TIME FOR TOLERANCE

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A STUDY ABOUT WHAT SCHOOL STUDENTS IN SWEDEN THINK ABOUT EACH OTHER AND SOCIETY AT LARGE

With history in mind and our sights set on the future, the Living History Forum studies contemporary developments that may lead to intolerance and abuse. Events during the Holocaust and other genocides form our point of departure, as well as historical events in Sweden. While we highlight historical processes, we always focus on human beings. Through education, means of cultural expression, meetings and dialogue, we work to strengthen democracy and increase the awareness of human equality.

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Foreword

The Living History Forum's work focuses on human beings. It is human behaviour – individually and in groups – that propels history forward. To spotlight the individual is to enable both recognition and identification.

We know that attitudes influence the actions of individuals. It is therefore important to study what people think about each other. Our research on these issues lays the groundwork for us – and hopefully other actors in society – to understand how to best counter intolerant behaviour between individuals and groups.

This is the Living History Forum's third survey of schoolchildren's attitudes. In 2003, in collaboration with the Council on Crime Prevention, a nationwide survey of school children in Sweden was conducted. The aim was to map out and describe the prevalence of intolerance. Five years later, in the autumn of 2008, another such survey was carried out. In 2013 it was time to carry out another. This latest survey is mainly based on questions from the previous two.

This report analyzes students' attitudes at a given time. We are also able to compare the results from a temporal perspective, 2003–2013. Drawing on a broad spectrum of issues, we ask about students' worries about the future, their social vulnerability, their view of politics, democracy and hobbies, about how young people view each other and their perception of human rights. Our clearest focus, though, has been to study the Swedish students' attitudes toward vulnerable groups. Our ambition has been to analyse how these attitudes correlate with factors such as age, gender, socioeconomic background, education, etcetera. The knowledge we collect helps us, among other things, to develop new methods and materials within the Living History Forum's area of operation.

Many deserve to be thanked – first of all the high-school students who have participated in the survey. Without them there would have been no report. We also want to thank the principals and teachers who have participated in conducting the study. My hope is that this report will contribute to new knowledge, inspire awareness and reinforce efforts by the surrounding community.

The report was mainly written and edited by Jacob Severin, the project manager and an employee at the Living History Forum. The writing process has also included three experts: Professor Pieter Bevelander at Malmö University, Professor Michael Hjerm at Umeå University and Professor Jonas Otterbeck at Lund University. The same individuals were also included in the reference group that participated in the preparatory work of determining measuring instruments and survey design. These four of course deserve a big thank you!

Stockholm in October, 2014
Eskil Franck
Superintendent, The Living History Forum

Summary

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This report has been given the name Time for Tolerance. The title has several meanings. This is firstly because we have now completed three studies and can thus study tolerance from a temporal perspective. By comparing the pupils' attitudes over time, we can state whether they become more or less open and inclusive in their relations with other people. Secondly, the title aims to describe tolerance as a partly inconstant phenomenon. Tolerance does not mean the same thing today as it did in the 1600s. And tolerance will certainly not in ten years' time imply the same things it does today. Thirdly, the title is a call for tolerance.

Tolerance is not just about acceptance and respect. We believe that tolerance is something greater. In our eyes, tolerance can be seen as a staircase. One step involves a basic acceptance of things different from oneself. Another step is about inclusion. Yet another concerns curiosity and openness. By extension, tolerance entails a critical approach to one's own person. In its purest form, tolerance is about seeing one's own faults and shortcomings before demanding the same of other individuals.

We mainly measure intolerance, that is to say negative attitudes. In this context, tolerance means a lack of negative attitudes. But tolerance is, as mentioned above, a concept greater than that. In Chapter 2, we conduct a more thorough review of different ways of looking at tolerance and intolerance.

This is a study of what Swedish pupils think about themselves and other people. A very important conclusion – one that in certain other contexts is overlooked – is that young people in the Swedish school system express a high degree of general tolerance. For instance, when it comes to attitudes toward immigrants, we estimate that approximately 70 percent of boys and almost 80 percent of girls are very tolerant, or at least generally tolerant (it varies depending on which issue we are studying). Only about 10 percent of boys and about 5 percent of girls expressed a clear intolerance. The rest have a more neutral stance. For a more detailed account of this, see, for example, the conclusions in Chapter 5.

From a temporal perspective, we can see that Swedish pupils have become more tolerant in their relations with other people. But the levels of tolerance differ. We see, for example, that young people are more sympathetic toward the LGBT[1] people than the other groups we ask about. We study this in more detail in Chapter 4, especially in section 4.3.

We have deliberately refrained from creating measures of "general intolerance." The stances and attitudes that are presented rather apply to specific groups. The reason is that as in previous studies, we believe that intolerance is shaped differently depending on which group it is directed toward.

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[1] LGBT is an initialism for homosexual, bisexual, and trans people

A longer theoretical exposition of how and why we measure attitudes can be found in chapter 1.2.

OUR SURVEY

Statistics Sweden (SCB) has been responsible for the selection of and data collection in schools. Headmasters and teachers were contacted by SCB, whose field staff then visited classes, handing out and collecting questionnaires. SCB in Örebro compiled data files handled the deregistration of identification data.

A reference group of researchers has been linked to the Living History Forum in the preparatory task of designing the questionnaires. The measuring instruments were reviewed by SCB and tested on pupils. The results were analysed and the report was written by social scientists affiliated with the Living History Forum. From the responding schools, a total of 473 classes were selected, of which 423 submitted responses from the pupils, which was 90.4 percent of the classes (excluding 5 classes that should not have been included in the first place). Of the total of 10,303 pupils (10,584 including those who were excluded) who were asked, 7,391 pupils responded to the questionnaire.

Our survey from 2009 was characterized by a relatively large loss of pupil responses. Efforts were therefore made to raise the response rate in the 2013 survey. The total share of pupils who responded to our survey was 71.7 percent. We consider this a very good response rate. Despite the high participation, we chose to calibrate the survey data to compensate for losses and to ensure generalizability of the responses[2]. All analyses were conducted with what are known as calibrated weights.

To measure the pupils' attitudes toward vulnerable groups, a wide range of issues and claims related to attitudes were used. These were then analysed using various statistical methods. The

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[2] A more thorough description of how the weights were calibrated is offered in a technical report available on the agency's website (www.levandehistoria.se).

survey was designed so that some comparisons could be made with our previous surveys in 2003 and 2009 (see Call & Morgentau, 2004; Löwander, 2010).

WORRIES ABOUT SOCIETY AND HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

The greatest anxiety expressed by Swedish pupils was not having a home or not having a job in the future. But we have chosen to focus our analysis on worries about increased immigration and about increased xenophobia. The results indicate differences in pupils' worries about society according to gender. Girls appear more concerned about heightened xenophobia. Boys express a greater concern than girls for increased immigration.

Democratic disaffection correlates highly with concerns about increased immigration. The correlation between satisfaction with democracy and concerns for increased xenophobia was, however, smaller. The analysis also shows that worries about increased xenophobia have increased between 2009 and 2013. Worries about increased immigration have declined over the same period.

In terms of hopes for the future, it appears that socio-economically disadvantaged pupils harbor fewer hopes of realizing their goals compared to pupils from stronger socioeconomic domestic conditions.

EXPOSURE TO INTOLERANCE

Our analyses of exposure to various forms of intolerance indicate that conditions differ. Girls report having been teased or threatened to a greater extent than boys. Boys report that they have been the victims of physical violence to a greater extent than girls. There are also differences based on the pupil's sexual orientation. Compared to pupils who are heterosexual, pupils of a bisexual or homosexual orientation report to a greater extent that they are exposed to intolerance. Moreover, there is a

pattern that shows that the group of bisexual and homosexual pupils is exposed to intolerance due to their sexual orientation.

We have also studied exposure to "digital intolerance" – that is, intolerance expressed on the Internet or via SMS. The issues concern exposure due to an individual's origin, sexual orientation or religion. We see that people who are foreign-born, homosexuals, bisexuals and believing Muslims are subjected to harassment on the Internet to a greater extent than natives, heterosexuals and believing Christians. Our analyses show that exposure to intolerance is as great in school as it is outside of school.

INTOLERANCE BASED ON INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

To study intolerance toward different groups, we created five indexes. We have studied intolerance relating to a number of background factors that concerned the pupils' life circumstances. Our breakdowns of individual factors showed the same patterns as previous studies. We have, however, been able to see that certain variables of individual background correlated to varying degrees depending on which group the pupils were expressing their attitude toward.

Gender, academic year and parents' level of education

When studying the pupils' responses from the perspective of gender, age and academic year, we were able to observe a number of things. The analysis has shown great differences between girls' and boys' attitudes. The girls harbor significantly more positive attitudes toward each of the five exposed groups than the boys. Boys are most negative toward Roma and Muslims. Girls are most negative toward Roma and immigrants. The greatest difference between boys and girls can be found in their attitudes toward Muslims. Both boys and girls are most positive toward LGBT people.

Attitudes toward the various groups also differ by academic year. Pupils who are in their final year of upper secondary school generally harbor a more positive attitude toward each of the vulnerable groups than pupils in the other surveyed years. Closer analyses show that attitudes in relation to the pupil's year depend highly upon which upper secondary school programme the pupil is in (see chapter 5).

The parents' level of education correlates strongly with the attitude toward each group. This factor is most relevant in determining the attitude toward Muslims and Jews, and less so in determining attitudes toward Roma and LGBT people.

Religion and foreign background

We have compared pupils' attitudes based on their religious affiliation and their national background. Pupils with foreign origins predominate among those who harbor positive attitudes toward both immigrants and Muslims. But their representation is smaller among those with positive attitudes toward Muslims than among those with positive attitudes toward immigrants. This is partly because there are Christians among the pupils of foreign background, a group that generally harbors more negative attitudes toward Muslims.

A larger proportion of pupils born abroad express a negative attitude toward Roma compared to the rest. Pupils who were born in Sweden, and whose parents were both born in Sweden, exhibit more negative attitudes toward migrants and Muslims. Attitudes to Jews do not differ between native and foreign-born pupils. Attitudes toward Muslims are more negative among pupils who are Christian than among the others.

The significance of educational circumstances

We have analysed the school children's attitudes based on four factors that concern the pupils' edu-

cational circumstances. The breakdowns show the same pattern for the attitudes toward each group. Intolerance is generally higher in schools with a small proportion of trained teachers to pupils compared to schools with a large proportion of trained teachers to pupils. Moreover, we note that both pupil satisfaction with their school and quiet in the classroom correlate with the pupils' attitudes.

Pupils who enjoy school express more positive attitudes than those who do not enjoy school. Similarly, pupils who have reported that their classrooms are calm express more positive attitudes than those who have answered that their classrooms are characterized by mess and disorder.

We cannot say that these educational circumstances contribute to increased intolerance. Instead, our conclusion is that reducing intolerance is a greater challenge in these schools.

Interest in politics and democratic disaffection

Breakdowns by interest in politics and satisfaction with democracy have given mixed results. Attitudes toward Roma and LGBT people correlate less with political interest than attitudes toward the other three groups do. A pupil's interest in politics appears to be most significant in determining his or her attitude toward Jews. It turns out that pupils who are very interested in politics have a considerably more positive attitude toward Jews than pupils who are not interested in politics.

A satisfaction with democracy gives rise to greater differences than political interest. The analysis shows that attitudes toward LGBT people correlate only moderately with this factor. By contrast, the other indexes show strong correlations with satisfaction with democracy. One conclusion is that discontent with the system goes hand in hand with hostility toward several social groups.

INTERPERSONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL TRUST

One goal of our study has been to examine a variety of perspectives that can be linked to how Swedish school children relate to other people. We have therefore studied the pupils' interpersonal trust. Different groups of pupils show different levels of trust. Boys trust other people to a greater extent than girls do. It also appears that school children who like their neighborhoods place more trust in people than pupils who do not like their neighborhoods. The same pattern applies to well-being in the classroom.

The result also shows that pupils who trust immigrants to a greater extent also exhibit a higher level of trust in people in general compared to pupils who do not trust immigrants. In addition, it appears that upper secondary school pupils in programmes that prepare them for higher education trust others to a greater extent than pupils in vocational programmes do.

Swedish pupils express greater confidence in teachers than in headmasters. The analysis also shows that there is a small percentage that have some or a lot of confidence in parliamentary and municipal politicians. Those who are satisfied with democracy generally exhibit higher levels of confidence than those who are not satisfied with democracy. Girls are found to have more confidence than boys in teachers and religious leaders. Boys have more confidence than girls in both members of the national parliament and local politicians. Boys also have greater confidence in the government than girls do. A majority of the pupils have some or a lot of confidence in the police. Girls generally have more confidence in the police than boys do.

Our analysis shows that trust correlates with intolerance (although the correlation is relatively weak). The higher the confidence in the various professional groups and institutions, the less intolerant the pupils. This relationship has proven

to be strongest when it comes to pupils' attitudes toward Jews.

STANCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND OUTLOOK ON RACISM AND NAZISM

We have asked the pupils in our survey about their attitudes toward some human rights. Pupils showed strong support for all rights they were asked to side with or against. It turns out that their support has increased over time. The strongest support that has been measured concerns the right to free education. The weakest support concerns the human right to settle wherever one wants. It appears that the difference between boys' and girls' attitudes is very small. Moreover, the difference in attitudes is small when broken down by academic year.

About a third of pupils believe that racism and Nazism are a problem in Sweden today. This proportion was the same in our previous study (see Löwander, 2010). Only about 10 percent of the pupils in our study agree with the statements that everyone in society is treated equally and that everyone in society has the same opportunities. In these areas, there are no noticeable differences in the pupils' responses when broken down by gender or academic year.

CHANGES OVER TIME

Swedish pupils are becoming more tolerant. For example, we asked pupils about their attitude toward the claims that there is too much talk about the Holocaust and the extermination of Jews, that Jews have too much influence in today's world, and that immigrants from countries outside of Europe should return to their home countries. Our analyses show that Swedish school children respond to each statement more tolerantly today than they did ten years ago.

Regarding the question whether a television presenter should be allowed to wear a veil, we note

a big change in the pupils' attitudes. A majority of the respondents thinks this should be allowed. In the survey from 2003, 42 percent thought this should be allowed. The corresponding share in 2009 was 49 percent. In our study from 2013, 60 percent of the pupils responded that it should be permissible for a television presenter to wear a veil. The increase is evident for both boys and girls.

A majority of the pupils thinks Sweden should welcome refugees. This level is constant over time. There are also high percentages of pupils who, between 2003 and 2013, believe that all individuals are born equal and that one can make friends with anybody. We note, however, that a larger percentage in 2013 than in 2009 believe that immigration threatens to destroy Swedish culture and that immigrants ought to try to emulate Swedes.

ATTITUDE TOWARD RELIGIONS

Our analysis of stances toward world religions and belief systems shows that Swedish pupils are most positive toward Christianity and least positive toward Islam. Girls are more positive than boys toward the five world religions. Boys are more positive than girls toward atheism. The difference between upper secondary school pupils in vocational programmes and those in programmes preparatory for higher education is big when it comes to all the religions and belief systems we asked about. Pupils in vocational programmes are the most negative toward Islam and Judaism. It appears that pupils who were born in Sweden and whose parents were both born in Sweden constitute the group that is most negative toward all religions, compared to pupils who were either born abroad themselves, or who have at least one parent born outside of Sweden.

We have run a number of correlation tests between a pupil's attitude toward religion and group-specific intolerance. Our analyses show that the attitude toward Islam correlates with intolerance against Muslims. The more negative a pupil

is toward the religion, the more negative he or she is toward the Muslim group. The same applies to Judaism and Jews. The correlation between attitudes toward Islam and Muslims is stronger than that between attitudes toward Judaism and Jews.

Our conclusion is that intolerance toward individuals and groups is linked to one's attitude toward the religion of the group. We cannot make any statement on what causes what. It may thus be that the attitude toward Jews, for example, affects the pupil's attitude toward Judaism, and vice versa. The analysis shows, however, that a negative attitude toward a religion is connected to the attitude toward the group that may practice the religion.

SPECIAL STUDY – HOSTILITY TOWARD IMMIGRANTS

The Living History Forum has, within the framework of the intolerance study, conducted a joint project with Malmö University. One result of this collaboration is presented in this report (see Chapter 5). Professor Pieter Bevelander and Professor Jonas Otterbeck are the authors.

The theme of this special study is intolerance toward immigrants. The analyses were carried out in part based on three geographic levels – Sweden as a whole, Skåne county and the city of Malmö.

The factor that has the greatest explanatory power is the upper secondary school programme the pupils attend. Gender, socio-economic background in the form of parental education, and whether the person has any friends who are immigrants are also of great importance. Moreover, geography is significant. This is consistent with previous studies of the attitudes of young people, conducted by both the Living History Forum and others.

The analysis has shown that the pupil's programme of study in upper secondary school is more important than his or her academic year. Those who are in programmes that prepare the pupils for higher education are more tolerant in the upper years. For the group in vocational programmes, this relationship is inverted. The conclusion is that the kind of programme a pupil is in is the single strongest factor signaling tolerance or intolerance. Another conclusion is that pupils are positive toward immigrants as a group, but more sceptical about immigration.

In the comparison between Sweden at large and Skåne, the chapter's authors found that youth in Skåne are significantly more intolerant than adolescents on average in Sweden. The analysis also shows that Malmö youth are significantly less intolerant than Swedish adolescents on average. This is consistent with previous research, which has indicated that Skåne in particular (but also southern Sweden in general) has a long tradition of political opposition to immigration and immigrants.

One conclusion is that interactions with immigrants lead to a higher degree of acceptance, openness and tolerance rather than the contrary.

1. ■ Introduction

The Living History Forum has existed as a public authority since 2003. Since its inception, its work has revolved around how people view each other. Over the years, we have focused on issues that relate to tolerance and intolerance. The reason for that is our awareness of the damage that negative attitudes and behaviour entail both for society and for individuals. We are therefore trying to reduce intolerance. We do it because society then benefits, but also because the absence of intolerance is a normative principle that is based on the view that all humans are of equal worth. Our ambition is for all individuals to be able to live their lives without the occurrence of disparaging judgments, violence, intimidation or harassment.

Increased acceptance, respect, diversity and openness are indicators of greater tolerance in society. It's about being curious and open to the 'other'. And perhaps most importantly: to change society for the better, everyone must be prepared to change themselves before the same can be demanded of another individual.

In this introductory chapter, we present our view on why it is important to work with these issues. We review how we have measured intolerance and tolerance, the problems that exist and why it is important to study attitudes (see section 1.3).

1.1 IT IS ABOUT PEOPLE

In the late 1600s the physicist and astronomer Isaac Newton is thought to have said that "a defined universe that lacks reference to any third party will remain homogeneous and immobile" (Baker, 2013, p. 23). Newton was referring to how planets and other celestial bodies influence each other through their gravitation. The quote may just as well symbolise how people relate to each other in society. Just as planets and stars affect each other, people are all in a reciprocal relationship. We therefore have a duty as individuals, within the framework of society, to protect each other from intolerant attitudes and behaviour. In that way, we also carry society forward.

It should really be simple. No one should be excluded on the grounds of their sex, gender identity or expression, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, age, etcetera. This may seem obvious but there are in fact major problems that exist and stem from intolerance.

Violence, threats and harassment are an unacceptable reality. That is the case both historically and today. That's precisely why the ability of socie-

ty to respect diversity is seen as an essential value. This is a major challenge not just today, but also in the future.[3] Only when people are united in the conviction of acceptance and respect, openness and diversity, curiosity towards each other, self-examination and reflection – only then can society reach beyond problems that are due to prejudiced assumptions, negative attitudes and discriminatory expressions.

We know that intolerance is an economically costly phenomenon simply because it harms people (Nilsson, Lundmark & Nilsson, 2013). Society is also in agreement that intolerance is incompatible with the democratic norm.[4] The costs that follow from intolerance are not only a problem for individuals and groups on a personal level. The societal apparatus also suffers as a result of the incurred social and economic costs.

THE MISSION OF THE LIVING HISTORY FORUM

In the Living History Forum's official mission, which extends to the year 2020, states that the authority is to be a national forum that promotes work with democracy, tolerance and human rights based on the Holocaust. In the authority's mission (Regulation 2007: 1197), it is written that the authority should provide information about the Holocaust and communist regimes' crimes against humanity. In our work we are to strive to enhance the willingness of people to actively work for the equality of all humans. In its work, the authority has chosen to view the issues of tolerance and intolerance as important cornerstones.

Our starting point is that the seeds of more or less intolerant attitudes can be found among us all. And since people are actors who affect society, it is important to gather knowledge about people's attitudes. The goal of our intolerance studies is to identify the growth and dissemination risks of intolerant attitudes. We also try to work out ways and means to counteract intolerance taking hold in the first place.

We know that intolerance is an integral part of the advent and driving force of genocides throughout history. By studying intolerance today, we learn not only about the present, but also about history. We believe that awareness and knowledge of intolerant attitudes and what they can lead to help to eliminate, or at least reduce, the problems caused by people's negative attitudes and behaviour toward different groups and individuals. From this we can develop new methods and materials to promote tolerance in society.

1.2
SEVERAL ASPECTS AT ONCE

An important goal of this study is to highlight several different aspects that relate to tolerance and intolerance. We are interested not only in who harbours intolerant attitudes, but also who the victims of intolerance are. We do not just want to focus on the bigger picture at an aggregated level; our goal is also to focus on local geographical conditions. And we of course do not exclusively wish to emphasise what is bad, but also point to what is good.

The field of study that deals with how we view other people is complex. That is why it is important to take multiple perspectives into account simultaneously. Previous studies that have been conducted both by us and by others therefore focus on the importance of several different factors. But what do these studies say? What conclusions have previously been drawn? To briefly answer

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[3] The government's Commission on the Future of Sweden states, for instance, that "discrimination rooted in xenophobic attitudes is deeply problematic and poses challenges for the future" (Ds 2013: 19, p. 171).

[4] See, for example, the fifth paragraph in the Instrument of Government of the Constitution, chapter 2, §2: "The public institutions shall combat discrimination of persons on grounds of gender, colour, national or ethnic origin, linguistic or religious affiliation, functional disability, sexual orientation, age or other circumstance affecting the individual."

these questions, we present a quick review of the conclusions of some of the previous studies that examine tolerance and intolerance.

HOW DID IT LOOK LAST TIME?

In 2003, in collaboration with the Council on Crime Prevention, a nationwide survey of school-children in secondary school (years 8–9) and upper secondary school (years 1–3) was conducted. The aim was to map out and study the spread of intolerant attitudes and discriminatory behaviour. Based on the survey, 5 percent of the youths were deemed intolerant. The vast majority of school-children in Sweden were estimated to harbour a tolerant attitude toward vulnerable groups, and a smaller proportion was ambivalent.

In 2009, another nationwide survey of school-children was launched. This time it was upper secondary school students in years 1 and 3 in various upper secondary school programmes around the country who completed the questionnaire. Issues of criminal behaviour, individual vulnerability, contacts with right-wing groups, and so on, were replaced by questions about social activities and interests. In addition, the survey comprised a large number of attitudinal statements and questions about Muslims, Roma, refugees/immigrants, Jews, people with disabilities and people of a homosexual orientation. These groups were chosen because they have both historically and in our time been the victims of intolerance in Sweden.

The results from the latest survey were presented in the report The many faces of intolerance (2010). An overall finding of the survey was that "intolerance is a complex, changing and hard to encapsulate phenomenon which is directed at different groups in society with varying intensity, takes different forms and is expressed in different ways on different occasions" (Löwander, 2010, p. 6). This was demonstrated, for example, by the intolerance levels varying between the five groups

the students were asked to form an opinion about. [5]

The lessons learned from The many faces of intolerance are many. That not least concerns the fact that the strength of intolerance can vary depending on which group the students had to take a stance toward. Breakdowns also show that background factors are of varying importance depending on which type of intolerance is being studied.

What other general conclusions were highlighted? Among other things, it was found that over 50 percent of the students held positive attitudes toward homosexuals, while only a quarter of the students expressed a positive attitude toward Roma. It was also found that girls were less intolerant than boys to all of the five groups.

The analysis showed that intolerance correlates with the students' year; those who were in year of upper secondary school were significantly less intolerant than those who were in year 1 (Löwander, 2010, p. 7). The previous study shows that interactions between young people from different backgrounds correlate with intolerance. We could also see a strong correlation between friendship and the attitudes toward the groups expressed by the students. A hopeful conclusion was that the school functions as a meeting place for young people.

The previous study also notes that the level of education of the parents correlates with intolerance. Students whose parents had a lower level of education were to a greater extent enrolled in vocational programmes. These students were also more intolerant of each of the five groups we asked about, compared with students who had highly educated parents.

The previous studies have illustrated several factors that are closely linked with intolerant attitudes. By analyzing the present study in light of the previous two, we hope to further contribute to the field of knowledge that concerns the prevalence of intolerance among Swedish schoolchildren.

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[5] The five groups were: non-European refugees, Muslims, Jews, Roma and people with homosexual preferences.

THE NEW STUDY

Our 2013 study is a descriptive study of student attitudes on the theme of tolerance and intolerance, democracy and politics, religion, interpersonal trust and more. The study draws inspiration and from and is influenced by both the earlier surveys (2003 and 2009). Meanwhile, some questions have been revised. We choose, for example, to examine intolerance of homosexuals, bisexuals and transgender people instead of merely focusing on intolerance toward homosexuals.

By studying schoolchildren's attitudes we obtain increased knowledge about the state of Sweden's democratic "immune system". Attitude measurements of this kind paint a picture of whether society is headed in the right or wrong direction in terms of how young people view other people.

INTOLERANCE IN SWEDEN

Research on intolerance in Sweden dates back further than the 2000s. The Living History Forum is not the only actor to have studied the spread of intolerance.

Attitudes have varied over time, partly as a result of the changes that society has undergone. In the late 1960s, the Immigrant Inquiry showed that a quarter of the adult Swedish population had a generous and tolerant attitude toward immigrants and that a quarter felt a strong fear of immigrants.

In the early 1980s the Discrimination Inquiry showed that the adult Swedish population's attitudes toward immigrants had shifted in a positive direction, toward greater tolerance. The proportion who felt a strong fear of immigrants was about 5 percent. In both of these measurements, age held a strong correlation with attitudes. For example, young people were more tolerant than older people.

There is strong evidence to support that Swedish society is becoming more and more tolerant as the years go by. Professor Marie Dem-

ker has together with the SOM Institute at the University of Gothenburg studied the Swedish people's stance on admitting more refugees. The results date back to the 1990s and show a long-term positive trend among Swedish people to accept more refugees (Demker & Sandberg, 2013). The increase in immigration has thus not resulted in higher intolerance.

It also turns out that the percentage of immigrants who live in a municipality does not have any effect on the level of intolerance in the locality (Hjerm, 2009).

Sweden stands out from a comparative international perspective. Swedish youths are not only less intolerant than the European average, but also more tolerant than in other Scandinavian countries (Purpose, Ekman, & Almgren, 2007).

In relation to other countries Sweden is characterised, in other words, by low levels of intolerance in the sense of negative attitudes. This does not mean, however, that Sweden is free from the problems that stem from intolerant beliefs.

Swedish society has its problems with intolerance, especially when it comes to intolerance as manifested in the form of violence, intimidation or harassment. This problem becomes apparent not least when hate-crime statistics are studied. Data from the Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) show that 5,000–6,000 hate crimes are reported to the police every year. The reports are based on motives that can be linked to homophobia or anti-religious sentiment. Among the police reports from 2012, for example, an estimated 5,520 contain an identified hate-crime motive (Brå, 2013a). 72 percent – or 3,980 reports – contained xenophobic/racist motives. In total, 13 percent (710 reports) contained a motive based on homo-, bi-, or heterophobia. 6 percent (310 reports) contained Islamophobic motives, 5 percent (260 reports) contained Christophobic or other anti-religious motives, 4 percent (220 reports) contained anti-Semitic motives, and 1 percent (40 reports) contained transphobic motives.

We have also been able to take part of accounts in the media that have confirmed that intolerance is a real problem. These include increased hatred and violence against Jews in Sweden, more attacks and insults grounded in Islamophobia, harassment and discrimination of Roma and hateful attacks on LGBT people. These adverse events happen everywhere – in the workplace, at home and at school.

The incidence of hate crimes and intolerant behaviour illustrates that these problems exist. Yet it still seems that Swedish people do not register the fact that they exist. Only 49 percent of Swedish people answer "yes" when asked if there are one or more groups in society who are often exposed to violent threats or harassment (Severin & Demker, 2014). The same study shows that various factors related to life circumstances increase the likelihood that they will mention one or more groups as victims of intolerance.

Another fact that contradicts the notion that society is becoming more tolerant is the increased mobilisation of racist and Nazi movements (see for example Expo, 2014). These extreme intolerant groups have gradually raised their voices and expanded their activities. These are concrete examples of the existence of intolerance.

SO ARE WE MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION?

Most things indicate that Swedish society is developing positively in terms of tolerance and openness. Research in the field is unequivocal on this point. Still, serious problems exist and their common denominators are violence, threats and harassment. The fact that attitude research indicates that Sweden is heading in the right direction must not result in these problems being overlooked. We cannot focus solely on attitudes. Even if Sweden generally records low levels of intolerant views, the fact remains that many people in Sweden are exposed to various forms of intolerant behaviour. All additional knowledge of the inci-

dence and prevalence of intolerance is important. By collecting data that show how intolerant attitudes exist in society we obtain knowledge about how to target our efforts. This will simplify the work of reducing the harm incurred by intolerance.

1.3
OPPORTUNITIES TO MEASURE

To measure attitudes that concern, for example, xenophobia, homophobia or sexism is neither unproblematic nor methodologically straightforward. To increase awareness of how this still may be done, a theoretical section follows below on how to measure social phenomena linked to tolerance and intolerance. This section is written by Mikael Hjerm, a Professor of Sociology at Umeå University.

WHAT IS AN ATTITUDE?

To even be able to discuss how to measure anything, we first need to agree on what to measure. A modern definition of an attitude is "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, s. 1). Somewhat simplified, this definition renders an attitude a value judgment of something – that is, to like or dislike something. Earlier there were often discussions about attitudes as containing components such as affection, behaviour and cognition. Such an understanding of attitudes is problematic as it incorporates what we want to study in the attitude itself, namely the effect of a particular attitude (e.g. behaviour) or how they are formed (the need for cognition).

A clarifying example might be a person's attitude to their partner. In the previous understanding of attitudes, this would include a cognition: I like this person because he or she has the same interests, looks good, is smart, etcetera; an affec-

tion: I feel attraction, love, etcetera, to this person; behaviour: I tell the partner that I love him or her. This seems somewhat odd since it is quite possible that the feelings toward the partner are very weakly linked to cognition or that the liking does not generate any endearments at all. Whether this happens or not is an empirical question, which means a more modern and narrow understanding of an attitude is to be preferred, as it enables more reliable research. With a modern understanding of an attitude, we can better distinguish attitudes from similar concepts such as values and stereotypes. Values refer to psychological predispositions that are not directed toward specific objects, such as being hedonistic. Stereotypes refer to beliefs that can be empirically tested because they can be true or false – such as the stereotype that all football fans are hooligans. Although both values that stereotypes are related to attitudes, it is important to distinguish between them.

A further distinction that must be made is that between implicit and explicit attitudes. An implicit attitude refers to an unconscious psychological process that affects, for example, our behaviour. Methods to test implicit attitudes involve the now dominant Implicit Association Test (IAT) (Greenwald et al., 1998). A common variation of the IAT measures the time it takes to respond to different types of stimuli when the respondents do have time to cognitively consider their response, which is thought to measure implicit attitudes. The body of research on implicit attitudes is very extensive and there are a number of models to explain how implicit and explicit attitudes are related, but an examination of this would be beyond the scope of this text.

HOW DO WE GO ABOUT MEASURING ATTITUDES?

In this study we have intended to measure explicit attitudes. It is therefore appropriate to discuss the most common way of doing this, namely by asking people about their perception of different things. In the early days of attitude research, attempts were made to identify different attitudes by using long and partly complex scales (see, for example, Likert, 1932), which today have been replaced by shorter scales, as the cost and stress caused to respondents would otherwise become too great.

The most important question that must be asked when we are to measure a specific attitude is how well our way of measuring captures the attitude we intend to measure, or, in other words, the degree of validity of our measurement. If we imagine that what we are trying to measure is a latent function of an attitude that can be relatively complex, it would be easy to understand why researchers usually use several questions to try to capture the attitude in question. This is because we imagine that each question captures a small part of the attitude, but that together they constitute a good measurement of what we intend to measure. The problem is that our tools of measurement are always limited, which means that we often use a limited number of questions to measure an abstract phenomenon.

If we understand xenophobia as a disapproval of immigrants, we realise quickly that this is a relatively vague concept. What does disapproval really mean in this instance? Does it apply at all times or only in certain situations? Are all individuals' attitudes really unaffected by which groups of immigrants we're asking about? In practice, we often try to measure attitudes toward relatively abstract objects – such as immigrants or the aging population – using relatively concrete questions. This approach measures only part of the complex attitudes people carry. We try, as it were, to create a map to be able to navigate reality. This map may be of varying quality, but it is by definition a simplification. Validity is largely a question of conformity between the theoretical understanding of the phenomenon we intend to measure and the questions included in the measurement. This can be tested by using what is called face validity –

where questions actually appear to measure what they are supposed to measure – but also by studying expected outcomes based on previous research.

It is not only validity that is important, but also reliability, e.g. that the measurement errors should be small. This includes several requirements, such as that a repeat examination should yield essentially the same results. It also means that the questions included in a scale should measure the same thing. The latter is a bit easier than validity, since reliability can be tested using a variety of statistical methods such as structural equation models, factor analysis or different types of reliability analysis. These methods have for example been used to analyze patterns of response in our survey.

WHAT ARE THE PROBLEMS THAT EXIST?

Three potential problems when measuring explicit attitudes are worth discussing. First, what is called social desirability bias – that people respond to questions asked in a way that they think is expected of them. This problem is of course greater if the questions concern potentially sensitive topics. Researchers have tried to study the problem by various ingenious methods such as bogus pipeline experiments, where the experimenter rigs lie detectors when individuals respond to questionnaires (Sigall & Page, 1971) or tests if attempts to influence the respondents affect how they respond (Michaelis & Eysenck, 1971).

These and other studies indicate that individuals partly seem to respond socially desirably, but the effect is not that great. However, it is important to remember that although the effect is relatively small we should be cautious in interpreting absolute levels of a specific attitude. For example, everyone should generally be very careful in stating that a certain percentage of individuals in Sweden is homophobic. The big problem with social desirability arises if it either changes over time or if different groups of individuals turn out to respond desirably to varying degrees. This is

because we find it difficult both to study changes over time and to explain relationships between different characteristics and attitudes. While we, as mentioned, should be cautious in interpreting absolute levels of homophobia, we want to be able to measure whether it is increasing or decreasing over time. To measure the change in homophobia over time is not a problem as long as the degree of social desirability bias is constant at all points of measurement. If it were to change, we would not know if we were measuring a change in desirability bias or an actual change in homophobia. Fortunately, little seems to suggest that social desirability would vary significantly between groups (see, for example, Presser & Stinson, 1998). Whether it changes over time is a matter on which there is practically no previous research.

Another problem concerns self-delusion, namely that respondents want to portray themselves in as good a light as possible toward themselves – and not just in front of others, as in the case of social desirability. There is also a risk that this potential self-delusion occurs more or less unconsciously. This makes it very difficult to test the incidence of it. Overall, we must always be aware that the answers respondents give in explicit measurements of attitudes to some extent do not accurately reflect their "true" attitudes, but that there also is nothing to suggest that this would be devastating for the measurement of attitudes. However, we should always be careful not to overinterpret the absolute average levels in different populations.

The third problem is whether we are measuring existing attitudes or helping to create attitudes that the respondents did not previously have. A respondent who is to answer a question about an attitude can either make use of previously stored information about the item or, if no such direct information is available, he or she must use proximate information in order to answer the question. After the respondent has answered the question, he or she will use the answer as new information to answer another, similar question. That is why the

first answer to a question in a set of questions to some extent will affect subsequent responses (see, for example, Feldman & Lynch, 1988; Tourangeau & Rasinski, 1988).

This is not strange but rather tantamount to us incorporating in daily life new information that then affects our thinking, attitudes and behavioural patterns. The effect is partly short term, as it subsides if one scatters similar questions within a survey. The problem, however, arises if the questions themselves contribute to the creation of undesirable attitudes toward an object – for example, if questions about immigrants posed to a respondent who has never thought about the issue contribute to him or her beginning to entertain negative attitudes toward immigrants. It's certainly possible to create such attitudes by assigning an object positive or negative values (see Gregg et al., 2006; De Houwer et al., 2007), but that's not what we do in a questionnaire, as questions asked tend be worded either neutrally or positively and negatively. Furthermore, few individuals lack stored information about things such as immigrants, which makes it unlikely that a similar questionnaire would help create attitudes that are not at least partly based on information previously stored with the respondents.

DIFFERENT WAYS TO MEASURE

If we look more closely at how different disciplines have attempted to measure attitudes toward immigrants or ethnic minorities, we can divide their ways to measure into two groups. One contains different and in varying degrees standardised scales, and the other study-specific ways of measurement. Most of the scales have been developed in the United States to measure whites' attitudes towards blacks, but they have also been used in other contexts.

Some examples of such scales are The Racial Attitude Scale (Sidanius et al., 1991), which measures positive or negative feelings toward different phenomena such as affirmative action, white

power, having a black person as a manager, and so on. Another example is the scale of subtle and blatant bias, which tries to clarify the difference between these types of prejudice (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995), or The Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (Henry & Sears, 2002), which raises questions about what people think minorities deserve, are entitled to or their general characteristics. There are numerous other scales, such as the Racial Resentment Scale, The Modern Racism Scale, and so on. These scales are, as mentioned, linked to the United States and even though they have been used in a European context, these scales or one similar to them are less common here. Instead, partly different ways of measurement have been used in different studies.

The following are just examples of ways to measure used in research on attitudes toward ethnic groups or immigrants. Of course other types of scales are used to measure other types of attitudes. In studies of anti-Semitism, researchers often measure anti-Semitism as the perception of Jews in accordance with the American prejudice scales (Kaplan & Small, 2006). Sometimes it is done in a later rendition where what is called new anti-Semitism consists of attitudes related to the disapproval of Israel (see Cohen, 2008). Should another phenomenon be measured, such as homophobia, scales such as The Modern Homophobia Scale (Raja & Stokes, 1998) or others that attempt to measure internalised homophobia are used (Meyer et al., 2002).

The core message is that there are a variety of ways to measure the attitudes examined in this report. The greatest reason that there are so many ways to measure is naturally linked to the fact that we are interested in measuring different things. But it is also because there is to some extent competition over which way is the best for measuring a particular phenomenon. The former is natural, since we have to ask certain questions if we want to measure xenophobia, for example, and others if we are interested in homophobia. The latter im-

plies that there is some disagreement about the right way to measure a particular phenomenon. This may seem like a big problem. But in practice, the problem is smaller than we think, as different ways to measure generally produce similar results with respect to explanatory models. Higher education de facto counteracts xenophobia (in addition, see section 2.1). Whether we choose to measure xenophobia according to some more or less established scale makes little difference. It makes little difference whether we study the perception of immigration or a thermometric scale that measures degrees of approval or disapproval of various ethnic groups. The overarching result is the same, namely that higher education entails fewer negative attitudes toward, for example, immigrants and homosexuals.

This should not be interpreted to mean that we can ask questions in any way we want, since all ways of measuring must must comply with good practice in terms of the wording of questions and scales of response, and with respect to the content of each specific question. But the realisation that the way we measure on is not crucial to the overall result is very important and in fact a precondition for the possibility of generalisation of effects across studies.

This survey uses a number of study-specific questions but also a variety of questions that have been used in previous surveys and have proven to be valid measures of the attitudes we want to measure.

1.4
OUTLINE

In Chapter 2, the concepts of tolerance and intolerance will be discussed from different theoretical perspectives. This review will, among other things, summarise previous research on tolerant and intolerant attitudes. The theoretical discussion concludes with a description of how the Living History Forum defines the concepts of tolerance and intolerance.

Chapter 3 accounts for how we conducted the survey, i.e. what design and methodology was used to collect data. This discussion will address, among other things, issues of selection, register variables, response rate, the calibration of weights and the possibilities to generalise from the results. The section is supplemented by a technical annex available for download on the Living History Forum website.

Chapter 4 begins to present the students' responses. The first section deals with respondents' worries about and hopes for the future. This is followed by an analysis of school students' exposure to intolerance. The third section presents five different intolerance indexes which are then analyzed using a number of background factors. The section that follows brings up attitudes toward human rights, interpersonal trust and confidence in institutions and professions. We also present a series of analyses in which specific issues of intolerance are compared from a temporal perspective. In the penultimate section an analysis of attitudes toward different religions is presented. Finally, there are two sections that examine schoolchildren's trust and confidence and the relationship between religious attitudes and intolerance.

Chapter 5 continues the presentation of results with a special study on the theme of hostility toward immigration and immigrants. The analysis compares, among other things, intolerance in Malmö and the Skåne region with the rest of Sweden. Authors of this study are Professor Pieter Bevelander and Professor Jonas Otterbeck. This chapter is part of a collaboration project the Living History Forum has conducted together with Malmö University.

Chapter 6 summarises the results and conclusions. We try to look ahead and answer the question of what the results mean. Suggestions are also made for further studies we and others need to carry out.

2. Tolerance and intolerance – what do the concepts entail?

Calls for tolerance can be heard in many parts of society. The increased propensity to speak in these terms appears both in the public and private sectors and in the charity sector. In addition, there are a number of projects and initiatives that seek to promote tolerance. A search for the term on the internet returns a large number of hits that guide readers to news sites and blogs, reports and surveys, etcetera. Just from a quick glance, we can observe that the concepts of tolerance and intolerance can hardly be unknown to the general public.

We can in other words assume that people have heard of the concept of tolerance. Yet although the word is used increasingly often, it is not always obvious what is contained in the term 'tolerance' (Langmann, 2013; Engebretson, 2010; Cohen, 2004). For instance, what does tolerance mean? And what does it mean to be intolerant? Is tolerance solely something to do with acceptance, or does the phenomenon cover something greater?

These questions are not as easy to answer as it may seem at first. Tolerance is not the same as being good, gentle or kind (Bredsdorff & Kjaeldgaard, 2012). Not would it be correct to define tolerance as a matter of "acceptance" (see, for example, Cohen, 2004).

There are various theoretical models that contribute to our understanding of both tolerance and intolerance. We know that the concepts are dynamic and that their meanings vary with the spirit of the times. Since the lessons of history help us understand today's society, this theoretical presentation will begin with a brief historical recap of the meaning of the concept of tolerance and how it has evolved.

2.1
TOLERANCE – THE HISTORICAL PICTURE

People have always had different opinions about what the word tolerance means, and also about the consequences [a lack of] tolerance has for society. Tolerance as a social concept has also evolved throughout history. The phenomenon has certainly existed as long as there have been people on earth, but in practice, the term itself was long nonexistent. Researchers contend that it was not until after the Middle Ages that advocates of tolerance could make their voices heard enough to effect actual change and establish the term in the public debate.

It wasn't until the latter half of the 17th century that proponents of tolerance reached a "critical mass" (Bredsdorff & Kjaeldgaard, 2012). It began as the philosophers and public intellectuals Pierre Bayle and John Locke each published

works that disputed the prevailing attitudes of the religious wars of the 1500s and 1600s. Bayle and Locke accounted for the ability to tolerate another religion without necessarily giving up one's own[6]. This approach was revolutionary in an era marked by people being displaced or killed because of their religion.

Later, during the Enlightenment, a big part of the discussion about tolerance would build on the ideas introduced by Bayle and Locke. Philosophers such as Voltaire and Kant, as well as politicians like Benjamin Franklin and George Washington, were inspired by these initial texts on tolerance (Bredsdorff & Kjaeldgaard, 2012; Langmann, 2013). For example, Voltaire coined the phrase "discord is the great ill of mankind; and tolerance is the only remedy for it" (Voltaire, 1956 [1689], p. 57)[7]. Voltaire also defined tolerance as the ability to, despite disagreement, accept other people's right to dissent. The development of the concept of tolerance was thus a function of Voltaire's ideas and was closely associated with the emergence of the principles of freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

Out of 18th-century Enlightenment ideas, the concept of tolerance was incorporated into the liberal strands of thought of the 19th century. One such example is the philosopher John Stuart Mill's book On Liberty (1859). Mill put forward the idea that "the only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it" (Mill, 1859 [1967], p. 17). This principle, which came to be known the harm principle, can be seen as a call to humans not to restrict the lives of other individuals no matter the choices they make.

John Stuart Mill wrote On Liberty almost 200 years after Bayle's and Locke's works were published. The views put forward differ slightly. For example, Bayle and Locke viewed tolerance as a tool to prevent war and conflict. Mill, for his part, saw an opportunity for tolerance to carry society forward in a productive and stimulating spirit. Tolerance would, according to Mill, not primarily secure peace, but rather discourage and prevent society from stagnating (Bredsdorff & Kjaeldgaard, 2012).

Tolerance was thus originally thought to be important in preventing war. This perspective on tolerance can, according to the American philosopher Michael Walzer (1997, p. 11), be described as a "resigned acceptance of difference for the sake of peace."

This approach differs partly from how tolerance is used today. Most agree that tolerance extends far beyond a resigned acceptance. This is consistent with Cohen's (2004) argument that tolerance is not about indifference, neutrality or resignation. Nowadays tolerance is rather a multifaceted concept tangential to other phenomena such as openness, inclusion, and so on.

The concept of tolerance has thus been assigned a different meaning than that which Pierre Bayle and John Locke provided in their writings. During the 2000s, the tolerance paradigm has evolved to also include openness and diversity, i.e. that people should express tolerance of and be open toward others. Tolerance has advanced to include cultural, moral, ethnic and social differences (Langmann, 2013; Brown, 2006). In this way, tolerance has evolved with time. We can therefore conclude that tolerance is a dynamic phenomenon because society itself is dynamic. It is therefore likely that the concept will continue to evolve in the future. The factors that can be seen as linked to tolerance will be discussed below.

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6 Pierre Bayle's work is called Commentaire Philosophique and was published in 1686. John Locke's was called Epistola de Tolerantia and was published in 1689. Both were written under a pseudonym, as the risk of being persecuted for having published "heretical works" was considerable (Bredsdorff and Kjaeldgaard, 2012).

7 Voltaire also uttered that intolerance had caused "the earth to bathe in blood." Voltaire therefore called for his contemporaries to work to foster tolerance (Voltaire, 1956 [1689], p. 57

2.2

TOLERANCE – IMPORTANT FACTORS TO HIGHLIGHT[8]

This report does not measure tolerance in its most theoretical form. What we measure is more about tolerance in the sense of the absence of negative attitudes toward different groups, such as immigrants and homosexuals (see also section 1.3). Negative attitudes are what we in this report call intolerance.

ATTITUDES ARE LINKED

When it comes to attitudes toward various groups, a major part of the body of research to date concerns attitudes toward immigrants or minorities. For that reason, this section will exclusively treat this area of research. Two things are worth mentioning here. The first is that negative attitudes toward different groups are linked. In other words, individuals who exhibit high levels of xenophobia also tend to be homophobic, and vice versa (see section 4.3 for how this is manifested empirically). Secondly, although areas of research partly differ from each other, theoretical frameworks tend to be overlap. This means that the same or similar theoretical frameworks are used to understand both xenophobia and negative attitudes directed against, for example, different age groups or LGBT people.

ATTITUDES INFLUENCE ACTIONS

The first question we must ask ourselves is why we ought to measure attitudes at all. The most important reason is that we believe attitudes influence actions. If attitudes did not affect our actions, they would not matter. The most xenopho-

bic person in the world will do no harm if he or she never under any circumstances gives special treatment to, looks down upon or expresses an aversion toward another due to their cultural or geographical background. The link between attitudes and actions is very extensive and complicated, but in all we might summarise it by saying that there is a connection in that attitudes affect a selection of actions (Ajzen & Fishbein 2005). The more important an attitude is to a person, the stronger this connection becomes. In other words, a xenophobic individual who finds the issue important is more likely to act than someone who exhibits the same level of xenophobia but for whom this hostility is less significant. Moreover, context carries great importance. It is, for example, more difficult to act in accordance with one's attitudes in a context where other individuals and/or norms are at odds with them. So even if attitudes in no way automatically lead to a specific action, it is clear that there is a connection between attitudes and actions.

We begin with a brief overview of the three major theoretical frameworks that are linked to xenophobia before moving on to an overview of research findings.

FOCUS ON THREE DIFFERENT MODELS OF EXPLANATION

Although there is broad unity regarding which factors are associated with xenophobia, that does not mean there is consensus with respect to how we should explain these correlations. It is possible to refer to three major theoretical explanations for xenophobia; personality theories, social learning theories, and group-threat theory.

Personality theory explains xenophobia with reference to genetic, or at least stable, personality traits. For example, it has been shown that trust in authority is a factor that correlates with xenophobia (Adorno et al. 1982 [1950]). Likewise, we

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8 This section has been written by Mikael Hjerm, Professor of Sociology at Umeå University.

know that personality traits such as the Big Five[9] are important when it comes to explaining xenophobia (Ekehammar & Akrami 2003). Social learning theory explains xenophobia by focusing on the process of learning attitudes and behavior at a young age, when attitudes and behavior are learned from parents, friends, and one's community. Regarding research on xenophobia, the social learning perspective is often employed in the context of what are called symbolic theories (Kinder & Sanders 1996; Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997; Sears et al., 1997; Henry & Sears 2002; Sears & Henry 2003). This theory formation assumes that racism and xenophobia can be derived from notions of what a minority group deserves or how it is supposed to behave and act. Group-threat theory (Blumer 1958; Blalock 1967) explains xenophobia as the result of a struggle for scarce resources where the majority of the population perceives the minority population, or the immigrants, as a threat to their economic and cultural position in society. This, in turn, leads to xenophobia.

There are differences between the various theories. But it is important to clarify that the differences are not that great in practice. For example, few advocates of group-threat theory deny that there are personality traits that do explain some of the variation in xenophobia. Nor do advocates of personality theory deny that the same character trait may have different consequences in different contexts, for example in two different, threatening situations. Instead, we view the three theoretical approaches as complements to each other, where researchers use different theories depending on what they want to explain. If we focus on explaining how the foundations of xenophobia are laid, it is reasonable to start by using social learning theories. But if we want to explain individual changes in adulthood, we need to focus on threat theories that allow for the possibility of a recession to increase the perceived threat from immigrants as resources dwindle. It has been shown that there are systematic changes in biases during childhood, whereas changes among adults are more related to contextual circumstances (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). Furthermore, it is often the case that the same empirical results are sometimes contextualised by different theories where both vantage points are equally possible.

If we set the debate surrounding theoretical models aside and focus on what we know about xenophobia, we can state two things: we know a lot because the research field has existed for so long, and the explanatory factors for xenophobia are in many ways universal. The scope of the research is so great that any attempt to summarise the field involves considerable simplifications. One way to give such an overview is to only report the results in a number of areas, without focusing on the theoretical approach.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EDUCATION

Let's start with the individual explanatory factors. One of the main predictors[10] of xenophobia is education (Smith, 1981; Hjerm, 2001; Coenders & Scheepers, 2003). In general, the higher the education an individual has, the less likely it is that the individual is xenophobic. Above all, the differences are relatively large among those who have a university education and those who do not. Interestingly, we do not know exactly why higher education reduces xenophobia.

There are four possible causes:
Self-selection, in other words that the people who stay in school the longest and complete university degrees are people who already harbour tolerant attitudes.

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9 The Big Five theory, or five-factor theory, is a personality theory within psychology. The theory assumes that people's personalities carry distinct and general traits that do not depend on, for instance, an individual's culture. Five-factor theory states that five factors determine the different traits. The different personality factors are openness; conscientiousness; extraversion; kindness, warmth; neuroticism.

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10 Predictor is used here synonymously with the term independent variable.

Cognitive development. When students pursue university studies and complete their degrees they develop cognitive skills of a higher order, such as abstract thinking and the ability to analyze complex phenomena. Students are therefore less likely to rely on stereotypes and simplistic explanations, which means that they also are less likely to disapprove of people just because they are perceived as belonging to a foreign group.

Socialisation. The education system is partly responsible for children's socialisation and therefore strives to teach basic social values, which may include egalitarianism, social justice and a respect for ethnic diversity. Research shows that educations specifically focused on multiculturalism and other themes related to xenophobic attitudes are effective in reducing such attitudes. We also know that it is possible to teach students tolerance through deliberate efforts in school.

Social responsivity. This means that people with a higher education do not necessarily value diversity and social justice, yet have learned to be wary of expressing intolerance. A desire for social acceptance thus serves as a motive not to appear prejudiced. Previous research has found that the first three mechanisms have some explanatory power, while there is only limited empirical support for the hypothesis of social responsively (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005).

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIO-ECONOMICS

Socioeconomic status also bears significance for xenophobic attitudes (Federico & Sidanius, 2002; Harvey & Bourhis, 2012). According to group-threat theory, xenophobia is a reaction to a perceived threat from a foreign group. The reaction depends on the theory of competition between different groups for scarce resources such as political power, jobs or social benefits. People in a better socio-economic position often experience a lesser threat than others due to their status. This means

that they on average are less xenophobic than people of a lower socioeconomic status.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AGE

A third factor associated with xenophobia is age. Research generally shows that xenophobia is slightly greater in the oldest age groups (Case et al., 1989; Hjerm, 2001; Henry & Sears, 2009). The reason for this may be related to an increased perception of threat by those who have retired and become more dependent on the welfare state. A more viable explanation is that individual attitudes tend to remain fairly stable through life, and that the older generation in general harbours the same attitudes today as when they were young.

People who grew up in earlier times have had less experience of immigration and ethnic diversity, and may not have developed positive attitudes toward either one. It is important to note that this does not mean tolerance or appreciation of diversity will automatically increase with time. People are influenced by the zeitgeist. Given the electoral successes of pronouncedly xenophobic parties on the right all over Europe, it is not unreasonable to expect that younger generations will be less tolerant than their parents.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RELIGION

A fourth important factor is religion, but the effect of religiousness on xenophobic attitudes is more complex. US research has shown that individuals of strong faith have stronger xenophobic attitudes than others (Hall et al., 2010). This result is perceived as a paradox, since religious people should be less xenophobic as that would correspond better with the teachings of Christianity (Allport, 1954 [1979]). The explanation is that it is not faith itself that primarily explains the relation to xenophobia, but rather participation in congregations (which, especially in an American context, have been relatively ethnically homogeneous). The picture is

further complicated by the fact that the correlation between faith and xenophobia seems to be declining in the American context. Furthermore, the relationship between faith and xenophobia is not the same across the world. Instead it seems to vary from country to country such that the correlation in some countries is in fact negative. For example, religious people in Sweden are less likely to be prejudiced than those who do not hold any religious beliefs (Bohman & Hjerm, 2013).

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDER

Research has proven that there are strong links between gender and tolerance. This manifests itself in the fact that women and girls are often more tolerant than men and boys (Löwander, 2010; Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). It should be emphasised that we are missing valid theoretical explanations on why the relationship between gender and tolerance looks this way (Strabac, Listhaug, & Jakobsen, 2011). Results from our previous studies suggest that it may be due to a chauvinistic view of what is normal. This perspective is assumed to stem from "a combination of low social status and insecurity or alienation" (Löwander, 2010, p. 65).

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PERSONALITY, IDEOLOGY AND EXPERIENCES

Psychological research also finds a correlation between specific personality traits and xenophobic beliefs. People with a penchant for hierarchies and a strong reverence for rules are said to have an authoritarian personality (Adorno et al., 1982 [1950]). Individuals with this personality type also tend to express aversion and hostility toward immigrants and other minority groups. The latter is perhaps not surprising given that psychological dispositions such as compassion, flexibility and openness to change are also effective antidotes to xenophobia (Sibley & Duckitt, 2008).

Research shows that both nature and nurture affect a person's personality traits. The attitudes of parents and peers influence what young people learn to value and how they behave, and children with tolerant parents tend themselves to be more tolerant. Although the degree to which such traits are genetically determines is still debated, we know that they are very stable over time.

Another group of explanatory factors is made up of other attitudes and ideological beliefs. Two of the main beliefs are nationalism and conservatism, where both nationalist (Hjerm, 2004) and conservative (Bobo, 1991; Sears et al., 1997) individuals tend to be more xenophobic than those who are not nationalist or conservative.

A final factor significant to xenophobia is the experiences of immigrants and members of foreign ethnic groups. The research shows that contact with people from other ethnic groups reduces the use of stereotypes and ultimately reduces xenophobic perceptions (Brewer & Miller, 1988; Welch et al., 2001). All forms of contact are, however, not equal, since superficial interactions between members of different groups, particularly in environments of high competition, can lead to conflict and thus exacerbate negative attitudes. When it comes to reducing xenophobia, friendship is thus better than superficial interaction (Pettigrew & Troop, 2011). In addition, interactions in situations where individuals are of equal status and working toward a common goal are more likely to reduce conflicts and negative attitudes between groups (Pettigrew, 1998). The importance of equal status and institutional sanctions are perhaps easiest to understand through an extreme example such as apartheid. While there were meaningful social interactions between white and black South Africans during the apartheid era, individuals in those encounters were usually not of equal status. Because the racial segregation was institutionally sanctioned, such encounters did not automatically lead to reduced levels of xenophobia.

More recent research nonetheless shows that most forms of contact are better than no interaction at all (Pettigrew & Troop, 2011). More favourable circumstances provide a greater chance that xenophobic attitudes will decrease, but interaction is often beneficial even when such circumstances are missing. A critique of the contact hypothesis has to do with the direction of the causal relationship. It is possible that only people who are already tolerant actually develop friendships with people of other ethnic backgrounds. Yet research shows that while people who are open to friendships outside their own ethnic group are more likely to seek social interaction with immigrants, contact in itself has an independent effect on xenophobic attitudes (Hamilton & Bishop, 1976; Binder et al., 2009).

The significance of interaction is thus great. We present an analysis that includes the contact hypothesis in Chapter 5.

THE CONTEXT MATTERS

Individual characteristics, group membership and behaviour are not the only things that affect the level of xenophobia in individuals. The context an individual finds themselves in is also important. In research, contextual effects are often mentioned. Research on individual explanatory factors has existed for a long time, but the study of contextual factors is relatively new, which means that knowledge of them is more limited.

Much of the research on contextual explanations focuses on the effect of the size of the minority population in question. Researchers ask whether people become more xenophobic from living in areas or countries where ethnic-minority groups are large, or where immigration is high (Smith, 1981; Fosset & Kiecolt, 1989; Glaser, 1994; Quillian, 1996; Taylor, 1998; Taylor, 2000). In simple terms, we might say that this assumption is supported by American research on white Americans' attitudes toward blacks (but not in the mea-

surement of white Americans' attitudes toward, for example, immigrant Latinos), but the results of the European studies are far more ambiguous (Scheepers et al., 2002 ; Hjerm, 2007). It seems as though the size of the immigrant population has some impact on attitudes toward immigrants in Europe, but the results point in different directions. In some cases, a large immigrant population is associated with low levels of xenophobia, but in others the population size correlates with high levels of xenophobia. This is especially true if the immigration occurs mainly from countries where ethnic differences are great and if the economic situation in the receiving country is bad (Quillian, 1995).

Although it is not known where the shift occurs, immigration creates opportunities not just for conflicts, but also for friendly social interaction and cooperation, which may ultimately reduce the prevalence of stereotypes and prejudice.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMICS, POLITICAL CLIMATE AND POLITICAL RHETORIC

Research also shows that economic conditions are important for xenophobic attitudes. People are generally somewhat more likely to harbour prejudicial attitudes in contexts where the economic situation is characterised by poverty, for example in countries or other geographical areas with low GDP or high unemployment (Hadler, 2012), or in times when economic conditions deteriorate, such as in a recession (Coenders & Gerlach, 1998). This relationship can best be explained by group-threat theory. According to this theory, prejudice is a consequence of perceived competition between immigrants and natives for scarce resources such as jobs or social benefits. Therefore, prejudice is expected to increase when natives feel that their financial interests are threatened by the presence of immigrants. A weak economy and deteriorating economic opportunities are thus expected to en-

hance feelings of threat among the majority of the population.

Research has also found that a negative political climate, with xenophobic rhetoric and restrictive immigration policies, is related to higher levels of xenophobia (Bauer et al., 2000; Bohman, 2011). One explanation is that negative political rhetoric emphasises the presence of immigrants and activates feelings of economic, political and/or cultural threats. If politicians, for example, devote little attention to issues that have to do with immigration and immigrants, they signal that the issue is of less importance. If such matters instead occupy a central position in the country's political discourse, the visibility and prominence of immigrants can trigger feelings of threat in the native population. A negative rhetoric can also function to legitimise negative attitudes toward foreign groups and thereby increase the likelihood that individuals will express and act on their views. So far we have not been able to measure any real impact on xenophobic attitudes caused by the emerging radical right in Europe. Yet it is an obvious source of concern that negative descriptions about immigrants and immigration are on the increase both among the radical right-wing parties and from established political parties, as part of a strategy to steal votes from the new parties. The latter can potentially influence attitudes toward immigrants in a negative direction.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

The religious context also seems to bear some relevance to xenophobia – at least among religious people. Whether believers in Europe are more or less prejudiced depends on the role played by religion in the country in question (Bohman & Hjerm, 2013). In countries where religion plays a more prominent role, in terms of the number of believers and the relationship between the chur-ch and state, believers tend to harbour stronger xenophobic attitudes. The impact of religion can probably be linked to social cohesion, where a more ethnicity-based social cohesion tends to lead to more xenophobic attitudes. That is, in countries where the idea of "we, the people" is more strongly tied to the dominant culture, the level of xenophobia tends to be higher than in countries where this idea is not as strongly linked to an ethnic self-understanding. In other words, where a nation's self-understanding is less excluding, the level of xenophobia tends to be lower.

We have raised a number of factors that may explain part of the differences between countries that can be observed. However, these factors do not explain all of the national differences that we have seen above. Hence there appear to be other factors that matter which we have not yet explored. It is not easy to speculate about what factors these may be, but the historical factor should not be underestimated (Hadler, 2012) – in other words, that levels of xenophobia in various countries are linked to the country's history, in which traditions of immigration, openness, and so on, are of importance.

2.3
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE

Tolerance and intolerance are two different concepts, with different meanings, but they still have several common denominators. But what is the relationship between them? It is common for tolerance and intolerance to be treated as opposites. If you are not tolerant of other people, then you are by definition intolerant, and vice versa. Put a little differently, tolerance stands for respecting human differences, while intolerance is about a general lack of respect for differences (Langmann, 2013).

THE COIN METAPHOR

Another way of looking at it is to liken the relationship between tolerance and intolerance with a coin. One side of the coin is marked by tolerance. The other side is marked by intolerance. The coin metaphor assumes that tolerance and intolerance can be seen as "founded on the same evaluation of a phenomenon as deviant in a negative sense, and/or as socially undesirable" (Runfors, 2012, p. 7). What mainly distinguishes the two sides of the coin from each other is that the tolerant side shows a general indulgence of the socially undesirable phenomenon. At the same time, a tolerant individual will choose not to intervene or want to prevent that which is not desirable. Anyone who is intolerant will do the opposite, namely take action to halt or stop what is regarded as undesirable.

TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE IN DEMOCRACY

Tolerance and intolerance are often closely related to issues of democratic values. Tolerant societies are said, for example, to be more democratic than intolerant societies (Runfors, 2012). Democracy presupposes such things as freedom of expression, transparency and respect for each other's differences. People who live in a democratic society should, according to this view, not try to limit each other's opinions just because they think differently. Intolerance, on the other hand, is seen as a threat to the fundamental values of democracy. Intolerance is also considered to obstruct processes of democratization. For example, intolerance constitutes a problem during a country's transition from dictatorship to democracy because it inhibits the development of democratic values (Gibson, 2006). Dictatorship is in many ways the opposite of democracy, and some scientists view intolerance and tolerance as opposites in the same way.

Tolerance is sometimes described as an indisputable asset to democracy – that is, an asset that naturally constitutes a fundament for the functioning of democracy. Intolerance is instead seen as a normatively negative phenomenon (Babic, 2004).

Tolerance and intolerance affect the way society works. Low levels of tolerance in a society have been shown to give rise to difficulties for ethnic minorities to access to important parts of the societal apparatus (Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn, 1999; Morley, 2003). From a broader perspective, there is evidence to support that economic prosperity is positively correlated with tolerance (Bomhoff & Lee, 2012). Tolerance is thus something that makes society better not only socially, but also economically.

"TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE ARE NOT EACH OTHER'S OPPOSITES"

Linguistically, the word tolerance is derived from the Latin 'tolerantia' (from the verb tolero) which means to "sustain or endure" (Langmann, 2013). This can be seen as tolerance at an absolute minimum.

Tolerance can be seen as a more passive position while intolerance is an expression of an active position (Gibson, 2006). Tolerance and intolerance are not each other's opposites. A better way to describe the relationship is to paint tolerance and intolerance as two separate phenomena (Mondak & Sanders, 2003).

Tolerance and intolerance are distinct in several ways, such as in their "plasticity". Research has shown, for example, that tolerant people find it easier to abandon previously held values than it is for intolerant people to embrace tolerance (Gibson, 2006; Sniderman, Fletcher, Russell, & Tetlock, 1996). Intolerant people are also more likely to act on their negative attitudes than tolerant people are (Gibson & Bingham, 1985). We therefore know how intolerance can stem from tolerance but not vice versa. An important issue is therefore not only to reduce intolerance, but also to reduce the propensity to act upon intolerant attitudes.

2.4
INTOLERANCE, RACISM AND PREJUDICE

Intolerance aims to describe a decreased tolerance of various things. The term is sometimes treated synonymously with racism. This is problematic for two reasons. First, people can be intolerant on grounds other than mere racism. Intolerance does not need to be linked to a person's origin, colour of skin, culture, and so on. Secondly, racism is an outward act that explicitly restricts anyone's right to exist in a society. This need not be the case for intolerance, which can revolve solely around negative attitudes.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTOLERANCE AND RACISM

In the past, racism was expressed by some groups holding themselves as superior and hierarchically superordinate to others. The so-called "human race" was considered to be composed of different "races" (SOU 2012: 74). This form of racism still exists, but other discriminatory expressions have emerged alongside it. One such example is cultural racism. Today, this phenomenon is one of the most common manifestations of racism. If society's hierarchy was historically determined by the notion of different races, cultural racism classifies people according to the culture they belong to. In short, cultural racists perceive different "cultures as separate, fixed entities of different value" (Bevelander & Otterbeck, 2006, p. 10). In addition to "biological" and "cultural racism", concepts such as everyday racism, structural racism or institutional racism are highlighted (SOU 2012: 74). Sweden's National Encyclopedia defines racism as "the perception that it is reasonable to divide the human race into a number of distinct breeds based on external features" and "the assumption that there is a connection between, on the one hand, these features, and on the other, inherited mental and intellectual predispositions, behavioural patterns and mood and moral character."

Our starting point is that intolerance neither begins nor ends with racism. Negative attitudes can stem from religious affiliation, sexual orientation or identity, age or gender. Intolerance is thus a complex phenomenon, which means views of different groups often differ and vary in their intensity (Hagendoorn, 1995; Strabac & Listhaug, 2008; Strabac, Listhaug, & Jakobsen, 2011; Löwander, 2010).

A FUNCTION OF PREJUDICE

Intolerance of other people concerns negative attitudes and opinions. We know that attitudes are created from beliefs about what the world looks like and how it functions. When a perception of the world feeds off of negative and inaccurate generalisations, we're talking about prejudice. Prejudice is a sign that we tend to categorise people into a category of 'us' and a category 'them' (Marcus-Newhall, Palucki Blake, & Baumann, 2002). Dividing individuals into groups reduces the complexity of the social world. Prejudice can be said to facilitate the processing of information and helps us to make decisions (Fishing S & Taylor, 1991; Hamilton & Tolier, 1986; Rydgren, 2004).

Social psychology and psychological research partly explains the incidence of prejudice as meeting particular ends for us. Prejudice is thus functional (Katz, 1960). In general terms, prejudice helps us create an image of the world that guides us in satisfying our needs. An additional role prejudice plays is that it offers people protection from criticism and strengthens their self-esteem (Löwander, 2010). By depicting another group as deviant, we make ourselves appear better.

Above all, prejudice is associated with antipathy, that is, aversion to someone or something. A classic definition is: prejudice is antipathy based on faulty and unwavering generalisations (Allport, 1954 [1979]). Prejudices have 1) an emotional component, and 2) a cognitive component, which consists of generalised perceptions. The cognitive function sorts out impressions and reduces redundant information. Problems arise when prejudice based on negative generalisations turns into concrete actions. This view of prejudice has its limitations. See section 2.3 for a more detailed discussion of the matter.

Prejudice as a phenomenon manifests itself differently toward different groups. Prejudice is usually expressed against people because they belong to a particular ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender or gender identity, etcetera. When negative attitudes are mobilised and directed toward a specific social group, they have different names such as anti-Semitism, antiziganism, Islamophobia, homophobia, transphobia, and so on. These isms and phobias can be said to be founded upon prejudice (Bevelander, Hjerm, & Kiiskinen, 2013).

But when and how is an individual's prejudice shaped? As we discussed in Chapter 2.1, many researchers agree that people's lives are a decisive factor in the existence of stereotypes (van der Akker, van der Ploeg, & Rozemarijn Scheepers, 2012; Crisp & Turner, 2010). Research has also shown that authoritarian personality traits correlate with prejudice (Adorno, 1982 [1950]). Some theories discuss the importance of socialisation and focus on how attitudes and values are formed in a person's youth, such as when he or she interacts with the adult generation or with the rest of society. It is in encountering so-called agents of socialisation (family, school, associations, etc.) that individuals are introduced to different norms and approaches. These encounters can both give rise to prejudice and reduce it.

INTOLERANCE – NOT JUST ATTITUDES

How can we further understand the implications of the phenomenon of intolerance? Strabac, Listhaug and Jakobsen (2011) examine intolerance based on prejudice against other ethnicities. The researcher trio's definition of intolerance is put as "individuals' negative attitudes toward members of other [ethnic] groups based on their group affiliations" (Strabac, Listhaug, & Jakobsen, 2011, p. 460). Intolerance is reduced in this respect to attitudes with negative implications.

Intolerance can also be seen as one in a series of discriminatory acts that threaten democratic societies[11]. In this case, intolerance has been expanded to not only be about attitudes, but also behaviours and actions that in one way or another violate another human being. Intolerant behavioural patterns are especially important to highlight.

According to Nehushtan (2007), intolerant behaviour can be expressed differently depending on the context. Intolerance may take the form of harassment, insults, active discrimination or even an active limitation of another's ability to express themselves. According to the same research, behaviour is intolerant only as far as it involves a negative attitude toward another. An important additional point, according to Nehushtan, is that a person can be both tolerant and intolerant at the same time. This perspective is wholly in line with Langmann's (2013) view that tolerance actually requires you to be intolerant, but not to the degree that you believe that what you consider objectionable should be banned. And, according to the same research, "in order to be 'tolerant' (welcoming, open, positive acceptance), the tolerant individual must simultaneously be 'intolerant' (condition and marginalise, draw boundaries, find the other intolerable or unacceptable) (Langmann, 2013 , p. 81).

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

2.5
DEFINITIONS – BY US AND BY OTHERS

Tolerance and intolerance are defined differently depending on the context. In international declarations, the concepts are rarely treated as opposites. Instead, tolerance and intolerance have been defined as different sociological phenomena. The consequence has been that the two terms have been treated separately and individually. Tolerance, for example, has often been equated with respect, acceptance and appreciation of cultural and other differences[12].

When tolerance is defined by scholars, they sometimes do it in accordance with the minimum requirements of these international agreements, that is, out of the definition 'to respect and accept'. In our view this is a narrow definition that needs to be expanded. The reason is that groups such as victims of racism should not have to settle for being accepted. There are scientists who believe that tolerance also may involve an honest effort to understand what is different from one's own view (Beller, 2009). According to Walzer (1997), another addition can be made, namely the ability to provide enthusiastic support.

The research duo Bredsdorff & Kjaeldgaard (2012) argues that "to be tolerant of something other people do, think or say, it is first necessary for one to reject it; second, for one to, despite the rejection, not wish to ban it (whether one has the power to issue such a prohibition or not); and third, for one to continue to relate to the people whose activities one disagrees with – in fact,

for one to take an active interest in them and try to understand them" (Bredsdorff & Kjaeldgaard, 2012, pp. 93–94). This is in many ways a classic definition of tolerance. The same authors believe that humour – defined as a person's ability to see their own limitations – should be added to the list detailing the ambiguity of tolerance. Tolerance is in this view a process that firstly consists of several steps, and secondly is a function of both emotions and active choices.

Tolerance is a phenomenon that involves everyone. The question of the significance of tolerance is often, but not always, raised based on majority groups' relation to minority groups. According to Côte and Erickson (2009), tolerance against, for example, ethnic minorities consists of 1) cognitive elements, i.e. thought processes, aimed at the recognition that discrimination poses problems, 2) evaluative elements, based on the principle that minorities belong in society and contribute positively to it, and 3) political elements, which refers to the desire to welcome more immigrants, or to support other minorities.

Given the reasoning above, a clarification needs to be made: tolerance is not a phenomenon that is reserved for individuals who belong to the majority community. On the contrary, tolerance is something that is necessary and valid for all people, regardless of background, sexual orientation, identity, age, and so on. It is thus not only about individual x tolerating individual y, and individual y tolerating individual x. Instead, the tolerance is seen as a socially mutual practice that establishes that no person or group should be judged based on things such as prejudiced generalisations.

THE ISSUE OF POLITICAL TOLERANCE

Like so many other things, tolerance has political undertones. But what does that mean? The answer can be put as follows: the easiest way to inhibit a person who is considered objectionable is to restrict their civil rights, for example in terms of

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

their freedom of speech, their freedom of association, and so on. Freedom of expression is considered a fundamental right in democratic societies. In a democracy, people are simply expected to respect the rights of others to express themselves – individually and in public. This is expected to apply regardless of whether these people express ideas that are consistent with one's own opinion or not. Freedom of speech can be seen as an aspect of society that fits within the framework of political tolerance. This concept relates to the context in which tolerance is used and can be defined as a person's ability to accept and put with ideas he or she does not actually sympathise with (Harell, 2010). Tolerance is thus a question that concerns not only attitudes, but also the recognition of rights.

Political tolerance can also be described as a willingness to extend civil rights to all people (Mondak & Sanders, 2005). The view that humans despite their disapproval of each other should not restrict each other's lives can be related to the liberal tradition of tolerance, that is, that all groups – even groups that fundamentally challenges the existence of another group – must be tolerated. This form of political tolerance is often said to constitute a trade-off with more general democratic values (Peffley, Knigge, & Hurwitz, 2001). A question that may arise in this context, for example, is whether a democratic society should tolerate people who, by their public statements, claim to threaten democratic values. The answer is that we cannot prohibit opinions. But we can demand that they not be uttered if they constitute incitement or threats to one person or a few people.

"TOLERANCE IS BETTER THAN INTOLERANCE"

Another way to study tolerance is to look at a process of "disapproval". As an example, Cohen (2004) argues that we first have to disapprove of something in order to then be tolerant of it. Cohen thus defines tolerance by separating the concept from other concepts – for example, Cohen distinguishes between tolerance and phenomena such as indifference, resignation, pluralism. Cohen also argues that tolerance is not about a general principle of non-interference or a generally permissive attitude. Tolerance is from this perspective not about people remaining neutral.

The societal norm says that tolerance is better than intolerance. But the fact is that tolerance also has its shortcomings. One researcher who argues this is McGhee (2005), who has studied "the consequences of tolerance and intolerance" in the UK. The researcher believes that tolerance is an act characterised by acceptance despite a differing opinion. Intolerance, according to McGhee, is the opposite. The conclusion is that none of these acts give rise to a constructive social relationship with other people. Instead, defensive barriers are constructed between groups of people. The result will be the opposite of what was originally intended to be achieved. A lesson from McGhee's conclusions is to constantly develop tolerance and make it more inclusive and open by nature.

DEFINITIONS BY THE LIVING HISTORY FORUM

The scientific community defines both the tolerance of intolerance in different ways. The most common practice is to separate the two from each others. That is what the Living History Forum will do. In this study, intolerance means *negative attitudes and an explicit stance that does not sustain, accept, respect or affirm individuals and groups based on skin colour, ethnicity, sexual orientation, beliefs, opinion, and several other categorisations.*

By tolerance, we mean *an explicit stance to accept, respect and affirm individuals and groups in terms of skin colour, ethnicity, sexual orientation, belief, opinion, and several other categorisations. Tolerance also*

entails to fundamentally embody an inclusive attitude toward other people and to affirm the principle of equality. Tolerance is to express both curiosity and openness toward what is different from oneself. Tolerance is by extension a critical approach to one's own identity. Tolerance is about the ability to examine oneself for errors and defects before the same is demanded of other individuals.

The Living History Forum defines intolerance and tolerance from different circumstances. While intolerance can nearly be summarised as negative attitudes toward a person, we regard tolerance as a dynamic and sometimes more complex phenomenon. We believe that tolerance is not just about accepting and respecting the other. Tolerance is in our view as much a matter of openness and curiosity toward that which deviates from oneself. We also choose to include an element of self-examination in our definition – in order to be tolerant of another, it is first and foremost important to understand that we are not perfect or cognisant of all perspectives on various issues. We view tolerance as a 'continuum' – that is, a phenomenon that gradually and through application can take on different meanings depending on the context.

3. Method

Our intolerance study is what is commonly called a cross-sectional study. This means that we have studied a given population at a particular time. Statistics Sweden was commissioned to carry out sample draws and data collection. The survey design followed two principles: 1) the method used in the previous study (see The many faces of intolerance, 2010) and 2) strategies developed by Statistics Sweden for youth surveys. The objective we communicated to SCB was that the survey should study how young people view other people. We wanted to study attitudes toward and perceptions of various vulnerable groups in order to contribute to the Living History Forum's mission to promote democracy, tolerance and human rights. This objective was also communicated to the principals, teachers and students who received the study.

POPULATION AND SAMPLE

The survey's completion can be divided into two separate parts. The first stage involved Statistics Sweden creating a sample pool of schools using the National Registry of Schools records of all upper secondary schools in Sweden (according to the 2012 registry). The population or, in other words, the objects we wanted to draw conclusions from, were students in school year 9 of primary school and students in years 1–3 of upper secondary

school. Since information on particular classes is sometimes missing in the registry, the sampling was carried out in three steps.

The sample size, determined when the Living History Forum was founded, was 10,500 students when the frame of classes was created. The total number of upper secondary schools in the sampling frame was 1,345, with a total of 343,601 students in years 1–3 (according to the 2012 registry), and the number of primary schools with students in year 9 was 1,795, with a total of 95,638 students.

Two sampling frames were then created of all school units (a total of 230 schools) in Sweden that had at least one student in years 1–3 in upper secondary school or a student in year 9 of primary school. Upper secondary schools and primary schools with students in year 9 constituted separate sampling frames. In total, 68 percent of the surveyed schools answered that they wanted to participate in the survey.

The schools were then used to form a second sampling frame of classes through phone correspondence with the schools. The phone correspondence was carried out by Statistics Sweden. The Living History Forum did not receive any information about the schools included in the sample.

The class sample was stratified by class size (more or fewer than 20 students). No further stratification by year was made. In the third step, for

each selected school that agreed to participate, a stratified, random sample of classes was drawn. The starting point was to pull at least one class per primary school and at least three per upper secondary school (equivalent to one class per year) to reach about 10,500 students.

The classes were stratified by the specified number of students so that more classes could be prioritised in the division. A total of 202 different strata were formed with a total sample size of 473 classes. The sampling frame for the sample of classes was created from the class lists that were sent to Statistics Sweden. A total of 423 classes returned student responses, which was 90.4 percent of the classes (excluding 5 classes that should not have been included in the first place). Of the total of 10,303 students (10,584 including those who were excluded) who were asked, 7,391 students responded to the questionnaire, which was 71.7 percent of students in the sample. A non-response analysis was made. It showed that the students in the sample who did not participate in the survey are scattered randomly on the basis of various factors (such as sex, year, geography, and so on).

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire included 54 questions. Measuring instruments were developed in consultation with a reference group consisting of experts on questionnaires and the field of study. Several questions were taken from the previous studies. Other questions were modified slightly to suit the purpose as well as possible. In addition, several new questions were added.

The questions were largely in the form of claims and sought to map out aspects of tolerant and intolerant attitudes among upper secondary school students. The claims were in some cases deliberately sharpened in order to make respondents react spontaneously and without reflection. There were claims that may be characterised as "tricky" in the way they were worded. Their purpose was to activate stereotypes and antipathetic and prejudiced opinions. Other claims were directed at opinions of issues in current events such as perceptions of human rights, justice and equality. A number of claims had been taken from previous studies to enable comparisons.

The questionnaire consisted largely of questions that could serve as potential associated factors. These included questions about a respondent's assessment of their social environment, self-esteem, hobbies, worries and future plans. Among the potential associated factors was a large battery of questions concerning personality traits.

Statistics Sweden was commissioned to perform a quick inspection in order to reduce the risk of measurement errors. We did this to improve the quality of the data that was to be collected. To ensure that the questions work as well as possible, the questionnaire underwent a metrological test. This test was conducted by the survey unit at Statistics Sweden. The survey was also presented to two groups of upper secondary school students gave feedback on the content. Relevant comments were collected and in some cases they contributed to changes in the design and wording of the questions. During the process of developing the questionnaire there was also a dialogue with the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SKL).

VARIABLES IN THE REGISTRY

The survey was supplemented with data from the school registry, which provided indicators of the character and qualities of the schools. The indicators included grade averages for classes graduating in the spring of 2012 and data on teacher-student ratios and teaching credentials. To describe the schools socioeconomic profile, we used SAMS data with a focus on the students' home geography.[13]

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13 SAMS, Small Area Market Statistics, is a database that uses digitised maps divided into smaller, socially meaningful areas.

CALCULATION OF WEIGHTS

In the case of drop-outs, it may be that some groups of the sample respond to a greater extent than others. If the groups that responded to a greater degree have a different distribution of survey variables than the others, this may have a distorting effect on the result. To compensate for this we used what are called calibration weights (see the technical report for details). The weights are based on the assumption that the sampling frame reflects the population, thereby keeping over- and undercoverage to a minimum. The weights were multiplied by the value of the variable to create statistical values for the entire population. The weights have consistently been used in our analysis to avoid the risk of using misleading results.

The aim is to be able to report results for the whole population and not just for the respondents. The weights are calculated based on the sample design and assumptions of object non-responses and over- or undercoverage.[14]

ANALYTICAL METHODS

To analyze data using a statistical method can be seen as a "[...] tool to arrive at descriptions that summarise larger volumes of collected observations." (Esaiasson et al., 2003, p. 369). When the method is applied to survey studies, the ability to generalise any empirical findings increases. (Traugott, 2008: 232). Our analyses have been carried out in accordance with conventional methods. The results have been verified several times.

Most of the analyses are descriptive and aim to present the marginal distributions and level estimates of certain questions. To study the correlation, various questions have been cross-tabulated with each other. We have also conducted simple correlation tests to study the possible correlation strength between two variables. In in Chapter 5, we conducted a number of multivariate regression analyses, i.e. statistical calculations where the effect of one variable is studied while other variables are controlled. This may entail us noting that girls as well as students in programmes that prepare them for academic studies are more tolerant. It may be that the majority of the students in the academic programme is made up of girls. By analysing each of these variables with one of them under control, we can see if the effects are permanent or not.

CONSTRUCTION OF INDEXES

To study intolerance toward various groups, we use both single questions, but we have also created indexes. An index consists in our study of a number of questions that have been compounded into a variable. The questions that are added together are thought to measure the same thing, such as intolerance of immigrants. We conduct a number of tests to verify that the questions actually measure the same thing.

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14 The calculation was made using one of Statistics Sweden's proprietary SAS macros (ETOS).

4. Results

In this section the survey results will be presented. Our ambition is to shed light not only on attitudes, but also on the students' experiences in a number of areas. We will in other words study conditions that relate both to how Swedish school students view others and to how they view themselves and society at large.

The presentation of results is divided into five sections, each of which has a specific theme and provides knowledge of a specific area. Together the sections paint a picture of Swedish school students from various perspectives linked to intolerance and tolerance; hopes and expectations for the future; democracy, trust and confidence, and more.

4.1
CONCERNS AND HOPES – SWEDISH SCHOOL STUDENTS' OUTLOOK ON THE FUTURE

Students in secondary and upper secondary schools find themselves in a special phase of life. As they obtain knowledge and are taught to think critically, dreams and expectations of the future are taking shape. Life-affirming questions about jobs and career are intertwined with dreams of travel, family and a home.

We will begin with the presentation of results by focusing on the students' outlook on the coming years of their lives. The analysis therefore begins with two sets of questions that examine Swedish school students' outlook on the future based on their worries but also on their hopes and expectations. The questions can be seen as indicators of both the hopefulness and what can be perceived as threatening in the future.

TABLE 4.1 presents the responses that concern Swedish students' worries about the future. In our survey, Swedish school students are most worried about it becoming harder for young people to find housing (24 percent are very worried) and environmental deterioration (23 percent are very worried). Further, the respondents are worried about it becoming harder for young people to find work (20 percent are very worried) and increased xenophobia (18 percent are very worried).

The share of students who are very worried about increased immigration amounts to 16 percent. As many as 64 percent of school students say that they are not worried about increased immigration. Both worries about xenophobia and worries about immigration have positive indices. This means that there are more people who are

not worried than who are. The lowest measured worries in our survey concerns the categories of more government surveillance (10 percent are very concerned), heightened class differences (11 percent are very concerned) and acts of terrorism and war (12 percent are very worried). The low worry about acts of terrorism corresponds with worries about the future in the Swedish population as a whole. The same is true for the high estimate of worries about environmental deterioration (Weibull, Oscarsson, & Bengtsson, 2013).

We know that people worry about different things. For example, research shows that women in general are concerned about various situations than men (Djerf-Pierre & Wängnerud, 2013). But what is the case among Swedish school students? Are girls more worried than boys? And there are other background factors that play in? To answer these questions, we will break down the analysis into smaller groups. The questions we will analyse further concern increased immigration and increased xenophobia. **TABLE 4.2** shows the breakdown by sex, grade, and housing situation as well as political interest and satisfaction with democracy.

There are clear differences between boys and girls in terms of worries about both increased xenophobia and increased immigration. 21 percent of girls are very worried that xenophobia will increase. The corresponding figure for boys is 15 percent. Conversely, boys are more worried than girls about increased immigration (22 percent versus 10 percent are very worried). Fears of increased xenophobia are higher among upper secondary school students compared to students in secondary school. In total, 26 percent of students in year 3 in upper secondary school are very worried about increased xenophobia. 12 percent of the students who attend year 9 in secondary school are worried about increased xenophobia. We can also note that students who live in homes owned by their families are most worried about increased xenophobia (21 percent are very worried). They are also least concerned about increased immigration (10 percent are very worried).

Among students who are very interested in politics, 50 percent are very concerned about increased xenophobia. That share amounts to 9 percent among those who are not at all interested in politics. These differences are less clear when it comes to worries about increased immigration. Among students who were not at all satisfied with Swedish democracy, 47 percent are worried about

Table 4.1 Swedish school students' worries about the future in 2013 (percentages, index, weighted data)

TABLE 4.1							
	VERY WORRIED	SOMEWHAT WORRIED	NOT PARTICULARLY WORRIED	NOT AT ALL WORRIED	TOTAL	RESPONSES	INDEX
Harder for young people to find work	20	46	29	6	100	7 303	-31
Harder for young people to find housing	24	44	26	6	100	7 295	-36
Environmental deterioration	23	36	33	8	100	7 250	-18
Increased xenophobia	18	25	43	14	100	7 136	14
More government surveillance	10	21	52	17	100	7 179	39
Increased immigration	16	20	37	27	100	7 229	29
Heightened class differences	11	26	46	17	100	7 164	26
War	12	10	31	48	100	7 274	57
Acts of terror	12	16	38	34	100	7 262	44

Comment: The question read: "How worried are you that the following will happen in Sweden in the next five years?" The index is made up of the share of respondents who replied 'not very worried' or 'not at all worried' minus the percentage of respondents who replied 'somewhat' or 'very worried'.

increased immigration. The corresponding share among students who are satisfied with democracy is 7 percent. Worries about increased xenophobia do not seem to correlate with satisfaction with democracy in our study.

The study of school students' worries about the future concludes with a comparison with the results from the 2009 survey. We already know that people's perceived worries tend to vary over time.

Often, the changes are a result of various events in time (Weibull, Oscarsson, & Bengtsson, 2013). TABLE 4.3 presents a comparison of the students' worries about the future in 2009 and 2013.

Between 2009 and 2013, worries have dwindled in two categories. The decreases concern the difficulty for young people to find work (-1 percentage point) and increased immigration (-2 percentage points). So a smaller share of school

Table 4.2 The share of students who are very worried about increased xenophobia and increased immigration in 2013 (percentages, weighted data)

TABLE 4.2		
	WORRIED ABOUT...	
	INCREASED XENOPHOBIA	INCREASED IMMIGRATION
Total	18	16
Gender		
boys	15	22
girls	21	10
School year		
Year 9 of secondary school	12	14
Year 1 of upper secondary school	17	18
Year 2 of upper secondary school	17	16
Year 3 of upper secondary school	26	17
Housing		
house	17	17
flat (rental)	19	14
flat (owned)	21	10
other	15	26
Interest in politics		
very interested	50	22
somewhat interested	28	16
not very interested	12	13
not at all interested	9	18
Satisfaction with democracy		
very satisfied	17	7
somewhat satisfied	18	12
not very satisfied	21	30
not at all satisfied	20	47

Comment: The question read: "How worried are you that the following will happen in Sweden in the next five years?" The table shows the percentage of students in each year who said they are very worried about each situation.

students is worried about increased immigration in 2013 than in 2009.

Worries about it becoming more difficult to obtain housing shows the greatest increase (+12 percentage points). When it comes to worries about increased xenophobia, we note an increase equivalent to 9 percentage points. This increase shows that the tendencies that suggest that extreme xenophobia is sweeping over Europe and Sweden have been perceived by Swedish school students.

DREAMS OF THE FUTURE

Swedish students are not only worried about the future. They also have hopes and expectations. To understand the studied target group's outlook on the future, we asked a question about the impor-

Table 4.3 Swedish school students' worries about the future in 2009 and 2013 (share of very worried, percentages, weighted data)

TABLE 4.3			
	2009	2013	INCREASE/ DECREASE
Harder for young people to find work	21	20	-1
Harder for young people to find housing [1]	15	27	+12
Environmental deterioration	24	24	±0
Increased xenophobia	12	21	+9
Heightened class differences	11	17	+6
Increased immigration	14	12	-2
More government surveillance	9	12	+3
Acts of terror	10	11	+1
War	10	12	+2

Comment: The question read: "How worried are you that the following will happen in Sweden in the next five years?" The table shows the share of students in each year who responded that they are somewhat or very worried about each situation. The respondents were students in years 1 and 3 in upper secondary school. **1** In The intolerance survey from 2009, this category was worded as more difficult for young people to take out mortgages.

Table 4.4 Swedish school students' outlook on their own future, 2013 (percentages, index, weighted data)

TABLE 4.4							
	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	SOMEHWAT UNIMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	VERY IMPORTANT	TOTAL	RESPONSES	INDEX
To have a job (any job) I enjoy	12	40	36	12	100	7 029	-3
To have a family and children	2	9	36	53	100	7 201	78
Own a house	2	7	29	62	100	7 175	82
Be successful in a profession	36	49	11	4	100	7 168	-70
Earn a lot of money	2	10	42	46	100	7 170	75
Travel to other countries	1	2	17	81	100	7 191	95
Graduate university or college	6	20	31	43	100	7 170	49
Have a senior managerial role	2	11	49	39	100	7 188	75
Be known in the media	3	12	31	55	100	7 185	71

Comment: The question read: "How important is it for you to achieve the following in the future?" The index indicates the share who answered that this is somewhat or very important minus the share who answered that this is fairly or completely unimportant. All respondents have been included.

tance of achieving a range of things going forward in life. The question should be viewed as a kind of measurement of students' hopes for their future years. The results are presented in **TABLE 4.4** .

For Swedish students, the most important future achievement is to travel to other countries. 81 percent responded that this is very important. This may well be seen as an indication that Swedish school students wish to meet and share experiences with foreign cultures around the world. Only 4 percent said that success in a profession is very important. 53 percent of students answered that having a family and children is very important. About as many said that it is very important to be known in the media (55 percent).

Before we finish the study of Swedish school students' worries and dreams for the future, we will see what opportunities young people in Sweden feel they have to realise the things they deem important in life. In other words, this is a measure-ment of whether adolescents feel powerless over their future or not. The breakdown in **TABLE 4.5** is made by gender, grade and a measure of socio-economics (the household economy in the student's home).

A majority of the school students we have studied respond that the opportunities to realise the important things in life are pretty decent or even great (a total of 90 percent). There are no significant differences between either boys and girls or between the four school years. When we look at the subjective answer to the question about household income, we see a difference between the groups. Among the students who answered that their household has plenty of money, 28 percent say the opportunities for life achievement in the future are great. The corresponding share for students who live in a household who are short of money amounts to 11 percent.

Table 4.5 Swedish school students' response to the question about their opportunities to realise important things in life, 2013 (percentages, weighted data)

TABLE 4.5						
	VERY SMALL	QUITE SMALL	PRETTY DECENT	GREAT	TOTAL	RESPONSES
All	1	9	66	24	100	7 147
Gender						
boys	2	9	65	25	100	3 593
girls	2	8	67	24	100	3 500
School year						
year 9 in secondary school	2	8	68	22	100	2 448
year 1 of upper secondary school	1	6	64	28	100	1 930
year 2 of upper secondary school	4	10	66	20	100	1 531
year 3 of upper secondary school	1	9	65	25	100	1 420
Household income						
plenty of money	1	6	65	28	100	4 763
neither option	2	11	67	20	100	1 888
short of money	9	20	61	11	100	354

Comment: The question read: "How do you see your opportunities to realise the things that are important to you?" The question about household finances read: "Do you feel that the household that you are part has plenty of or not enough money?" All respondents have been included.

In conclusion, we note that Swedish students harbour both worries about and hopes for the future. There are however factors that are relevant and that create differences among the respondents. The significance of gender, school year, political interest and satisfaction with democracy proved to create differences when worries about increased xenophobia and increased immigration were studied in detail. Similarly, the students' hopes for the future differed by their socioeconomics.

4.2
EXPOSURE TO INTOLERANCE

The darkest side of intolerance consists of threats, violence and harassment. These phenomena constitute serious violations against the view of equality between humans. When negative attitudes and prejudice are expressed through actively discriminatory acts they hurt not only individuals, but also important societal functions.

Phenomena such as bullying, discrimination and harassment are to be seen as intolerant behaviour. Research usually treats these terms as synonymous with each other and similar in their significance and meaning (DO, 2012). The Discrimination Act (SFS 2008: 567) split the concept of discrimination into five parts: direct discrimination, indirect discrimination, harassment, sexual harassment and instructions to discriminate. The legal meaning of harassment is: "conduct that violates a person's dignity and that is associated with any of the grounds of discrimination sex, transgender identity or expression, ethnicity, religion or other belief, disability, sexual orientation or age" (Chapter 1, 4 § p.3).

When an offensive action is to be regarded as a crime and when it moreover occurs on the basis of the victim belonging to a certain group, it is called a hate crime (Tiby, 1999; Gerstenfeld, 2003). In Sweden, offences based on xenophobic, anti-Se-

mitic and homophobic motives have been tracked since the early 1990s.

It is difficult to find a completely accepted definition of what hate crimes are (Petrosino, 2003). But most would agree that it involves crimes directed "against people because of, as examples, their ethnicity, disability, homelessness, gender, transgender identity or expression, religious affiliation, political affiliation, sexual orientation or age" (BRÅ, in 2012, p. 9).

Several of the crimes and abuses directed against people because they belong to a certain group are never reported. Intolerance acted out against various groups contributes the exclusion of individuals from society. Ultimately these people are prevented from claiming their fundamental human rights. This applies both to Sweden and the rest of Europe and the world (FRA, 2013).

When intolerance is the basis for things such as hate crimes, it should be considered even more serious, simply because "hate crimes are characterised as constituting an attack on human rights and disputing basic social values of human equality in a democratic society." (Tiby, 2006 , p. 9).

Data from the National Council for Crime Prevention's nationwide surveys show that 1.4 per cent (106,000 people) of the population between 16 and 79 years of age were victims of xenophobic hate crimes in 2012. Approximately 0.3 percent of the Swedish population (25,000 people) were subjected to anti-religious hate crimes, and approximately 0.2 percent (16,000 people) were subjected to homophobic hate crimes (Brå, 2014).

We know that only a share of all hate crimes are reported to the police. Of police reports from 2013, the National Council for Crime Prevention estimates that about 5,510 have hate-crime motives. The distribution of different hate crimes is as follows:

- 73 percent (4,000 reports) had xenophobic/racist motives.
- 11 percent (630 reports) has homophobic, biphobic or heterophobic motives.

- 6 percent (330 reports) had Islamophobic motives.
- 6 percent (320 reports) had anti-Christian or other anti-religious motives.
- 4 percent (190 reports) had anti-Semitic motives.
- 1 percent (50 reports) had transphobic motives.

The total number of reports in 2013 was virtually unchanged from 2012, when 5,520 reports were identified as hate crimes. But reports due to sexual orientation had decreased by 12 percent since 2012 and by 41 percent since to 2009.

The hate crimes that increased the most in 2013 was the category of anti-Christian and other anti-religious motives. These hate crimes showed an increase of 24 percent since 2012.

Intolerant behaviour is especially serious when children are exposed to it. For this reason, the definition of degrading treatment in the Education Act (SFS 2010: 800) also includes offensive verbal, psychological and physical acts that frequently occur in the context of bullying. In legal terms, ostracism, pushes and similar treatment can form the basis of what can be considered degrading treatment (DO, 2012).

In Sweden, some young people are more exposed than others. Studies have shown, for example, that approximately 25 percent of all Muslim boys and girls have been subjected to degrading treatment (the study is from 2006 and the question concerned exposure over the past six months) (Bevelander & Otterbeck, 2006). In the National Survey of Crime, which was conducted in 2011, school students got to report their perceived vulnerability. In this survey, 4.5 percent of students in year 9 said they had been victims of hate crimes with xenophobic motives. The corresponding share who said they have been victims of anti-religious hate crimes amounted to 2.2 percent (Brå, 2013a).

We will study students' reported exposure to intolerance in more detail. The analysis will study both general and specific vulnerability.

SCHOOL STUDENTS' EXPOSURE TO INTOLERANCE

We asked the students in our survey about their experiences of intolerant behaviour and other vulnerability. The aim is to highlight the prevalence of social vulnerability among Swedish school students, but also to point to how vulnerability manifests itself differently in different social groups. Research has previously shown that polarisation tends to occur in studies of vulnerability (Nilsson & Estrada, 2006). We asked the students in our survey if there is any group in society that is often subjected to violence, threats or harassment. The share who answered no to the question was 20 percent.

We know, however, that acts of intolerance exist, and that this also applies in schools. TABLE 4.6 presents three questions that relate to three degrees of vulnerability: to have been teased, to have been threatened and as a result felt seriously afraid, and to have been beaten.

A total of 33 percent indicate that they have been teased to the point of becoming angry or upset in the last 12 months. 9 percent have been threatened and 11 percent have been beaten. The differences between boys and girls are greatest when it comes to having been teased. 39 percent of girls indicate that this has occurred in the last 12 months. The corresponding figure for boys is 26 per cent. Girls have been threatened more than boys (10 percent versus 7 percent). However, more boys have been beaten (14 percent versus 8 percent).

The differences between school years are smaller. The general pattern is that students in upper secondary school are more exposed to various forms of intolerant behaviour. When we study sexual orientation, we uncover a pattern that shows heterosexuals as less vulnerable to abusive treatment than both bisexuals and homosexuals. A total of 25 percent and 24 percent of the students who are bisexual and gay respectively indicate that

Table 4.6 The percentage of students who have been exposed to various forms of intolerant behaviour at least once in the last 12 months (percentages, weighted data)

TABLE 4.6			
	HAVE YOU AT ANY POINT IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS…		
	… BEEN TEASED TO THE POINT OF BECOMING ANGRY OR UPSET?	**… BEEN THREATENED TO THE POINT OF FEELING SERIOUSLY AFRAID?**	**… BEEN BEATEN?**
Total	33	9	11
Gender			
boys	26	7	14
girls	39	10	8
School year			
year 9 of secondary school	39	8	12
year 1 of upper secondary school	29	9	10
year 2 of upper secondary school	32	9	11
year 3 of upper secondary school	31	7	11
Sexual orientation			
heterosexual	32	8	10
bisexual	57	24	25
homosexual	35	19	24
Student origin			
foreign-born	42	11	9
born in Sweden, both parents foreign-born	34	8	8
born in Sweden, one parent born in Sweden	33	8	9
born in Sweden, both parents born in Sweden	31	8	12

Comment: The question read: "Have you at any point in the past 12 months …?" The response options were: "no, no way", "yes, once", "yes, several times". The table shows those who answered "yes, once" or "yes, several times". All respondents have been included. The total of responses is 7,271 for the first question, and 7,234 for the second.

they were beaten in the last 12 months. The corresponding share of students of heterosexual orientation is 10 percent. Of the students who are foreign-born, a full 42 percent answer that they have been teased. Among students born in Sweden, whose parents were both born in Sweden, this share was 31 percent.

EXPOSURE IN AND OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL

Students can be exposed to intolerance both in and outside of school. We asked the students if they have been teased about their origin (Swedish or foreign) in the last 12 months. The respondents were asked to answer whether this occurs at school or in the schoolyard or outside of school. The ques-

tion is meant to measure exposure to intolerance based on racist views. The question also provides information about whether the exposure exists in or outside of school.

It should be said that questions about perceived exposure are problematic, not least because we can expect underestimates in terms of the share of students who say they have been victims of some form of intolerance. **TABLE 4.7** presents the percentage of students who say they have been teased because of their origin in the last 12 months.

A total of 6 percent of students indicate that they have been teased in school because of their Swedish or foreign origin. The share who think

or know they've been teased for the same reasons outside of school is 7 percent. There is no significant difference between boys' and girls' vulnerability. Broken down by year 9 of secondary school and years 1–3 of upper secondary school, the reported intolerance shows small differences. 8 percent of students in year 9 of secondary school say they have been teased at school because of their origin. Among respondents in year 3 of upper secondary school, the number is 5 percent.

When the responses are broken down by the students' origin, the differences are great. A total of 18 percent of students who are foreign-born report having been teased for their origin both in

Table 4.7 Percentage of students who have been teased because of their origin in the last 12 months – in school and outside of school (percentages, weighted data)

	TABLE 4.7			
	BEEN TEASED DUE TO THEIR SWEDISH OR FOREIGN BACKGROUND...			
	... AT SCHOOL/IN THE SCHOOLYARD		... OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL	
	NO, NEVER	YES, AT LEAST ONCE	NO, NEVER	YES, AT LEAST ONCE
Total	94	6	93	7
Gender				
boys	94	6	92	8
girls	95	6	94	6
School year				
year 9 of secondary school	92	8	92	8
year 1 of upper secondary school	94	6	93	7
year 2 of upper secondary school	94	6	93	7
year 3 of upper secondary school	95	5	93	7
Student origin				
foreign-born	82	18	82	18
born in Sweden, both parents foreign-born	88	12	82	18
born in Sweden, one parent born in Sweden	92	8	91	9
born in Sweden, both parents born in Sweden	97	3	97	3

Comment: The question read: "Have you at some point in the past 12 months been teased and think or know this is because of your (Swedish or foreign) origin, and if so, where did this happen?" The students had to decide whether it occurred at school or in the schoolyard, or outside of school. The response options were: "No, never", "yes, once", "yes, several times". The table shows those who answered "yes, once" or "yes, several times". All respondents have been included.

and outside of the school environment. The corresponding share for students born in Sweden with both parents born in Sweden is 3 percent. The responses show that the exposure is greater outside of school. But the problems should be considered great in school as well. We also conducted an analysis that showed that exposure to intolerance was greater in schools where the student-teacher ratio was low.

The question analysed here suggests that stu-dents are exposed to intolerance. However, we cannot draw any conclusions about who is behind the harassment. Nor can we comment on the mo-tives for the violations. One thing worth pointing out is that according to the National Council for Crime Prevention, the number of hate crimes aga-inst homosexuals is decreasing. At the same time, these students report great exposure to intoleran-ce. We can of course not say that this contradicts the council's statistics. But the question is raised

Table 4.8 Percentage of students who have been subjected to threats by text message or on the internet that they associate with their origin, religion or sexual orientation (percentages, weighted data)

TABLE 4.8			
	HAVE YOU BEEN AFFECTED BY THREATENING E-MAILS, TEXT OR CHAT MESSAGES, OR INTERNET POSTS THAT YOU ASSOCIATE WITH YOUR…:		
	… ORIGIN?	… RELIGION?	… SEXUAL ORIENTATION?
Total	3	2	2
Gender			
boys	3	2	2
girls	2	2	2
School year			
year 9 of secondary school	3	2	2
year 1 of upper secondary school	3	2	2
year 2 of upper secondary school	3	3	1
year 3 of upper secondary school	3	2	2
Student origin			
foreign-born	7	-	-
born in Sweden, both parents foreign-born	7	-	-
born in Sweden, one parent born in Sweden	2	-	-
born in Sweden, both parents born in Sweden	1	-	-
Religious faith			
believing Christian	-	2	-
believing Muslim	-	10	-
Sexual orientation			
heterosexual	-	-	1
bisexual	-	-	15
homosexual	-	-	30
other sexual orientation	-	-	5

Comment: The question read: "Have you been affected by threatening e-mails, text or chat messages, or internet posts that you associate with the following?" The students answered whether it occurred due to origin, religion or sexual orientation. The response options were "no", "yes" and "do not know". The table shows those who answered "yes". All respondents have been included.

whether this intolerance is actually greater than what hate-crime statistics reflect.

DIGITAL EXPOSURE

The problems that may be linked to the exposure to bullying, harassment, and so on also exist on the internet, via social media or in the form of, for example, e-mail and text messages. We may call this digital exposure. We know that younger generations are generally more connected online than older generations (Weibull, Oscarsson, & Bengtsson, 2013). With an increased internet presence come apparent increased risks of being subjected to comments that are offensive in nature. TABLE 4.8 presents the responses to having been subjected to threatening text messages and posts on the internet. The question concerns exposure due to origin, religion or sexual orientation.

Neither gender nor grade exhibit any significant differences in terms of digital exposure. Since the reports of abusive behaviour are specifically linked to origin, religion or sexual orientation, it would be reasonable to expect that differences are found between groups that relate to these factors. Such is also the case. 7 percent of the students who were born in a country other than Sweden say that they have been victims of digital abuse or threats that they associate with their origin. Of the students who are believing Muslims, 10 percent say that they have been the victims of violations or threats that they associate with their religion. For students who are believing Christians, the rate is 2 percent. Analysis in other words shows that there are differences between religious affiliations when it comes to exposure to intolerance.

The largest differences are found in a breakdown of responses to sexual orientation. The percentage of homosexuals who have stated that they have suffered threatening e-mails, text messages, chat messages or internet posts that have been associated with one's sexual orientation is 30 percent. For bisexuals, it's 15 percent.

The conclusions of this section are that Swedish school students are exposed to intolerance to varying degrees. The results do not tell us about the nature of the perceived exposure. It is also likely that the levels are underestimated for various reasons. It is, however, clear that real problems exist in terms of threats, violence and harassment of school students.

4.3
INTOLERANCE OF DIFFERENT GROUPS

In this section, Swedish school students' attitudes to various groups in society are presented and analysed. We were in our 2009 study able to note that intolerance varied in level and intensity between different groups (Löwander, 2010). This relationship is consistent with international research (Strabac & Listhaug, 2008; Strabac, Listhaug, & Jakobsen, 2011). We will therefore focus on potential differences between groups, but also on how intolerance levels differ between students.

The intolerance survey in 2013 consisted of a large number of attitudinal statements that concerned, among other things, immigration, immigrants, Jews, Muslims, Roma and LGBT people. The presentation of results will focus on the relationship between attitudinal measurements and students' social and cultural backgrounds, schools and school environments, skills, interests and personal values. With access to both registry data, school data and individual data, the causal relationships will be analysed incrementally using statistical methods. The chapter concludes with an analysis that summarises the different variables' relevance to hostile or intolerant attitudes.

We have decided to create five sections that relate to group-specific intolerance. The five groups we asked about are: immigrants, Muslims, Jews, Roma and LGBT people. The questions have

been replicated from international studies. The same questions were also used in our 2003 survey.

The indices are composed of three to five statements that express views one can have of different groups in society (see TABLE 4.9) . The more of these statements that the individual student has agreed or disagreed with, the more negative his or her attitude toward each group.

To verify that the indices are theoretically viable, we have developed so-called alpha values. These values indicate consistently that the indices are measuring the same thing – that is, group-specific intolerance – and are therefore usable. Each index contains values between 0 and 1. The higher the

index value, the more negative the respondent is to the group we're asking about.

In the theoretical section, we also discussed the fact that intolerance of a group tends to correlate with intolerance of another group. Is this fact empirically valid in our survey as well? TABLE 4.10 presents the correlation between all five indices.

The correlation analysis shows that intolerance correlates with intolerance. This fact has, as mentioned, been proven in a number of international and national studies. We find the strongest correlation between indices 1 and 2, i.e. intolerance of immigrants and intolerance of Muslims. The correlation coefficient is equivalent to +.85. To

Table 4.9 Presentation of the questions included in the five intolerance indices

TABELL 4.9					
	INDEX 1	INDEX 2	INDEX 3	INDEX 4	INDEX 5
	IMMIGRANTS	MUSLIMS	JEWS	ROMA	LGBT PEOPLE
"most [group] are probably good people"	x	x	x	x	x
"it would be fine to have [group] as neighbours"	x	x	x	x	x
"[group] cannot be trusted"	x	x	x	x	x
"there are way too many [group] in Sweden"	x	x	x	x	–
"[group] should have the right to build religious facilities in Sweden"	–	x	x	–	–

Comment: The claims were worded as indicated in the table with the exception that the hard bracket was replaced by each of the five groups. The total number of claims was 21.

Table 4.10 Correlation analysis between the five intolerance indices (correlation coefficients)

TABLE 4.10					
	IMMIGRANTS	MUSLIMS	JEWS	ROMA	LGBT PEOPLE
immigrants	1	–	–	–	–
Muslims	+.85	1	–	–	–
Jews	+.75	+.83	1	–	–
Roma	+.71	+.74	+.74	1	–
LGBT people	+.49	+.46	+.61	+.52	1

Comment: A positive correlation (+) means: the more intolerant an attitude toward one group, the more intolerant the judgment of another group. The correlation coefficient can vary between -1 (strong negative correlation) to +1 (strong positive correlation). All relationships are significant to the level of 95 percent.

some extent this is understandable, since many immigrants come from Muslim countries. We can also see that the attitude toward Muslims is linked strongly with the attitude toward Jews.

The causal relationships between the other indices are weaker, but still strong enough for us to conclude that intolerance is linked strongly to intolerance.

The weakest measured correlation is between the attitude toward LGBT people and the attitude toward each of the other groups. This indicates that homo-, bi- and transphobia exists within a somewhat different attitude dimension. The explanation may lie in that hostility toward LGBT people is nourished by chauvinistic and patriarchal structures rather than fear of what is ethnically, religiously or culturally alien (see Löwander, 2010). **FIGURE 4.1** presents a graphical presentation of the weakest and the strongest association from table 4.10. To get a picture of the spread of each index, a box plot has also been included (see **FIGURE 4.2**).

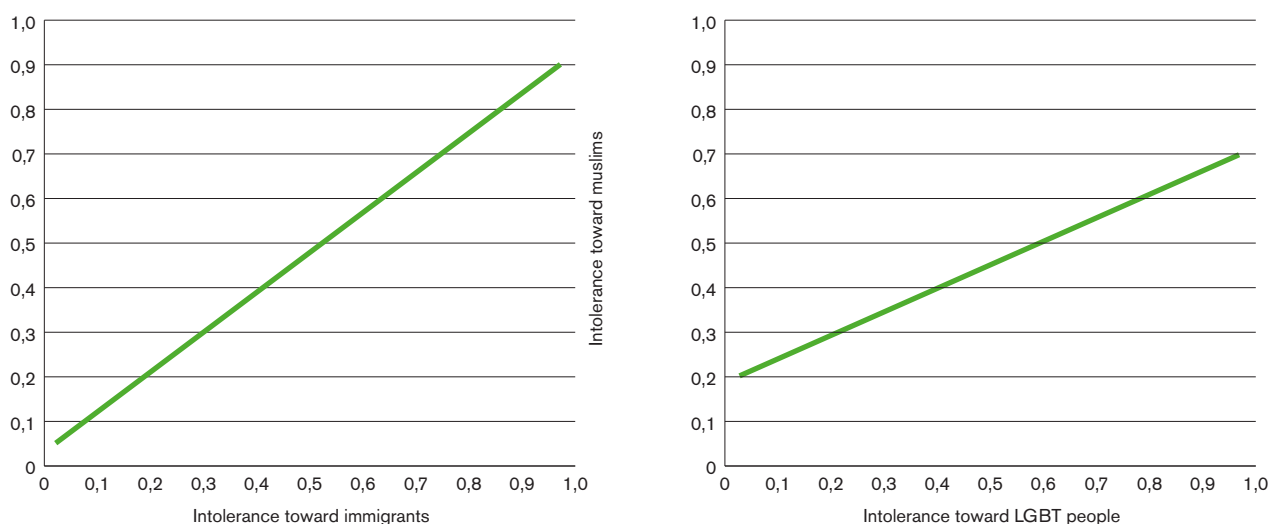The correlations between each index are thus strong. We can also observe that the stances taken toward LGBT people are greater than for the other indices. The majority of respondents have a positive attitude toward lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people. To illustrate this relationship, we present the cumulative percentage for each index (see **FIGURE 4.3**).

For attitudes toward immigrants, Muslims, Jews and Roma, the proportion who have responded most positively adds up to between 10 and 20 percent. For attitudes toward LGBT people, this share is 45 percent.

Conclusions from other studies have established that homo-, bi- and transphobia stem from certain unique circumstances (such as chauvinism and other patriarchal structures). Our initial rendering of each index shows that it is at least the case that levels of negative attitudes toward this group are significantly lower.

The next step is to break down the analysis in batches. As mentioned in the theoretical discussion, individual factors such as gender and age correlate with intolerance. Women, for example, are less intolerant than men and younger people are often less prejudice than the elderly. In stu-
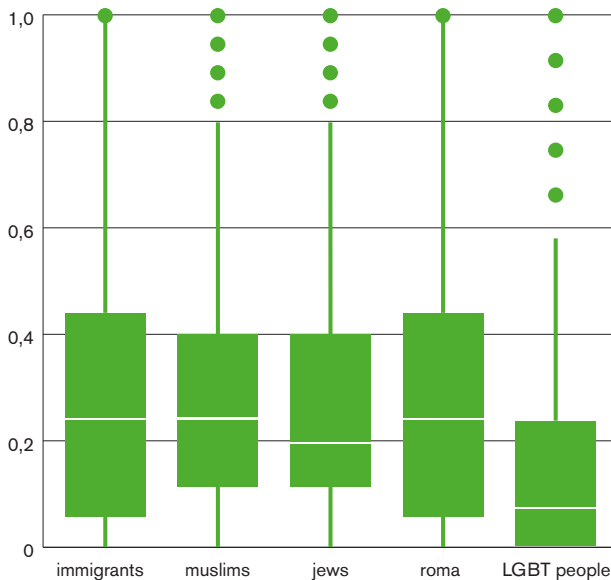
Figure 4.1 Graphical representation of the weakest and the strongest relationships between group-specific intolerance

Comment: A positive correlation (+) means: the more intolerant an attitude is toward one group, the more intolerant the judgment of another group.

dies analysing intolerance, we also find large effects that can be linked to individuals' level of education. Education has, for example, a negative correlation with intolerance – meaning the more educated one is, the less intolerant one is (Bevelander Otter & Beck, 2006; Strabac, Listhaug, & Jakobsen, 2011). Perceptions and attitudes are also generally associated with individuals' political interest or awareness (Zaller, 1992). In addition, socialisation factors such as religion, place of residence and other household conditions are important (van der Akker, van der Ploeg, & Rozemarijn Scheepers, 2012). The breakdown is done in a number of different steps and organised under headings below. We will study how group-specific intolerance correlates with gender, age, educational context, satisfaction with democracy and political interest.

THE SIGNIFICACE OF GENDER, SCHOOL YEAR AND UPPER SECONDARY PROGRAMME

The first analysis will be done according to the students' gender, age and upper secondary programmes. Our study confirms the results of previous surveys.[15] All five attitude measurements (attitudes toward immigrants, attitudes toward Muslims, attitudes toward Jews, attitudes toward Roma and attitudes toward LGBT people) reflect that girls harbour more positive attitudes than boys. The greatest difference between boys' and girls' attitudes is found in attitudes toward LGBT people. (see **TABLE 4.11**)

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15 Ring & Morgentau (2004); Bachner and Ring (2005); Otter Beck & Bevelander (2006) and Löwander (2010).

Figure 4.2 Box plot of the five indices (index values: 0=positive, 1=negative, weighted data)
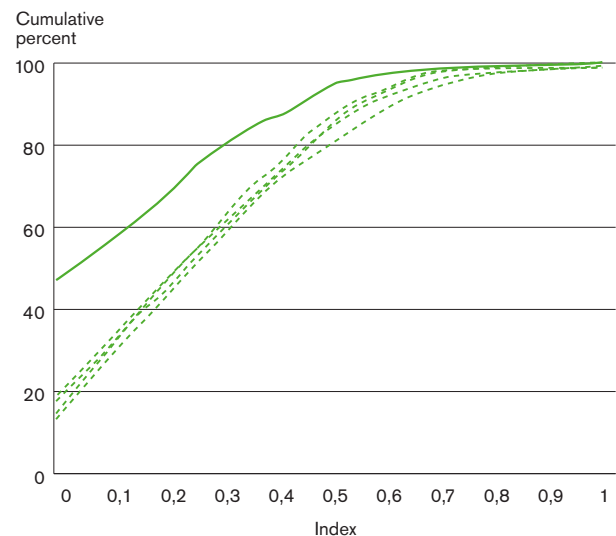

Comment: The box plot is a graph where the box itself holds 50 percent of the material. The material summarised with the help of five values: the median, lower and upper quartile, and the minimum and maximum. Potentially extreme values are considered outliers and marked with symbols, in this case with circles.

Figure 4.3 Presentation of cumulative percentages for each intolerance index (index values 0=positive, 1=negative, cumulative percentages, weighted data)

Comment: Each index can assume a value between 0 and 1 (0=positive toward the group; 1=negative toward the group). Cumulative percentage means that we gradually add shares until we reach 100 percent. Each point on the respective graph is the sum of the units to the left. Solid line in the chart=attitude toward LGBT people. Dashed lines in the chart=attitude toward immigrants, Jews, Muslims and Roma.

TABLE 4.11					
	INDEX 1	INDEX 2	INDEX 3	INDEX 4	INDEX 5
ATTITUDE TOWARD…	IMMIGRANTS	MUSLIMS	JEWS	ROMA	LGBT PEOPLE
All	.28	.30	.27	.29	.17
Gender					
boys	.33	.36	.32	.35	.23
girls	.23	.19	.22	.23	.09
School year					
year 9 of secondary school	.29	.30	.27	.29	.21
year 1 of upper secondary school	.29	.32	.28	.30	.21
year 2 of upper secondary school	.29	.30	.28	.29	.21
year 3 of upper secondary school	.25	.28	.24	.28	.18
Upper secondary programme*					
university/college preporatory	.18	.19	.17	.21	.09
vocational/individual programme	.40	.44	.39	.40	.25

Comment: Each index can assume an average value between 0 and 1. The higher the value, the more negative one is toward the specific group. *The breakdown of upper secondary programmes concerns only the students in upper secondary school. *Only the responses from students in upper secondary school are analysed.

The relationship between students' school year and attitudes toward vulnerable groups is weaker than that for gender, but we can still say that those who are older and in year 3 of upper secondary school are slightly more positive than those in lower years. Students in programmes that prepare them for academic studies harbour more positive attitudes than students in a vocational or individual programme. The main difference with respect to programme is noted for intolerance of Muslims. Students in programmes preparing them for academia are the most negative toward Roma.

In our survey, Swedish school students are most positive toward LGBT people. The difference between boys' and girls' attitudes toward this group is relatively big. Meanwhile, boys are more positive toward LGBT people than the other four groups we asked about. Reviews of each question included in the index of attitudes toward LGBT people help to illustrate how girls in particular are positive toward this group. For example, only 2 percent of girls cannot imagine living next door to a homosexual, bisexual, or transgender person. The corresponding share for boys is 10 percent.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PARENTS' EDUCATION, RELIGION/BELIEFS AND STUDENT ORIGIN

Many researchers agree that an individual's life situation is a key factor in determining why intolerance exists (van der Akker, van der Ploeg, & Rozemarijn Scheepers, 2012; Crisp & Turner, 2010). Some theories emphasise the importance of socialisation and focus on how attitudes and values are formed in a person's youth, such as when he or she shares experiences with the adult generation or the rest of society. It is in encounters

Table 4.12 The five intolerance indices broken down by the parents' level of education, religion/belief system and the student's origin (mean, 0=positive, 1=negative, weighted data)

TABLE 4.12					
ATTITUDE TOWARD…	INDEX 1	INDEX 2	INDEX 3	INDEX 4	INDEX 5
	IMMIGRANTS	MUSLIMS	JEWS	ROMA	LGBT PEOPLE
All	.28	.30	.27	.29	.17
Parents' level of education				.25	.13
high	.22	.24	.20	.25	.13
middle	.28	.29	.27	.28	.16
low	.33	.35	.32	.32	.20
Religion/belief system				.29	.27
believing Christian	.29	.33	.27	.30	.17
believing Muslim	.20	.15	.24	.29	.27
not believing	.28	.30	.26	.28	.14
Student origin					.16
foreign-born	.27	.28	.29	.34	.27
born in Sweden, both parents foreign-born	.18	.20	.21	.26	.18
born in Sweden, one parent born in Sweden	.27	.29	.25	.27	.16
born in Sweden, both parents born in Sweden	.30	.32	.27	.23	.20

Comment: Each index can assume an average value between 0 and 1. The higher the value, the more negative one is toward a specific group. The variable related to the parents' level of education is created based on whether the parents have graduated from college or university. The question about religion and beliefs returned more answers than those presented here. Due to low totals, not all answers are presented here.

with what are called agents of socialisation (adults, school, religion, family, and so on) that individuals are introduced to different norms and approaches. These encounters may give rise to intolerance as well as reduce it. From these perspectives, we will break down the five intolerance indices by parents' education, religion/beliefs and student origin. The idea is that these factors in some way contribute to the socialisation of students into value systems that can breed both tolerance and intolerance.

The results of this study confirm previous observations (see TABLE 4.12).[16] Students of Swedish backgrounds exhibit more negative attitudes toward immigration and immigrants as well

as Muslims compared to students of foreign backgrounds.[17] According to our operationalization, 79 percent of students who were born in Sweden and whose parents were both born in Sweden said it would be okay to live next door to an immigrant. The corresponding percentage for students who were born outside of Sweden is 88 percent. A partially inverse relationship exists for attitudes toward Jews, Roma and LGBT people. Students of a Swedish background express considerably more positive attitudes towards both LGBT people and Roma when compared to students of foreign backgrounds. When it comes to intolerance of

16 See Ring & Morgentau (2004); Bachner and Ring (2005) and Otter Beck & Bevelander (2006).

17 Students who themselves were born in Sweden and have a maximum of one parent born abroad are considered to be of a Swedish background. Students who were born abroad and whose parents were both born abroad, as well as students born in Sweden but whose parents were both born abroad are considered to have foreign backgrounds.

Jews, the pattern is not as clear. In total, 85 percent of students of a Swedish background said that it would be okay to live next door to a Jewish person. Among immigrant students the share is lower: 77 percent. Meanwhile, students of a Swedish background are less willing to allow Jews to build synagogues. Intolerance of the Jewish group is thus more difficult to analyse based on factors related to the student's origin in terms of nationality. Among students of a foreign background, about one-third were negative toward both Jews and homosexuals. The differences are not as clear when it comes to attitudes toward Roma.

A closer analysis shows that when the age of the students and their study programmes are brought into the comparison, boys of a Swedish background in vocational upper secondary programmes belong to the group that exhibits the most negative attitudes toward immigrants and Muslims. Among students of a foreign background, there is a higher share of negative attitudes toward Jews and homosexuals among boys in year 9 in preparatory programmes.

Nearly two-thirds of upper secondary school students reported belonging to some religion, faith or congregation and over one-third said they had no religious affiliation. Interestingly, this distribution of responses corresponded very well with those in both the 2003 and 2009 surveys. The results of this study confirm previous observations of the relationship between religion and attitudes toward vulnerable groups (see tables in appendix). In terms of attitudes toward homosexuals, the comparison shows that those who are believing Christians exhibit more positive attitudes than students who are believing Muslims. Students who belong to various Christian groups and students of no religious affiliation respond similarly when it comes to their stance on Muslims.

A family's socioeconomic status is largely determined by the parents' level of education. We also know that the adult generation is an important agent of socialisation for young people. That means that encounters with one's parents or guardian affects a young individual's attitudes. A comparison between parents' level of education and students' attitudes toward vulnerable groups clearly shows that the higher the level of education of the parents, the more positive the student's attitudes toward vulnerable groups (see tables in appendix). This is especially true for attitudes toward Jews, Muslims and immigrants. Students who have highly educated parents were more negative toward Roma than the other groups we asked about.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

The school is an important agent of socialisation for young people. It is in the classroom that the individual comes in contact with democratic norms. The Swedish Education Act is clear on the point that students should not only receive an education characterised by knowledge, but also an education in democratic values. In addition, the school serves as a venue for encounters and social exchanges between students. The theoretical overview highlighted the importance of education in explaining the prevalence of negative attitudes (see section 2.2). We should not focus on the actual education itself here, but rather highlight other things that can be linked to the educational context.

When we talk about an educational context we include many things. For example, we may refer to quantifiable aspects such as the percentage of trained teachers per school unit. In addition, we're talking about qualitative factors that have to do with comfort, order in the classroom, and so on.

The analysis shows that intolerance toward different groups is greatest in conditions where the proportion of teachers to students is small, where school enjoyment is low and where there is no quiet in the classroom (see TABLE 4.13). There is thus a contextual problem to consider – the conditions that are characterised by intolerance are

Table 4.13 The five intolerance indices broken down by teacher ratio, school enjoyment and quiet in the classroom (mean, 0=positive, 1=negative, weighted data)

TABLE 4.13					
ATTITUDE TOWARD...	INDEX 1	INDEX 2	INDEX 3	INDEX 4	INDEX 5
	IMMIGRANTS	MUSLIMS	JEWS	ROMA	LGBT PEOPLE
All	.28	.30	.27	.29	.17
Share of teachers					
low	.32	.34	.31	.33	.20
middle	.26	.28	.25	.27	.16
high	.25	.26	.23	.26	.12
School enjoyment					
do not enjoy at all	.32	.35	.33	.34	.22
do not really enjoy	.32	.35	.30	.33	.19
somewhat enjoy	.29	.31	.28	.30	.18
enjoy very much	.27	.29	.26	.27	.16
Quiet in the classroom					
no, never	.40	.41	.34	.41	.24
yes, sometimes	.31	.33	.30	.31	.18
yes, mostly	.25	.26	.24	.26	.14
yes, always	.27	.30	.26	.30	.17

Comment: Each index can assume an average value between 0 and 1. The higher the value, the more negative one is toward the specific group.

comprised of areas that suffer from both structural and contextual problems.

We cannot say that the above factors are the causes of intolerance. The conclusion is, however, that the challenge of reducing intolerance is possibly greater for schools with conditions such as low proportions of trained teachers or low school enjoyment.

POLITICAL INTEREST AND SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRACY

We move from the educational context to the significance of being politically engaged and satisfied with democracy. We know in general that perceptions of reality and attitudes are related to individuals' political interest or awareness (Zaller, 1992). In the case of satisfaction with democracy, other studies that low levels of satisfaction are coupled with low levels of tolerance (Purpose, Ekman, & Almgren, 2007; Ekengren, 2003). A person who is dissatisfied with the societal system is thus often more hostile toward various groups in society.

When asked about their satisfaction with Swedish democracy, about one-fifth of school students (22 percent) respond that they are not at all satisfied or not very satisfied with democracy. The proportion of boys who are dissatisfied with democracy is 28 percent. The corresponding percentage among girls is 16 percent.

About three out of ten students (34 percent) are somewhat or very interested in politics. A gre-

ater share of boys (35 percent) than girls (32 percent) are somewhat or very interested in politics.

The breakdown shows that those who are not at all interested in politics are more negative toward each group compared to those who are interested in politics. But the levels differ slightly. For example, the factor of political interest is of greater importance for attitudes toward Jews than it is for attitudes toward Roma and LGBT people (see TABLE 4.14).

We also note that the breakdown by satisfaction with democracy reveals great differences. Overall, those who are very satisfied with democracy exhibit less negative attitudes than those who are very interested in politics. In addition, we see that those who are not at all satisfied with democracy express the most negative attitudes toward each group compared to all other breakdowns we have done so far. A finding is therefore that intolerance is closely related to general democratic disaffection.

SUMMARY

What conclusions can we draw from our analysis of Swedish students' attitudes toward various vulnerable groups? First, we note that differences exist on two levels. First, intolerance shifts between groups in both level and intensity. Swedish school students are for example more positive toward the LGBT community than the other four groups. In addition, the independent variables contribute different explanations of the intolerance.

Gender and school year correlate most strongly with attitudes toward LGBT people. Gender is also of strong significance in determining the attitude toward Roma. However, school year is of no importance when it comes to attitudes toward the Roma community. The significance of school year and age instead turns out to correlate most strongly with the attitude toward Jews (see TABLE 4.15).

The students' upper secondary school pro-

Table 4.14 The five intolerance indices broken down by political interest and satisfaction with democracy (mean, 0=positive, 1=negative, weighted data)

TABLEL 4.14					
ATTITUDE TOWARD …	INDEX 1	INDEX 2	INDEX 3	INDEX 4	INDEX 5
	IMMIGRANTS	MUSLIMS	JEWS	ROMA	LGBT PEOPLE
All	.28	.30	.27	.29	.17
Political interest					
very interested	.23	.25	.20	.27	.13
somewhat interested	.24	.24	.22	.25	.14
not very interested	.27	.30	.27	.28	.19
not at all interested	.35	.38	.35	.34	.21
Satisfied with democracy					
very satisfied	.21	.21	.19	.22	.12
somewhat satisfied	.26	.27	.25	.26	.15
not very satisfied	.36	.40	.35	.37	.21
not at all satisfied	.49	.54	.45	.50	.32

Comment: Each index can assume an average value between 0 and 1. The higher the value, the more negative the student toward the specific group.

gramme is the single most important factor. The programme correlates most strongly with attitudes toward Muslims and Jews. Upper secondary school programme correlates the least with attitudes toward LGBT people.

Parents' level of education correlates with intolerance of Jews. This correlation is weakest for intolerance of Roma. School year correlates more weakly with all five indices. Regarding the attitude toward Roma, school year is almost of no importance. The strongest correlation between school year and any of the five indices measured is between school year and attitudes toward Roma.

When we study the students' religion and beliefs, the correlation is the strongest when it comes to attitudes toward Muslims and LGBT people. Religion is less important in determining attitudes toward Jews and Roma. Student origin correlates most strongly with attitudes toward Muslims and LGBT people. The share of trained teachers correlates moderately with all five indices. This cor-

relation is strongest, however, for attitudes toward Muslims and Jews.

Political interest correlates more strongly with attitudes toward immigrants, Muslims and Jews than it does with attitudes toward Roma and LGBT people. Satisfaction with democracy also shows a weaker correlation with attitudes toward LGBT people. But this factor is of great importance for the other four indices.

In summary, we can conclude the following: 1) the levels of intolerance differ depending on which group we're asking questions about, and 2) the different background factors correlated to varying degrees with the different indices. To break down the conditions that relate to negative attitudes toward various groups, we need help from the explanatory power behind each variable. The conclusion is that various interventions designed to thwart intolerant attitudes and expressions may need to be tailored to the kind of intolerance that is to be thwarted.

Table 4.15 Correlation between intolerance indices and eight background variables (eta, weighted data)

TABLE 4.15					
ATTITUDE TOWARD…	INDEX 1	INDEX 2	INDEX 3	INDEX 4	INDEX 5
	IMMIGRANTS	MUSLIMS	JEWS	ROMA	LGBT PEOPLE
Gender	.18	.18	.18	.22	.30
School year	.07	.05	.07	.01	.09
Upper secondary programme*	.35	.40	.39	.28	.27
Parents' level of education	.17	.18	.22	.14	.15
Religion/belief system	.09	.22	.04	.06	.23
Student origin	.15	.17	.09	.09	.23
Student-teacher ratio	.07	.08	.09	.07	.10
Political interest	.16	.17	.21	.12	.10
Satisfaction with democracy	.22	.23	.23	.22	.15

Comment: Eta is a measure that is also called the correlation ratio. The measure is used to describe the relationship between two variables with non-linear regression lines, that is, when the independent variable is nominally scaled and the dependent variable is ratio or interval scaled. The higher the eta value, the stronger the relationship. *Only students in upper secondary school have been analysed.

4.4
FURTHER PERSPECTIVES ON INTOLERANCE

Through the media we can take part in various attacks on free societies. Nazis manifest their opinion openly and attack peaceful demonstrations. But do Swedish school students believe racism and Nazism pose problems for society? This is an issue we will study in the following section. But we should begin the analysis with a set of questions that deals with human rights.

THE STANCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

To measure public opinion on the topic of human rights and equality we chose to operationalise the UN Declaration of Human Rights.[18] We let students express their views of 5 of the 30 rights and of the universal clause on the equality of all humans. We then included a question about the right to express one's views. Since the same questions were asked in the 2009 survey, we can compare answers over time (see TABLE 4.16).

A majority of the students lent strong support to all of the selected rights. Compared to the 2009 survey, the trend is headed in the right direction, that is, a larger percentage in 2013 supports each right.

The right to live in any country one wishes received less support than other rights. At the same time, the share that agreed with the question was a full 65 percent. The great support for everyone's right to free education (92 percent in our survey)

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18 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, contains a total of 30 articles. Aside from the first paragraph, which reads "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights", the other declared rights are not as well known. The declaration includes the right of all people to marry whomever they want, the right to free education, the right to choose a religion, the right to work and the right to settle where they want.

Table 4.16 The percentage of students in years 1 and 3 in upper secondary school who totally agree with the statements on human rights in 2009 and 2013 (percentages, weighted data)

TABLE 4.16												
	DO YOU THINK THAT EVERYONE IN THE WORLD											
	… SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO MARRY WHO THEY WANT?		… SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO FREE EDUCATION?		… SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO PRACTISE ANY RELIGION THEY WANT?		… SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO WORK?		… SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN ANY COUNTRY THEY WANT?		… SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS ANY OPINION THEY WANT?	
	2009	2013	2009	2013	2009	2013	2009	2013	2009	2013	2009	2013
All	80	83	89	92	78	86	81	85	60	65	-	65
Gender												
boys	84	87	91	93	81	89	83	87	63	68	-	65
girls	76	81	88	90	76	84	80	84	58	61	-	66
School year												
year 1 of upper secondary school	78	82	89	92	77	84	80	83	59	64	-	64
year 3 of upper secondary school	82	85	90	92	80	88	82	87	61	65	-	67

Comment: The question read: "Do you think that all people in the world …". There were five response options: "no", "doubtful", "yes, to some extent", "yes, absolutely" and "do not know". The table shows those who answered "yes, absolutely". In the 2009 survey, the response sample was limited to years 1 and 3 in upper secondary school. For this reason, the analysis here is limited in the same way for data from the 2013 survey. When analyses have been done on the entire 2013, no significant changes in the response pattern emerge.

confirms the results of an international survey from 2000.[19]

The correlations between the answers to questions about human rights were very high. They can be said to constitute one and the same dimension of opinion, according to a completed analysis of factors, and are expressed here in an index of human rights. The share of students who fully support human rights is great. A total of 42 percent agreed with all of the rights mentioned in the question. That is precisely the same share that agreed with all the questions in the 2009 survey. As in our previous study, a number of factors that outweigh others among students who unreservedly agree with every example of human rights. Those who agree to the greatest extent are girls, study in year 3 of upper secondary school in pro-

grammes that prepare them for academic studies, as well as students of immigrant backgrounds.

ATTITUDES TOWARD RACISM, NEO-NAZISM, EQUALITY AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEOPLE

In connection with the questions on human rights, two questions were constructed to investigate the extent to which students believe that Swedish society is egalitarian and gives everyone the same opportunities. Two questions have been asked about whether racism and neo-Nazism is perceived as a problem in today's society. We use the responses as indicators of the public interest with reference to, for instance, the media coverage issues of this nature receive. Students have been allowed to choose from answers that ranged from "no, absolutely not" to "yes, absolutely" (see TABLE 4.17).

In total, one in four students in our survey believes Nazism is a problem. This is a smaller share

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19 In the IEA Civic Education Study (2000), which is aimed at 18-year-old upper secondary school students, 93 percent responded that the children of immigrants should have the same educational opportunities as other children in Sweden.

Table 4.17 The percentage of students in years 1 and 3 in upper secondary school who totally agree with statements about the nature of society and how it functions in 2009 and 2013 (percentages, weighted data)

TABLE 4.17								
	DO YOU THINK …							
	… THAT NEO-NAZISM IS A PROBLEM IN SWEDEN TODAY?		… THAT RACISM IS A PROBLEM IN SWEDEN TODAY?		… THAT ALL PEOPLE ARE TREATED EQUALLY?		… THAT ALL PEOPLE HAVE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES?	
	2009	2013	2009	2013	2009	2013	2009	2013
All	27	25	31	32	7	7	9	8
Gender								
boys	26	24	30	32	8	7	10	8
girls	29	25	32	33	6	5	7	6
School year								
year 1 of upper secondary school	25	26	32	30	8	9	11	10
year 3 of upper secondary school	29	24	30	34	6	4	7	5

Kommentar: Frågan löd: "Nu kommer några frågor om hur det är i Sverige. Tycker du att alla människor…". Svarsalternativen var fem till antalet: "nej", "tveksamt", "ja, till viss del", "ja, absolut" och "vet inte". Tabellen visar de som svarat "ja, absolut". I 2009 års undersökning var urvalet av svarspersoner begränsat till årskurs 1 respektive 3 på gymnasiet. Av denna anledning begränsas analysen till samma urval även för data från 2013 års undersökning. När analyser har gjorts på hela 2013 års urval syns inga större förändringar i svarsmönstret.

than in 2009 (27 percent). The proportion who believe that racism is a problem is greater, with a total of 32 percent of students agreeing that the problem exists. The differences between boys and girls are small. It turns out, however, that girls believe that both Nazism and racism are problems to a greater extent than boys. In the 2009 survey, a larger share of the students in year 3 of upper secondary school believed that neo-Nazism is a problem in Sweden. In the 2013 survey, the reverse is true. The proportion of students who agree with this assertion is greater among students in the first year of upper secondary school compared to the third and final year.

When it comes to the claims that all people are treated equally and have the same opportunities, the share of those who agree is small. But one interesting difference exists with respect to year. Students in year 1 of upper secondary school agree with both these statements to a greater extent than students in grade 3 of upper secondary school.

The correlations between the responses to the four questions are grouped into two pairs, each of strong correlation. The correlation between the perception that racism is a problem in Sweden today and the perception that neo-Nazism is a problem is +.63 (see **TABLE 4.18**). The correlation between the view that everyone has the same opportunities and the view that all are treated equally in Sweden today is +.74. The notion that racism is a problem exhibits a medium-weak negative correlation (-.21) with the view that everyone is treated equally in Sweden, as well as a weak negative correlation (-.21) with the notion that everyone has the same opportunities in Sweden. Both racism and Nazism are pronounced "ideologies of inequality" and one who believes that Sweden is a highly egalitarian society can hardly afford to also entertain the notion that these ideologies represent current societal problems. It should be noted that the relationship between viewing neo-Nazism and racism as societal problems was considerably stronger in the 2009 survey (correlation coefficient=+.74). A comparison of students' background characteristics shows that those who are overrepresented among students who believe that neo-Nazism and racism are problems in Sweden today are girls, students in year 3 and students in programmes preparatory for academic studies. Students of foreign backgrounds are also slightly overrepresented in this category. Those who are over-

Table 4.18 Correlation analysis between the five intolerance indices (correlation coefficients)

TABLE 4.18				
	DO YOU THINK …			
	… THAT NEONAZISM IS A PROBLEM IN SWEDEN TODAY?	… THAT RACISM IS A PROBLEM IN SWEDEN TODAY?	… ARE TREATED EQUALLY?	… HAVE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES?
… that neonazism is a problem in Sweden today?	1.00	-	-	-
… that racism is a problem in Sweden today?	+.63	1.00	-	-
… are treated equally?	-.13	-21	1.00	-
… have equal opportunities?	-.14	-.21	+.74	1.00

Kommentar: Frågan löd: "Nu kommer några frågor om hur det är i Sverige. Tycker du att alla människor…". Svarsalternativen var fem till antalet: "nej", "tveksamt", "ja, till viss del", "ja, absolut" och "vet inte". Svarsalternativet "vet inte" har kodats som bortfall. En positiv korrelation (+) betyder att ju mer eleverna instämmer med ett påstående, desto mer instämmer de även med ett annat påstående. Korrelationskoefficienten kan variera mellan -1 (starkt negativt samband) och +1 (starkt positivt samband). Samtliga samband är signifikanta på 95-procentnivån.

represented among students who believe that everyone is treated equally and that everyone has the same opportunities in Sweden are boys and students of foreign backgrounds. The differences between students in different school years and in different programmes are marginal.

4.5
TRUST AND CONFIDENCE

Our ambition is not only to analyse tolerance and intolerance in their most explicit forms. We are also interested in factors that are closely associated with how we generally relate to other people. We have therefore chosen to study the extent to which Swedish school students trust other people. Levels of trust in Sweden have proven to be very stable over time. Furthermore, Sweden exhibits higher levels of trust than both other countries in Europe and the rest of the world (Rothstein & Oskarson, 2012).

How can we ensure high levels of trust in society? One way is to build well-functioning social institutions. Research shows, for example, that the presence of good institutions is positive for both interpersonal trust and confidence in various institutions (Dinesen, 2010). For young people, this applies not least to how school is perceived and functions (Dinesen, 2011). School is impor-

Table 4.19 Swedish school students' trust in other people (percentages, averages, weighted data)

TABLE 4.19			
	LOW TRUSTERS (0–3) (N=1 165)	MIDDLE TRUSTERS (4–6) (N=2 733)	HIGH TRUSTERS (7–10) (N=3 222)	AVERAGE
All	16	39	46	5,9
Gender				
boys	14	35	51	6,1
girls	17	42	40	5,7
Upper secondary programme*				
university/college preparatory	14	36	50	6,1
vocational/individual programme	19	41	40	5,5
Satisfaction with residential area				
satisfied	14	38	48	6,3
dissatisfied	34	37	29	4,9
School enjoyment				
do enjoy	14	38	47	6,2
do not enjoy	38	43	19	4,6
Trust immigrants				
yes	13	37	50	6,4
no	22	35	43	5,5

Comment: The question read: "In your opinion, to what extent is it possible to rely on other people?" Respondents were asked to respond on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0=it is not possible to rely on other people and where 10=it is possible to rely on other people. Respondents who answered 0–3 were coded as "low trusters"; respondents who answered 4–6 were coded as "middle trusters"; respondents who answered 7–10 were coded as "high trusters". The two background factors 'satisfaction with residential area' and 'well-being in the classroom' each consisted of four possible answers where the two positive have been merged into one category (general well-being) and the two negative were merged into one category. The question about trusting immigrants consists of five response options with a neutral middle option. The responses indicating that immigrants can be trusted and those indicating they cannot be trusted have been merged. The neutral middle option is not found in the table. *Only those students in upper secondary school have been analysed.

tant because it provides a venue for socialisation that trains students in issues of democracy and the importance of diversity (Purpose, Ekman, & Almgren, 2007). The Swedish school system thus has an opportunity to transmit both knowledge and values. It is also relevant that school is a place where young people interact on equal terms.

It is in the classroom and during breaks that young people get to know people who are different from themselves. This may for example involve encounters between students from different cultures and with different religious affiliations. School is thus a place that creates and develops various social networks and thereby contributes to strengthening social capital.[20]

Studies of the extent to which people trust each other have become intertwined into a growing field of research. There are studies in which the perspective of interpersonal trust has been placed in relation to tolerance in a society. There is, for example, evidence that trust in society positively correlates with the degree of ethnic diversity (Stolle & Harell, 2013). Other studies have in general terms shown that social networks and interpersonal trust promote tolerance in society (Putnam, 2000; Cote & Erickson, 2009). Given the results of these studies, trust between people is considered to be an important factor in the study of tolerance.

We asked Swedish school students about the extent to which they consider themselves to rely on other people. **TABLE 4.19** presents their responses broken down by a number of factors relating to their lives.

The overall mean value for all respondents is 5.9. This is slightly higher than a similar analysis of young people aged 16–19 years presented by the research duo Bo Rothstein and Mary Oskarson (2012). The breakdown also shows that boys

trust others to a greater extent than girls. In addition, students in academic preparatory programmes trust others to a greater extent than students in vocational programmes. In our operationalisation, 50 percent of the students who study in a programme preparing them for academia are to be considered high trusters. The corresponding figure among students in vocational programmes is 40 percent.

There are differences based on the factors of housing and educational enjoyment. As an example, 47 percent of students who enjoy school are high trusters in people in general. Of the students who do not enjoy school, the proportion of high trusters is 19 percent.

We can note that students who trust immigrants also trust people in general. A full 50 percent of this group are to be considered high trusters. A smaller share of students who do not trust immigrants is made up of high trusters (43 percent).

To study whether intolerance correlates with trust, we conducted a number of correlation analyses of students' trust and the five intolerance indices. The correlations went in the right direction, that is, that the more students trust people in general, the more they also trust the groups we asked about. It must however be said that the strength of the correlations was weak. A high general level of trust does therefore not mean that the attitude toward vulnerable groups is remarkably positive, although some correlation exists.

CONFIDENCE IN INSTITUTIONS AND PROFESSIONS

Interpersonal trust is not everything. Another important factor for society's well-being is confidence. This is based on the view that in the absence of confidence between people, there are no communities or social exchanges (Putnam, 1993; Luhmann, 1989; Rothstein, 2003; Holmberg & Weibull, 2013). Confidence can be seen

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20 Social capital can be described as the value of social networks and the way that these networks affect the norms of a person's behavior (Putnam, 2007). Another way is to define the phenomenon as the number of people's social "contacts multiplied by the degree of confidence in these contacts" (Rothstein, 2003).

as a phenomenon that prevents civilised society from collapse. As an example, Holmberg and Weibull (2013, p. 225) argue that "without confidence, many cities would be walled and most of us would be armed as in older, violent times". Confidence thus operates as protection against violence and other harmful effects that may arise in a society.

Confidence can be seen as the result of an expectation of something. When the expectation is not matched by the actual outcome, confidence is reduced. From this perspective, confidence can be defined as the difference between expectation and fulfillment.

We asked the students in our survey about their confidence in five institutions and three professional groups (see TABLE 4.20). We are curious about the confidence levels since low confidence is a signal that young people's expectations of society are not being met. Lack of confidence in institutions and professions is thus an indication that something is wrong in society.

The students' confidence in five different occupational groups will first be presented. Each group has been selected on the basis that they operate relatively closely to young people in Sweden. Even if students have not been in contact with the group in question, it is at least not unknown to them.

In total, 75 per cent of students answer that they have quite or very high confidence in teachers. This is the highest level of confidence we can

Table 4.20 Swedish school students' confidence in professional groups, the share with very or fairly high confidence (percentages, weighted data)

TABELL 4.20					
	CONFIDENCE IN…				
	TEACHERS	RELIGIOUS LEADERS	MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT	MUNICIPAL POLITICIANS	HEADMASTERS
All	75	40	30	25	54
Gender					
boys	73	36	31	27	56
girls	77	43	29	24	52
Upper secondary programme*					
university/college preparatory	81	42	38	30	59
vocational/individual programme	71	35	21	19	50
Parents' level of education					
high	79	41	37	28	56
middle	74	39	31	27	53
low	72	38	24	22	54
Satisfaction with democracy					
very satisfied	85	46	51	41	65
somewhat satisfied	79	41	32	27	56
not very satisfied	63	29	16	15	44
not at all satisfied	42	35	5	4	33

Comment: The question read: "How is your confidence in the following professions?". The response options were: "none at all", "quite low", "quite high," "very high", "no opinion". The table shows respondents who reported quite or very high confidence. The percentage who answered "no opinion" was between 4 and 22 percent. *Only students in upper secondary school have been included.

observe in our study. The lowest level of confidence level is found for the profession of municipal politicians (25 percent exhibit quite or very high confidence in this group). Girls exhibit higher confidence than boys for teachers and religious leaders. Boys indicate to a greater extent that they have very or quite high confidence in parliamentary politicians (31 percent), municipal politicians (27 percent) and principals (56 percent).

Students in university preparatory upper secondary school programmes have a higher level of confidence in all occupational groups than students who study in a vocational or individual programme. But the differences are smaller when broken down by parents' level of education.

The most striking difference is found when the questions about confidence are broken down by students' satisfaction with democracy. Of the students who are very satisfied with Swedish democracy, 41 percent exhibit quite or very high confidence in parliamentary politicians. The corresponding share among those students who are not satisfied with the Swedish democracy is 4 percent. It is also the group that is happy with Swedish democracy that reports the highest level of confidence in teachers (85 percent report quite of very high confidence). Only four in ten of students who are not at all satisfied with democracy report quite or very high confidence in teachers as a professional group.

Table 4.21 Swedish school students' confidence in professional groups, the share of respondents that answered very or quite high (percentages, weighted data)

TABLE 4.21			
	CONFIDENCE IN...		
	THE POLICE	THE POLITICAL PARTIES	THE GOVERNMENT
All	70	30	37
Gender			
boys	65	31	37
girls	75	29	37
Upper secondary programme*			
university/college preparatory	76	39	48
vocational/individual programme	59	18	22
Parents' level of education			
high	73	36	47
middle	70	31	38
low	68	25	30
Satisfaction with democracy			
very satisfied	85	51	62
somewhat satisfied	75	32	40
not very satisfied	51	14	17
not at all satisfied	38	7	4

Comment: The question read: "How is your confidence in the following professions?". The response options were: "none at all", "quite low" "quite high", "very high", "no opinion". The table shows respondents who were quite or very confident. The percentage who answered "no opinion" was between 4 and 21 percent. *Only students in upper secondary school have been included.

In addition to questions about confidence in professional groups, we constructed three questions about confidence in institutions. The three institutions we asked about were the police, political parties and the government. In the SOM Institute measurement of confidence in these three institutions, the trust balance is positive (greater proportion of confidence than not) for the police and for the government. For political parties, there was a higher proportion of low or no confidence (Holmberg & Weibull, 2013).

We present institutional confidence in the same way as confidence in professional groups, namely by specifying the percentage of students who exhibit quite or very high confidence (see TABLE 4.21).

A full 70 percent of school students report quite or very high confidence in the police. In total, 30 percent report quite or very high confidence in political parties. Those who have confidence in the government amount to 37 percent.

The share of girls with confidence is 75 percent. The corresponding share of boys is 65 percent. There is no difference between boys and girls when it comes to confidence in political parties and the government. Students in university preparatory programmes generally exhibit higher institutional confidence than students in vocational programmes.

In the analysis of professional confidence we were able to see that system legitimacy – the students' satisfaction with democracy – was an important factor. The same pattern emerges when we study institutional confidence. Of those who are very satisfied with democracy, 85 percent say they have a quite or very high confidence in the police. The corresponding share among students who are not at all satisfied with Swedish democracy is 38 percent. The levels are slightly different for the other two questions, but the pattern is the same. Students who express a satisfaction with democracy also report higher confidence.

We observe significant differences between different areas of confidence. The next step is to

investigate whether the confidence is linked to the issue of tolerance and intolerance. To study the importance of confidence in determining school students' attitude toward different groups in society, we created a confidence index. We then carried out a series of correlation analyses between this index and the five intolerance indices (see also section 4.3). The hypothesis says that the relationship will be negative (higher confidence will mean less intolerance).

All five correlations are shown to be significant. We can even say that they are headed in the right direction. In other words, higher confidence correlates with less intolerance. The strongest correlation is found between confidence and attitude toward Jews. But the difference in strength between the indices is relatively small (see TABLE 4.22).

From the above analysis, we can establish that both trust and confidence are important factors to

Table 4.22 Correlation between the confidence index and the five intolerance indices (correlation coefficients, weighted data)

TABLE 4.22	
INTOLERANCE INDEX	CORRELATION STRENGTH
Attitude toward immigrants	-.16
Attitude toward Muslims	-.18
Attitude toward Jews	-.22
Attitude toward Roma	-.19
Attitude toward LGBT people	-.18

Comment: See Section 4.3 for the construction of the intolerance indices. The confidence index is based on the five questions about professional confidence and the three questions about institutional confidence. The students who exhibited quite or very high confidence are assigned the value 1 for each question. The students who lacked confidence were assigned the value 0 for each question. Then the eight questions were added. The response option "no opinion" was coded as a drop-out response. A negative correlation (-) means that the greater the confidence in a group, the more positive the judgment of the group we asked about. The correlation coefficient can vary between -1 (strong negative correlation) to +1 (strong positive correlation). All relationships are significant to the 95 percent level.

consider when studying tolerance and intolerance. The analysis emphasises that school students' attitudes toward different groups are associated with the way they view both people in general and various professional groups and institutions.

4.6
COMPARISONS OVER TIME

As is the promise of the title of this report, issues of tolerance and intolerance will also be illuminated from a temporal perspective. In some cases, we can perform retrospective analyses that cover ten years, spread across three times of measurement. In some cases, we compare only the 2013 results with the survey from 2009.

Trends are always interesting. Often that is because we want to see if anything has gotten better or worse. Sometimes it may also be important to highlight how an explanatory factor decreases or increases in importance over time. We will begin the analysis with three questions related to the perception of Nazism, the perception of whether Jews have too much influence in the world, and of whether immigrants who come to Sweden should return to their home countries (see **TABLE 4.23**).

The share who agree with each statement has declined over the past decade. The change is marginal in responses to the question of whether immigrants should return to their home countries. We should nonetheless interpret the results positively and note that tolerance has increased for each question. In 2003, 30 percent agreed completely or partly with the statement that there is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of Jews. The corresponding share in 2013 was 23 percent.

There are more boys than girls who agree with each statement. The difference is the smallest in regard to the assertion that Jews have too much influence in the world today. In the 2013 survey 16 percent of boys agrees with this assertion. The corresponding percentage among girls was 13 percent. Roughly one in three boys and one in four girls agreed with the claim that immigrants who

Table 4.23 The percentage of school students who agree with three statements regarding tolerance, 2003–2013 (percentages, weighted data)

TABLE 4.23									
	THERE IS FAR TOO MUCH DISCUSSION ABOUT NAZISM AND THE EXTERMINATION OF JEWS			JEWS HAVE TOO MUCH INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD TODAY			IMMIGRANTS IN SWEDEN WHO HAVE COME FROM COUNTRIES OUTSIDE OF EUROPE SHOULD RETURN TO THEIR HOME COUNTRIES		
	2003	2009	2013	2003	2009	2013	2003	2009	2013
All	30	32	23	15	18	14	31	30	27
Gender									
boys	33	35	25	16	21	16	33	32	30
girls	29	30	23	14	16	13	29	29	24
School year									
year 1 of upper secondary school	32	33	26	16	19	15	32	30	27
year 3 of upper secondary school	27	31	21	13	17	13	29	30	27

Comment: The question read: "We'll now present some statements that express opinions people may have. What do you think of the following?" There were four response options: "disagree", "partly agree ", "agree completely" and "do not know". The table shows the percentage of students who "completely agree" and "partly agree". The responses are from students in grades 1 and 3 in upper secondary school.
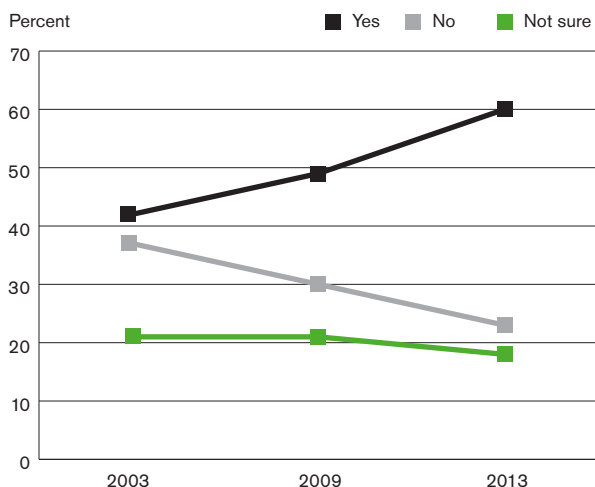
come from countries outside of Europe should return to their home countries.

We continue our analysis of intolerance over time with a question about the right to wear a veil. The question is worded as, "It should be permissible for a television presenter to wear a veil." We know that this is a current issue, not least because violence has been directed against Muslim women because they have been wearing veils in public. We could, for example, read in the fall of 2013 that a woman in Haninge, southern Stockholm, for the second time in a short period was attacked and beaten because she wore a veil.[21]

FIGURE 4.4 presents Swedish school students' attitudes to the statement that it should be allowed to wear a veil on TV. The time frame is between the years 2003 and 2013.

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21 Svenska Dagbladet, http://www.svd.se/nyheter/stockholm/kvinna-i-slo-ja-attackerad-igen_8450838.svd

We note that the trend is that Swedish school students are becoming more open to veils in public. In our survey from 2013, 60 percent of the students believe that it should be allowed to wear a veil on TV. The corresponding share in 2003 was 23 percent. At the same time, the share of those who are opposed to this proposal has declined, while the share of undecided or neutral students is constant. The share that does not agree with the assertion is 23 percent in the 2013 survey.

The next step is to compare how attitudes differ between boys and girls. We will do that by presenting each group's index from 2003 to 2009. The index shows the percentage who agree with the assertion minus the percentage who do not. That creates a sort of tolerance index.

We see that boys have a negative tolerance index (index=-1) in the survey from 2003. This means that there were more people who disagreed

Figure 4.4 school students' stance toward the assertion that a television presenter should be allowed to wear a veil, 2003–2013 (percentages, weighted data)
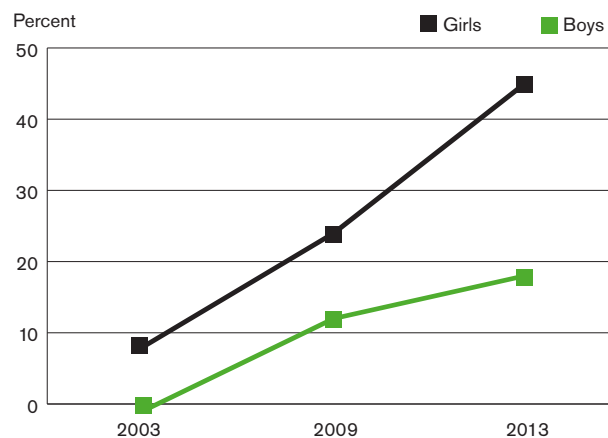

Comment: The question read: "Do you agree with the following? A television presenter should be allowed to wear a veil." There were five response options: "No, absolutely not", "no, hardly", "not sure", "yes, maybe" and "yes, absolutely". The responses represent students in years 1 and 3 of upper secondary school.

Figure 4.5 Boys and girls' attitudes toward the assertion that a television presenter should be allowed to wear a veil, 2003–2013 (index, weighted data)
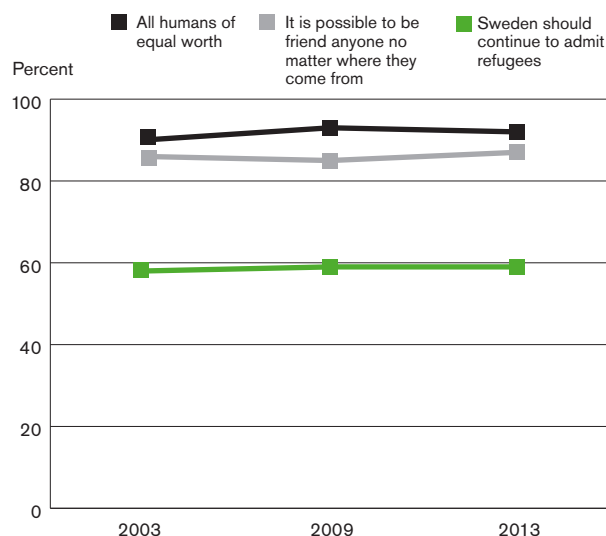

Comment: The question read: "Do you agree with the following? A television presenter should be allowed to wear a veil. "The response options were five in number: "No, absolutely not", "no, hardly", "uncertain", "yes, maybe" and "yes, absolutely". The index can vary between -100 and +100. The measure indicates the percentage of respondents for whom this is somewhat or very important minus the percentage who answered that this is fairly or completely unimportant. The responses represent students in years 1 and 3 of upper secondary school.

than who agreed with the statement. We then see that the share who agree with the statement is greater both in the 2009 and 2013 survey. But it turns out that although both boys and girls show a positive trend, the difference between genders has increased in the time period we have studied (see FIGURE 4.5).

The next step in our time-series analysis is to study how Swedish students relate to three statements claiming that all humans are of equal worth, that it is possible to befriend anyone no matter where they come from and that Sweden should continue to admit refugees (see FIGURE 4.6).

There is a clear majority that agrees both that all individuals are of equal worth and that it is possible to befriend anybody. There is also a majority of students that thinks Sweden should continue to admit refugees. We can see that the measured levels are constant over time. Other

studies have shown that Swedish people are becoming more and more willing to admit refugees (see Demker, 2014). In our study, we see no such development.

In two surveys we have asked about what students would think if they hear someone express the following two statements: "Too much immigration from outside of Europe destroys Swedish culture" and "immigrants who want to stay in Sweden should in their own interest become as similar to Swedes as possible." TABLE 4.24 presents the proportion of students who answered that they strongly or partially agree with both assertions. We then compare the responses from 2009 with those from 2013.

We see that there are remarkably high shares that agree with each statement. It is also found that the proportion that agrees increases over time. In our 2009 study, 35 percent of the school students agreed with the statement that "too much immigration from outside Europe destroys Swedish culture." This share is 40 percent in 2013. The increase regarding the claim that immigrants should become as similar to Swedes as possible increased by 6 percentage points between the times of measurement. The difference between boys' and girls' responses increased between the two times of measurement. Still, the difference is marginal. The same is true when we break down the responses by school year.

Our conclusion is that Swedish school students express high levels of tolerance over time. We also see indications that students in Swedish schools are becoming more tolerant and open over time. But this concerns their view of people in general. When we study instead specific issues that can be linked to, for example, demands and desires of immigrants, a different pattern emerges. Our conclusion is therefore that the view of, for example, immigrants differs from the view of immigration. This relationship is analysed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Figure 4.6 The percentage of students who agree with the assertions about relationships with other people, 2003–2013 (percentages, weighted data)

Comment: The question read: "Do you agree with the following?". There were five response options: "No, absolutely not", "no, hardly", "uncertain", "yes, maybe" and "yes, absolutely". The table shows the percentage of students who answered "yes, maybe" or "yes, absolutely". The responses are from students in years 1 and 3 of upper secondary school.

Table 4.24 The percentage of school students who agree with two statements regarding immigration and immigrants in Sweden 2009–2013 (percentages, weighted data)

TABLE 4.24				
	"TOO MUCH IMMIGRATION FROM OUTSIDE OF EUROPE DESTROYS SWEDISH CULTURE"		"IMMIGRANTS WHO WANT TO STAY IN SWEDEN SHOULD IN THEIR OWN INTEREST BECOME AS SIMILAR TO SWEDES AS POSSIBLE"	
	2009	2013	2009	2013
All	35	40	42	48
Gender				
boys	36	43	44	49
girls	33	37	40	44
School year				
year 1 of upper secondary school	34	41	41	46
year 3 of upper secondary school	36	39	44	49

Comment: The question read: "What do you think when you hear someone say that …". There were five response options: "strongly disagree", "partly disagree", "partly agree", "strongly agree" and "no opinion". The table shows the percentage of students who answered "strongly agree" or "partly agree". The responses are from students in years 1 and 3 of upper secondary school.

4.7
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES AND INTOLERANCE

We already know that religion is a watershed in society. The importance of religion for different groups also correlates extensively with the attitudes they harbour toward groups other than their own. In Sweden, for example, religious individuals are less prejudiced than non-religious individuals are (Bohman & Hjerm, 2013). But how do Swedish school students view various religions? Are young people generally positive or negative toward religions and beliefs? A negative attitude toward various religions is not necessarily a sign of intolerance. But one's stance on religions may feed intolerance, and vice versa.

Asking questions about how people view religion is often considered difficult. These issues are sometimes deemed to be sensitive. For this reason, we copied a question that the SOM Institute has

used (see Weibull, 2013). The question that was used in our survey is about school students' attitudes toward different "world religions and belief systems". The question cites the five world religions of Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism and Islam as well as atheism as a belief system. Each question was answered on a scale from 0 (very negative) to 10 (very positive).

The analysis shows that Swedish school students generally harbour a neutral to positive attitude toward all religions and belief systems. The students are most positive toward Christianity (mean=6.2) followed by atheism (mean=6.0). Girls are more positive than boys toward all religions. Boys are more positive about atheism. The breakdown by school years does not reveal any systematic differences. Instead, the levels oscillate between more or less neutral attitudes. The breakdown by upper secondary school programme reveals greater differences. It turns out that students in vocational programmes express more negative attitudes toward both Islam and Judaism than students in university preparatory programmes.

When the analysis is done based on parents' level of education, a pattern of students with highly educated parents as more supportive of all religions and faiths emerges. The difference is small, however, when attitudes toward Christianity are studied based on this factor.

When the responses are broken down by the student's origin, we see that students who were born in Sweden and whose parents were both born in Sweden are clearly more negative toward all religions compared to students who were either themselves born abroad or have at least one parent who was born abroad. This pattern is most evident in attitudes toward Islam (see TABLE 4.25).

THE CORRELATION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES AND INTOLERANCE

We know that prejudice is about stereotypes and generalisations of groups. Stereotypes are deri-

Table 4.25 Swedish school students' attitudes toward various world religions and belief systems (mean values, weighted data)

TABLE 4.25						
	ATTITUDE TOWARD...					
	CHRISTIANITY	ISLAM	BUDDHISM	HINDUISM	JUDAISM	ATHEISM
All	6,2	5,0	5,5	5,3	5,2	6,0
Gender						
boys	5,8	4,5	5,2	4,8	4,7	5,9
girls	6,6	5,4	6,1	5,7	5,6	6,2
School year						
year 9 of secondary school	6,4	5,1	5,6	5,2	5,2	5,9
year 1 of upper secondary school	6,4	5,0	5,6	5,3	5,2	6,1
year 2 of upper secondary school	5,9	5,0	5,5	5,1	5,1	5,7
year 3 of upper secondary school	6,0	4,7	5,9	5,4	5,1	6,2
Upper secondary programme*						
university/college preparatory program	6,3	5,3	6,2	5,7	5,6	6,5
vocational/individual programme	5,9	4,3	5,0	5,0	4,6	5,4
Parents' level of education						
high	6,3	5,1	6,0	5,6	5,5	6,4
middle	6,1	4,9	5,7	5,3	5,2	6,1
low	6,1	4,8	5,3	5,0	4,9	5,6
Student origin						
foreign-born	6,9	6,3	5,9	5,5	5,6	5,7
born in Sweden, both parents foreign-born	7,3	6,3	6,3	6,0	5,9	5,9
born in Sweden, one parent born in Sweden	6,0	6,7	5,9	5,4	5,2	6,1
born in Sweden, both parents born in Sweden	5,9	4,7	5,5	5,1	5,0	6,1

Comment: The question read: "What is your attitude toward the following religions/belief systems?". Students could answer on a scale ranging from 0 (very negative) to 10 (very positive). The value of 5 on the scale was assigned the neutral description "neither positive nor negative". The higher the mean value in the table, the more positive the student is to the respective religion. *Only upper secondary school students have been included.

ved from various attributes that are attributed to a group. In our study, we examine intolerance of two groups that can also be connected to two religions: Muslims and Islam and Jews and Judaism. We are in other words interested in the relationship between attitudes toward religion and attitudes toward the group that in some respect can be associated with the religion.

The analysis shows that the more positive the students are toward the two religions, the less intolerant they are of the group that can be linked to the religion in question. We also tested the relationship between attitudes toward the different religions and the other group indices. The correlation (unsurprisingly) turned out to go in the same direction, but the strength was significantly weaker. We can therefore conclude that intolerance of Jews as well as Muslims is strongly connected to the religions of these groups.

Our analysis also indicates that the link between Islam and Muslims is slightly stronger than the link between Judaism and Jews. We already knew the intolerance of the Jewish group is heavily underpinned by conspiracy theories and prejudiced assumptions that do not necessarily

Table 4.26 The relationship between attitudes toward religion and attitudes toward religious groups (correlation coefficients)

TABLE 4.26		
ATTITUDE TOWARD	ISLAM	JUDAISM
Attitude toward Muslims (index)	-.50	-.30
Attitude toward Jews (index)	-.33	-.41

Comment: A positive correlation (+) means that the more intolerant an attitude is toward one group, the more intolerant the judgment of another group. The correlation coefficient can vary between -1 (strong negative correlation) to +1 (strong positive correlation). All relationships are significant to the level of 95 percent.

have to do with religion. This is also true for intolerance of Muslims, but the religious aspect might especially significant when we're talking about intolerance of Muslims.

Our conclusion is that religion is important to take into account when studying intolerance. Negative attitudes mobilised against Jews and Muslims are in many ways also linked to the opinion school students hold of Islam and Judaism. We obviously cannot state what causes what. But the signs of this close connection merit a closer examination.

5. Special study – attitudes toward immigrants in the Skåne region

Immigration is an issue that arises in many contexts. It may therefore be worth pointing out that a majority of the school students in our survey (52 percent) believe that immigration is good for Swedish society.[22] About one-third (33 percent) disagree with the assertion and the rest answer "no opinion".

The section below is the result of a collaborative project between the Living History Forum and Malmö University. The theme revolves around hostility toward and intolerance of immigrants. The text has been written by Professor Pieter Bevelander and Professor Jonas Otterbeck. The introduction discusses both what the term 'immigrant' means and what theoretical approaches are of importance when studying hostility toward immigrants.

HOSTILITY TOWARD IMMIGRANTS AMONG SWEDISH SCHOOL STUDENTS

In this special study, we will do a deep dive into the study of how attitudes toward immigrants look. We have put a special focus on the region of Skåne to examine possible differences between both urban and rural areas, and Skåne and the rest of the country. First, we will discuss the word immigrant. We will then briefly review what earlier studies have concluded. In rest of the chapter we will discuss our results and how we arrived at them.

One of the conclusions is that the vast majority of respondents to the survey can be described as tolerant. Another conclusion is that Skåne stands out as being less tolerant than the rest of Sweden. Yet school students in Malmö more tolerant in their responses compared both to the rest of region and to the rest of the country. These results are in line with previous research that highlights that gender, education, socioeconomic background and interactions with immigrants all have bearings on attitudes toward immigrants.

On the word "immigrant"

The word "immigrant" has in recent decades been used as something contrary to "Swedish" and it is in this context not defined by citizenship. The word has been used in this way in politics (Manga, 2001; Dahlstedt, 2005), journalism (Brune, 2000; 2004), popular culture (Tiger Vall, 2005; Czaplicka, 2007), research (Dahlstedt, 2008) and colloquially (Velure, 1989 ; Runfors, 2012). Perceptions of how 'the other' acts have been projected onto the word "immigrant", who has been ascribed characteristics and behaviour that have left many scientists

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22 The question read: "What do you think when you hear someone say that 'immigration is good for Swedish society?'" The response options were: "disagree completely", "partly disagree", "partly agree", "strongly agree" and "no opinion".

wary and led them to find the word difficult to use. Nowadays, using it as a simple term for a person born in another country and who later in life moved to Sweden is not unproblematic. A survey may of course choose to stipulate that this is what the word means. But in many contexts, appearance (especially skin colour), religion, cultural practices, social position, place of residence, sociolect and dialect determine who is to be called an immigrant and treated as different from those included in the category of "Swedes" (Brnic, 2002). As immigrant becomes a social category and social position, the word can also become a term that sticks or one that is quickly dismissed as irrelevant when it comes to describing a particular individual. But for some, the word remains in use in the third generation. For some, "immigrant" becomes a positive identification category in the respect that the person does not see themselves as Swedish and is not included by others in the category (Andersson, 2003; Otterbeck, 2010).

Previous research has meritoriously developed examples of discrimination and discriminatory views, but one problem is that the extent and surrounding circumstances have seldom been clarified. There is a risk that a changing and multifaceted situation becomes fixed in a researcher's narrative about how the word immigrant is part of a stigmatising dichotomy between Swedes and immigrants. It is not least for that reason that we need new studies that keep an open mind toward how young people view and use the "immigrant" category.

Young people and the word immigrant

The completed survey examines, among other things, young people's reported attitudes toward the "immigrant" category. To ensure that "immigrant" is still a word that young people relate to, the questionnaire has been tested in a pilot study. The results showed that the word was perceived as assumed – young people of today live with immigrant as an active social category. We will try to ex-

plain young people's attitudes, and also see where they differ significantly from previous studies. We will also try to evaluate whether our approach of regional variations in attitudes can shed new light on the matter.

Previous attitude surveys

There are several previous studies of attitudes toward either immigrants, immigration or refugee admissions. Although they are different phenomena, Marie Demker (2014) shows that there is a very strong correlation in attitudes toward them. To remain brief, we will concentrate on the Living History Forum's previous studies examining young people's attitudes toward immigrants. Demker's study is an excellent overview for those who want a broader presentation.

The report Intolerance (2004), the Living History Forum's first major survey study of secondary and upper secondary school students' attitudes, contains a different type of questions than those asked in the 2013 survey. Immigrants are linked directly to immigration, making it difficult to interpret the answers, yet at the same time – as Demker points out – the answers about immigrants and immigration correlate. But a direct comparison cannot be made. The Intolerance report shows that half of the measured intolerance is general, meaning if one is intolerant of one group he or she is likely intolerant of another. The other half is directed specifically against one of the groups (which mainly include Jews, Muslims, homosexuals and immigrants/refugees). But the explicitly intolerant represent only 5 percent of respondents. 72 percent express a clearly positive attitude toward the different groups studied. The remaining group (approximately 24 percent, according to Intolerance) exhibit a more ambivalent attitude. Some general conclusions are that girls are to a lesser degree found among the intolerant, and boys to a greater degree. The younger students express slightly more intolerance than the older stu-

dents. Similarly, those who attend upper secondary programmes that prepare them for further studies are less intolerant than students in other programmes. Higher degrees of intolerance are also associated with, among other things, a person's potential social exclusion, problems at school, the company they keep and stereotypical gender norms. Some variables, such as whether the respondent (and his or her parents) are native- or foreign-born born are not as clearly correlated. But the small group of 1.7 percent that radically repudiates nearly everything consists almost exclusively of students born in Sweden. In the report Islamophobia, which is based on the same survey material, it is shown that young people who know Muslims have less negative attitudes toward this group (Islamophobia, 2007). Whether this also applies to knowing immigrants is not discussed in Intolerance.

The Living History Forum's second major survey was presented in the report The many faces of intolerance (Löwander, 2010). This time the sample consisted only of upper secondary students (see this report's introduction for a more detailed discussion). The survey had a different emphasis than the first, although certain questions were the same. The survey examines attitudes toward immigrants[23], Jews, Muslims, Roma and homosexuals. The report constructs an index called "attitudes toward immigrants" (see Löwander, 2010, p. 31). The questions, however, are largely about immigration (five or six of the seven questions are directly about immigration). The report classifies attitudes as either positive, ambivalent or negative. In their attitude toward immigrants, 38 percent of the students are positive, 17.9 percent are negative and 44.2 percent are ambivalent. But this is mainly a measure of attitudes toward immigration. As in Intolerance, the following factors are shown to be important: gender (girls are more tolerant), age (the older students are more tolerant), upper se-

condary programme (academic preparatory programmes are more tolerant), school enjoyment (more enjoyment – more tolerance). Whether one is born in Sweden or another country affects one's attitude toward immigrants (more negative among Swedish-born). In The many faces of intolerance, it becomes clear that those who have been taught in human rights (if the person is in favor of them) and the Holocaust exhibit a higher degree of general tolerance. It is similarly proven that there is a clear relationship between having friends among the groups the attitudes concern and a greater degree of tolerance, especially among students of Swedish background. Furthermore, there is a significant link between an exclusive view of Swedishness and intolerance of immigrants.

Regional differences in attitudes

The recurrent SOM survey by the University of Gothenburg states that "the more important citizens consider local identities and traditions, the more skeptical they are of refugees" (Demker, 2014, p. 129). Furthermore, Demker states that a greater share of the population in rural areas than in the city tends to view refugees negatively. She also points out that education affects attitudes. Those who are highly educated in the countryside are more positive toward refugee immigration than those who have a shorter education, regardless of where they may live. There is a more negative attitude toward refugee immigration in southern Sweden than in central and northern Sweden. It should be noted that Demker has studied the admission of refugees.

In Bevelander and Otterbeck's studies of young people's attitudes toward Islam and Muslims (see for example Bevelander & Otterbeck 2012, p. 77, based on the same material as Intolerance), regional differences emerge, too. In areas with high unemployment and in old industrial communities, especially boys have a more negative attitude toward Muslims than others included the

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23 Initially, the report stresses that it is attitudes toward non-European refugees that are being studied (p. 6). Soon after, they are referred to as immigrants.
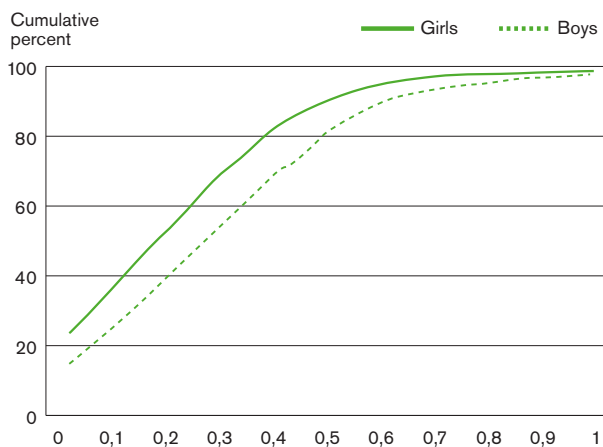
material. There are also regional differences in terms of politics. In areas where populist parties have reached considerable success, young people harbour less forgiving attitudes toward Muslims and Islam. The sociologist Blalock's theory about a threatened dominance of power ("power-threat theory") is based on the assumption that prejudice and disparagement increase when people perceive that territories they have previously dominated are slipping out of their grasp (or appear to be doing so). The theory offers an explanation for the negative attitudes that arise in stressful sociopolitical situations (Bevelander & Otterbeck, 2012).

None of these studies looks specifically at attitudes toward immigrants, which makes it relevant to look more closely at this.

An index of anti-immigrant sentiment

In order to examine attitudes toward immigrants in the survey, we have used the same index that was reported in the previous section (see section

Figure 5.1 Attitudes toward immigrants among boys and girls (percentages, cumulative scale, 0=positive toward immigrants; 1=negative toward immigrants)

Comment: Each index can assume a value between 0 and 1 (0=positive toward the group; 1=negative toward the group). Cumulative percentage means that we gradually add shares until we reach 100 percent. Each point on the graph is the sum of the units to the left.

4.3), meaning we have pooled the results of four questions about immigrants to observe an overall trend in the responses.

Together the responses provide us an opportunity to measure the attitudes toward immigrants. The index is what is called a continuous additive index ranging from 0 to 1 (with 1 representing maximum intolerance). The numbers increase as more intolerant attitudes are expressed. Let's look at the index in relation to the result.

The above **FIGURE 5.1** shows young people's attitudes toward immigrants among boys and girls. The graph shows that girls have a more positive attitude toward immigrants than boys. Almost 24 percent of the girls have responded very positively to the four questions included in the index. For boys, this share is just over 15 percent. Girls and boys who harbour very negative attitudes toward immigrants have been assigned values higher than 0.75 in our index. For girls, this share is roughly 1.5 percent and for boys almost 6 percent.

In **TABLE 5.1**, we also present how boys and girls responded in terms of the various questions included in the index. The purpose of this is partly to identify the percentage of respondents broken down by response options and partly to assess whether any question has a different response pattern compared to the average. What is clear is that about one-tenth of the boys have responded negatively to the first three questions: "Immigrants are probably decent people", "It would be okay to live next door to an immigrant" and "Immigrants cannot be trusted". For girls, this figure is around 5 percent. The question "There are too many immigrants in Sweden" has a different response pattern, as more girls and boys are of the opinion that there are too many immigrants in Sweden; 23 percent of girls and 31 percent of boys. Again, girls exhibit a more positive attitude toward immigrants than boys. It should be noted that this question is the one that connects immigrants with immigration the most, which could possibly explain the striking increase in negative responses. Some may

TABLE 5.1									
	NO, THAT IS INCORRECT		THAT QUITE INCORRECT		DOUBTFUL		THAT'S QUIT CORRECT		YES, THAT'S CORRECT	
	POJKAR	FLICKOR	POJKAR	FLICKOR	POJKAR	FLICKOR	POJKAR	FLICKOR	POJKAR	FLICKOR
Most immigrants are probably good people	4,6	1,9	6,6	3,3	18,1	13,5	40,4	37,4	30,3	43,9
It would be fine to have immigrants as neighbours	3,9	1,1	4,5	1,8	12,8	7,5	31,4	25,1	47,4	64,5
Immigrants cannot be trusted	41,8	54,3	26,3	23,8	21,8	17,7	6,5	2,8	3,7	1,4
There are far too many immigrants in Sweden	23,5	29,6	15,3	17,5	27,0	27,7	16,9	14,2	14,5	8,3

Comment: The question read: "What is your attitude toward the following statements?"

thus be positive toward immigrants as a social category but negative toward immigration.

Many previous studies have found that attitudes differ by gender. But to understand whether this difference completely, partially or not at all depends on whether the young respondents are boys or girls, we should also take into account their age, education, their parents' socioeconomic background, where they were born, and similar factors. Moreover, we have pointed out that previous studies have shown that the region one lives in could be an important explanation as to why young people exhibit positive or negative attitudes. Therefore, the following presentation of results is based on what is called a multivariate analysis, where we analyse young people's attitudes toward immigrants and take several factors into account at once.

RESULTS

To begin with, we note that the survey shows some patterns consistent with previous studies (see Model 1 in). For example, girls report a lower degree of intolerance toward immigrants than boys.

Furthermore, one can see that the socioeconomic background returns a reading that says that those whose parents have a higher education are more tolerant of immigrants than those who do not. This is in line with previous findings that people who come from more affluent families are less threatened by other groups or changing economic circumstances. Again, this is a result that is consistent with many studies also when it comes to adults (where the higher education refers to their own). Yet our results point in no particular direction when it comes to whether the respondent's parents are employed or not, nor whether they are married or divorced.

It is highly likely that the same structures are reflected in the result that students in theory-based programmes, which are primarily preparatory for academic studies, are more tolerant of immigrants than those in vocational programmes (see chapters 2.2 and 4.3 for the link between education and attitudes).

One interesting result is that native-born adolescents with two foreign-born parents are more tolerant of immigrants than native-born adolescents with two native-born parents. But the former are also more tolerant than native-born

Table 5.2 Multivariate regression analysis – attitudes toward immigrants among young people in Skåne and Malmö, 2013 (OLS regression)

TABLE 5.2	MODEL 1	
	COEFFICIENT	SIG.
Boys	Ref cat.	
Girls	-0,086	***
Born in Sweden to parents born in Sweden	Ref cat.	
Foreign-born	0,005	
Born in Sweden to foreign-born parents	-0,074	***
Born in Sweden with one foreign-born parent	-0,01	
School year (linear)	0,022	***
Vocational program	Ref cat.	
University/college preparatory programme	-0,149	***
Introductory programme	-0,017	
Parent without a higher education	Ref cat.	
Parent with a higher education	-0,025	***
Parents' education unknown	0,016	**
Mum does not work	Ref cat.	
Mum works	-0,002	
Dad does not work	Ref cat.	
Dad works	-0,014	
Parents are not separated	Ref cat.	
Separated parents	0,005	
Live in a rental flat	Ref cat.	
Live in a house	0,017	**
Live in a family-owned flat	0,014	
Satisfied with residential area (scale)	0,007	*
Has immigrant friends (scale)	-0,053	***
Confidence in the public (scale)	-0,017	***
R2 of the model	0.262	
Number of participants	6 345	

Levels of significance: ***=0.01; **=0.05; *=0.1. **Comment:** Regression analysis by OLS aims to show the effect of one variable (the independent variable) on another (the dependent variable). A multivariate regression analysis means multiple variables are studied while controlling for each. The results should be interpreted as "the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable controlling for the control variables." The dependent variable consists of the index of anti-immigrant sentiment and stretches from 0 to 1 (0=positive toward immigrants, 1=negative toward immigrants). Negative effects are therefore considered to be effects that indicate tolerance.

adolescents with one parent born abroad and adolescents born abroad. The latter result is a little unexpected, and the reason is probably that other background factors are more important as explanatory factors and that country of birth and having foreign-born parents is less significant in determining one's attitude.
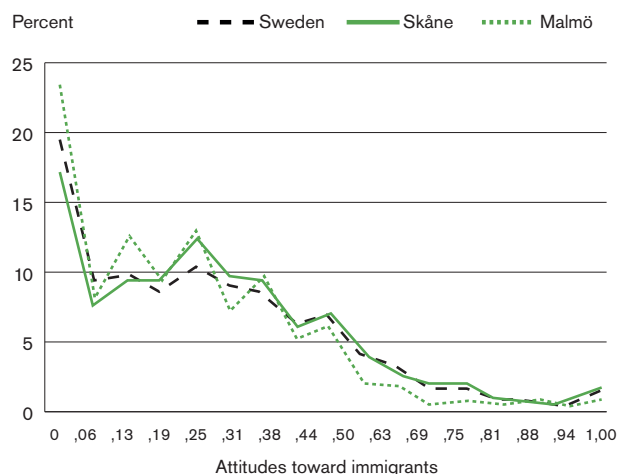
We can further see that those who are happy with their neighbourhood, those who show general confidence in the outside world and those

who know people of immigrant backgrounds are more tolerant of immigrants. This also coincides with previous results and, moreover, with various theories of tolerance and intolerance that stress the importance of positive experiences, which are consistent with the previously mentioned contact hypothesis (see also Chapter 2.2). Alternatively, personality traits may contribute to a positive outlook on the world and positive attitudes.

Two results require a little further explanation. Those who live in houses harbour intolerant attitudes to a greater extent than those in other types of accommodation. The probable reason is that living in a house (or owning one's home) could coincide with the idea that more immigrants in a neighbourhood is a threat to the area's stability. Home ownership is also common in small towns and rural areas.

An unexpected result – which runs counter to earlier studies – is that the older the students are, the more intolerant they are. When we control more variables for this result, it appears that upper secondary programme is more 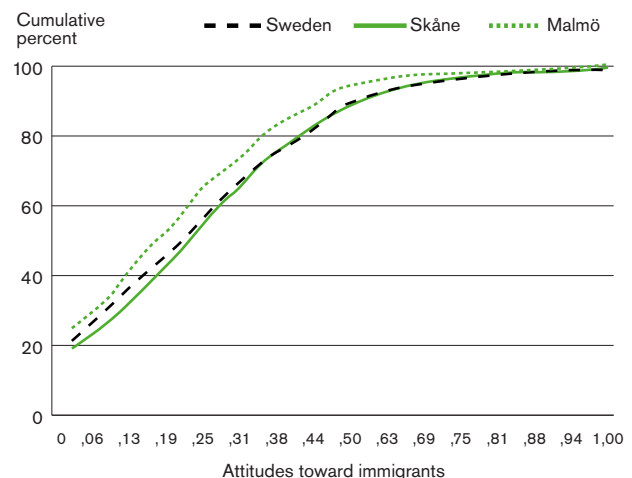important than age. Those in programmes preparing them for academic studies become more tolerant the older they get, but the same does not apply to the answers from students in vocational programmes. In fact, what programme a student is in is the single strongest factor signaling tolerance or intolerance.

Trends from previous surveys conducted by the Living History Forum recur in this survey, although the exact levels of tolerance, intolerance and ambivalence may differ. We also note that the general factors that tend to affect tolerance and intolerance and that Demker (2014, ch. 4) accounts for recur in our material.

SKÅNE AND ANTI-IMMIGRANT SENTIMENT

Various studies have indicated that attitudes toward immigrants vary with the part of the country one lives and grow up in (Demker, 2014). Concerning Skåne specifically, it has long been the case that anti-immigration parties and parties hostile to immigrants have done well in the

Figure 5.2 Attitudes toward immigrants in Sweden, Skåne and Malmö (percentages, cumulative scale, 0=positive toward immigrants; 1=negative toward immigrants)

Comment: The graph shows the percentage of students corresponding to each index value.

Figure 5.3 Attitudes toward immigrants in Sweden, Skåne and Malmä (percentages, cumulative scale, 0=positive toward immigrants; 1=negative toward immigrants)

Comment: Each index can assume a value between 0 and 1 (0=positive toward the group; 1=negative toward the group). Cumulative percentage means that we gradually add shares until we reach 100 percent. Each point on the graphs is the sum of the units to the left.

region (Fryklund & Peterson, 1989; Rydgren, 2004). There is also a tradition of founding community-based protest parties and voting for them (Peterson, Stigendal & Fryklund, 1988). We have therefore examined the survey especially with re-

gard to Skåne. This has been possible because we have increased the number of respondents from Skåne to get a good basis for comparison.

FIGURE 5.2 and FIGURE 5.3 show our attitude index for Sweden, Skåne and the city of

Table 5.3 Multivariate regression analysis – attitudes toward immigrants among young people in Skåne and Malmö, 2013 (OLS regression)

TABLE 5.3				
	MODEL 2		MODEL 3	
	COEFFICIENT	SIG.	COEFFICIENT	SIG.
Boys	Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
Girls	-0,085	***	-0,085	***
Born in Sweden to parents born in Sweden	Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
Foreign-born	0,005		0,005	
Born in Sweden to foreign-born parents	-0,076	***	-0,075	***
Born in Sweden with one foreign-born parent	-0,01		-0,01	
School year (linear)	0,022	***	0,02	***
Vocational programme	Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
University/college preparatory programme	-0,151	***	-0,151	***
Introductory programme	-0,014		-0,016	
Parent without a higher education	Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
Parent with a higher education	-0,025	***	-0,025	***
Parents' education unknown	0,016	**	0,016	**
Mum does not work	Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
Mum works	-0,002		-0,002	
Dad does not work	Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
Dad works	-0,015		-0,015	
Parents are not separated	Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
Separated parents	0,005		0,005	
Live in a rental flat	Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
Live in a house	0,016	**	0,016	**
Live in a family-owned flat	0,015	*	0,016	*
Satisfied with residential area (scale)	0,007	**	0,007	*
Has immigrant friends (scale)	-0,052	***	-0,039	***
Confidence in the public (scale)	-0,016	***	-0,016	***
Lives in the rest of Sweden	Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
Lives in Skåne	0,038	***	0,046	***
Lives in Malmö			-0,033	**
R2 of the model	0.265		0.266	
Number of participants	6 345		6 345	

Levels of significance: ***=0.01; **=0.05; *=0.1. **Comment:** For details of the regression analysis, see note in Table 5.2.

Malmö. The index shows that a smaller share of young people in Skåne exhibit high tolerance than in the rest of Sweden, and a greater share exhibit tolerance compared to the rest of the country. The proportions of young people with low tolerance and intolerance toward immigrants are, however, equal. Compared to Skåne and Sweden, a far higher share of adolescents in Malmö exhibit either high tolerance or tolerance levels, and a lower share exhibit low tolerance.

Overall, we can see that the responses from Skåne are more xenophobic and those from Malmö are less xenophobic than the average for the whole country (see figures 5.2 and 5.3).

Again, these differences in attitudes could be explained by, for example, young people's individual school and family circumstances. Because of this, we will also conduct a multivariate analysis in order to take various background factors into account simultaneously (see TABLE 5.3 , model 2). Taking various background factors into account (table 5.3, model 2), the analysis confirms that young people in Skåne are less tolerant than young people in the rest of Sweden. Moreover, if we break Malmö out of Skåne, it's shown that Malmö is less hostile to immigrants than the rest of Skåne, as well as Sweden in general (table 5.3, model 3). With Malmö's responses absent, the negatives attitudes toward immigrants in the rest of Skåne are strengthened.

Malmö is known to have a population where many have immigrated to Sweden, and where 42 percent of the population is either foreign-born or born in Sweden to foreign parents (Malmö city, 2014). This fact may explain the higher tolerance that we have measured in our survey materials. We have therefore also calculated the attitudes having excluded those who have some form of immigrant background, even those only have only one foreign-born parent (see TABLE 5.4 , models 4–6).

Even discounting these responses, Malmö's adolescents are more tolerantly disposed than the rest of the country and the rest of southern Sweden.

SWEDISH SCHOOL STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS

A very important, and many times in these contexts understated finding, is that the attitude survey indicates a high degree of general tolerance. Around 70 percent of the boys who answered and nearly 80 percent of girls can be said to be very tolerant, or at least generally tolerant (it varies depending on the question). Only about 10 percent of boys and 5 percent of the girls express a clear intolerance. The rest have a more neutral stance.

The factors that have the greatest explanatory power are the programmes the students are in, gender, socioeconomic background in terms of the parents' education and whether they are friends with an immigrant. Moreover, the region they live in is of importance (see below). This is consistent with previous studies of young people's attitudes, both those conducted by the Living History Forum and by others.

In our study, we have also focused on the importance of geographical region. In the comparison between Sweden in general and Skåne, we found that youth in Skåne were significantly less tolerant than the Swedish average, but that Malmö youth in Skåne are significantly less intolerant than Swedish youth on average. This is in line with previous research that has indicated that Skåne in particular (but also southern Sweden in general) has a long tradition of political opposition to immigration and immigrants.

The conclusion is that interactions with immigrants lead to higher degrees of acceptance and tolerance rather than vice versa.

Table 5.4. Multivariate regression analysis – attitudes toward immigrants among young people in Skåne and Malmö, 2013, only native-born with native-born parents (OLS regression)

TABLE 5.4						
	MODEL 4		MODEL 5		MODEL 6	
	COEFFICIENT	SIG.	COEFFICIENT	SIG.	COEFFICIENT	SIG.
Boys	Ref cat.		Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
Girls	-0,1	***	-0,098	***	-0,098	***
School year (linear)	0,019	***	0,019	***	0,019	***
Vocational programme	Ref cat.		Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
University/college preparatory programme	-0,147	***	-0,155	***	-0,149	***
Introductory programme	-0,022		-0,019		-0,02	
Parent without a higher education	Ref cat.		Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
Parent with a higher education	-0,035	***	-0,031	***	-0,035	***
Parent's education unknown	0,01		0,009		0,01	
Mum does not work	Ref cat.		Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
Mum works	0,003		0,004		0,004	
Dad does not work	Ref cat.		Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
Dad works	-0,034	*	-0,035	*	-0,036	*
Parents are not separated	Ref cat.		Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
Separated parents	0,028	***	0,024	***	0,028	***
Live in a rental flat	Ref cat.		Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
Live in a house	0,013		0,005		0,011	
Live in a family-owned flat	-0,003		0,007		0	
Satisfied with residential area (scale)	0,007		0,006		0,008	
Has immigrant friends (scale)	-0,049	***	-0,046	***	-0,049	***
Confidence in the public (scale)	-0,019	***	-0,018	***	-0,018	***
Lives in the rest of Sweden			Ref cat.		Ref cat.	
Lives in Skåne			0,053	***	0,059	***
Lives in Malmö					-0,036	
R2 of the model	0.260		0.265		0.265	
Number of participants	4 422		4 422		4 422	

Levels of significance: ***=0.01; **=0.05; *=0.1. **Comment:** For details on the regression analysis, see the comment note under table 5.2.

6. Concluding discussion – what have we learned and how do we proceed

We have learned several things from on our measurement of students' attitudes. We see that the Swedish school students generally express high levels of tolerance. The dominant tendency in Swedish schools is in other words that young people's attitudes toward various groups are positive. We can also note that the general trend is in many ways headed in the right direction: toward greater tolerance.

Some of the survey results are worth highlighting a little extra. One such result is that Swedish students worry about increasing xenophobia to a greater extent than they worry about increased immigration. Worries are rarely a good thing, but the fact that worries about increased xenophobia are greater than the worries about increased immigration may in this context be considered positive.

We have seen that worries about increased immigration have declined since 2009. But we also see that the share of boys who worry about increased immigration is large. In total, 12 percentage points separate the levels of worry expressed by boys and girls. By contrast, worries about increased xenophobia are greater among girls than boys.

Although the general tolerance in our study is high, we observe that questions linked to immigration are judged differently than questions linked to immigrants as a group. For example, Swedish students express to an increasing extent that immigrants should adapt to the majority population. There are reasons to continue to study and monitor not only intolerance of immigrants, but also the attitudes of Swedish youth toward issues relating to immigration and integration.

Our study shows that young students in Sweden are most tolerant of the LGBT community. Our results also indicate that this group is exposed to intolerance. This applies to students of a homosexual and bisexual orientation, a group in which one in four students responded that they had been beaten at least once in the past year. These students also reported to a great the extent that they had received threatening messages via SMS and the Internet because of their sexual orientation. Students of foreign backgrounds and Muslims also reported that they had experienced intolerance.

The students in our study responded that intolerant expressions occur both in and outside of school. We can assume that the problems of exposure to violence, threats and harassment apply to more groups than those we have studied. There are several reports that suggest that Jews and Roma are also subjected to various forms of abusive and

violent treatment. Our survey was conducted mainly during the autumn of 2013. We therefore cannot state whether intolerance potentially has increased as a result of various events in 2014.

How should we interpret the problem that exposure to intolerance exists even as tolerance is widespread and growing? RFSL, the Swedish Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Rights, writes in a report about the problem of focusing solely on a single perspective. For instance, the authors point to the fact that "the number of police reports says little about the actual prevalence of hate crimes, and there is reason to believe that the number of unknown cases is great" (RFSL 2013, 2.4).

Just as we must not overemphasise the reduction in reported hate crimes, we must not be content with the high share of students who respond tolerantly in our survey. It is obviously a good thing that levels of positive attitudes are high and that Sweden is developing in the right direction. But we must not forget that the exposure to violence, threats and harassment among some student groups is remarkably high. While we are pleased that Swedish students are generally tolerant, the Living History Forum wishes to clearly highlight that the problem of intolerance in the form of concrete actions is real. It may be the case that while tolerance increases, so will the propensity of intolerant groups to act upon their preferences. We may in that case speak of a polarisation on the issue of how the Swedish school students relate to other people.

School and school environment are important components when studying the circumstances that affect intolerance. We already stated this in our previous study (see Löwander, 2010). It is between school walls that democratic norms and values are conveyed. We must not overlook the fact that school environments characterised by a lower proportion of trained teachers and low enjoyment are also characterised by high levels of intolerance. Conditions for thwarting intolerance

are look differently in different schools. This conclusion is in line with the Schools Inspectorate's examination of schools' work on democracy and values. The Schools Inspectorate finds that poorly structured school environments "create uncertainty and a lack of trust and influence. Such environments have been marked by insults and foul language and a laddish and destructive 'anti-school culture', partly influenced by traditional/patriarchal gender patterns. This, then, is the opposite of a favourable environment, in that it appears to be messy, tough and insecure" (Schools Inspectorate, 2012, p. 6). These structures need to be considered if schools are to serve as agents of socialisation for democratic values.

In upper secondary programmes preparing students for further studies, students in year 3 are more tolerant than those in year 1. In vocational programmes, the reverse is true. This relationship clearly illustrates that school context is important for young people's attitudes toward various groups. We want to point to the fact that different schools face different challenges when it comes to countering intolerant structures.

One of the factors that proved to be most significant in our analyses was the students' satisfaction with democracy. This applies both when we study intolerance, attitudes toward religions and interpersonal trust and confidence. Previous studies in this field have among other things held that "representative democracy does very well in nurturing tolerant democrats" (Ekengren 2003, p. 207). Democratic disaffection and the feeling of powerlessness cut through a number of fields that can be linked to issues of democracy and tolerance. We need to focus increasingly on this relationship.

Democratic disaffection can be an expression of both disappointment and worry. Our special study of hostility toward immigrants discussed, among other things, Blalock's theory of endangered dominance of power ("power-threat theory"). The theory suggests that prejudice and intolerance tend to increase when people perceive that terri-

tory that previously belonged to their group are slipping out of their grasp (or threaten to do so). This theory can be seen as an explanatory model for the negative attitudes that occur in stressful sociopolitical situations (Bevelander & Otterbeck 2012). Democratic disaffection may thus be a function of emotions rooted in powerlessness. The relationship may cause tensions and increase the level of conflict between different groups in society. We identify the link between democratic disaffection and intolerance as important to continue studying.

So how do we move forward? What are the next steps in the Living History Forum's work to further deepen our knowledge? In 2015, two additional studies will be conducted. The first study will focus on the relationship between intolerance and disaffection with the societal system. The aim is also to link the issues of powerlessness, anxiety and alienation with the field of study concerning people's attitudes in various issues. Within the frame of this deep dive, relevant factors such as gender, socioeconomics, political awareness, and so on, will be studied.

The second study will be based on perceptions of vulnerability. We observe that intolerance exists both as attitudes and as concrete expressions. There are numerous reports on how various groups are subjected to violence, threats and harassment. But little is known about how Swedish people and how school students perceive these phenomena. Is the existence of intolerance denied or is there an awareness of the problem's existence? The issue is important because greater consensus increases the opportunity to solve the problem.

Our surveys of people contribute to a better understanding of why intolerance exists. One can of course study these things endlessly, but we must also take action. That is a call not only to ourselves – but to all of society.

The Living History Forum's mission is to be a resource that promotes the view of all humans as equal. It is important to both continue and deepen this work.

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THE LIVING HISTORY FORUM is a Swedish public authority which, using the Holocaust and other crimes against humanity as a starting point, works with issues on tolerance, democracy and human rights.

The report *Time for Tolerance*, where we examine young people's attitudes to vulnerable groups, is a part of our efforts to combat intolerance in the society