the study. The results suggested that only older adolescents were more likely to drop out. In fact, 79% of the youth in the older cohort participated in the second year of the study, compared with 88% of the youth in the younger cohort. There were no other differences between the youth who remained in the study and those who had dropped out by the second year.

As part of the PSP, parents of the youth participated in the study every other year. Parents of 912 PSP participants were reached

(64.4% of the sample). We tested whether the youth whose parents responded to the surveys differed from those whose parents did not respond on all study variables. We found only two differences: the parents of youth who held more positive attitudes towards immigrants were more likely to answer the survey questions, and the parents of youth who had more immigrant friends were less likely to respond to the questions.

Measures

Positive attitudes towards immigrants. The adolescents, who were aged 13 to 16, were given five statements that reflect positive views about immigrants and asked to indicate whether they completely agreed, agreed, disagreed, or completely disagreed. An example was: "Immigrants should have the same rights as people born in Sweden" The same adolescents were presented with the same statement one year later. This measure had good inter-item reliability at both year 1 (alpha = .80) and year 2 (alpha = .83) of data collection. The same attitude measure was also used with the parents of the youth in the first year of the study to assess parents' attitudes towards immigrants. The reliability of the parent-reported measure was comparable to that of the youth measure (alpha = .82).

School ethnic composition. The data were collected from 13 schools. Based on the number of students with immigrant background in the overall school population, we grouped the schools into two categories. Following a previous research procedure (Bayram Özdemir, Özdemir & Stattin, 2016b), we grouped eight schools with less than 20% of students with an immigrant background into

one category, and called them "immigrant-sparse" schools (average number of immigrant students: 11%). The second group comprised five schools with more than 20% immigrant students, and these were called "ethnically-mixed" schools (average number of immigrant students: 40%).

Inter-ethnic friendship. The youth were asked to list up to eight friends in school. The youth on average listed around 6 friends in year 1 and 5 friends in year 2 of the data collection. Because these nominated friends were also included in the dataset, we created a new variable, which identifies the number of immigrant friends of each of the Swedish youth participating in the study.

Teachers' initiations of political discussions. Students were asked to report on whether their teachers initiated discussions of political issues in class (in response to the statement "There are teachers in my school who try to involve students in discussions about political issues"). The students responded on a four-point scale (1=does not apply at all, 2 = does not apply so well, 3 = applies quite well, 4 = applies very well).

|	Sample Size			Age and Gender at Year 1		
	Year 1	Year 2	Retention	Age*	Female	Male
Cohort 1 (School year 7)	704	621	88 %	13,43 (0,55)	51 %	49 %
Cohort 2 (School year 10)	712	563	79 %	16,58 (0,66)	52 %	48 %
Overall	1 416	1 184	84 %	15,01 (1,69)	51,5 %	48,5 %

TABLE 1. Sample size, age and gender of the youth in the analytic sample. *In the "age" column, values outside the parentheses refer to average age, and values inside the parentheses refer to the standard deviation.

Results

What do swedish youth think about immigrants?

In figures 1 and 2, we present the findings for each of the five attitude items on both data-collection occasions to provide a detailed picture of youth's attitudes towards immigrants. We also grouped youth's responses across the five attitude items as "agree" or "disagree" to facilitate the presentation of what adolescents think about immigrants in general.

Our findings show that when all responses across the five attitude items were combined, around 61% of the adolescents in the first year and 65% of the adolescents in the second year indicated positive views on immigrants. However, there were some variations in youth's opinions depending on the content of the question. For example, at both waves of data collection, more than three-quarters of the adolescents agreed that immigrants should have the same rights as people who were born in Sweden, and that immigrants who fled from problems in their home country should be welcomed to Sweden. By contrast, less than 50% of the adolescents agreed that immigrants are good for the Swedish economy. Despite these variations in opinions regarding each specific issue, it can be concluded that youth, in general, have positive attitudes towards immigrants. Nevertheless, this conclusion should not overshadow the fact that, at the first wave, more than one in five youth disagreed that immigrants should be entitled to the same rights as Swedish-born citizens, and that Sweden should welcome people who had fled the problems of their home country. One year later, slightly fewer adolescents disagreed with these statements, but
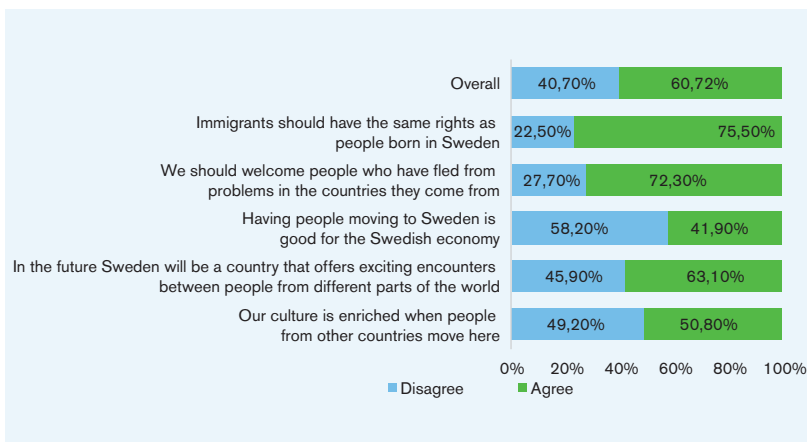
FIGURE 1. Youth's positive attitudes towards immigrants in year 1 of the PSP study.
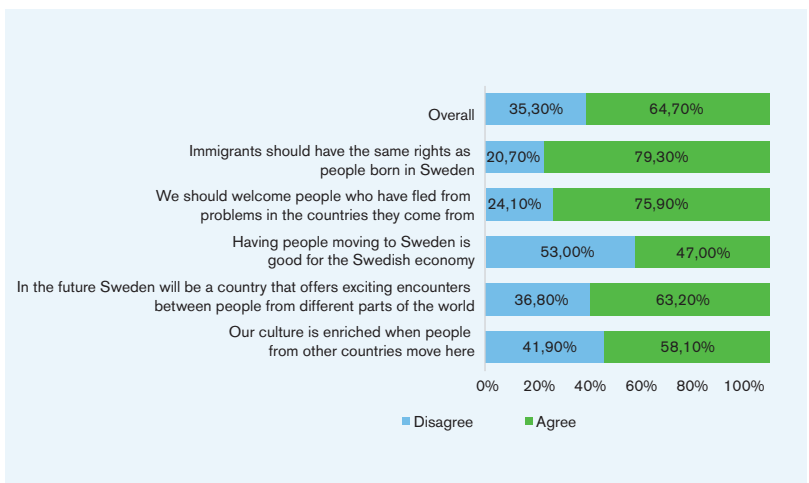
FIGURE 2. Youth's positive attitudes towards immigrants in year 2 of the PSP study.

still around one in five did not hold positive and welcoming attitudes towards immigrants.

Do swedish youth make friends with immigrants?

As stated previously, all the participating youth were asked to list up to eight friends in school. The youth on average listed around 6 friends in year 1, and 5 friends in year 2. For the current analysis, we identified the number of nominated friends with immigrant background of each Swedish youth. Our findings showed that 67% of the Swedish adolescents did not have any immigrant friends. Around 22% of the youth had only one immigrant friend, and very few of them (11.2% at year 1 and 9.7% at year 2) had two or more immigrant friends in both years. Overall, we observed that being a friend of an immigrant peer was not very common among Swedish youth.

### *Does school ethnic composition matter for youth's inter-ethnic relationships?*

We first analyzed the data to examine whether youth's attitudes towards immigrants differed according to school ethnic composition. For this purpose, we compared the average positive attitudes of youth in immigrant-sparse and ethnically-mixed schools. Our analysis clearly shows that the adolescents attending ethnically-mixed schools had significantly more positive attitudes towards immigrants than those in the immigrant-sparse schools (see Table 2). We also calculated the effect size estimates (Cohen's d) for the differences between the two groups of schools. The effect sizes indicated a medium effect of school ethnic composition on youth's positive attitudes towards

immigrants. In addition, the gap between students attending immigrant-sparse and ethnically-mixed schools was larger one year later. In sum, Swedish adolescents who have the opportunity to make contact with many youth of immigrant background in the school context are likely to have more positive views on immigrants than those who have fewer immigrant youth in their schools.

	Immigrant-sparse	Ethnically mixed	F	p	Cohen's d effect size
Positive attitudes – Year 1	2,66 (0,69)	2,82 (0,64)	17,22	< 0,001	0,25
Positive attitudes – Year 2	2,71 (0,68)	2,96 (0,65)	33,84	< 0,001	0,38

TABLE 2. Differences in the youth's positive attitudes towards immigrants across schools of different ethnic composition.

Regarding inter-ethnic friendships, we found similar differences between immigrant-sparse and ethnically-mixed schools (see Figure 3). The Swedish students who attended ethnically-mixed schools were more likely to be friends with immigrant students than those who attended immigrant-sparse schools in both the first ($\chi2(1)$ = 28.39, p < .001) and second year ($\chi2(1)$ = 29.03, p < .001). Overall, slightly more than 43% of the Swedish youth in ethnically-mixed schools had one or more immigrant friends in both years, whereas only 28.4% in year 1 and 26.4% in year 2 had an immigrant friend in immigrant-sparse schools. It should also be noted that over 56% of the youth in ethnically-mixed schools, and more than 71% of the youth in immigrant-sparse schools, had no friends of immigrant
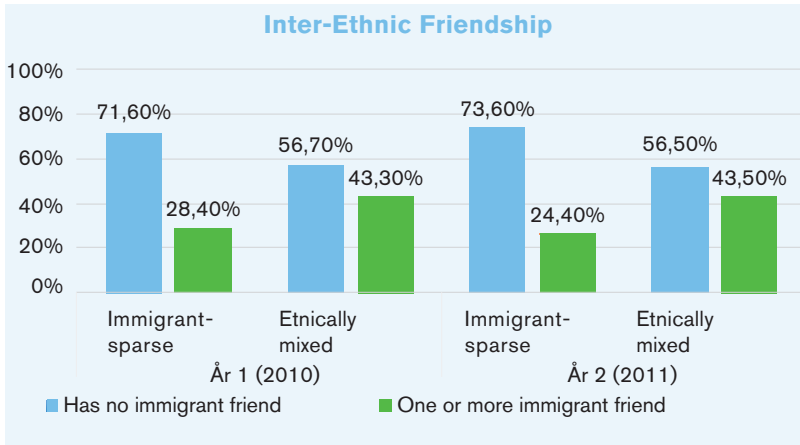
FIGURE 3. Inter-ethnic friendship among Swedish youth attending immigrant-sparse and ethnically-mixed schools.

background. In sum, ethnic composition of the school matters for the formation of inter-ethnic friendships.

So far, our results have suggested that school ethnic composition is related to both positive attitudes towards immigrants and having friends of immigrant background. However, there is a need for stronger evidence to argue for the importance of school context. Thus, we examined how youth's positive attitudes towards immigrants and inter-ethnic friendships change over time in immigrant-sparse and ethnically-mixed schools.

Regarding inter-ethnic attitudes, we found that youth's attitudes towards immigrants changed differently according to school ethnic composition, $F(1, 1121) = 5.46$, $p = .02$. Specifically, youth in ethnically-mixed schools significantly increased in their positive attitudes over the one-year period, $F(1, 794) = 14.50$, $p < .001$, whereas there
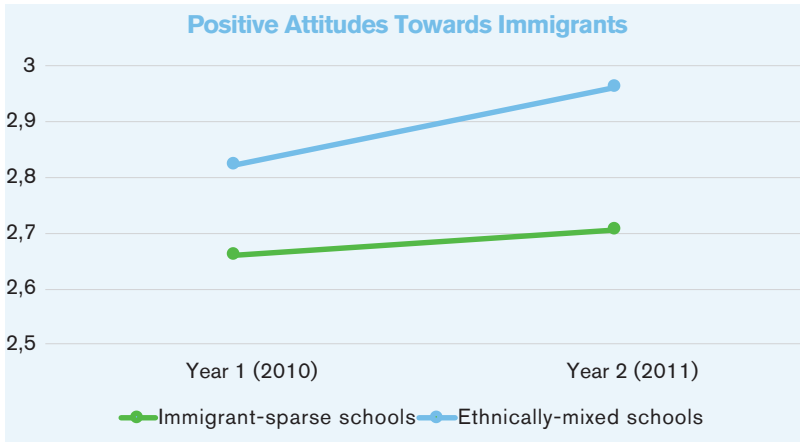
FIGURE 4. Changes in youth's positive attitudes towards immigrants over two years in immigrant-sparse and ethnically-mixed schools.

was no significant change in youth's already low positive attitudes in immigrant-sparse schools, $F(1, 327) = 3.21$, $p = .074$ (see Figure 4).

In a similar way, we examined whether there was a change in Swedish youth's friendships with immigrant peers over time. The results suggest that there was no change in youth's inter-ethnic friendships over time in either immigrant-sparse or ethnically-mixed schools.

To further understand the associations, we also examined whether school context has a similar influence over time on inter-ethnic attitudes and inter-ethnic friendships for adolescents with differing characteristics. Specifically, we examined the roles of youth's age and gender, and their parent's inter-ethnic attitudes. The results show that the overtime changes in youth's views on immigrants and inter-ethnic

friendship were not influenced by age or gender, or their parents' opinions about immigrants.

In an additional analysis, we examined whether the effect of school context differs for adolescents with and without any immigrant friends. We found that youth in immigrant-sparse schools increased in their positive attitudes if they had at least one immigrant friend. By contrast, youth in these schools did not change their view if they had no immigrant friends. On the other hand, all youth in the ethnically-mixed schools, regardless of whether they had an immigrant friend or not, increased in their positive attitudes over time (see Table 3). Overall, these findings provide us with evidence suggesting that Swedish students benefit from being in ethnically-mixed schools and having an immigrant friend (especially in immigrant-sparse schools) in terms of developing more positive attitudes towards immigrants over time.

School ethnic composition	Having at least one immigrant friend	N	Year 1	Year 2	F-test of change over time
Immigrant-sparse	Yes	206	2,79 (0,66)	2,87 (0,64)	4,36*
	No	555	2,63 (0,67)	2,65 (0,68)	0,35
Ethnically-mixed	Yes	134	2,89 (0,60)	3,01 (0,66)	4,10*
	No	181	2,80 (0,65)	2,93 (0,66)	9,78**

TABLE 3. Changes in positive attitudes over time for youth with at least one immigrant friend in immigrant-sparse and ethnically-mixed schools.. *p <0,05 **p < 0,01.

Do teachers' initiations of political discussions matter for youth's inter-ethnic relationships?

Before we addressed our main research question, we examined what students reported about their teachers' initiation of political discussions in the classroom. Overall, only about half of the students (52.4%) reported that their teachers initiated discussions about Swedish and world politics. In order to understand the differences across school contexts, we examined whether teachers in immigrant-sparse and ethnically-mixed schools initiated political discussions at different rates. Overall, there was a significant difference across schools, $\chi2(1) = 20.14$, $p < .001$. Specifically, 61.7% of the youth in ethnically-mixed schools reported that their teachers initiated political discussions in class whereas only 48.5% of the youth in immigrant-sparse schools
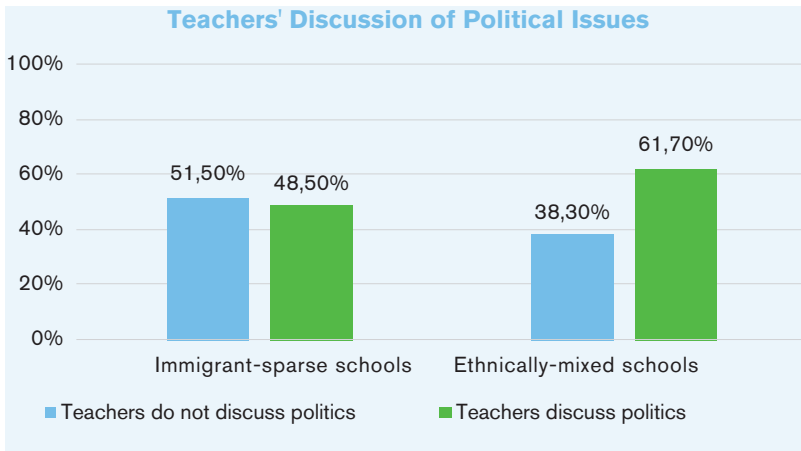
FIGURE 5. Teachers' discussion of political issues in immigrant-sparse and ethnically-mixed schools.

said that their teachers raised political discussions in class (see Figure 5).

Next, we examined whether teacher-initiated political discussions were related to youth's positive attitudes towards immigrants. Our analysis showed that the students whose teachers initiated discussions on political issues reported significantly higher levels of positive attitudes towards immigrants in year 1 compared with those whose teachers did not discuss politics in the classroom, $F(1, 1371) = 65.41$, $p < .001$. Even though teachers' initiations of discussion did not boost the positive attitudes of youth over time, we still observed that youth who experienced discussions had more positive attitudes towards immigrants than those who were not exposed to such discussions in year 2, $F(1, 1371) = 65.41$, $p < .001$. We further examined whether the effect of teacher-initiated discussions on youth's attitudes vary according to their age or gender, or their parents' attitudes towards immigrants. We only observed an effect for age. Specifically, older adolescents had more positive attitudes than younger adolescents when their teachers discussed politics in the classroom in both year 1 ($F(1, 1373) = 5.01$, $p = .025$) and year 2 ($F(1, 1120) = 7.93$, $p = .005$). Neither of the other factors influenced the association between teacher-initiated discussions and youth's positive attitudes towards immigrants.

We also examined whether teacher-initiated political discussions were related to youth's inter-ethnic friendships. The results show that the Swedish youth did not differ in number of immigrant friends according to whether their teachers brought up political discussions in the classroom. These findings were replicated at different levels of age, gender, and parents' attitudes towards immigrants.

Overall, youth whose teachers discuss political issues in the classroom have more positive attitudes towards immigrants than peers who have not experienced such discussions. Nevertheless, teacher-initiated discussions did not make any difference to inter-ethnic friendships.

Discussion

In this chapter, we aim to understand whether two main characteristics of school context can promote Swedish youth's inter-ethnic relationships. Specifically, we examined the impact of school ethnic composition and teacher-initiated political discussions in the classroom on youth's positive attitudes towards immigrants and inter-ethnic friendships. In line with the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), we expected that Swedish youth in ethnically-mixed schools would both have positive attitudes towards immigrants and be friends with peers of immigrant background. Based on the idea that schools, primarily teachers, have the capacity to transmit civic norms and values systematically to young people and provide them with opportunities to adopt democratic principles (Barber, Torney-Purta & Fennelly, 2010; Flanagan, Cumsille, Gill & Gallay, 2007; Torney-Purta, 2002), we expected that youth whose teachers discuss political issues in the classroom would hold a positive view of people with immigrant background and be friends with their immigrant peers. Our findings lend support to our expectations regarding positive attitudes towards immigrants.

Sweden is among the countries that value equality and human rights (World Value Survey, 2015), and has been ranked as the

country with the most integration-promoting polices in the world (MIPEX, 2015). Consistently, our findings show that about two-thirds of Swedish youth have positive attitudes towards immigrants in general. However, there were some major variations in youth's views in the attitudinal domain. For example, a majority of the youth agreed that immigrants should have the same rights as people born in Sweden, and believed in the importance of having welcoming attitudes towards immigrants, especially those who had fled from problems in their home country. Importantly, there was a slight increase in the number of youth holding these positive attitudes over time. This finding could be a reflection of a strong emphasis on equality in society at large (World Value Survey, 2015) as well as in the school system (Education Act, 2010:800). On the other hand, there is apparent disagreement on certain issues. About half of the youth did not agree that immigration might be beneficial for the Swedish economy and the enrichment of the country's cultural atmosphere. Disagreement about the potential economic contributions of immigrants may be a reflection of increasing public concerns about unemployment and high welfare dependency among foreign-born citizens (Gustafsson, 2011). Overall, these findings suggest that combining views on different issues may result in overlooking variations in youth's attitudes.

Although Swedish youth generally have a positive view of immigrants, the flip side of the coin should not be overlooked. One-third of youth do not have positive attitudes towards immigrants. Even more importantly, about one in five youth did not agree with basic tenets from a human-rights perspective and the emphasis on equality in Swedish society by expressing their disagreement with the statement that immigrants should have the same rights as people

born in Sweden. In short, the generally positive attitudes of Swedish youth towards immigrants also have a dark side. The fact that one-third of youth do not have a positive view of immigrants should be taken seriously in both research and policy.

One important aspect of this chapter is its simultaneous focus on inter-ethnic attitudes and friendships. This approach allowed us to focus on both attitudinal and behavioral aspects of inter-ethnic relationships. Both of these aspects are important for promoting the social integration of people of different backgrounds. However, the behavioral aspect, active interaction between people of different backgrounds, is a stronger indicator of social integration than having positive sentiments towards others. Despite the generally positive opinions of Swedish youth about immigrants, two-thirds (or 67%) of the youth in our study did not have a single immigrant friend. A lack of cross-ethnic friendship was more pronounced in immigrant-sparse schools (72%) than ethnically-mixed schools (56%). Even worse, 56% of the youth in ethnically-mixed schools, where on average 40% of the students have immigrant background, did not have a non-Swedish friend. This depicts the presence of socially segregated groups in Swedish schools, which can seriously jeopardize the development of a well-functioning diverse society in the long-term. In these schools, youth may develop stronger in-group favoritism (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2001) and prejudice against out-group members. In turn, these negative beliefs may lead to intergroup hostility and engagement in ethnic victimization (Bayram Özdemir, Özdemir & Stattin, 2016b). If schools are places where youth learn norms of social interaction (van Houtte & Stevens, 2009), we should be concerned that social

segregation in schools may be transferred to other settings (such as work-life).

A noteworthy finding of the current study is that school ethnic composition matters in terms of what youth think about immigrants and whether they are friends with their immigrant peers. Specifically, we found that Swedish youth in ethnically-mixed schools have more positive attitudes towards immigrants and more peers of immigrant background than those in immigrant-sparse schools. Importantly, the youth in ethnically-mixed schools became more positive in their attitudes over time, but those in immigrant-sparse schools showed an increase in their positive attitudes only if they had an immigrant friend. The positive longitudinal effect of being in an ethnically-mixed school is the same for youth of different ages and genders, and for youth coming from families with different views on immigrants. Together, these findings suggest that sharing a physical context and having opportunities to interact can promote understanding of others, lead to the development of a positive view of people of different backgrounds, and, in turn, promote social integration.

Another important conclusion to draw from our findings is that teachers' initiations of political discussions in the classroom play a role in youth's inter-ethnic attitudes. Youth whose teachers brought up social and political discussions in class consistently showed high levels of positive attitudes towards immigrants compared with those whose teachers did not open up such discussions. Encouraging students to discuss civic and political issues in the classroom may nurture young people's civic consciousness (Lenzi, Vieno, Sharkey, Mayworm, Scaahi, Pastore & Santinello, 2014) and help them to understand different viewpoints on societal issues, which in turn may

change their views on and attitudes towards civic and political issues (Carnegie Corporation & CIRCLE, 2003). However, we should note that around 50% of the adolescents indicated that their teachers did not initiate discussions about politics in the classroom. Such discussions take place more frequently in ethnically-mixed schools than in immigrant-sparse schools. This difference may, at least to some extent, explain our observation of higher levels of positive attitudes in ethnically-mixed schools.

Despite their effect on youth's positive attitudes, teacher-initiated discussions were found not to play a role in the formation of inter-ethnic friendships. There is one potential explanation for this observation. Discussions of different perspective may influence how youth think about civic and political matters. However, changing attitudes may not directly be transformed into increased interactions between diverse groups. Teachers may promote the formation of friendships among students of different backgrounds by forming mixed study groups where students can work together, collaborate, and, in turn, have opportunities to learn about their similarities, competencies, and interests. Such a practice may also prevent the development of isolated social networks within classrooms, and exclusion of some youth from peer groups.

What do our findings suggest with regard to improving the inter-ethnic attitudes and friendships of Swedish youth? Being in ethnically-mixed schools is probably a critical factor in promoting inter-ethnic relationships. Nevertheless, neighborhoods are often ethnically segregated in Sweden (Szulkin & Jonsson, 2007), and most students attend the school in or closest to their neighborhood. Such structural barriers may prevent the number of ethnically-mix-

ed schools from increasing. In addition, youth in ethnically-mixed schools may live segregated lives. In fact, even in ethnically-mixed schools, more than half of the Swedish youth in our study did not have any immigrant friend. To overcome these difficulties, some actions could be taken within schools. First, consistent with the current findings, teachers could bring more social and political issues to the attention of students. In these discussions, students may be guided to see the internal qualities of persons rather than the perceptual differences between them, such as with regard to ethnicity, religion, disability, or sexual orientation, to help them become less prejudiced towards others (Aboud & Fenwick, 1999). In addition, teachers could systematically mix students into groups where they can work on tasks together. Collaboration has long been known to reduce conflict between groups (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood & Sherif, 1954). Collaborating to accomplish a common goal can reduce bias against out-group members and lead to the development of a common group identity that is not based on ethnicity (Dovidio, Gaertner, Validzic, Matoka, Johnson & Frazier, 1997). Such an approach could easily be integrated into day-to-day practices in the classroom, and be applied to extracurricular activities in schools. In addition, such practices may help to diversify students' social networks in many ways. In sum, schools may be able to assume an important role in helping students develop not only positive views of others but also social interactions with people of different backgrounds. The hope is that the socially integrated climate of the school may eventually be transferred to other settings through the engagement of students in society.

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Johan von Essen is an associate professor and lecturer in systematic theology at Ersta Sköndal Bräcke University College. Johan has studied the importance of voluntary work for people and citizens' engagement in Swedish society. As well as researching into the commitment of ctizenry, Johan has been concerned with the concept of civil society in the history of ideas.

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THE MECHANISMS OF TOLERANCE places tolerance in the spotlight. For this anthology, researchers from different disciplines have examined what the multifaceted concept of tolerance may mean, in both theory and practice.

The aim is to convey knowledge to the actors in pubic and civil society who work to promote tolerance and positive attitudes among different groups in society. A further hope is that the anthology can encourage continued discussion of issues related to tolerance.

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