

School pupils' attitudes in Sweden:

Minorities, bullying, threats, and violence

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Foreword

This is a study of school pupils' attitudes, trust, and vulnerability and was carried out by the Living History Forum, a public agency, on behalf of the Swedish government. The survey on which it is based, the fourth of its kind, was conducted in 2024–5. The agency carried out similar surveys in 2003, 2009, and 2013.

The decade or so since the last study has seen many changes. The generation surveyed for this study has grown up in a rapidly changing world. The number of active conflicts worldwide has reached record levels, leading to everything from refugee crises to a fundamental shift in Sweden's security policy. The international situation has also been defined by the climate crisis, the decline of democracy, a lack of respect for human rights, the erosion of international law, and increasing polarisation, accompanied by a dramatic expansion of social media. Because of the internet and social media, all forms of communication have an even greater reach – a reach used in many ways, including to spread hate and polarisation.

This study does not address the impact of external factors on its results. Instead, it concentrates on individual background factors, especially relative to earlier studies. At the same time, there is every reason to take all the wider changes into account when analysing and interpreting the survey responses.

From the current study, we can see that a clear majority of school pupils have strongly positive attitudes to the minorities in question, believe it is important for people to be free to live how they want, and feel that society benefits from having diverse traditions and lifestyles. This is

very positive. Yet at the same time it breaks the trend towards positive attitudes seen in the Living History Forum's previous pupil surveys. The proportion of negative attitudes has increased for most statements, in some cases dramatically so. Further, there are indications of rising vulnerability among pupils.

It is not possible to determine whether the increase in negative attitudes and the heightened vulnerability are part of a long-term trend, or whether it is a more temporary change. Regardless, the change is worrying and problematic, both for the individuals affected and for our society and democracy.

Hate leads to fear and insecurity and can affect people's physical and mental health. It frightens people off from participating in public discourse. Racism and hate can also lead to discrimination and hate crimes. We know from reports by the Equality Ombudsman and the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention that reports of discrimination and hate crimes are on the rise. Several reports show that children and young people are particularly vulnerable, not least online. Many feel that racist language has become part of ordinary life. Racism undermines trust between people and confidence in institutions. Ultimately, hatred also damages democracy.

There are therefore several compelling reasons to take measures to strengthen tolerance and respect for human dignity and to reduce vulnerability among Swedish school pupils. Such work requires efforts from a large range of stakeholders: authorities, local authorities, regions, researchers, civil society,

and others. However, under the Instrument of Government, the public sector has a special responsibility to promote democracy and respect for human dignity and to combat discrimination (SFS 1974:152 § 2).

There is also a need for further research based on the study's findings. In the study, we investigate young people's attitudes and vulnerability, but do not arrive at conclusive answers as to why the situation is as it is. There is thus a need for further research based on the study's findings, which we outline in the report's concluding chapter.

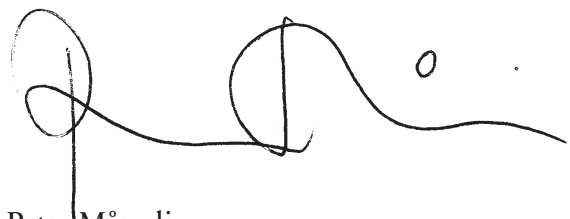
In addition to further research and in-depth analyses, the agency's wider work points to the need for a greater focus on schools' democratic mandate. It is part of our mission to support schools in their work to promote democracy and respect for human dignity, and to combat hatred, racism, bullying and discrimination. As attitudes are formed in childhood, work should be redoubled from an early age, starting in preschool. The political prioritisation of schools' democratic mission is long overdue, continuing the long-term support for research-based methods and tools, as well as for further training for classroom teachers and other school staff.

To that end, we call for consistent support for civil society organisations working to combat racism and other forms of intolerance, bullying, harassment, and discrimination. Civil society has extensive experience of the issues, a different type of proximity to the target

groups, and the kinds of complementary methods that can make a contribution.

In conclusion, with this survey and the analyses it sparks the Living History Forum will continue its work to promote democracy, respect for human rights, and human dignity. It is our hope that the fresh insights presented in this report will contribute to the important work of other stakeholders on these issues.

We owe a debt of thanks to Professor Pieter Bevelander of Malmö University, Katie Cohen of the Swedish Defence Research Agency, Professor Mikael Hjerm of Umeå University, and Professor Lisa Thorell of Karolinska Institutet for their invaluable work designing the survey. We also wish to thank Docent Andrea Bohman of Umeå University, who reviewed an earlier version of the report.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, consisting of a large loop followed by a series of smaller loops and a long horizontal stroke.

Petra Mårselius

Director General of the Living History Forum

Summary

This is a study of Swedish teenagers' attitudes towards a number of social groups and the way they view their own vulnerability to bullying, threats, and violence. The study, conducted in 2024–5, focuses on pupils' attitudes towards seven minority groups:

- immigrants
- Afro-Swedes/Black people
- Jews
- Muslims
- Roma
- Sami
- lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people

The study also draws comparisons with two earlier Living History Forum pupil surveys in 2003 and 2013.

To measure pupils' intolerance of minority groups they were asked to respond to a range of questions and statements. Some statements were identical for all groups, while others only concerned a specific group. Pupils' responses to a selection of the statements have been combined to measure their attitudes.

Statements about lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people were included in the 2013 survey, so for the purposes of comparison the same statements were used in the 2024–5 survey. It is for that reason this report uses the older term LGBT rather than the more recent LGBTQI+.

The 2024–5 survey was conducted by Statistics Sweden on behalf of the Living History Forum, under the framework of a government-commissioned study. It covers a total of 8,127 pupils, of whom 1,139 were in Year 9 of compulsory school and 6,978 were in Years 1–3 of upper secondary school.

The survey's key findings are as follows.

Generally positive attitudes but negative trends

A key finding is that pupils generally display high levels of tolerance: 72 per cent say they respect other people's beliefs and opinions, that they think it is important that people are free to live how they want, and that society benefits from having diverse traditions and lifestyles. Most pupils also display a positive or at least neutral attitude towards the

seven minority groups in question. Against that, depending on the minority group, 3–15 per cent of pupils express a deeply intolerant attitude.

There are negative trends. The Living History Forum's earlier surveys found that pupils in Sweden displayed increasingly positive attitudes towards various groups, but this trend now seems to have stalled. Compared to the Living History Forum's pupil survey in 2013, there has been a rise not only in the proportion of pupils who report being subjected to bullying, threats and violence, but also the proportion with negative attitudes towards the minority groups in question.

Almost across the board, the proportion of pupils who agree with negative statements about the minority groups included in the survey has increased compared to 2013, while the proportion who agree with positive statements has fallen.

Pupils' attitudes towards the various groups included in the survey tend to be interrelated. Pupils who display negative attitudes towards one group are also likely to display negative attitudes towards other groups.

Negative attitudes towards LGBT people have increased most

The biggest change is in attitudes towards lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people. In the 2013 survey, they were the category of people towards whom pupils displayed the most positive attitudes. In the 2024–5 survey, they are instead the category towards whom pupils display the most negative attitudes.

Girls more tolerant than boys

One consistent finding is a significant gender difference: girls generally express more positive attitudes than boys. The correlation is strongest when measuring attitudes towards LGBT people.

Differences in attitudes between the sexes were noted in earlier Living History Forum pupil surveys, but the current survey indicates that the differences have grown slightly.

Pupils display a more positive attitude as they get older

There is a weak correlation between pupils' year groups and the various measures of their attitudes, but it should be noted that the older the year group the (slightly) more positive pupils are towards the minority groups in question. This trend has also been observed in earlier surveys.

Upper secondary school programme matters

Pupils' choice of programme at upper secondary school has also been shown to have a significant impact on levels of negative attitudes. Pupils who take academic programmes consistently display lower levels of negative attitudes than pupils in vocational programmes – something also noted in earlier studies.

A new finding from this study is that the difference in attitudes seems to predate pupils starting upper secondary school. Of pupils in the final year of compulsory school, those planning to apply for academic programmes are less negative towards the seven minority groups than those planning to apply for vocational programmes.

* The 2024–5 survey used the same statements about lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people as in the 2013 survey. For that reason, this report uses the older term LGBT rather than the more recent LGBTQI+.

Pupils with degree-educated parents have a more positive attitude

Earlier pupil surveys showed that the higher the parents' education level, the more positive the pupils' attitudes towards minority groups. In the 2024–5 survey, the findings are largely the same. There is also a correlation between political discussions in the family and more positive attitudes towards Afro-Swedes/Black people, Jews, Sami, and LGBT people. The correlation is less strong for attitudes towards immigrants, Muslims, and Roma.

Background, religion, and friendships are important

Earlier pupil surveys found that attitudes differ according to whether pupils have Swedish or foreign backgrounds. The 2024–5 survey similarly reveals the differences connected to background. Pupils with a Swedish background display a more negative attitude towards Muslims in the survey, compared to pupils with a foreign background. Pupils with a foreign background display a more negative attitude towards LGBT people, Jews and Sami people compared to pupils with a Swedish background.

Pupils who do not identify with any religion, on the other hand, display more positive attitudes towards LGBT people, Jews, Roma, and Sami than those who say they belong to a religion.

Pupils who said they have one or more friends in one of the seven minority groups also tend to have a more positive attitude towards that group than pupils who do not have friends in the group in question. The correlation is strongest for attitudes towards LGBT people.

An interest in politics correlates with both negative and positive attitudes

In the 2013 survey, pupils who were not interested in politics were more negative towards the minority groups than pupils who were interested in politics. By contrast, attitudes towards immigrants, Muslims, Roma, and LGBT people in the 2024–5 survey form a bimodal distribution with a U-shaped dip in the middle. Generally, pupils who are very interested in politics and those who have no interest in politics both display a more negative attitude towards those groups than other pupils do. When it comes to attitudes towards Jews and Sami, however, the pattern is the same as in 2013: pupils with a greater interest in politics display more positive attitudes towards Jews and Sami than those who are not interested in politics.

Pupils dissatisfied with democracy have a more negative attitude

Another important factor is how satisfied pupils are with the way democracy operates in Sweden. The more dissatisfied they are with democracy, the more negative their attitude towards the seven minority groups. This was also found in the 2013 survey.

Attitudes are connected to worry about the future

There is a relatively strong correlation between worry about future immigration growth and a more negative attitude about immigrants and Muslims. There is also a distinct, weaker correlation between worry about rising immigration and negative attitudes towards the other groups in the survey.

Lack of trust in people and institutions correlates with negative attitudes

As in the 2013 survey, there is also a correlation between negative attitudes towards the seven minority groups and a lack of trust in other people and in institutions such as school, the police, and politicians. This correlation is strongest when it comes to pupils' attitudes towards LGBT people and Jews.

Pupils who trust others have a more positive attitude

As in the 2013 survey, there is a correlation between pupils' trust in other people and how negative their attitudes are. The more trust pupils have in other people, the more likely they are to express positive attitudes towards the groups concerned.

Pupils with negative attitudes trust social media more

There is also a weak correlation between trusting information from TikTok, Instagram, YouTube, and Snapchat and a higher level of negative attitudes towards the seven minority groups in the survey. The strongest correlation is with attitudes towards Jews.

Conspiratorial thinking goes with a more negative attitude

In recent years, there has been increasing research interest in the negative impact of conspiracy theories on public debate and people's trust in society. The 2024–5 survey therefore included questions to measure conspiratorial thinking – people's psychological tendency to view the world in conspiratorial terms and to believe various conspiracy theories.

The 2024–5 survey's findings indicate there is a correlation between negative attitudes towards the seven minority groups and a higher level of conspiratorial thinking. The correlation is strongest in pupils' attitudes towards Jews. There is also a clear correlation between the level of conspiratorial thinking and how pupils respond to a statement about 'Jewish' influence in the world.

Perceived vulnerability correlates with negative attitudes

The survey shows that pupils who do not have anyone to turn to for help or support, or do not know if they have anyone to turn to, display a more negative attitude towards the minority groups compared to other pupils. The more help pupils feel they have, the more the likelihood of negative attitudes decreases.

School is important for pupils' attitudes

The pupil surveys consistently find that school is an important arena when it comes to negative attitudes. The 2024–5 findings show that pupils who attend schools in or near cities and towns tend to have a more positive attitude towards the minority groups in question, compared with those who go to school in smaller towns or rural areas. Pupils who attend schools in areas with significant and very significant socioeconomic challenges or in mixed-income areas also tend to display a more negative attitude than pupils whose schools are located in areas with good or very good socioeconomic status.

Positive attitudes among pupils who like school

The 2013 survey indicated that pupils in schools with a higher proportion of qualified teachers tend to display more positive attitudes towards minority groups, and that pupils who like school have a more positive attitude towards minority groups. The correlation with the proportion of qualified teachers is less clear in the 2024–5 survey, but there is a more positive attitude towards minority groups in classes where pupils are satisfied with school than in classes where pupils are less satisfied with school.

For upper secondary schools, the survey also reveals a weak correlation between higher average final grades and a less negative attitude towards the minority groups. The strongest correlation is for attitudes towards Jews.

Pupils with positive attitudes towards minorities are generally more tolerant

The survey shows there is a relatively strong correlation between positive attitudes towards the seven minority groups on the one hand and a generally tolerant, open attitude towards other people and a greater appreciation of open society on the other. This finding, which does not relate directly to individual groups but to society as a whole, is new to the 2024–5 survey. Attitudes differ between the various types of pupils: girls tend to be more tolerant and open than boys; older pupils are more tolerant than younger ones; and pupils in academic programmes are more tolerant than pupils in vocational programmes.

As with the other attitude measures, there are also differences that correlate with the parents' educational level. A larger proportion of pupils with degree-educated parents display a more tole-

rant, open attitude than other pupils do. Further, the more satisfied pupils are with democracy in Sweden, the more they are inclined to express a tolerant attitude towards other people. Finally, there is also a clear correlation between greater trust in other people and a more tolerant, open attitude towards them.

Increased exposure to bullying, threats and violence

In terms of exposure to bullying, threats and violence, the level is higher in the 2024–5 survey than in the 2013 survey. The proportion of pupils who say they have been verbally bullied has increased significantly from 33 per cent in 2013 to 51 per cent in 2024–5. The proportion who have been threatened has increased from 8 per cent to 13 per cent, and the proportion who said that they have been physically bullied has increased from 11 per cent in 2013 to 16 per cent in 2024–5.

Girls report being verbally bullied to a greater extent than boys, while boys report they are at greater risk of physical violence. Younger pupils tend to be more exposed than older pupils to bullying, threats, and violence.

In the 2024–5 survey, pupils who identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual report being exposed to bullying, threats, and violence to a greater extent than heterosexual pupils. Unlike heterosexual pupils, the lesbian, gay, or bisexual pupils are more likely to report that they have been exposed to cyberbullying that they associate with their sexual orientation.

Foreign-born pupils and Swedish-born pupils with two foreign-born parents are marginally less likely than other pupils to respond that they have been bullied or threatened; however, foreign-born pupils or Swedish-born pupils with at least one foreign-born parent are significantly more likely

to respond that they have been bullied about their background, compared to Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. That said, the likelihood of being bullied about one's background varies according to the type of socioeconomic area where the school is. The findings also indicate that pupils born in Sweden with two parents who were also born in Sweden are less likely to be subject to cyberbullying about their background.

1. Introduction

The Living History Forum, a Swedish government agency, has initiated and conducted attitude surveys ever since it was founded in 2003. It is part of its mission to promote democracy, human rights, and human dignity by increasing knowledge, based on research and collaborations with other bodies such as universities and colleges.¹

This is a new study of school pupils' attitudes to various minorities and of pupils' perceived vulnerability in the 2024–5 school year. The focus is attitudes to immigrants, Afro-Swedes/Black people, Jews, Muslims, Roma, Sámi, and LGBT people.²

The study was conducted by the Living History Forum on behalf of the Swedish government: the agency was commissioned to investigate school pupils' attitudes to vulnerable groups and to identify common patterns. The study is also intended to increase our knowledge of young people's sense of vulnerability to various forms of racism and intolerance. The survey, which was specifically designed to be comparable with the results of the agency's previous attitude surveys, was conducted

in the 2024–5 school year. This report presents its key findings.

This first chapter begins with past Swedish studies of this nature, with a particular focus on the Living History Forum's pupil surveys, and introduces the key concepts used in its work. There is no claim to be exhaustive as the discussion is limited to the concepts as defined in this report. There is a brief account of the standard explanations for the prevalence of intolerant attitudes and the links between people's intolerance and the various background factors substantiated in a large number of studies. The minorities that are the focus of the survey are introduced – though most have been covered in previous surveys, two of the seven are new. The chapter concludes with the structure of the report.

Previous studies

The first major study of attitudes to minorities in Sweden concerned the general public's views about immigration and immigrants. Conducted in 1969 on behalf of a government-appointed

commission of inquiry into immigration at a time when labour immigration to Sweden was at its peak, the study covered 905 people aged between 16 and 59. The results showed that a quarter of the adult Swedish population had a generous, tolerant attitude, while a quarter felt a strong fear of immigrants. Younger people were generally more positively disposed towards immigrants than older people were.³

In 1981, a broader national population survey of 1,202 people aged 18–70 was carried out on behalf of another official commission of inquiry, the Discrimination Inquiry, because concerns had been raised that attitudes to immigration and immigrants had deteriorated significantly. Many of the statements used in the previous survey were reused, but a large number of new questions were also added. Given its premise, the results were surprising. Compared to 1969, attitudes to immigrants had markedly improved. The survey again found that young people were more positive towards immigrants than older people were.⁴

The next survey was conducted in 1987 and covered 1,018 people aged 18–70. Its findings

indicated that a change had taken place: the youngest age group (18–23) now had more negative attitudes to immigration and immigrants, not only compared to older people, but also to the corresponding age group in the 1981 survey.⁵ In response to this finding there was a special study in 1990–1 of attitudes to immigration and immigrants, surveying 891 young people aged 16–21 in Bromma, Finspång, Sundsvall, and Södertälje.⁶ The 1981 and 1987 surveys had found no significant gender differences, but the 1990–1 survey found boys had more negative attitudes to immigrants and immigration than girls.

In 1993, another nationally representative survey was conducted of 1,366 respondents aged 18–71. It again indicated that young people's attitudes to immigrants and immigration were more negative than those of older people, and that younger men had more negative attitudes than younger women.⁷

In the 1990s, the SOM Institute at the University of Gothenburg gathered data about public attitudes to asylum seekers. Its initial surveys revealed no notable age difference, but by the

mid-1990s there was a gender difference in the youngest group: girls and young women were now significantly more positive towards both asylum seekers and refugees in general than boys and younger men were. In SOM's national survey in 1998, for example, 33 per cent of girls aged 15–19 thought it was a good idea to accept fewer refugees in Sweden compared to 60 per cent of boys of the same age.⁸

None of these studies looked at schools per se, but in 1997 the Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations at Stockholm University (CEIFO) surveyed 7,927 pupils in Years 6, 8, and 9 of compulsory school and in Years 2 and 3 of upper secondary school, partly to study attitudes to Jews, Muslims, homosexuals, and immigrants. With only eight statements about the minorities, however, its scope was limited.⁹

The first major survey of school pupils' attitudes to different groups was instead one conducted in 2003 by the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) on behalf of the Living History Forum. It targeted pupils in Years 8 and 9 of compulsory school and all three years of upper secondary school. A total of 10,600 pupils responded to the questionnaire. The subsequent report introduced the terms 'tolerance' and 'intolerance' as opposites for a number of indices measuring young people's attitudes to homosexuals, Muslims, and Jews. The results showed that about 65 per cent of young people had tolerant attitudes to homosexuals, Jews and Muslims. The proportion with mixed feelings was about 25 per cent, while the proportion who had intolerant attitudes ranged between 6 and 8 per cent, depending on the attitudes and minority in question. The survey also showed that young people's tolerance increased with age, that girls were more tolerant than boys, and that upper secondary school pupils in academic programmes

were more tolerant than those in vocational programmes.¹⁰

In 2009, the Living History Forum conducted a new national survey of school pupils. This time it covered only upper secondary school pupils in Years 1 and 3. A total of 4,674 pupils responded to the questionnaire. The survey focused on attitudes to refugees/immigrants, Jews, Muslims, Roma, people with disabilities, and homosexuals; however, many of the statements were different from those used in the 2003 survey, and the indices were also constructed differently. The 2003 questionnaire had had questions about criminal behaviour, individual vulnerabilities, contact with far-right groups, etc., but in 2009 they were replaced with questions about such things as social activities and interests. The results showed once again that pupils' levels of intolerance varied depending on the minorities they were asked about. For example, more than half of the pupils had a positive attitude to homosexuals, while only a quarter of the pupils had a positive attitude to Roma. Another consistent finding was that boys had more intolerant attitudes than girls. Intolerance also correlated with the pupils' year group: those in Year 3 of upper secondary school were more tolerant than those in Year 1. Pupils in vocational programmes in upper secondary school also tended to be less tolerant than those in academic programmes.¹¹

In 2013, the Living History Forum conducted a further national survey, covering Year 9 of compulsory school and all three years of upper secondary school. A total of 7,391 pupils responded to the questionnaire. It used several of the statements from the 2003 survey, sometimes with minor modifications, which formed the basis for the creation of the index; however, they were constructed differently from those used in the 2003 analysis.¹² The focus was now immigrants, Jews, Muslims, Roma, and LGBT people. Some

of the questions about background factors from the 2009 survey were replaced with questions designed to measure not only attitudes to politics and democracy, but also pupils' trust in people and public institutions. The analysis again revealed significant differences between girls and boys. Girls' attitudes were more positive than boys to each of the five minorities studied. Both boys and girls were most positive towards LGBT people.

Attitudes to the minority groups also differed by year group. Of all the pupils surveyed, those in Year 3 of upper secondary school had consistently a more positive attitude to every minority. However, broken down by year group, pupils' attitudes depended largely on their upper secondary school programme: once again, pupils in academic programmes had more tolerant attitudes than those in vocational programmes or indeed Year 9 of compulsory school.¹³

The 2024–5 findings compared to 2003 and 2013

The 2024–5 survey is a descriptive study of Swedish school pupils' attitudes to a number of groups in Swedish society. The remit included comparisons with previous pupil surveys, and thus the new survey is based on the 2003 and 2013 surveys. The 2009 survey covered only pupils in Years 1 and 3 of upper secondary school and also had a relatively high non-response rate, partly because many pupils were on work placements when the questionnaire was circulated. The present report therefore does not make direct comparisons with the 2009 survey, particularly as the 2009 findings were wholly consistent with the 2003 and 2013 surveys.

The government had demanded comparability, which led to the same statements about minority groups in 2013 being used in the 2024–5 survey. It further stipulated that, where possible, the

survey should include all the groups specifically highlighted in the then Action Plan to Combat Racism and Hate Crime, as well as similar forms of hostility and hate crime. For that reason, Afro-Swedes/Black people and the Sámi have been included in the survey. For the sake of comparability, the survey used the same statements about them as for the other minorities.

Concepts, terms, and explanatory models

This report focuses on the prevalence of intolerance among Swedish school pupils, primarily in their attitudes to a number of minorities. Intolerance is usually regarded as the opposite of tolerance. When the Swedish term for intolerance, *intolerans*, was first used in public discourse in the late eighteenth century, it was to denote the absence of tolerance – still a common usage.¹⁴ The problem is that there are different understandings of what is meant by tolerance, which in turn affects the meaning of intolerance.¹⁵ Sometimes there is also a distinction made between institutional or political tolerance on the one hand and social tolerance on the other. Institutional or political tolerance concerns the acceptance of the equal religious and political rights of individuals or groups, while social tolerance refers to a permissive relationship between individuals or groups.

The concept of tolerance has a long history dating back to the religious conflicts of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. The classic work from that era is John Locke's *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689).¹⁶ At first the word denoted a concession or a necessary evil in a normative sense, and it was not until the 1760s and the French Enlightenment that it took on its modern, positive connotations. In Sweden, a decade or more would pass before the new meaning was widely accepted.¹⁷ A traditional definition of tole-

rance refers to the acceptance of something felt to be difficult or problematic. In terms of ethnic groups, it is an attitude which has been criticised for expressing a hierarchical relationship that the ‘tolerated’ party might find offensive.¹⁸

Another criticism concerns the fact that such a definition presupposes that people have the opportunity – and thus the power – to act, but voluntarily choose not to do so, whereas it is conceivable that individuals find themselves in situations where their freedom of action is severely limited or entirely absent. Is it reasonable to speak of tolerance under such circumstances? A further objection to the traditional definition is that it is predicated on there being a limit to what can be tolerated. By that definition, were people not to set such limits it would be meaningless to speak of tolerance.¹⁹

According to the conventional definition, intolerance is actively opposing ideas or actions you find objectionable, when you have the ability or opportunity to do so. It can arise either from an almost intuitive, emotional reaction, for example from prejudice and antipathy, or from careful consideration.²⁰ The latter is perhaps especially important when it comes to political tolerance, and can be linked to Karl Popper’s paradox: ‘Unlimited tolerance must lead to the disappearance of tolerance. If we extend unlimited tolerance even to those who are intolerant, if we are not prepared to defend a tolerant society against the onslaught of the intolerant, then the tolerant will be destroyed, and tolerance with them.’²¹ Popper argued for a reasonable intolerance of the intolerant, as being something entirely different from the knee-jerk intolerance that stems from prejudice and narrow-mindedness.

A very different definition links tolerance to an appreciation and acceptance of diversity, pluralism, and difference, combined with an absence of prejudice. A classic example is the pioneering

psychologist Gordon Allport, who in *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954) described the tolerant person as an ‘individual who is on friendly terms with all sorts of people ... He makes no distinction of race, color, or creed. He not only endures, but in general approves his fellow men.’²² In that sense, tolerance encompasses not only what we dislike, but also what we appreciate and respect. By extension, tolerance is then the absence of acceptance or appreciation of difference.

By this reasoning, tolerance and intolerance are two ends of the same scale, but there are also those who question whether tolerance and intolerance are diametric opposites. Tolerance, they argue, is inherently a passive standpoint, while intolerance is instead an expression of a deliberate, active position.²³ Some thus choose to treat tolerance and intolerance as distinct concepts.²⁴

This report uses the same working definitions of intolerance and tolerance as those used in the Living History Forum’s reports *The Many Faces of Intolerance* (2010) and *Time for Tolerance* (2014). Intolerance thus refers to negative attitudes and ‘An explicit standpoint which means being unable to put up with, accept or respect individuals or groups with a different skin colour, ethnic origin, sexual orientation, faith, viewpoint and other categorisations’.²⁵ Tolerance refers to ‘An explicit standpoint which means accepting and respecting individuals and groups with a different skin colour, ethnic origin, sexual orientation, faith, viewpoint and other categorisations’. Tolerance also involves embracing the fundamental tenets of an inclusive attitude to other people and the principle of human dignity: it is an expression of both curiosity and an open engagement with people who are different from yourself. However, that should not be taken to mean that these definitions are superior to the others found in the literature, or that they are necessarily preferable to any other definition.

Attitudes, values, prejudices, and stereotypes

This report examines the prevalence of intolerance by measuring the prevalence of explicitly negative attitudes to different groups. 'Attitudes' are defined as a settled psychological tendency in how one thinks or feels about something with a degree of approval or disapproval.²⁶ It is important to distinguish between attitudes and the closely related concept of 'values', or the psychological predisposition or judgement about abstracts rather than specifics.²⁷

Although this report concerns attitudes about specific minorities, it should be borne in mind that negative attitudes to various groups tend to be interlinked. Individuals who have negative attitudes to one group often have negative attitudes to other groups too. Negative attitudes to groups are often an expression of prejudice. Prejudice can be defined as 'a negative attitude toward another person or group formed in advance of any experience with that person or group'.²⁸ It has an emotional component (such as anger, hatred, contempt, fear, or pity) alongside a cognitive component consisting of fixed assumptions and generalised notions.

Generalised notions of a group are often referred to as stereotypes. A stereotype can be defined as 'a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a social group', which, because it can be true or false, is empirically testable.²⁹

In psychological and sociopsychological research, one standard explanation for the existence of prejudice is that it serves various functions. Above all, it helps us form a picture of what the world is like and minimises complexity by reducing individuals to being members of a group. Another of its functions is to ward off criticism and boost self-esteem. By portraying a group other than one's own as divergent, the individual is cast in a more favourable light. Prejudices often

vary in strength and take various forms depending on the group being targeted.

Theories about the origins of negative attitudes

Where do negative attitudes to other groups come from? The literature about group-based hostility is extremely extensive, but a few of the main theories warrant mention.

Personality theories centre on the existence of genetic or at least highly stable personality traits. One of the oldest is the theory of the authoritarian personality, coined by Theodor Adorno and his colleagues in the late 1940s in the aftermath of Nazi Germany. Today, there are three key theories in this field of research:

- the theory of right-wing authoritarianism
- the theory of social dominance
- five-factor theory

The theory of right-wing authoritarianism has three components to varying degrees: authoritarian submission; authoritarian aggression; and conventionalism. It is predicated on the idea that the world is a dangerous place. People with a high degree of right-wing authoritarianism respond to that realisation by a desire for order and control, a willingness to submit to authority to achieve it, and aggression towards groups they see as threatening the traditional order. The theory of social dominance assumes that social relations between groups are essentially hierarchical and that some individuals want a greater degree of hierarchy, while others prefer equality. In this theory, the driving force is not fear but a desire to dominate others. Finally, five-factor theory describes people's personalities in terms of five factors:³⁰

- openness
- conscientiousness

- extraversion
- agreeableness
- neuroticism

It is the degree of openness and agreeableness that is thought to influence the prevalence of prejudice and negative attitudes to other groups.³¹

Theories of social learning concentrate instead on how attitudes and behaviour are learnt in early life from parents, peers, and society.³² This perspective is frequently incorporated into theories of symbolic racism, which concern people's perceptions of what groups deserve or expectations about their character or actions.

Social identity theory, on the other hand, posits a distinction between in-groups and out-groups. The creation of negative attitudes to other groups serves to strengthen the identity of one's own group.³³

Finally, group threat theory explains group-based hostility as a struggle for scarce resources in a society where the majority population feels that minorities and/or immigrants are threatening their economic or cultural position in society.³⁴ The theory distinguishes between threats that can to some extent be said to be real (for example, competition for jobs) and symbolic threats.³⁵ There is sometimes an assumption that different groups are associated with a variety of threats.³⁶

Correlations and explanations

Regardless of the choice of theory, extensive empirical research about attitudes has identified a number of correlations between negative attitudes and various background factors. On the individual level, this initially relates to educational background. The higher an individual's level of *education*, the less likely they are to have intolerant attitudes. The differences tend to be most significant between those with a university education and those without. *Socioeconomic status* can also be a factor. Group threat theory, for example,

holds hostility to be a reaction to a perceived threat from an out-group. That perception may be rooted in competition between groups for scarce resources such as political power, jobs, or social advantage. Because of their socioeconomic standing, affluent people seem less likely to feel threatened. Age is another factor that has been found to be significant. One possible reason may be differences in generational experience.³⁷ Another key factor is *religion*, but here the relationships are complex and seem to depend on local context and the degree of religiosity.³⁸ Studies have also found strong links between *gender* and intolerance. Women and girls tend to be more tolerant than men and boys, although there are still no widely accepted theories to explain why.

Apart from these considerations, a number of contextual factors have been shown to influence the level of intolerance. One such factor relates to economic conditions. People are slightly more likely to have intolerant attitudes under conditions of perceived economic vulnerability, such as during an economic crisis – something that is consistent with the principles of group threat theory. Perceptions of one's own group's history have also been shown to have an impact on the prevalence of negative attitudes to other groups.³⁹

The seven minorities

The 2024–5 survey focused on Swedish school pupils' attitudes to seven minorities:

- immigrants
- Afro-Swedes/Black people
- Jews
- Muslims
- Roma
- Sámi
- LGBT people

The 2003 survey covered immigrants, Jews, Muslims, and homosexuals. The 2009 survey added questions about Roma, and the 2013 survey similarly asked questions about the same five groups.

The Living History Forum's current remit was to conduct a new pupil survey that was comparable with the previous studies, but also to explore the possibility of broadening its scope to include all the minorities singled out in the government's Action Plan to Combat Racism and Hate Crime. In practice, that meant extending the study to include Afro-Swedes and Sámi. A pilot survey conducted in the autumn of 2023 indicated that three statements from the 2013 survey could be reused to measure attitudes to Afro-Swedes and Sámi people. With that in mind, the agency has included the two new groups in the 2024–5 questionnaire alongside the existing five minorities.

Immigrants

'Immigrants' are one of the categories in all the Living History Forum's pupil surveys. The category is not entirely unproblematic, given it can have different meanings, and it is therefore not self-evident that all pupils understand it in the same way. Further, immigration to Sweden has fluctuated between 2003 and 2024 (Figure 1.1). One three-year period in particular, 2015–2017, saw a relative increase in the number of people immigrating to Sweden, which meant that issues linked to immigration were more prominent in politics and public life, and that may have influenced young people's attitudes.

The Swedish word for immigrant, *invandrare*, was considered progressive when it was introduced in the late 1960s to replace a much older term, *utlänning*. For several decades now, immigrant has not merely been a designation for a person born in another country who subsequently migrated to Sweden, but is often

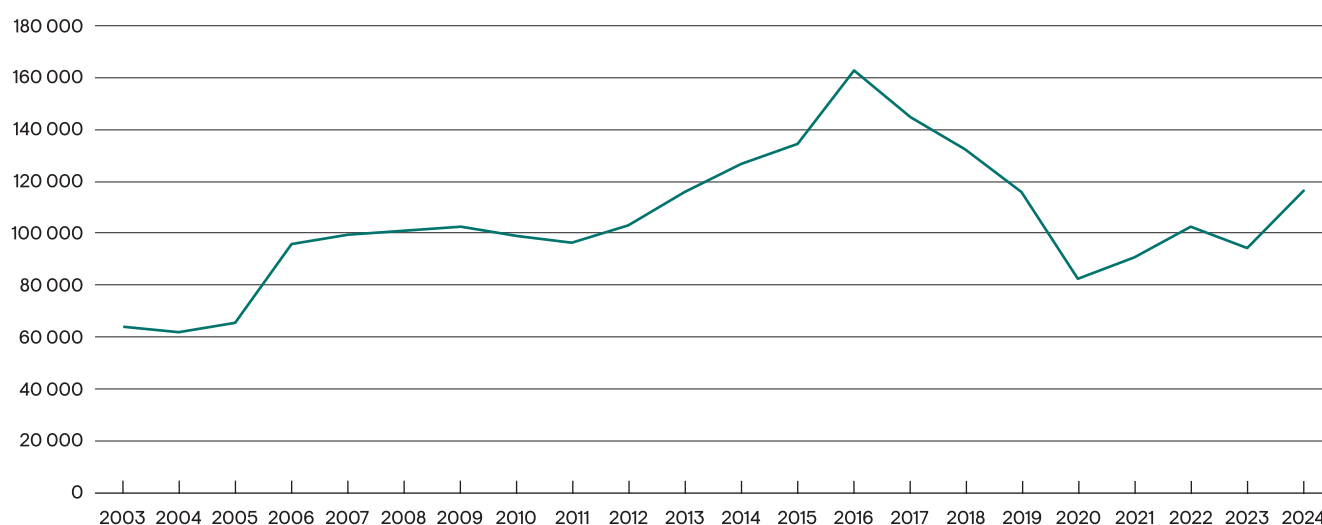
used as the counterpart to 'Swedish', *svensk*, where Swedishness is not defined by citizenship. Rather than being a purely descriptive term, immigrant is thus a social category, going beyond the purely objective fact that a person has moved to Sweden from another country to settle.⁴⁰ At the same time, language is not static. A concept's meaning and relevance may vary according to the user and context; for immigrant, it has shifted considerably over the two decades which elapsed between the 2003 and 2024–5 surveys. Ahead of the 2013 survey, the questions were tested on a group of young people to ensure that the term immigrant was still an active social category for them. The same was not attempted in advance of the 2024–5 survey, but the free-text responses to the question about vulnerable groups in Swedish society show that 'immigrant' remains a significant concept and is frequently used by young Swedes (see Ch. 7).

Afro-Swedes/Black people

The 2024–5 survey includes for the first time a number of statements about Afro-Swedes/Black people. The term 'Afro-Swedes' has been in use since the early 1990s and is defined by the National Organisation of Afro-Swedes as 'a political identity by which people of African origin organise themselves to confront and challenge the structural racism to which they are subjected in Sweden'. They do not all identify as Afro-Swedes, however; some may prefer other terms such as 'Black' or 'Black Swedes', or choose not to describe themselves at all in terms of skin colour or origin. To describe the racism that specifically targets Black people, 'Afrophobia' has long been an established term, both internationally and in Sweden. The European Network Against Racism defines Afrophobia as a specific form of racism affecting people of African origin, and the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention has defined it as 'hostility that can encompass

Figure 1.1. Immigration to Sweden, 2003–2024 (number of people).

Source: Statistics Sweden, population statistics.



everything from prejudice and negative attitudes to discrimination and abuse of people of sub-Saharan African origin'. However, as with Islamophobia, criticism has been levelled at Afrophobia, because it is not a phobia as it would be defined in psychology. The government's 2024 Action Plan to Combat Racism and Hate Crime uses the term 'anti-Black racism', an increasingly common alternative to Afrophobia.⁴¹ The present report refers only to negative attitudes to Afro-Swedes/Black people.

Jews

All previous pupil surveys by the Living History Forum have included attitudes to Jews, who are one of the five officially recognised national minorities in Sweden. The term 'antisemitism' is often used to describe prejudice and hostility towards Jews as a group. It can take the form of negative attitudes and beliefs, but also actions such as subjecting Jews to discrimination, threats, and violence. There are various definitions of the term. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines it as

'hostility to or prejudice against Jewish people'. The Swedish government generally uses the working definition adopted by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA): 'Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical forms of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.'

In the academic literature there are other definitions of antisemitism. One known as the Jerusalem definition is that 'Antisemitism is discrimination, prejudice, hostility or violence against Jews as Jews (or Jewish institutions as Jewish)'.⁴² Another, formulated by the sociologist Helen Fein, is that antisemitism is a 'A persisting latent structure of hostile beliefs towards Jews as a collectivity manifested in individuals as attitudes, and in culture as myth, ideology, folklore, and imagery, and in actions – social or legal discrimination, political mobilization against Jews, and collective or state violence – which results in and/or is designed to

distance, displace, or destroy Jews as Jews.³³ The present report focuses solely on attitudes to Jews and Judaism. The term antisemitism is therefore not used, whether analytically or descriptively.

Muslims

All Living History Forum's pupil surveys have included Muslims as a category. Islamophobia is a long-established term both in Sweden and internationally to describe hostility specifically directed at Muslims as a group. Under the government's Action Programme to Combat Islamophobia, which operated in 2022–2024, it was defined as 'ideologies, perceptions or values that express hostility towards Muslims.' The *Oxford English Dictionary* definition as the 'Dislike of or prejudice against Islam or Muslims, especially as a political force' includes attacks or discrimination against people because they are, or are assumed to be, Muslims and associated with Islam.

Academics use various definitions of Islamophobia. The American political scientist Erik Bleich's definition of the term is often cited, describing 'indiscriminate negative attitudes and feelings directed at Islam and Muslims'. A longer definition has been proposed by the British criminologists Imran Awad and Irene Zempi, who hold Islamophobia to be 'A fear, prejudice and hatred of Muslims or non-Muslim individuals that leads to provocation, hostility and intolerance by means of threatening, harassment, abuse, incitement and intimidation of Muslims and non-Muslims.'

The term Islamophobia has been criticised for being a misleading, not only because it does not refer to a phobia in the medical sense, but also because the term calls attention to Islam rather than those affected. It can also give the impression that it only concerns individuals' attitudes and does not speak to structural conditions. The government's 2024 Action Plan

to Combat Racism and Hate Crime uses the term 'anti-Muslim racism' instead – an increasingly common term defined in the Action Plan as 'a form of racism directed at Muslims and people thought to be Muslims, for example because of their clothing or their name'. Here it is important to stress that criticism of the religion of Islam is not the same as Islamophobia or anti-Muslim racism.⁴⁴ The present report is solely concerned with attitudes to Muslims and the religion of Islam; neither Islamophobia nor anti-Muslim racism is used for analytical or descriptive purposes.

Roma

Swedes' prejudices against Roma were touched on in the remarks about the 1969 immigrant survey. Questions about Roma were also included in subsequent surveys in 1981, 1987, and 1993, as well as the 1990–1991 youth survey.⁴⁵ There were none in the 2003 survey, however, and they were only included again in 2009 and again in 2013.⁴⁶ Roma are one of Sweden's officially recognised national minorities, and numerous studies over the years have shown that they are a vulnerable social group, both in Sweden and in other European countries.⁴⁷ The term 'antigypsyism' is often used in this context, usually defined as structural and institutional racism against Roma. The term is linked to long-lived prejudices and stereotypes about Roma. One definition endorsed by the Swedish government is the working definition adopted by the IHRA, which holds antigypsyism to be 'individual expressions and acts as well as institutional policies and practices of marginalization, exclusion, physical violence, devaluation of Roma cultures and lifestyles, and hate speech directed at Roma as well as other individuals and groups.'⁴⁸ Like anti-Black racism, Islamophobia, and antisemitism, antigypsyism is not used as an analytical or descriptive term in the present report.

Sámi

The Sámi are one of the officially recognised national minorities in Sweden and also have the status of an indigenous people. A 2013 study found that many young Sámi people experience discrimination. They feel they often have to explain and defend their Sámi identity. Those who are vocal in expressing their Sámi identity are most at risk.⁴⁹ A 2024 report by Brå found that hate crimes against the Sámi are in many ways similar to those against other minorities in Sweden, but there are also several clear differences. For example, anti-Sámi crimes occur more frequently in a local context, and are also directed against reindeer and reindeer herding.⁵⁰ Anti-Sámi racism is also singled out in the government's Action Plan to Combat Racism and Hate Crime, alongside antisemitism, anti-Black racism, anti-Roma racism, and anti-Muslim racism.⁵¹ However, the present report is only concerned with attitudes to the Sámi.

LGBT people

There were questions about homosexual people in the 2003 survey. They were repeated in the 2013 survey, though some were reworded. Bisexual and transgender people were also included; in effect, pupils were asked simultaneously about sexual orientation and gender identity or gender expression. That was problematic from a methodological point of view, but it was a conflation that corresponded to the original acronym 'LGB'. As early as 2012, however, Swedish Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Intersex Rights (RFSL) had adopted 'LGBTQ' and in 2019 the acronym 'LGBTQI', where Q stands for queer and I for intersex. At the time of writing, 'LGBTQIA+' is frequently used, the A standing for asexuality and + for sexual orientations and gender identities not included in LGBTQIA. As will be seen, many school

pupils are well acquainted with this terminology; however, as the aim is to be able to compare the results, the questions used in the 2024–5 survey are the same as in 2013. It also means that the present report limits its remarks to attitudes to LGBT people.

The term 'homophobia' is sometimes used, defined as an 'Irrational fear of, and aversion to, homosexuality and to lesbian, gay and bisexual people based on prejudice'.⁵² Another definition is used by RFSL: 'A negative view of homosexuals or bisexuals, or the belief that it is worse to be homosexual or bisexual than heterosexual. Homophobia and transphobia often overlap'.⁵³ Transphobia has been defined as an 'Irrational fear of gender non-conformity or gender transgression, such as a fear of, or aversion to, masculine women, feminine men, cross-dressers, transgenderists, transsexuals, and others who do not fit into existing gender stereotypes about their birth gender'.⁵⁴ As with the other concepts, the present report does not use broad terms such as homophobia or transphobia; instead, its sole focus is negative attitudes to LGBT people.

Report structure

Chapter 2 describes the survey and the specifics of its design and the methods used to collect data. It also discusses the issues of sampling, register variables, response rates, and weighting.

Chapter 3 is an account of the respondents by gender, year group, school programme, and background. It also details their interest in politics, their views about democracy in Sweden, and finishes with their responses to a number of questions about social problems and concerns for the future.

Chapter 4 presents the statements about the minority groups, question by question, from the standpoint of the pupils, with comparisons

to the previous pupil surveys. It ends with their responses to a number of questions about gender equality and human dignity.

Chapter 5 continues the presentation of the survey's findings, now as seven combined measures of association. The focus is how intolerant attitudes correlate with a variety of background factors.

Chapter 6 discusses a new measure of tolerance, analysing how it relates to negative attitudes to different groups.

Chapter 7 considers pupils' views about their own and others' vulnerabilities. Having outlined what pupils think about the existence of vulnerable groups in Swedish society, it analyses the responses to a number of questions about whether they feel they had been verbally bullied, threatened, or physically assaulted in the preceding twelve months. It addresses whether pupils feel they have been verbally bullied because of their background, before looking at perceptions of online vulnerability.

Chapter 8 summarises the main findings and the need for further research.

2. Method

The study is a cross-sectional study, which means that a given population has been studied at a specific point in time. Statistics Sweden was contracted to carry out the sampling and data collection. The survey's design incorporated both the previous study's structure and the terms of Living History Forum's current remit.

Populations and samples

The target population – the group of individuals to be studied – was a set of pupils in Year 9 of compulsory school and Years 1–3 of upper secondary school. In order to sample elements of the population, a sampling frame was used to identify and define its boundaries and make it possible to link the data. The sampling frame was created using data from the Swedish Register of Schools and pupil numbers for compulsory and upper secondary schools in Sweden. All schools with at least one pupil in an upper secondary school programme were included in the sampling frame, but pupils in introductory programmes were

excluded. For compulsory schools, the sampling frame included all schools with a Year 9. Special schools, overseas schools, and closing schools were removed from the sampling frame ahead of the sampling. The result was a sampling frame for the country's upper secondary schools with 1,137 schools and about 333,200 pupils. The sampling frame for compulsory school was 1,704 schools and about 119,700 Year 9 pupils.

A stratified simple random sample of 185 upper secondary schools and 150 compulsory schools were initially selected, meaning all schools in each stratum had the same probability of being included in the sample. The schools were stratified by the proportion of pupils with a foreign background (<30% versus ≥30%) and the number of pupils (upper secondary school versus compulsory school Year 9). An additional sample was then selected in the county of Skåne, comprising 10 schools in Malmö local authority and 20 schools in the rest of Skåne,⁵⁵ stratified solely by the proportion of pupils with a foreign background.

For the country's compulsory schools a total of 165 schools were selected, including the additional samples in Malmö and the rest of Skåne. The selected compulsory schools were contacted by post and email and asked to submit data for one Year 9 class or form selected by the school, the data being the name of the class, as well as the personal identification numbers and names of the pupils in the class. A total of 63 schools submitted class lists and were therefore considered willing to participate in the survey. A total of 200 schools were selected for the upper secondary school sample, including the additional samples in Malmö and the rest of Skåne. Register data from the Swedish Board of Student Finance (CSN) was used in the sampling of upper secondary school classes so the schools themselves did not have to be contacted for class details.

A stratified simple random sample of those upper secondary school classes was then selected. The premise was to select three classes from each selected upper secondary school (corresponding to one class per year group). For the compulsory

schools, the schools themselves selected one class in accordance with the instructions from Statistics Sweden. Upper secondary school classes were divided into two groups: more than 20 pupils in a class and 20 pupils or fewer. To prioritise the larger classes, two classes were taken from the group with more than 20 pupils and one class from the other group. In total, 323 strata were formed with a total sample size of 593 upper secondary school classes. Classes with fewer than five pupils were excluded before sampling.

Questionnaire packages were sent to the selected schools with a letter for the head teacher specifying which class had been chosen to take part in the study; the details of the survey and data collection for the classroom teacher; and an envelope for each pupil in the class addressed to them individually with the correct login details. There were also five unaddressed envelopes to be used if any pupil did not receive a personal login. The classroom teacher arranged for the pupils to complete the questionnaire in lesson time. The questionnaire packages were sent out

to the schools in the first week of November 2024. Two reminders were then sent by post and one by email to the schools where a class had not completed the questionnaire. The postal reminders were sent on 28 November 2024 and 9 January 2025. The email reminder was sent on 22 January 2025. The data collection period ended on 4 February 2025.

Of the 656 classes sent questionnaire packages by Statistics Sweden, responses were received from 465 classes, or 70.9 per cent. A total of 8,127 pupils completed the online questionnaire. There is no register data for 327 because they used an anonymous login, and they have therefore been excluded from the analysis. The response rate for pupils in the classes that received questionnaire packages was 53.6 per cent. Of the classes which responded, 58 were Year 9 classes and 407 were upper secondary school classes. Of the pupils who responded, 1,149 were in Year 9 and 6,978 were in upper secondary school.

Statistics Sweden then conducted a non-response analysis, from which it constructed the weighting to compensate for the relatively high non-response rate.⁵⁶

Weighting

When it comes to non-response, it can be the case that more groups in a sample respond than others. If their distribution of survey variables differs it may distort the results. Calibration weighting is the technique used to compensate for it. A weighting assumes that the sampling frame accurately reflects the population and therefore any overcoverage and undercoverage are marginal. The weighting is multiplied by the variable values to produce statistical values for the whole population. In the analysis, the weighting is consistently applied to avoid generating misleading results. The aim is results for the entire

population and not just the respondents. The weighting here has been calculated based on the sampling design, as well as assumptions about non-response and coverage errors.

The questionnaire

The questionnaire had a total of 158 questions divided into 46 numbered questions and sub-questions. The questions, which covered topics such as politics, society, religion, and personal values, were developed in consultation with an expert reference group specialised in questionnaire research and the field of study.⁵⁷ Most of the questions were taken from the Living History Forum's previous surveys, though some were slightly modified to suit the purposes of the present study and a number of new questions were added.

The questions were largely formulated as statements, designed to identify various aspects of tolerant and intolerant attitudes among school pupils. In some instances, the statements were deliberately provocative in order to elicit a spontaneous reaction from respondents. Others captured standard opinions about relevant social issues, such as human rights, justice, and equality. The questionnaire also included questions designed to measure potential correlation factors, in light of the chosen theories and findings of previous studies. To ensure the questions were as effective as possible, the questionnaire underwent a validation test, which was carried out by Statistics Sweden's survey team. The Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SKR) was consulted in the course of designing the questionnaire.

Register variables

Variables were not only collected in the questionnaire, but also from Statistics Sweden's registers, including data about pupils' grades and merit ratings, as well as data on teacher–pupil ratios and teacher qualifications.

Analytical methods

Most analyses are descriptive, designed to present the distribution of responses and level of measurement for various questions. To examine the correlations, questions are cross-tabulated against one another, while various correlation tests are carried out to study the potential strength of the relationship between two variables. To study pupils' negative attitudes to minority groups, the survey used individual questions and composite measures – a number of questions combined into a single variable. These questions were intended to measure the same thing, for example, intolerance towards immigrants. A range of tests were carried out to verify that the questions did indeed measure the same thing.

3. The respondents

This chapter presents the pupils who responded to the 2024–5 survey. It begins with a summary of the demographic data, before looking at the pupils' views about politics and Swedish democracy. It finishes with the pupils' responses to a number of questions about their views about political extremism and their concerns about the future. It is a general account, primarily to provide a better sense of the pupils who responded to the questionnaire.

Pupil demographics

Of the 7,800 pupils who filled in the questionnaire correctly, 52 per cent were girls and 48 per cent were boys.⁵⁸ They were evenly distributed in terms of gender (Table 3.1).

14 per cent were in Year 9 of compulsory school, the rest were in upper secondary school. The largest proportion were enrolled in one of the upper secondary school's academic programmes. A significantly higher proportion of boys than girls were in one of the upper secondary school's vocational programmes (Table 3.2).

In terms of their background, the majority (63 per cent) of pupils were born in Sweden to two Swedish-born parents. 13 per cent were born abroad, 13 per cent were born in Sweden but had two foreign-born parents, and 11 per cent were born in Sweden and had one foreign-born parent and one Swedish-born parent. There was no great difference between girls and boys in this respect (Table 3.3).

Table 3.4 shows the distribution of pupils by school according to SKR's classification of local authorities. The SKR category 'Metropolitan areas and local authorities close to metropolitan areas' consists of (1) local authorities with a population of at least 200,000, of whom at least 200,000 live in the largest urban area, and (2) local authorities where at least 40 per cent of the resident population commute to work in a metropolitan area or a local authority close to a metropolitan area. The SKR category 'Cities and local authorities near cities' consists of (1) local authorities with a population of at least 50,000, of whom at least 40,000 live in the largest urban area, (2) local authorities where at least 40 per cent of the

Table 3.1. Pupils' distribution by gender and year group (per cent, unweighted data).

	Year 9	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total (%)
Girls	14.9	28.7	30.0	26.4	100
Boys	13.9	25.4	32.7	28.0	100
Total	14.4	26.9	31.4	27.3	100

Table 3.2. Pupils' distribution by gender and upper secondary school programme (per cent, unweighted data).

	Academic programme	Vocational programme	Total (%)
Girls	85.7	14.3	100
Boys	75.6	24.4	100
Total	80.9	19.1	100

Table 3.3. Pupils' distribution by gender and background (per cent, unweighted data).

	Foreign-born	Swedish-born, two foreign-born parents	Swedish-born, one Swedish-born parent	Swedish-born, two Swedish-born parents	Total (%)
Girls	12.6	13.2	11.2	63.0	100
Boys	12.8	12.0	11.9	63.3	100
Total	12.7	12.6	11.5	63.2	100

Table 3.4. Pupils' distribution by school using the SKR classification of local authorities, by gender (per cent, unweighted data).

	Metropolitan area or local authority near metropolitan area	City or local authority near city	Town/smaller urban area	Rural area	Total (%)
Girls	40.2	43.1	14.2	2.5	100
Boys	39.0	44.5	13.8	2.7	100
Total	39.6	43.8	14.0	2.6	100

Table 3.5. Pupils' interest in politics (per cent, weighted data).

	Very often	Often	Not often	Never	Total (%)
Girls	6.0	28.4	45.4	20.2	100
Boys	9.8	29.2	40.7	20.3	100
Total	8.0	28.8	43.0	20.2	100

Note: The question was 'How interested are you in politics in general?'

Table 3.6. Discussions about politics with friends (per cent, weighted data).

	Very often	Often	Not often	Never	Total (%)
Girls	4.6	19.1	53.3	23.0	100
Boys	8.8	23.2	44.7	23.3	100
Total	6.8	21.2	48.9	23.1	100

Note: The question was 'How often do you discuss politics with your friends?'

Table 3.7. Pupils' satisfaction with how democracy works in Sweden (per cent, weighted data).

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all	Total (%)
Girls	15.4	66.0	16.2	2.4	100
Boys	22.8	54.7	15.9	6.6	100
Total	19.2	60.2	16.1	4.5	100

Note: The question was 'How satisfied are you with how democracy works in Sweden?'

population commute to work in a city, and (3) local authorities where less than 40 per cent of the population commute to work in a city. The SKR category 'Towns/smaller urban areas' consists of local authorities with a population of at least 15,000 but less than 40,000 in the largest urban area, as well as local authorities where at least 30 per cent of the population commute to work in another town, and/or where at least 30 per cent of the working population lives in another local authority. Finally, the SKR category 'Rural local authorities' consists of local authorities with a population of under 15,000 in the largest urban area and low levels of commuting (less than 30 per cent of the population).

The largest proportion of pupils attend schools in metropolitan areas and cities or in local authorities close to metropolitan areas and cities (Table 3.4).

Interest in politics

No direct questions were asked about pupils' civic engagement in the 2024–5 survey, but their interest in politics may perhaps be an indication. Only 8 per cent responded that they were very interested in politics (Table 3.5). 29 per cent said they were quite interested in politics, while 43 per cent said that they were not very interested and 20 per cent that they were not at all interested. Boys were marginally more likely than girls to say that they were interested in politics.

The relative lack of interest in politics was also evident in the responses to a question about how common it was to discuss politics with their friends. 23 per cent responded that they never talked about politics and 49 per cent that they rarely did. Only 7 per cent chose to respond 'often' (Table 3.6).

However, their lack of interest in politics should not be interpreted as a sign of their dissatisfaction with the democratic system. Only 4 per cent responded that they were not satisfied at all with how democracy worked in Sweden, while 79 per cent were satisfied or very satisfied (Table 3.7). Boys were slightly more dissatisfied than girls. 22 per cent of boys responded 'not satisfied' or 'not satisfied at all' compared to 19 per cent of girls. However, a larger proportion of boys than girls also answered 'very satisfied' (23 per cent and 15 per cent respectively).

The results do not differ significantly from the 2013 survey, which asked the same question. Then 14 per cent said they were very satisfied with democracy in Sweden, 64 per cent that they were satisfied, 17 per cent that they were not satisfied, and 5 per cent that they were not satisfied at all. It is also worth noting that in the SOM Institute's 2024 national population survey, 78 per cent of respondents said they were satisfied or very satisfied with the workings of democracy in Sweden.⁵⁹

Problems and concerns

A recurring question in the Living History Forum's surveys is whether pupils believe neo-Nazism to be a problem in Sweden. The 2024–5 survey included a slightly modified question that asked whether pupils perceived neo-Nazism/right-wing extremism to be a problem in Sweden today. As shown in Figure 3.1, 19 per cent answered no, 22 per cent said they were not sure, 26 per cent answered yes, 16 per cent strongly agreed, while 17 per cent had no opinion. The distribution of responses does not differ significantly from the 2013 survey, when pupils were asked a similar question about whether they thought neo-Nazism was a problem in Sweden. Then 16 per cent answered 'No', 25 per cent 'Not sure', 18 per cent 'Yes, a bit', 18 per cent 'Yes, definitely', and 24 per cent said they had no opinion.

In 2024–5, pupils were also asked similar questions about left-wing extremism and Islamism. 17 per cent answered 'No' to the question of whether left-wing extremism was a problem, while 30 per cent felt it was doubtful (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1. Pupils' sense of whether neo-Nazism/right-wing extremism, left-wing extremism, and Islamism are a problem in Sweden today (per cent, weighted data).

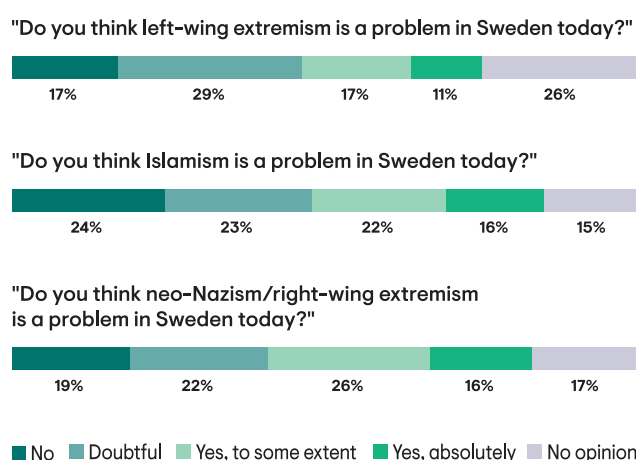


Table 3.8. Pupils' concerns in 2024–5 about the future (per cent, weighted data).

	Not worried at all	Not worried	Worried	Very worried	Total (%)	Worried or very worried (%)
Rising crime	4.7	18.4	39.4	37.5	100	76.9
Youth housing shortage	5.4	29.4	42.2	23.0	100	65.2
Environment/ climate change	11.7	27.9	33.5	26.9	100	60.4
Terrorist attack	9.1	33.6	33.8	23.5	100	57.3
War	11.2	35.0	32.4	21.4	100	53.8
Rising youth unemployment	10.1	42.8	34.4	12.7	100	47.1
Rising immigration	16.5	38.5	22.2	22.8	100	45.0
Rising xenophobia	14.2	43.4	28.6	13.8	100	42.4
Growing class divisions	13.2	46.8	29.2	10.8	100	40.0
Growing gender inequality	23.7	39.4	23.4	13.5	100	36.9
More government surveillance	16.0	49.1	24.9	10.0	100	34.9

Note: The question was 'How worried are you that the following will happen in Sweden in the next five years?'

17 per cent agreed to some extent, while 11 per cent answered 'Yes, definitely'. A good quarter did not give an opinion, however. On the question of Islamism, 24 per cent answered 'No', 23 per cent 'Not sure', 22 per cent 'Yes, a bit', and 16 per cent 'Yes, definitely'. 15 per cent said they had no opinion. Although the distribution of responses is relatively similar, the correlation between those answers and the questions about neo-Nazism/right-wing extremism and Islamism is not particularly strong (Kendall's $\text{Tau-}b = 0.18^{**}$). It is slightly stronger between the questions about neo-Nazism/right-wing extremism and left-wing extremism (Kendall's $\text{Tau-}b = 0.33^{**}$) and between Islamism and left-wing extremism (Kendall's $\text{Tau-}b = 0.38^{**}$).⁶⁰

Young people aged 15–18 are in many ways at a turning point in their lives. It is when they are likely to start thinking about the future, dreaming but perhaps also worrying about what lies ahead for them later in life. In the 2024–5 survey, pupils were asked to answer a number of questions about how worried they were about the direction taken by society in the coming five years. Their responses are presented in Table 3.8.

The issue that concerned most of them was rising crime. 39 per cent of pupils said they were concerned and 38 per cent said they were extremely concerned about it. This was where there was a particularly clear link with political interest: 55 per cent of pupils who said they were very interested in politics also said they were very

concerned about rising crime compared to 28 per cent of pupils who said they were not at all interested in politics. This accurately reflects the concerns found in other surveys. In Brå's national crime survey of 2024, 50 per cent of respondents said they were very concerned about crime in society.⁶¹ In the annual SOM Institute national survey in 2024, 72 per cent said they were very worried about organised crime in future.⁶²

A relatively large proportion of pupils were also concerned it would be more difficult for young people to find housing, a fear greatest among pupils in Year 3 of upper secondary school: 34 per cent of them said they were very worried compared to 13 per cent of pupils in Year 9 of compulsory school. The difference suggests the problem feels remote to younger pupils and more pressing at the end of upper secondary school.

The issue of Environment/climate change came third on the list of concerns. Here, however, there was a clear gender difference. While 37 per cent of girls said they were very worried about Environment/climate change, only 17 per cent of boys said the same. Pupils' choice of upper secondary school programme also influenced the likelihood they would worry about Environment/climate change, as 34 per cent of pupils in academic programmes said they were very worried compared to 14 per cent of pupils in vocational programmes.

Certain changes are evident compared to the 2013 survey. At that point only 22 per cent of pupils worried about war compared to 54 per cent in the 2024–5 survey, while 28 per cent worried about terrorist attacks in 2013 compared to 57 per cent in 2024–5. Another difference was immigration. In 2013, 36 per cent were concerned about rising immigration, while 45% gave that response in the 2024–5 survey.

4. Pupils' responses about minorities in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys

This chapter is a general presentation of the pupils' responses to a number of questions or statements about seven minority groups. Comparisons are also made with how pupils had replied in the 2013 survey and, in some cases, in 2003, though not with the 2009 survey, as it used several different questions and the respondents were limited to Years 1 and 3 of upper secondary school. Beginning with the responses about immigrants, immigration and integration, the chapter moves on to Afro-Swedes/Black people, Jews, Muslims, Roma, Sámi, and LGBT people in turn, before finishing with a couple of questions about gender equality, friendship, and human dignity.

Statements about immigrants

In the 2003 survey, the term 'immigrants' was directly linked to statements about immigration, whereas the 2013 questionnaire instead treated the term as a social category and asked about pupils' perceptions of immigrants as a group. The 2024–5 questionnaire had questions from both, but it is important to bear in mind the difference.⁶³

Figure 4.1 shows the responses to four statements about immigrants (appendix Table A1).

The analysis includes only Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents, which is standard practice in attitude research.⁶⁴ That is because it is unclear what opinion is being recorded if questions about attitudes to immigrants are put to respondents who are themselves immigrants or who has one or two immigrant parents. Further, the proportion of pupils with an immigrant background has changed since 2003 and 2013, which could affect the results of comparisons with previous surveys were all pupils to be included.⁶⁵ Note that the exclusion of other pupils has nothing to do with national identity or views about 'Swedishness', but rather is for methodological considerations. The analysis of the subsequent statements about immigration includes all pupils who answered the questions, but the various categories are reported separately to avoid demographic changes affecting the comparisons.

The first statement is a general value judgement about the minority in question. The proportion who agreed or strongly agreed with the statement 'Most immigrants are probably decent people' fell by 10 percentage points, from 71 per cent in the 2013 survey to 61 per cent in the 2024–5 survey; the proportion who disagreed increased by 8

percentage points, from 9 per cent in 2013 to 17 per cent in 2024–5.

The second statement about whether it would be acceptable to live next door to an immigrant was designed to measure social distance. The proportion of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed decreased by 10 percentage points, from 82 per cent in 2013 to 72 per cent in 2024–5. In 2024–5, 47 per cent of pupils chose 'Strongly agree' compared to 52 per cent in the 2013 survey; at the same time, the proportion who disagreed rose from 6 per cent in 2013 to 11 per cent in 2024–5.

A third statement concerned trusting people from the minority in question. The proportion of pupils who agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that immigrants cannot be trusted was just over 13 per cent in the 2024–5 survey – an increase of 6 percentage points compared to the 2013 survey. The proportion who instead disagreed fell from 68 per cent in 2013 to 64 per cent in 2024–5.

Finally, pupils were asked to respond to the statement 'There are far too many immigrants in Sweden'. The proportion of pupils who agreed or strongly agreed increased by 9 percentage points, from 34 per cent in 2013 to 43 per cent in 2024–5; the proportion who disagreed fell by 11 percentage points, from 39 per cent in 2013 to 28 per cent in 2024–5.

The pupil surveys in 2013 and 2024–5 also had a number of questions about immigration and integration, which, as noted, are distinct from attitudes to immigrants as a social category, and the reason why pupils with an immigrant background are included in the analysis; however, to facilitate comparisons over time, pupils from different backgrounds are reported separately (see above).

Figure 4.2 shows the pupils' standpoints on the statement 'Immigration is good for Swedish society' by background (Appendix Table A2). In 2013, 50 per cent of pupils who were born in

Figure 4.1. Pupils' responses to four statements about immigrants in 2013 and 2024 (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. For all statements, the differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

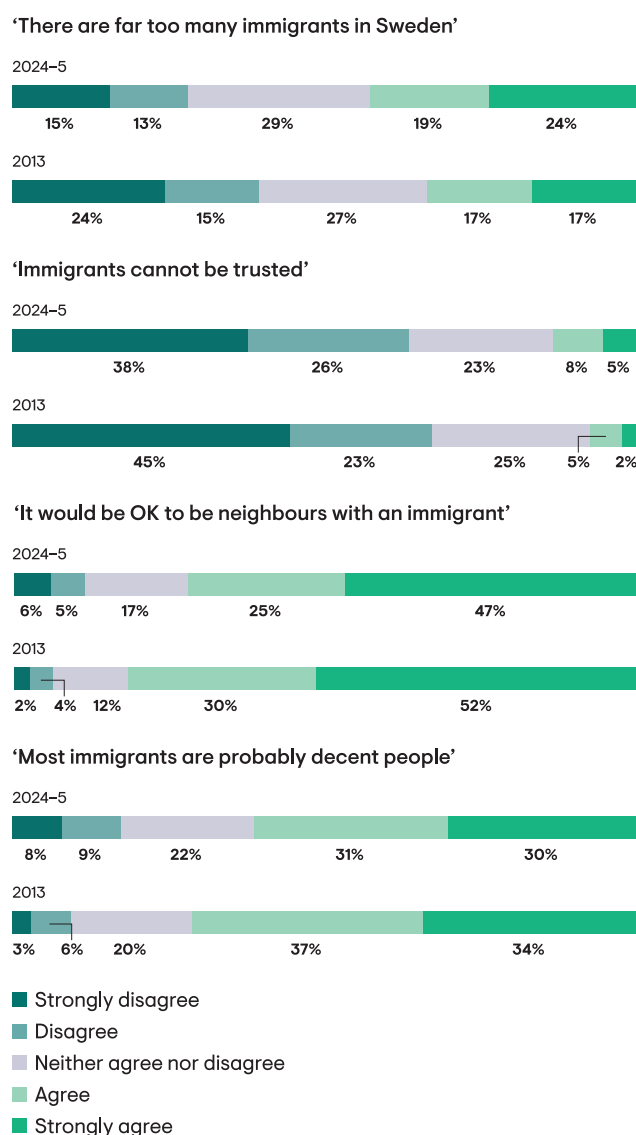
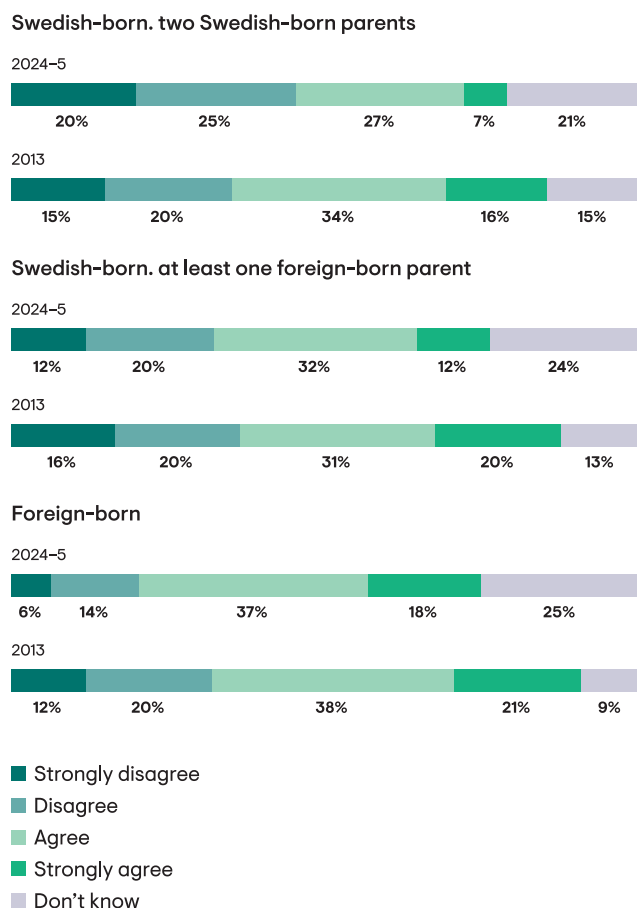


Figure 4.2. The pupils' standpoints on the statement 'Immigration is good for Swedish society' in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys by background (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils in each group. For all groups, the differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).



Sweden to two Swedish-born parents agreed with the statement, but by 2024–5 that proportion had fallen to 34 per cent. At the same time, the proportion who disagreed with the statement rose from 35 per cent in 2013 to 45 per cent in 2024–5. The proportion who said they had no opinion increased by 6 percentage points, from 15 per cent in 2013 to 21 per cent in the 2024–5 survey. The change between surveys in the response distribution was somewhat different for Swedish-born pupils with at least one foreign-born parent, a group where the proportion of affirmative responses fell from 51 per cent in 2013 to 44 per cent in 2024–5, while the proportion of negative responses also fell slightly, from 36 per cent in 2013 to 32 per cent in 2024–5. Instead, the proportion of that group who had no opinion increased by 11 percentage points, from 13 per cent in 2013 to 24 per cent in 2024–5. Among foreign-born pupils, too, the proportion who agreed with the statement fell: in 2013, 59 per cent of foreign-born pupils agreed with the statement that immigration is good for Swedish society; in the 2024–5 survey, this proportion had dropped slightly to 55 per cent. At the same time, however, the proportion who disagreed with the statement also fell, from 32 per cent in 2013 to 20 per cent in 2024–5, while the proportion who said they had no opinion increased by 16 percentage points, from 9 per cent in 2024 to 25 per cent in 2024–5.

Of Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents, the proportion who agreed with the statement 'Immigrants who want to stay in Sweden should for their own good be as like the Swedes as possible' increased slightly (47 per cent in 2013 and 50 per cent in 2024–5), whereas the proportion who disagreed fell slightly from 35 per cent in 2013 to 30 per cent in 2024–5, and the proportion with no opinion rose by 2 percentage points, from 18 to 20 per cent (Figure 4.3, Appendix Table A3).

Of Swedish-born pupils with at least one foreign-born parent, the proportion who agreed with the statement fell from 49 per cent in 2013 to 41 per cent in 2024–5. The proportion who disagreed was the same in both surveys (38 per cent), while the proportion who had no opinion increased by 8 percentage points, from 13 per cent in 2013 to 21 per cent in 2024–5.

Finally, among foreign-born pupils, the proportion agreeing with the statement fell by 13 percentage points, from 49 per cent in 2013 to 36 per cent in 2024–5, while the proportion who disagreed rose from 34 per cent in 2013 to 40 per cent in 2024–5, and the proportion who had no opinion rose from 17 per cent in 2013 to 24 per cent in 2024–5.

As shown in Figure 4.4, of the Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents the proportion who agreed with the statement 'Excessive immigration from countries outside Europe is destroying Swedish culture' also increased by 7 percentage points, from 43 per cent in 2013 to 51 per cent in 2024–5 (Appendix Table A4), but the proportion who disagreed fell from 37 per cent in 2013 to 29 per cent in the 2024–5 survey. The proportion who did not have an opinion remained the same at 20 per cent.

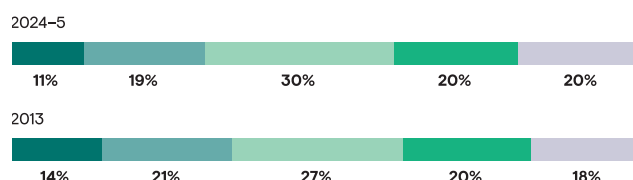
Of the Swedish-born pupils with at least one foreign-born parent, the proportion of affirmative responses fell slightly, from 42 per cent in 2013 to 39 per cent in 2024–5. The proportion who disagreed with the statement also fell slightly, from 40 per cent in 2013 to 37 per cent in 2024–5, while the proportion who had no opinion rose from 18 per cent in 2013 to 24 per cent in 2024–5.

Among foreign-born pupils, the proportion who agreed with the statement fell by 7 percentage points, from 36 per cent in 2013 to 29 per cent in 2024–5. The proportion who disagreed remained almost unchanged (42 per cent in 2013 compared to 41 per cent in 2024–5), while

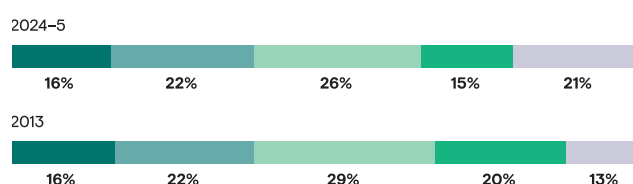
Figure 4.3. The pupils' standpoints on the statement 'Immigrants who want to stay in Sweden should for their own good be as like the Swedes as possible' in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys by background (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils in each group. For all groups, the differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

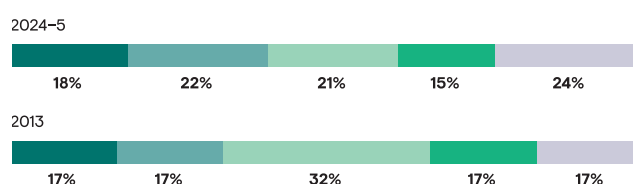
Swedish-born. two Swedish-born parents



Swedish-born. at least one foreign-born parent



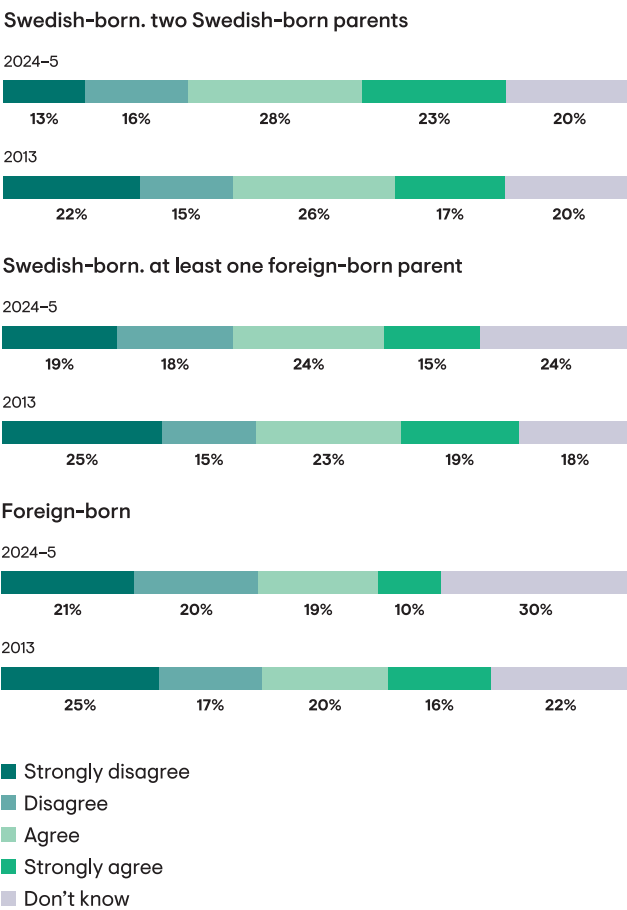
Foreign-born



■ Strongly disagree
 ■ Disagree
 ■ Agree
 ■ Strongly agree
 ■ Don't know

Figure 4.4. The pupils’ standpoints on the statement ‘Excessive immigration from countries outside Europe is destroying Swedish culture’ in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys by background (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils in each group. For all groups, the differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

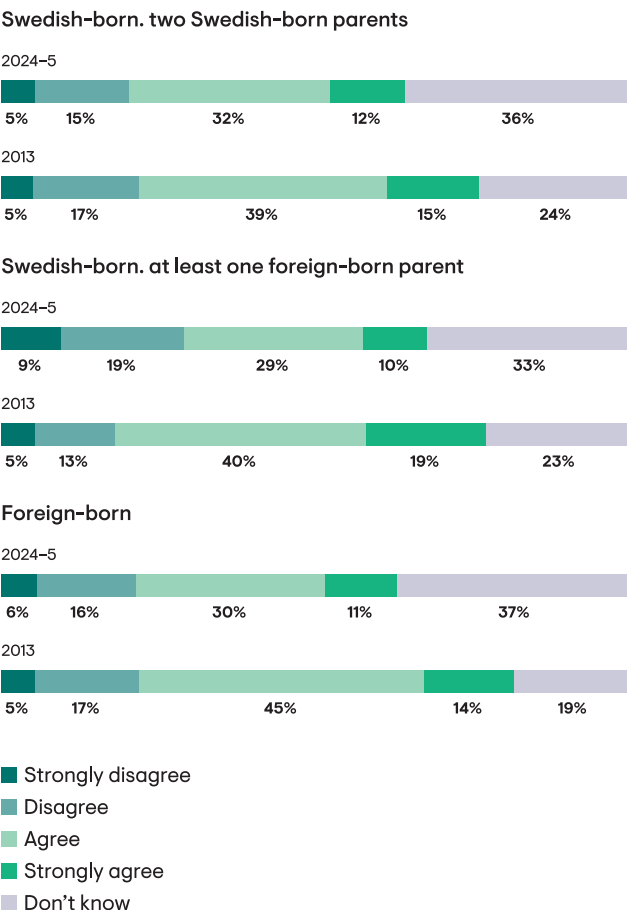


the proportion who said they had no opinion increased from 22 per cent in 2013 to 30 per cent in 2024–5.

Pupils were also asked to respond to the statement ‘Swedes are more open-minded and generous towards refugees than other nationalities are’ (Figure 4.5, Table A5). The proportion of Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents who agreed with the statement fell by 10 percentage points, from 54 per cent in 2013 to 44

Figure 4.5. The pupils’ standpoints on the statement ‘Swedes are more open-minded and generous to refugees than other nationalities are’ in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys by background (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils in each group. For all groups, the differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).



per cent in 2024–5. The proportion who disagreed fell slightly from 22 per cent in 2013 to 20 per cent in 2024–5, while the proportion with no opinion rose by 12 percentage points, from 24 per cent in 2013 to 36 per cent in 2024–5.

The decline in the proportion of affirmative responses was even greater among Swedish-born pupils with at least one foreign-born parent. In the 2013 survey, 59 per cent agreed with the statement; in 2024–5, the proportion was 39 per cent.

At the same time, the proportion who disagreed rose from 18 per cent in 2013 to 28 per cent in 2024–5, while the proportion with no opinion also increased, from 23 per cent in 2013 to 33 per cent in 2024–5.

In the 2013 survey, 59 per cent of foreign-born pupils agreed with the statement 'Swedes are more open-minded and generous to refugees than other nationalities are'. By 2024–5, the proportion had fallen to 41 per cent. The proportion who disagreed was the same in both surveys (22 per cent), while the proportion with no opinion increased by 18 percentage points, from 19 per cent in 2013 to 37 per cent in 2024–5.

Finally, pupils were asked for their views about asylum seekers. In the 2024–5 survey, 40 per cent of Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement 'Sweden should continue to accept refugees'. In the 2003 and 2013 surveys, the corresponding figures were 58 and 56 per cent respectively (Figure 4.6, Appendix Table A6). Meanwhile, the proportion who disagreed rose from 21 and 20 per cent in the 2003 and 2013 surveys respectively to 32 per cent in 2024–5.

Among Swedish-born pupils with at least one foreign-born parent, support for the continued reception of asylum seekers fell from 66 per cent in 2003 and 60 per cent in 2013 to 45 per cent in the 2024–5 survey. The proportion who disagreed rose from 15 per cent in 2003 and 19 per cent in 2013 to 24 per cent in 2024–5.

Even among foreign-born pupils, the proportion who agreed with the statement fell from 82 per cent in 2003 and 56 per cent in 2013 to 53 per cent in 2024–5, while proportion who instead disagreed rose from 6 per cent in 2003 to 14 per cent in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys. Among these pupils the greatest change in attitude to asylum seekers and refugees came as early as 2003–2013, and not, as was the case for the other two groups of pupils, in 2013–2024–5.

Figure 4.6. The pupils' standpoints on the statement 'Sweden should continue to accept refugees' in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys by background (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils in each group. For all groups, the differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

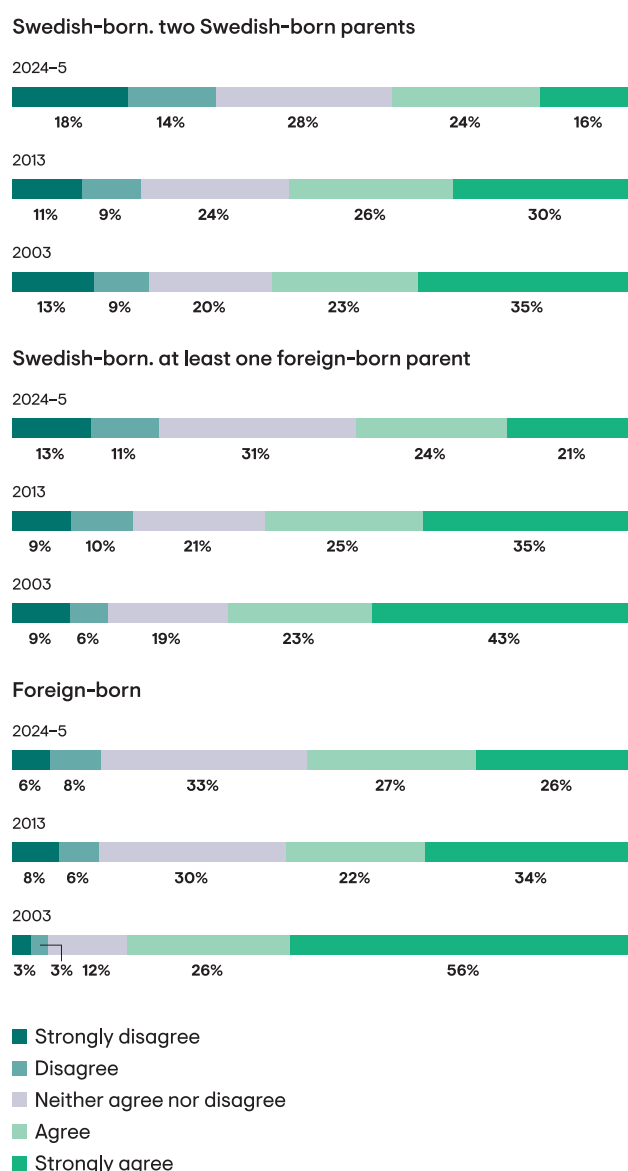
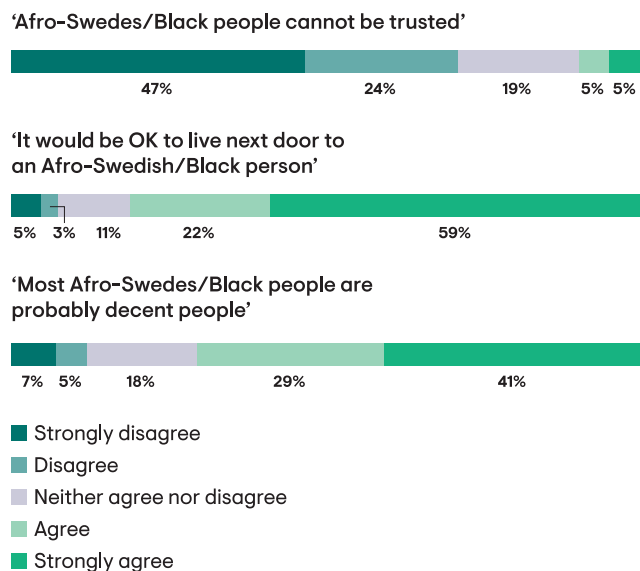


Figure 4.7. The pupils' standpoints on three statements about Afro-Swedes/Black people in the 2024–5 survey (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils.



To summarise, the majority of pupils did not express negative attitudes; however, the proportion who did have negative attitudes increased slightly compared to 2013 in terms of attitudes not only to immigrants as a social category, but also to immigration and asylum seekers. The proportion who did not express any negative views about immigrants fell from 62 per cent in 2013 to 54 per cent in 2024–5, though the proportion who expressed negative views in all four statements about immigrants (Figure 4.1) increased from 2 per cent in 2013 to 5 per cent in 2024–5.

There are slight differences between pupils from different backgrounds. While Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents are now more likely than they were a decade ago to question whether immigration is good for Swedish society, the trend is less obvious among pupils with a immigrant background themselves or with one foreign-born parent, a larger proportion of whom also said they have no

opinion, unlike Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents.

These more negative attitudes to asylum seekers echo the results of the SOM Institute's annual surveys of Swedish public opinion about asylum seekers, which have been conducted since 1990. In the 2024 national SOM survey, which includes young people from the age of 16, 56 per cent of all respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the idea that Sweden accept fewer refugees. The proportion holding that view has remained relatively stable since the 2016 survey, when opposition to asylum seekers rose sharply compared to 2015.⁶⁶

Statements about Afro-Swedes/Black people

The Living History Forum's 2024–5 survey included for the first time a number of statements about Afro-Swedes/Black people. As shown in Figure 4.7, 70 per cent of pupils agreed with the statement 'Most Afro-Swedes/Black people are probably decent people', while 12 per cent disagreed (Appendix Table A7). 81 per cent responded that they could imagine having an Afro-Swedes/Black person as a neighbour, while just under 8 per cent disagreed. 10 per cent agreed with the statement 'Afro-Swedes/Black people cannot be trusted', while 71 per cent disagreed.

Combine the responses to the three statements and it is evident that 81 per cent of pupils did not express any negative attitudes, while 4 per cent displayed a negative attitude. As these statements were included for the first time in 2024–5, it is not possible to comment on trends over time. It is worth noting that in the Diversity Barometer 2024, based on responses from 1,171 people aged 18–75, 33 per cent said they would consider moving if 'too many people from Africa' moved into their block of flats. In the same survey, 47 per cent responded that they believed a residential area with people from Africa would

experience greater social problems and higher crime rates than other areas with a Swedish-born population.⁶⁷ This indicates a higher proportion of negative attitudes than found by the Living History Forum's pupil survey in 2024–5. The difference may reflect the fact that different age groups were surveyed, but also that the surveys worded their statements differently. Further, the Diversity Barometer 2024 asked about immigrants 'from Africa', while the statements in the pupil survey refer to 'Afro-Swedes/Black people', a category that pupils may perceive differently.

Statements about Jews

Figure 4.8 shows pupils' responses to the statements 'Most Jews are probably decent people' and 'It would be OK to be neighbours with a Jewish person' (Appendix Table A8). For both statements, the proportion of affirmative responses decreased in the 2024–5 survey compared to the 2003 and 2013 surveys, and especially the latter. In 2024–5, 68 per cent agreed with the statement 'Most Jews are probably decent people', whereas in 2013 the corresponding figure was 78 per cent and in 2003 it was 61 per cent. Further, 10 per cent disagreed with the statement in the 2024–5 survey compared to 6–7 per cent in the 2013 and 2003 surveys. In the 2024–5 survey, 79 per cent of pupils agreed with the statement 'It would be OK to be neighbours with a Jewish person'. The corresponding figures were 84 per cent in the 2013 survey and 83 per cent in 2003.

Compared to the previous surveys, there was also a slightly higher proportion of pupils in 2024–5 who agreed with the statement 'Jews cannot be trusted' (Figure 4.9, Appendix Table A8). 10 per cent agreed compared to 6 per cent in 2013 and 8 per cent in 2003. In the 2024–5 survey, 9 per cent agreed with the statement 'There are far too many Jews in Sweden' compared to 8 per cent in the 2013 survey and 12 per cent in 2003.

Figure 4.8. The pupils' standpoints on two statements about Jews in the 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 surveys (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils who do not identify as Jewish. For both statements, the differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

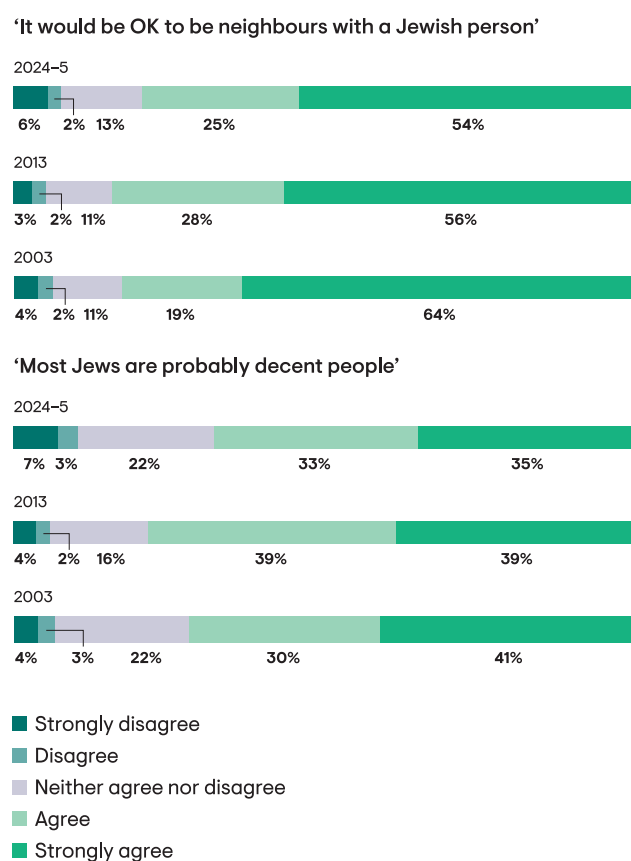
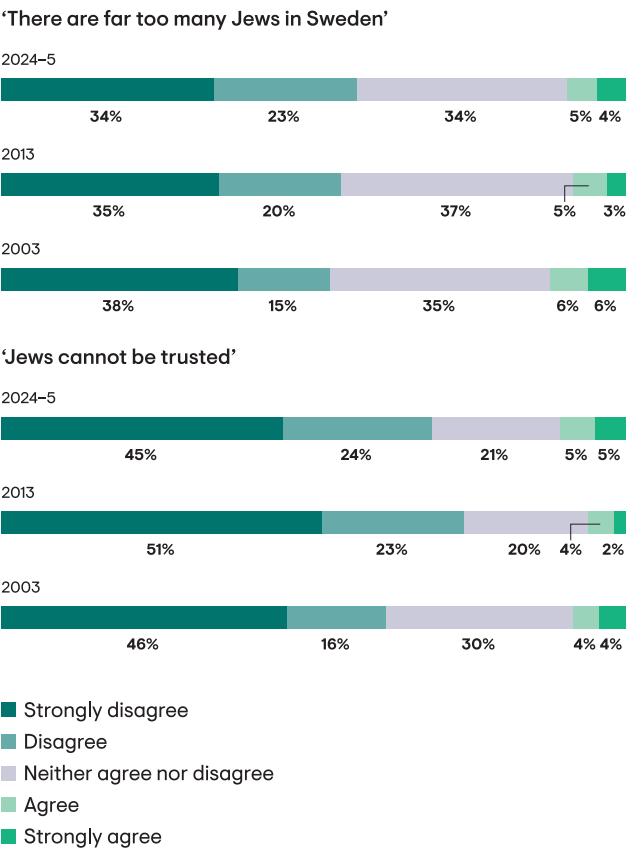


Figure 4.9. The pupils' standpoints on two statements about Jews in the 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 surveys (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils who do not identify as Jewish. For both statements, the differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).



As in previous surveys, moreover, the questionnaire had two statements reflecting classic antisemitic stereotypes. The first is 'It is true to say that Jews are stingy'. As shown in Figure 4.10 (also Appendix Table A9), 13 per cent of pupils in the 2024–5 survey agreed compared to 10 per cent in 2013 and 12 per cent in 2003. 50 per cent of pupils, however, disagreed with the statement, which is on a par with the 2013 survey (49 per cent) and higher than in the 2003 survey (43 per cent). It should be noted that all three surveys had a relatively large proportion of pupils who expressed doubts about the statement (37–45 per cent).

The second statement is based on the conspiracy theory about Jewish power and influence: 'Jews have too much influence in the world today'. As shown in Figure 4.11 (also Appendix Table A10), the proportion of pupils in 2024–5 who agreed was 24 per cent, which was higher than in 2013 (15 per cent) and 2003 (16 per cent), while the proportion who disagreed was roughly the same as the previous surveys. Further, a relatively large proportion expressed their uncertainty by responding 'Don't know' in all three surveys, but this proportion fell from 42 per cent in 2013 to 34 per cent in 2024–5.

The questionnaire also had a statement about Nazi Germany and the Holocaust in contemporary historical culture: 'There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of Jews'. Agreeing with this statement is not necessarily a sign of antisemitism. For example, it might reflect a wish to give greater attention to other historical events and genocides, but the level of interest in the Holocaust is for some reason thought to be an obstacle. In that view, history teaching is a zero-sum game. It could also be an expression of a lack of interest or a sense of being weary of the subject. However, agreeing with the statement

may also express a desire to draw a line under the Nazi past and the Holocaust and to commit the atrocities of Nazi Germany to oblivion. International and Swedish surveys have demonstrated there is a link between an unwillingness to treat the Holocaust as a historical subject and antisemitic attitudes.

As shown in Figure 4.12 (also Appendix Table A11), 24 per cent of pupils agreed with this statement in the 2024–5 survey, which is the same level as in 2013. However, the proportion who disagreed rose to 49 per cent compared to 41 per cent in 2013 and 37 per cent in 2003.

Finally, two questions were included about Judaism as a religion and the right of Swedish Jews to build synagogues. Figure 4.13 (also Appendix Table A12) shows pupils' attitudes to Judaism as a religion. It shows that the distribution of responses was largely the same in both surveys: the proportion with a positive attitude to Judaism decreased slightly, from 26 per cent in 2013 to 22 per cent in 2024–5, while the proportion with a negative attitude increased from 18 per cent to 21 per cent.

Pupils were also asked to respond to the statement 'Jews in Sweden should have the right to build synagogues (religious premises)' (Figure 4.14, Appendix Table A13). In 2024–5, 60 per cent of pupils agreed compared to 48 per cent in 2013 and 51 per cent in 2003. Meanwhile, the proportion who disagreed with the statement fell from 22 per cent in 2003 and 27 per cent in 2013 to 18 per cent in the 2024–5 survey.

Even among pupils who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement 'Most Jews are probably decent people', acceptance of the right to build synagogues in Sweden has risen from 8 per cent in the 2003 survey to 32 per cent in the 2024–5 survey (Appendix Table A14). This

Figure 4.10. The pupils' standpoints on the statement 'It is true to say that Jews are stingy' in the 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 surveys.

Note: The sample is all pupils who do not identify as Jewish. The difference between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

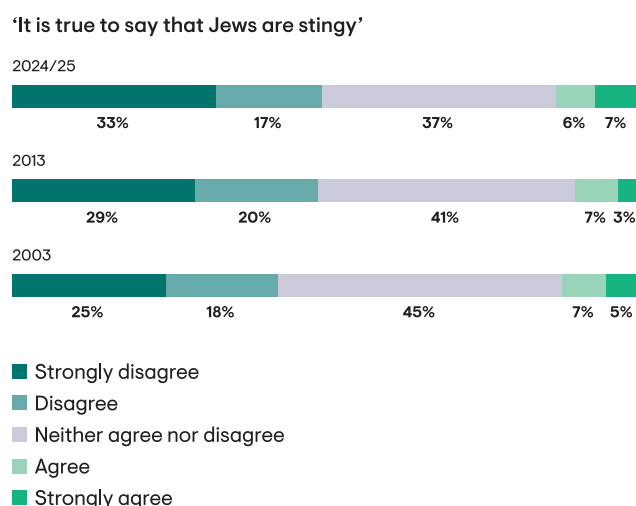


Figure 4.11. The pupils' standpoints on the statement 'Jews have too much influence in the world today' in the 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 surveys (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils who do not identify as Jewish. The difference between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

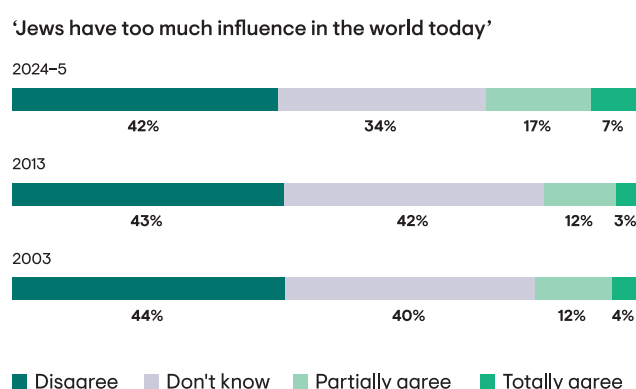
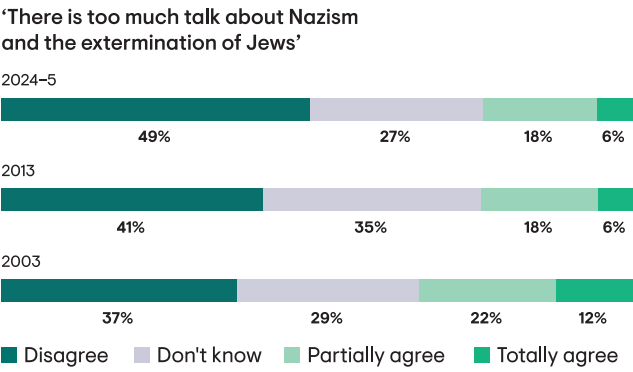


Figure 4.12. The pupils’ standpoints on the statement ‘There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of Jews’ in the 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 surveys (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils who do not identify as Jewish. The difference between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys is statistically significant ($p<0.01$).

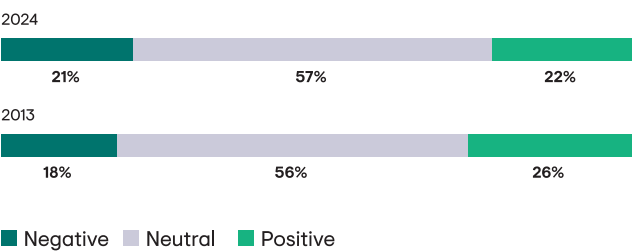


indicates that at least some pupils can express intolerant views about a group while simultaneously expressing religious tolerance towards the same group (see the next section).

To summarise, with the exception of the statement about synagogues, the results from 2024–5 show a slightly higher proportion of non-Jewish pupils have negative attitudes to Jews compared to the 2013 survey. For six statements (Figures 4.8–4.11), the proportion of pupils who did not express any negative attitudes has decreased from 69 per cent in 2013 to 62 per cent in 2024–5; the proportion who, on the other hand, expressed negative attitudes in response to all six statements stood at 1 per cent in both surveys. The largest increase in negative responses related to the statement ‘Jews have too much influence

Figure 4.13. Pupils’ attitudes to Judaism in 2013 and 2024–5 (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The question was ‘What do you think of the following world religions/beliefs?’ They were asked to respond using a scale ranging from 0 (very negative) to 10 (very positive). The response ‘Neither agree nor disagree’ was assigned a value of 5. The group that selected a value 0–4 are categorised as negative; those who selected the value 5 are considered neutral; and those who selected a value 6–10 are considered here to have a positive attitude. The sample is all pupils who do not identify as Jewish.



in the world today’. The relatively small increase in negative attitudes may seem surprising, given the considerable attention paid in recent years to the prevalence of antisemitism in Swedish society and in many parts of the world. One explanation for the limited increase may be that the questions asked in the pupil survey do not address Israel per se.⁶⁸

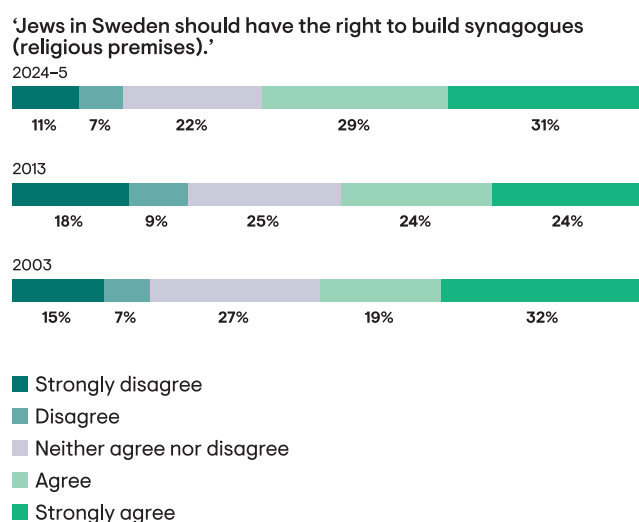
Statements about Muslims

Figures 4.15 and 4.16 show the distribution of responses to four questions used in the surveys of 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 (Appendix Table A15).

63 per cent of non-Muslim pupils in the 2024–5 survey agreed or strongly agreed with the statement ‘Most Muslims are probably decent people’,

Figure 4.14. The pupils' standpoints on the statement 'Jews in Sweden should have the right to build synagogues (religious premises)' in the surveys of 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils who do not identify as Jewish. The difference between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

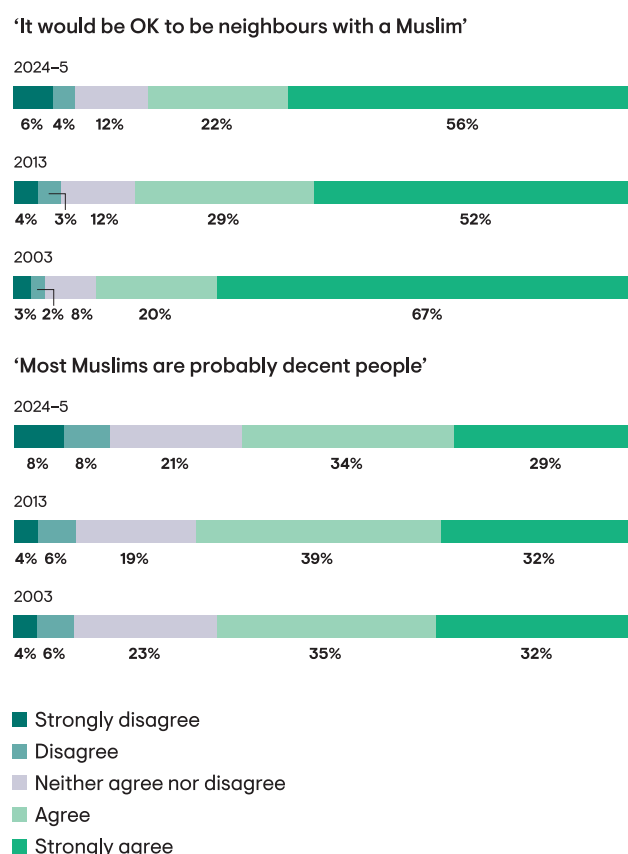


while 16 per cent disagreed. This was a smaller proportion of agreement and a larger proportion of disagreement than in either the 2003 or the 2013 survey. In the 2003 survey, 67 per cent of non-Muslim pupils agreed with the statement, while 10 per cent disagreed. By 2013, the proportion of affirmative responses had risen to 71 per cent, while negative responses remained at 10 per cent.

The same trend is evident in the pupils' standpoints on the statement 'It would be OK to be neighbours with a Muslim person'. In 2024–5, 78 per cent of non-Muslim pupils agreed with the statement compared to 87 per cent in 2003 and 80 per cent in 2013. In the 2003 survey, by contrast, 5 per cent disagreed. By 2013, that proportion had risen to 8 per cent, and in 2024–5, 10 per cent of pupils disagreed with the statement.

Figure 4.15. The pupils' standpoints on a number of statements about Muslims in the 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 surveys (per cent, weighted data).

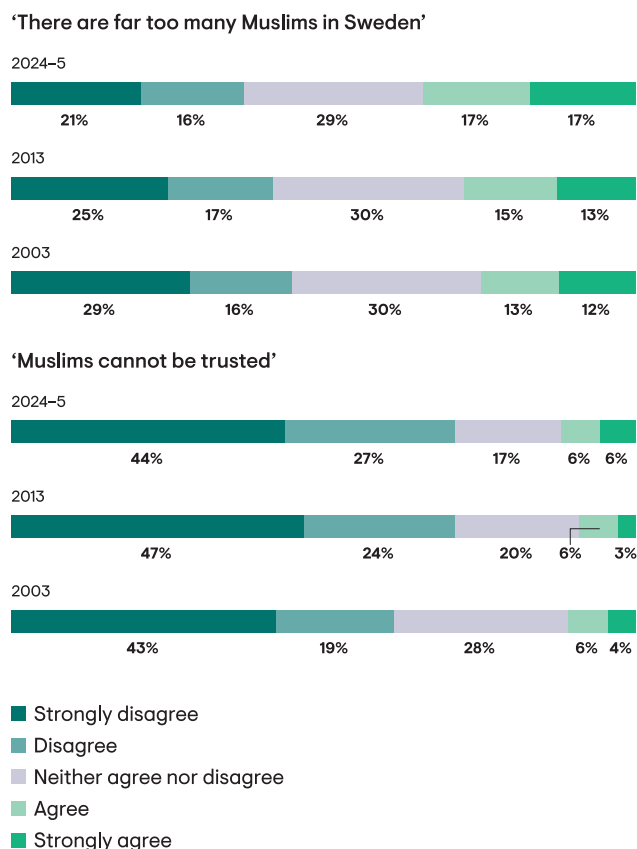
ote: The sample is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim. For both statements, the differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).



The proportion of pupils who agreed with the statement 'Muslims cannot be trusted increased' slightly in the 2024–5 survey compared to the 2013 survey (Figure 4.16). In 2024–5, 12 per cent of non-Muslim pupils agreed, which is slightly more than in 2013 (9 per cent) and 2003 (10 per cent). In 2003, 62 per cent of pupils disagreed with the statement. In the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys, the proportion of respondents who disagreed was higher, at 71 per

Figure 4.16. The pupils' standpoints on a number of statements about Muslims in the 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 surveys (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim. For both statements, the differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

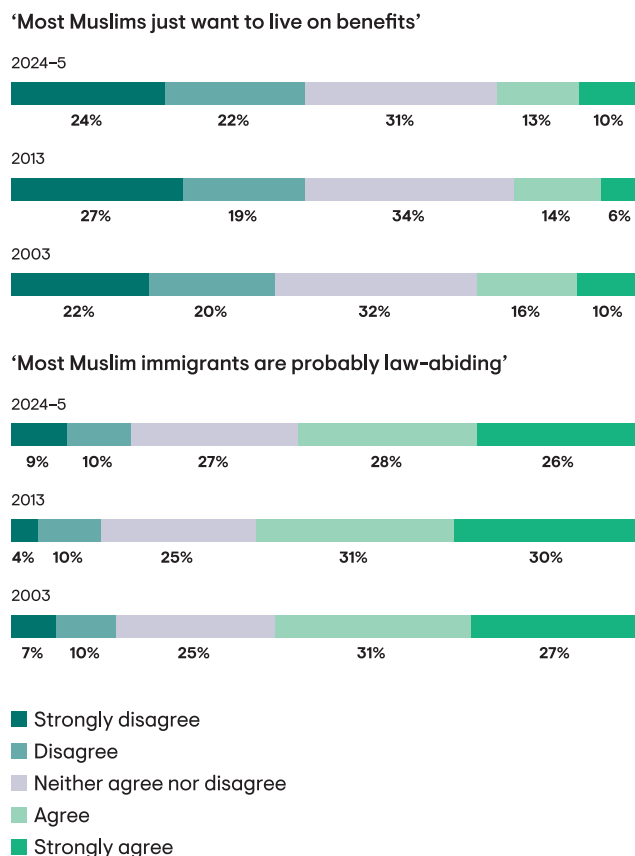


cent. Just over 34 per cent of non-Muslim pupils in the 2024–5 survey also agreed with the statement 'There are far too many Muslims in Sweden', which was more than in the 2003 (25 per cent) and 2013 (28 per cent) surveys. At the same time, the proportion of pupils who disagreed fell from 45 per cent in 2003 and 42 per cent in 2013 to 37 per cent (2024–5).

Figure 4.17 shows the responses to two further statements that were also in the 2003 and 2013 surveys (Appendix Table A16). The first was 'Most Muslim immigrants are probably law-abiding'. In

Figure 4.17. The pupils' standpoints on a number of statements about Muslims in the 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 surveys (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim. For both statements, the differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).



2024–5, 54 per cent of non-Muslim pupils agreed with the statement – marginally lower than in 2003 (58 per cent) and 7 percentage points lower than in 2013 (61 per cent). In the 2024–5 survey, 19 per cent of non-Muslim pupils disagreed with the statement. The corresponding figures were 17 per cent in 2003 and 14 per cent in 2013.

The second statement concerned welfare benefits: 'Most Muslims just want to live on benefits'. In 2024–5, 23 per cent of non-Muslim pupils agreed – 3 percentage points lower than in 2003

but 3 percentage points higher than in 2013. The proportion who disagreed with the statement was 46 per cent in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys, which was slightly higher than in the 2003 survey (42 per cent).

The 2013 and 2024–5 surveys also included the statement ‘Muslim men are more likely than other men to oppress women’. As shown in Figure 4.18, 50 per cent of non-Muslim pupils agreed with the statement in the 2024–5 survey, which was 3 percentage points lower than in 2013 (Appendix Table A17). The proportion who disagreed fell slightly from 20 per cent in the 2013 survey to 17 per cent in the 2024–5 survey. The proportion who had no opinion increased by 6 percentage points, from 27 per cent in 2013 to 33 per cent in the 2024–5 survey.

The statements thus far concern Muslims, but how do pupils view Islam as a religion? As shown in Figure 4.19, 36 per cent of non-Muslim pupils in the 2024–5 survey expressed a negative attitude to Islam, while 17 per cent had a positive attitude and 47 per cent said they had neither a negative nor a positive attitude to the religion. Compared to the 2013 survey, pupils with a neutral or positive attitude decreased slightly (by 3 and 2 percentage points respectively), while the proportion with a negative attitude increased by 5 percentage points.

When asked whether Muslims should have the right to build mosques in Sweden, non-Muslim pupils in 2024–5 were more positive than in the Living History Forum’s previous surveys. As shown in Figure 4.20, 56 per cent of pupils agreed with the statement in 2024–5 compared to 52 per cent in 2003 and 42 per cent in 2013. This points in the same direction as the SOM survey of 2024–5, which found the youngest group of respondents were most positive about immigrants’ right to freely practise their religion in Sweden.⁶⁹

The trend is similar in responses to the statement ‘TV presenters should be allowed to wear

Figure 4.18. The pupils’ standpoints on the statement ‘Muslim men are more likely than other men to oppress women’ in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim. The difference between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

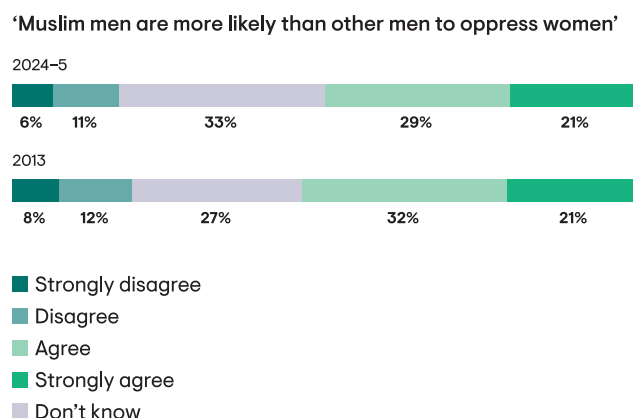


Figure 4.19. Pupils’ attitudes to Islam as a religion in 2013 and 2024–5 (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The question was ‘What do you think of the following world religions/beliefs?’ Respondents were asked to respond using scale ranging from 0 (very negative) to 10 (very positive). The response option ‘Neither agree nor disagree’ was assigned a value of 5. The group that selected a value 0–4 are categorised as negative; those who selected the value 5 are considered neutral; and those who selected a value 6–10 are considered here to have a positive attitude. The sample is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim.

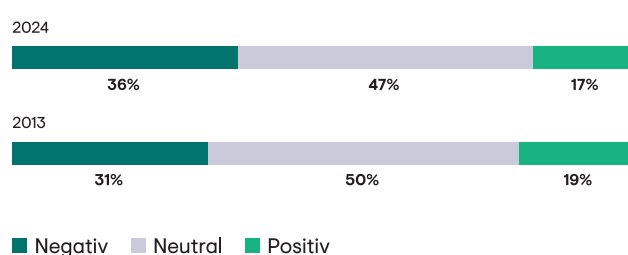


Figure 4.20. The pupils' standpoints on the statement 'Muslims in Sweden should have the right to build mosques (religious premises)' in the surveys of 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The difference between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

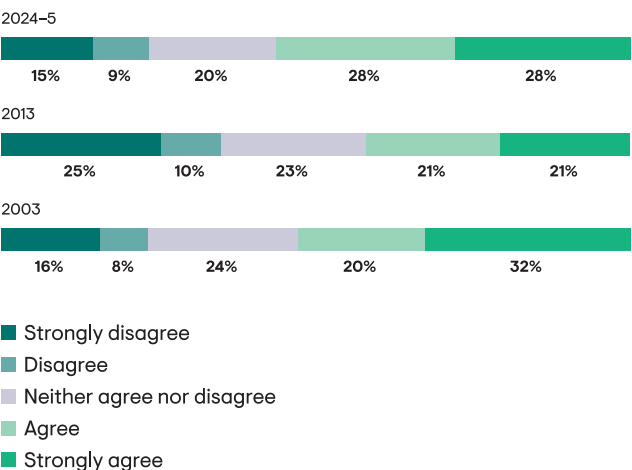
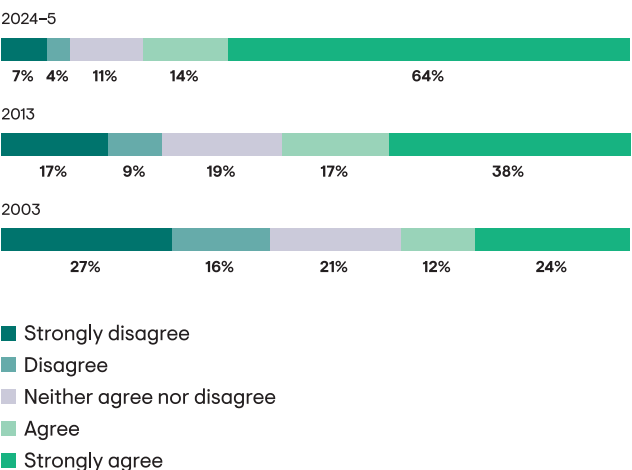


Figure 4.21. The pupils' standpoints on the statement 'TV presenters should be allowed to wear headscarves' in the 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 surveys (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim. The difference between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).



headscarves'. 78 per cent of non-Muslim pupils agreed with the statement in the 2024–5 survey compared to 36 per cent in 2003 and 55 per cent in 2013 (Figure 4.21, Appendix Table A20). In the 2003 survey, 43 per cent disagreed; in 2013, the proportion of negative responses was 26 per cent, whereas only 11 per cent of non-Muslim pupils disagreed with the statement in 2024–5.

Is the same true of all non-Muslim pupils, whatever their attitude otherwise to Muslims? A more detailed analysis shows that compared to 2013, a larger proportion of the non-Muslim pupils in 2024–5 who disagreed with the statements 'Most Muslims are probably decent people' and 'It would be OK to be neighbours with a Muslim person' had agreed with statements about rights of Muslims to build mosques in Sweden or Swedish TV presenters to wear headscarves onscreen (Appendix Table A21). It would seem that acceptance of new mosques and presenters wearing headscarves has also increased among the group who have negative attitudes to Muslims.

Apart from the statements about mosques and headscarves, the broad picture is that the proportion of non-Muslim pupils who have negative attitudes to Muslims has increased slightly in the 2024–5 survey compared to 2013. However, that increase is not particularly large, and it should also be noted that the proportion of pupils who did not express negative attitudes to Muslims in any of the seven statements (Figures 4.16–4.19) rose from 36 per cent in 2013 to 38 per cent in 2024–5.

Statements about Roma

There were neither questions nor statements about Roma in the Living History Forum's 2003 survey: they were first introduced in the 2009 survey. The 2013 survey used four new statements, and they were the ones repeated in the 2024–5 survey. The distribution of responses is shown in Figure 4.22 (also Appendix Table A22).

In the 2013 survey, 66 per cent of pupils agreed with the statement 'Most Roma are probably decent people'. In 2024–5, the proportion agreeing with the statement was slightly lower (63 per cent); however, a slightly higher proportion (73 per cent) agreed in 2024–5 with the statement 'It would be OK to be neighbours with a Roma' compared to the 2013 survey (71 per cent). In 2013, 9 per cent agreed with the statement 'Roma cannot be trusted'; by 2024–5, that proportion had increased to 12 per cent. Finally, a slightly smaller proportion (12 per cent) agreed in 2024–5 with the statement 'There are far too many Roma in Sweden' compared to 2013 (14 per cent).

The 2013 and 2024–5 surveys also had a statement reused from the 2009 pupil survey – with slightly different wording – to reflect classic antigypsyism: 'Roma are more likely than others to be involved in crime'.⁷⁰ As shown in Figure 4.23 (also Appendix Table A23), the proportion of pupils who agreed with the statement fell by 6 percentage points, from just under 18 per cent in the 2013 survey to 12 per cent in 2024–5.⁷¹ However, the proportion who disagreed was almost the same in both surveys. Instead, it was the pupils with no opinion who increased in the 2024–5 survey.

Figure 4.22. The pupils' standpoints on a number of statements about Roma in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils. For all statements, the differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

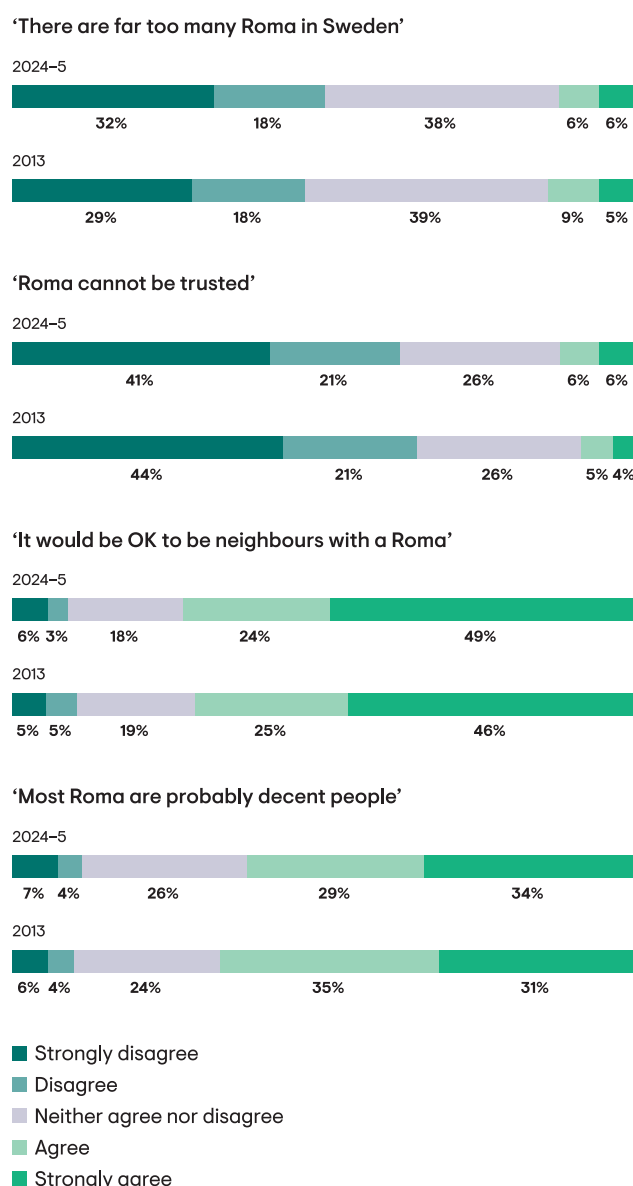


Figure 4.23. The pupils’ standpoints on the statement ‘Roma are more likely than others to be involved in crime’ in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils. The difference between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

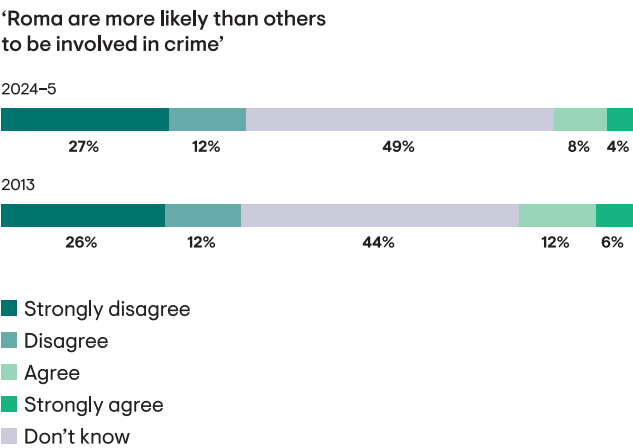
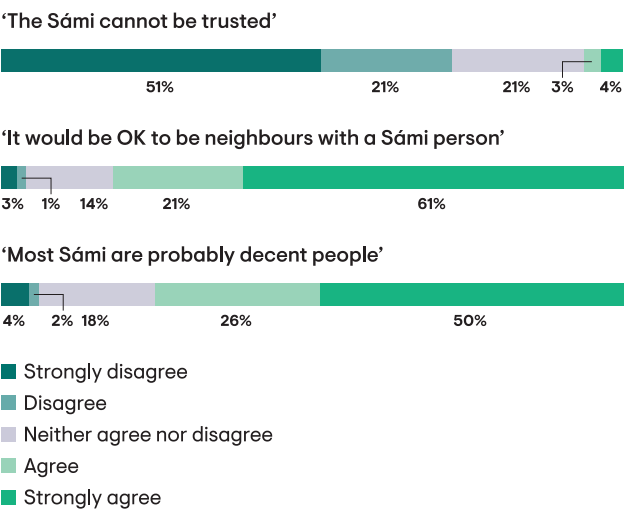


Figure 4.24. The pupils’ standpoints on three statements about the Sámi in the 2024–5 survey (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils.



Taking all the responses together, there are clear-cut differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys. The proportion of responses reflecting a negative attitude to Roma increased for some statements, but decreased for others. It should be noted that the proportion of pupils who expressed no negative attitudes to the Roma in any of the five statements increased from 68 per cent in 2013 to 72 per cent in 2024–5. At the same time, the proportion who instead expressed only negative views in all five statements fell from 3 per cent in 2013 to 2 per cent in 2024–5.

Statements about the Sámi

The Sámi are a group who did not feature in any of the Living History Forum’s” surveys until the 2024–5 survey.

At that point three questions were asked about the minority in the form of statements. The distribution of responses is shown in Figure 4.24 (also Appendix Table A24). 76 per cent agreed with the statement ‘Most Sámi people are probably decent people’, while 6 per cent disagreed. 82 per cent could envisage living next door to a Sámi person compared to 4 per cent who disagreed and 14 per cent who said they were unsure. 7 per cent agreed or strongly agreed with the statement ‘Sámi people cannot be trusted’, while 72 per cent disagreed and 21 per cent chose ‘Neither agree nor disagree’.

In total, 88 per cent of pupils expressed no negative views whatsoever when responding to the three statements, while 1 per cent expressed negative attitudes in all three responses.

Statements about LGBT people

Figure 4.25 shows the pupils' standpoints on three statements about LGBT people in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys (Appendix Table A25, which also includes the results from 2003.)

The proportion of pupils who agreed or strongly agreed with the statement 'Most homosexual, bisexual and transgender people are probably decent people' fell by 21 percentage points, from 85 per cent in 2013 to 63 per cent in 2024–5. At the same time, the proportion who disagreed or strongly disagreed rose from 4 per cent in 2013 to 18 per cent in 2024–5.

For the statement 'It would be OK to be neighbours with a gay, bisexual, or trans person', the proportion of respondents who agreed fell from 84 per cent in 2013 to 67 per cent in the 2024–5 survey. Meanwhile, the proportion of respondents who disagreed increased from 6 per cent in 2013 to 18 per cent in 2024–5. The proportion who agreed with the statement 'Homosexuals, bisexuals and transgender people cannot be trusted' increased from 6 per cent in 2013 to 15 per cent in 2024–5.

The 2013 and 2024–5 surveys also had the statement 'Being homosexual is just as natural as being heterosexual'. As shown in Figure 4.26, the proportion who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement rose by 21 percentage points, from 19 per cent in 2013 to 40 per cent in 2024–5 (Appendix Table A26). At the same time, the proportion who agreed with the statement fell from 74 per cent in 2013 to 43 per cent in 2024–5 – a drop of 30 percentage points.

Figure 4.25. The pupils' standpoints on three statements about LGBT people in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils who identify as heterosexual. For all statements, the differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

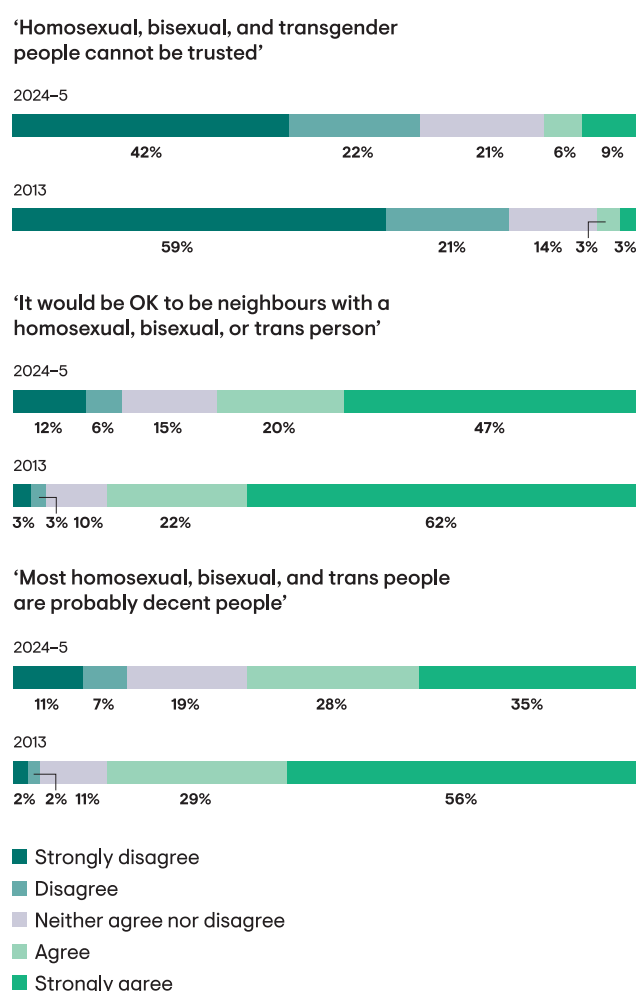
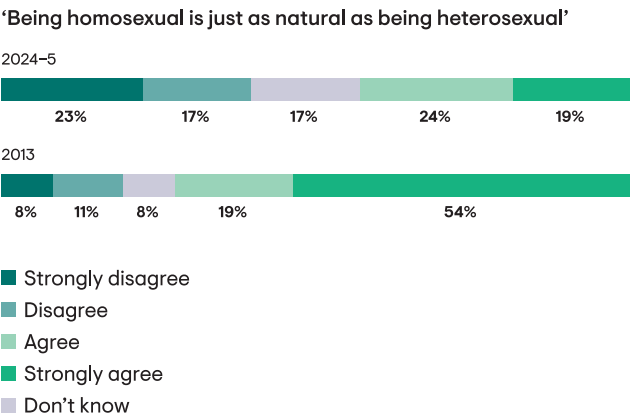


Figure 4.26. The pupils’ standpoints on the statement ‘Being homosexual is just as natural as being heterosexual’ in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils who identify as heterosexual. The difference between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys is statistically significant ($p<0.01$).



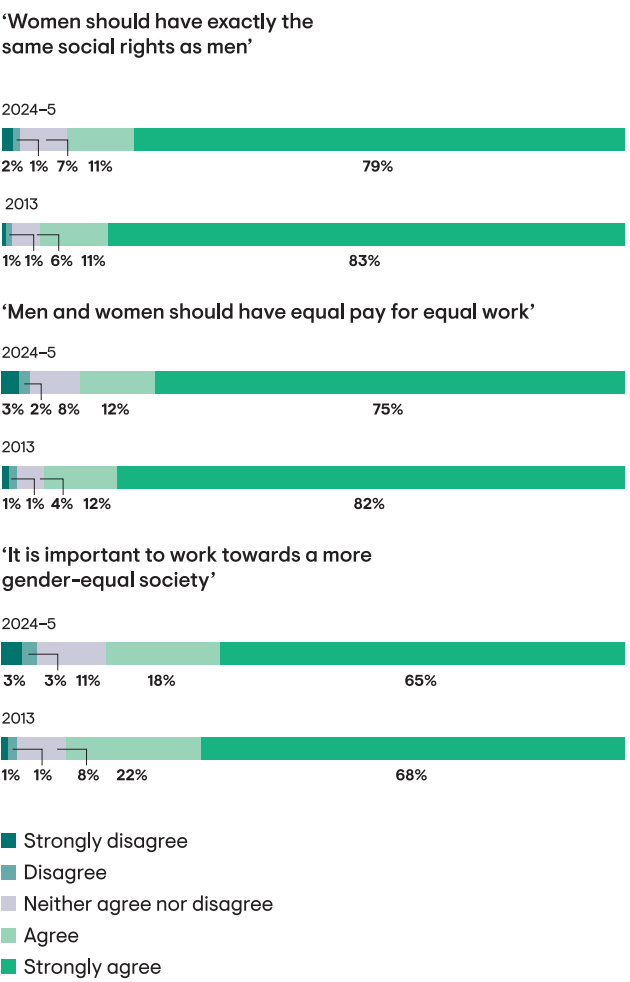
Combine the responses to the four statements and the increase in negative attitudes between the 2013 survey and the 2024–5 survey is even clearer. In the 2013 survey, 75 per cent of heterosexual pupils did not express any negative attitudes; by 2024–5, the figure had fallen to 52 per cent. Similarly, the proportion of heterosexual pupils who had negative attitudes to LGBT people in all four statements rose from 1 per cent in 2013 to 6 per cent in 2024–5.

Standpoints on gender equality and human dignity

The 2024–5 survey had a number of questions about gender equality that had also featured in the 2013 survey. As shown in Figure 4.27, the proportion of affirmative responses decreased slightly for all three statements. The proportion who

Figure 4.27. The pupils’ standpoints on three statements about gender equality in the 2013 and 2024 surveys (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils. For all statements, the differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys are statistically significant ($p<0.01$).



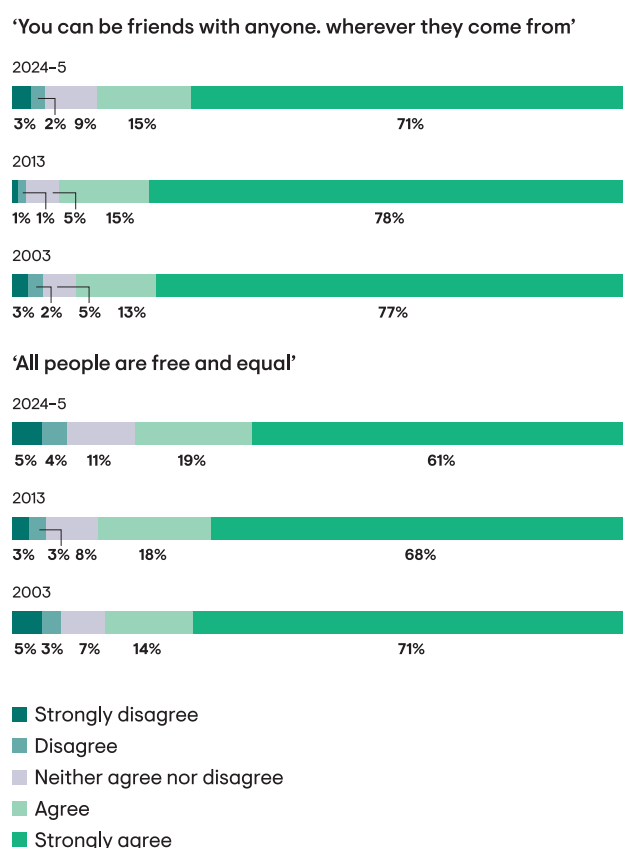
agreed with the statement 'It is important to work towards a more gender-equal society' fell from 90 per cent in 2013 to 83 per cent in 2024–5. In 2013, 94 per cent agreed with the statement 'Men and women should have equal pay for equal work', but by 2024–5 the proportion had fallen to 87 per cent. Finally, 90 per cent of pupils in 2024–5 agreed with the statement 'Women should have exactly the same social rights as men' – in 2013, the corresponding figure was 94 per cent.

In the 2013 survey, a total of 93 per cent of pupils did not disagree with any of those statements. In the 2024–5 survey, the proportion remained largely unchanged at 92 per cent; however, the proportion who disagreed with all three statements had increased from 0 per cent in the 2013 survey to 2 per cent in the 2024–5 survey.

All the Living History Forum's pupil surveys have included the statement 'All people are free and equal'. In 2024–5, 80 per cent of pupils agreed with the statement compared to 86 per cent in 2013 and 85 per cent in 2003 (Figure 4.28). The proportion of pupils who agreed with the statement 'You can be friends with anyone, wherever they come from' was 86 per cent in 2024–5 compared to 93 per cent in 2013 and 90 per cent in 2003.

Figure 4.28. The pupils' standpoints on two statements about human dignity and friendship in the 2003, 2013, and 2024 surveys (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils. For all statements, the differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).



5. How are attitudes linked to background factors?

This chapter presents the analysis of how pupils' attitudes relate to various background factors.

The analysis began with several measures of association, created to summarise the responses to three statements. The first statement was a general value judgement: 'Most X are probably decent people'. The second is a measure of social distance and asks whether the respondent could imagine living next door to a person from the minority in question. The third statement focuses on trust: 'X cannot be trusted'.

The order of the response options for the first two statements was reversed so an affirmative response weighed more than a more negative attitude. The most positive response option was then assigned a value of 1 and the most negative response a value of 5. Finally, the responses to the statements were combined and the total divided by 3 to obtain a mean value.

Figure 5.1 shows the mean values for the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys.

The greatest change has occurred in the mean value for attitudes to LGBT people. In the 2013 survey, they were the minority whom pupils had the least negative attitudes about, with a mean of 1.66. In 2024–5, however, pupils had the highest level of negative attitudes to them, with a mean of 2.19. The mean values increased for the measures of association 'immigrants', 'Jews' and 'Muslims', but only slightly. In the 2024–5 survey, the measure of association 'Sámi' had the lowest mean value.

The distribution of responses is distinctly skewed for all measures of association. Most pupils are in the first half of the scale, with a predominantly positive attitude to the minority in question. The various measures of association are distributed somewhat differently, however (Table 5.2). Each measure of association can be divided into three categories – low, medium, and high – where high represents the most negative attitude. Pupils with a value below 2.5 were placed in the low category, those with values in the range 2.5–3.5 in the

Figure 5.1. Mean values for measures of association (1–5) in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys (weighted data).

Note: The measures of association range from 1 (only the most positive responses) to 5 (only the most negative responses). For purposes of comparison, the same measure of association has been created using data from the 2013 survey. In 2013, there were no statements about Afro-Swedes/Black people or the Sámi. The sample for the measure of association 'immigrants' is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born

parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association 'Muslims' is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for 'Jews', all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for 'LGBT people', all pupils who identify as heterosexual. For the other measures of association, the sample is all pupils. The observed differences between the surveys are statistically significant for immigrants, Muslims, Jews, and LGBT people ($p < 0.01$).

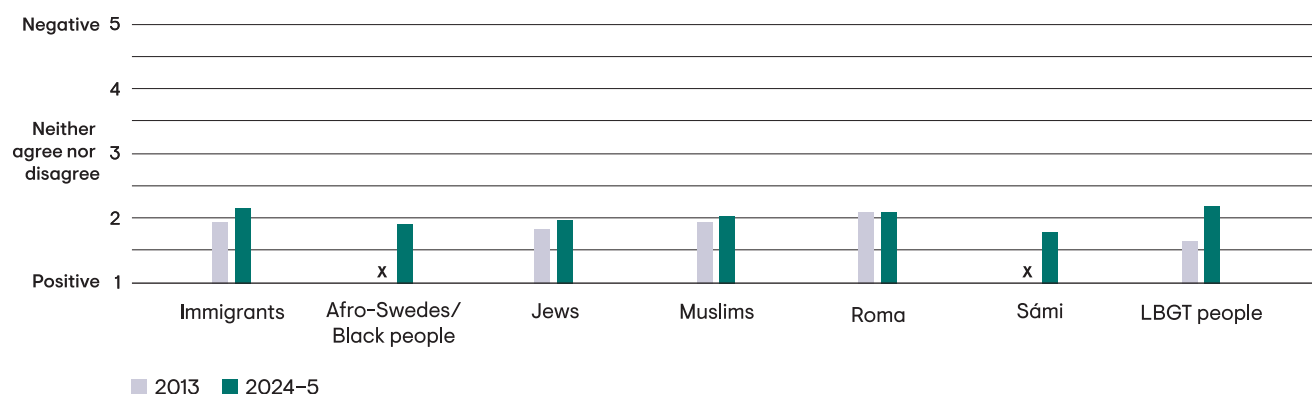


Figure 5.2. Measures of association between the three categories in 2013 and 2024–5 (per cents, weighted data).

Note: In 2013, there were no statements about Afro-Swedes/Black people and the Sámi. The sample for the measure of association 'immigrants' is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association 'Muslims' is all pupils who do not identify

as Muslim; for 'Jews', all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for 'LGBT people', all pupils who identify as heterosexual. The observed differences between the surveys are statistically significant for immigrants, Muslims, Jews, and LGBT people.¹³⁹

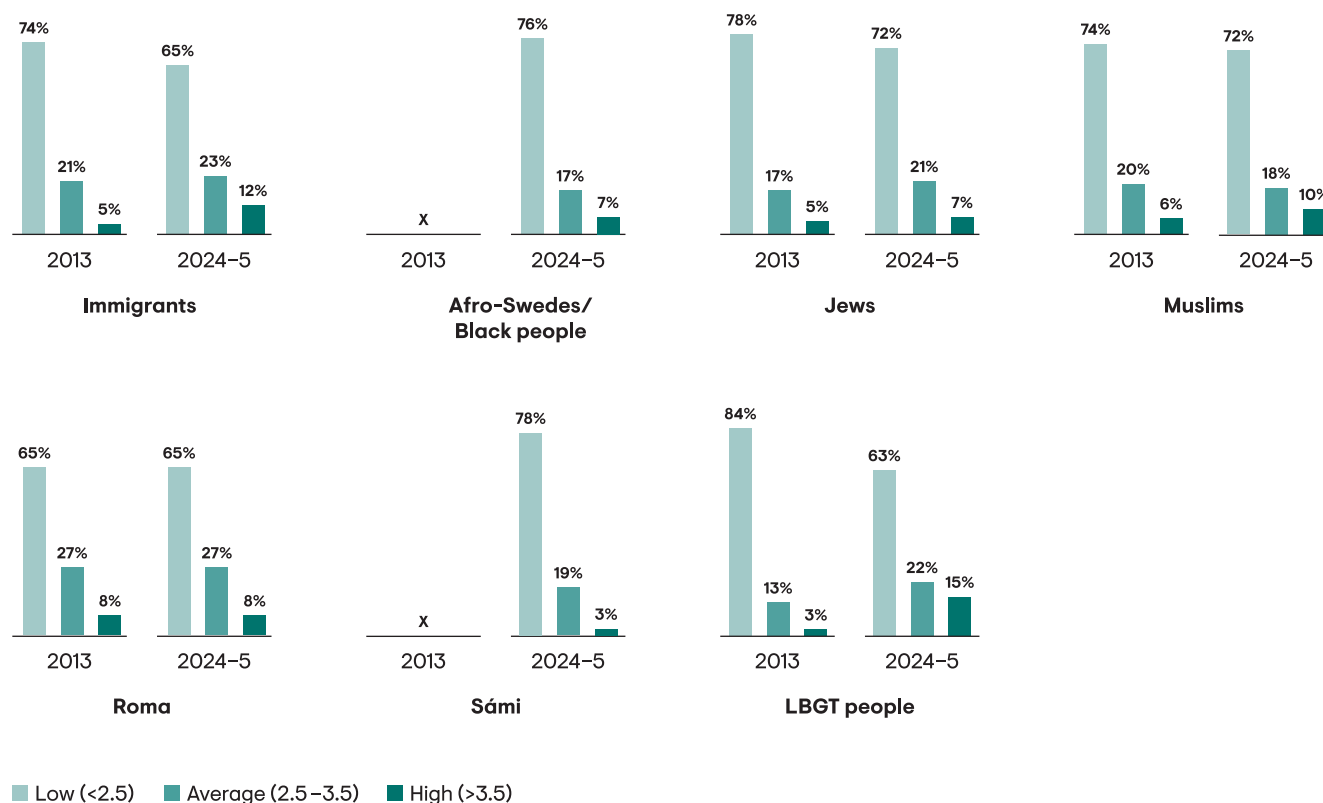


Table 5.1 Correlation analysis between seven measures of association (Pearson's r).

	Immigrants	Afro-Swedes/Black people	Jews	Muslims	Roma	Sámi
Afro-Swedes/Black people	.78	1				
Jews	.61	.66	1			
Muslims	.81	.75	.62	1		
Roma	.67	.67	.76	.68	1	
Sámi	.53	.62	.70	.51	.63	1
LGBT	.57	.59	.71	.55	.66	.64

Note: A positive correlation means the more intolerant the attitude to one group, the more intolerant the attitude to another group. The correlation coefficient r can range from -1 (a perfect negative correlation) and 1 (a perfect positive correlation). All correlations are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

medium category, and those with a value higher than 3.5 in the high category. Pupils in the low category show a clear tendency to disagree with negatively worded statements and to agree with positively worded statements about the minority in question. In the high category, pupils instead show a clear tendency to agree with negatively worded statements and to disagree with positive statements. The medium category comprises pupils who either consistently chose the middle option or who agree with and distance themselves from statements to roughly the same extent.

As shown in Figure 5.1, 15 per cent of pupils fall into the high category regarding the measure of association 'LGBT people' and 12 per cent are in the same category for the 'immigrants' and 'Muslims'. The corresponding figures are 8 per cent for Roma, 7 per cent for Afro-Swedes/Black people, 7 per cent for Jews, and 3 per cent for Sámi. Conversely, 78 per cent of pupils fall into the low category for the 'Sámi' measure of association and 72 per cent for the 'Afro-Swedes/Black people' measure of association. 72 per cent fall into the low category for the measures of association 'Jews' and 'Muslims' and 65 per cent for 'immigrants' and 'Roma', while 63 per cent are in the low category for the measure of association 'LGBT people'.

Although the measures of association are designed to gauge attitudes to different groups, they correlate with one another. Table 5.1 shows the results of a correlation analysis, with positive, relatively strong correlations between all the measures of association. The strongest correlation is between the measures of association 'immigrants' and 'Muslims' and the weakest between 'Muslims' and 'Sámi people'.

Gender, year group, and upper secondary school programme

A number of studies, including the Living History Forum's previous pupil surveys, have shown there is a clear link between gender and intolerance, evident in the fact that men and boys are often more intolerant than women and girls. There are no accepted theoretical models why that is the case, though, despite several attempts.⁷² The results of this survey follow the same pattern as previous surveys (Figure 5.3). For all measures of association, girls on average have more positive attitudes than boys. The correlation is strongest for the measure of association 'LGBT people', where 24 per cent of boys fall into the high category compared to 5 per cent of girls. Of the three statements for the 'LGBT people' measure

Figure 5.3. The seven measures of association (1–5) with gender, year group, and upper secondary school programme (mean values, weighted data).

Note: The sample for the measure of association 'immigrants' is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association 'Muslims' is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for

'Jews', all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for 'LGBT people', all pupils who identify as heterosexual. The observed differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

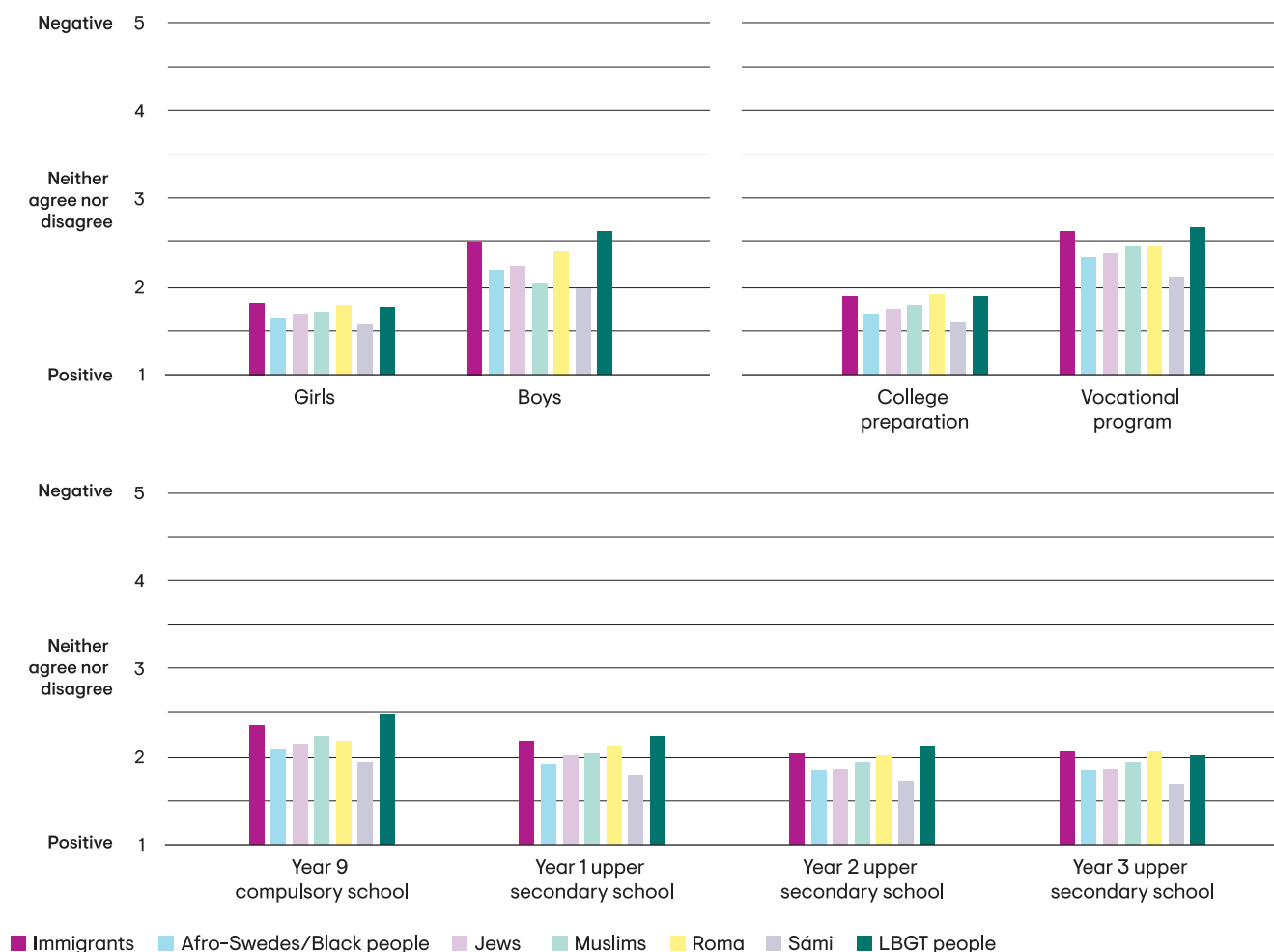
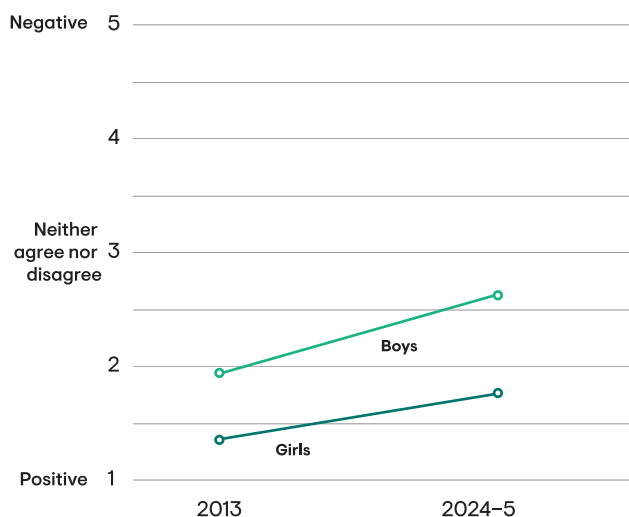


Figure 5.4. Mean values for the measure of association ‘LGBT people’ in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys by gender (weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils who identify as heterosexual. The observed difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).



of association, the strongest correlation relates to social distance. 19 per cent of boys strongly disagreed with the statement about living next door to a homosexual, bisexual, or transgender person, and a further 9 per cent responded that they disagreed. The corresponding figures for girls are 4 and 2 per cent respectively.⁷³

As seen, the greatest change in the mean value between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys was in the self-same ‘LGBT people’ measure of association. There was a rise in negative attitudes to LGBT people for both genders, but as shown in Figure 5.4, the proportion of negative attitudes increased slightly more among boys than girls.⁷⁴

The gender difference is also strikingly large when it comes to the statement ‘Being homosexual is just as natural as being heterosexual’. As shown in Figure 5.5, 55 per cent of boys disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement compared to 23 per cent of girls. 47 per cent of girls agreed or strongly agreed with the statement compared to 28 per cent of boys.

The correlations between pupil year group and the various measures of association are considerably weaker than for gender, but even so the older the year group the greater the tendency for pupils to be better disposed towards the minorities. This tendency has also been observed in previous surveys.

Another factor which previous pupil surveys found to be significant is the choice of upper secondary school programme. Pupils in academic programmes tend to be more positively disposed towards the minorities in question than are pupils in vocational programmes. The same pattern is found in the 2024–5 survey. For all measures of association, pupils in academic programmes have more positive attitudes than pupils in vocational programmes (Figure 5.3).

It should be noted that such broad categorisations obscure important nuances, here despite

the difference between pupils' attitudes in upper secondary school academic programmes and vocational programmes. There is a great variety of vocational programmes. An in-depth analysis shows that, for example, pupils on programmes such as Childcare and Leisure Studies, the Hotel and Tourism, and the Healthcare and Social Care tend to have more positive attitudes to the minorities included in the survey compared to pupils on programmes such as Construction and Building Sites, Vehicles and Transport, or Industrial Technology.

Since a larger proportion of the boys than girls were in vocational programmes, it might be argued that the difference is again primarily one of gender. However, as shown in Figure 5.6, that is not the case; instead, the difference with regard to upper secondary school programmes applies for both boys and girls.

One point of uncertainty that previous studies have been unable to resolve is whether differences in attitude are something pupils bring with them when they start upper secondary school, or whether they only emerge later. For that reason, Year 9 pupils – school leavers – were asked about their planned choice of upper secondary school. Among pupils who said they had decided to continue on to upper secondary school, it seems there was a similar difference as between upper secondary school programmes (Figure 5.6). Pupils intent on an academic programme exhibited more positive attitudes and lower levels of negative attitudes than pupils who said they intended to take a vocational programme. The difference applied to both genders. Thus the difference in attitudes observed in previous pupil surveys between pupils in upper secondary school programmes would seem to predate the pupils starting upper secondary school; it is not something that arises later.

Figure 5.5. Pupils' standpoints on the statement 'It is just as natural to be homosexual as it is to be heterosexual' by gender in the 2024–5 survey (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils who identify as heterosexual. The observed difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

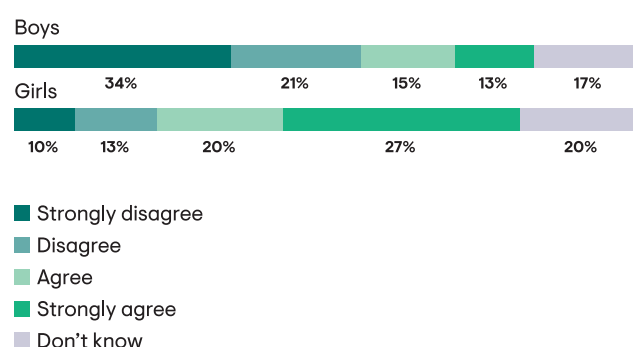


Figure 5.6. The seven measures of association (1–5) with gender, upper secondary school programme, and planned choice of upper secondary school (mean values, weighted data).

Note: The sample for the measure of association ‘immigrants’ is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association ‘Muslims’ is

all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for ‘Jews’, all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for ‘LGBT people’, all pupils who identify as heterosexual. All differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

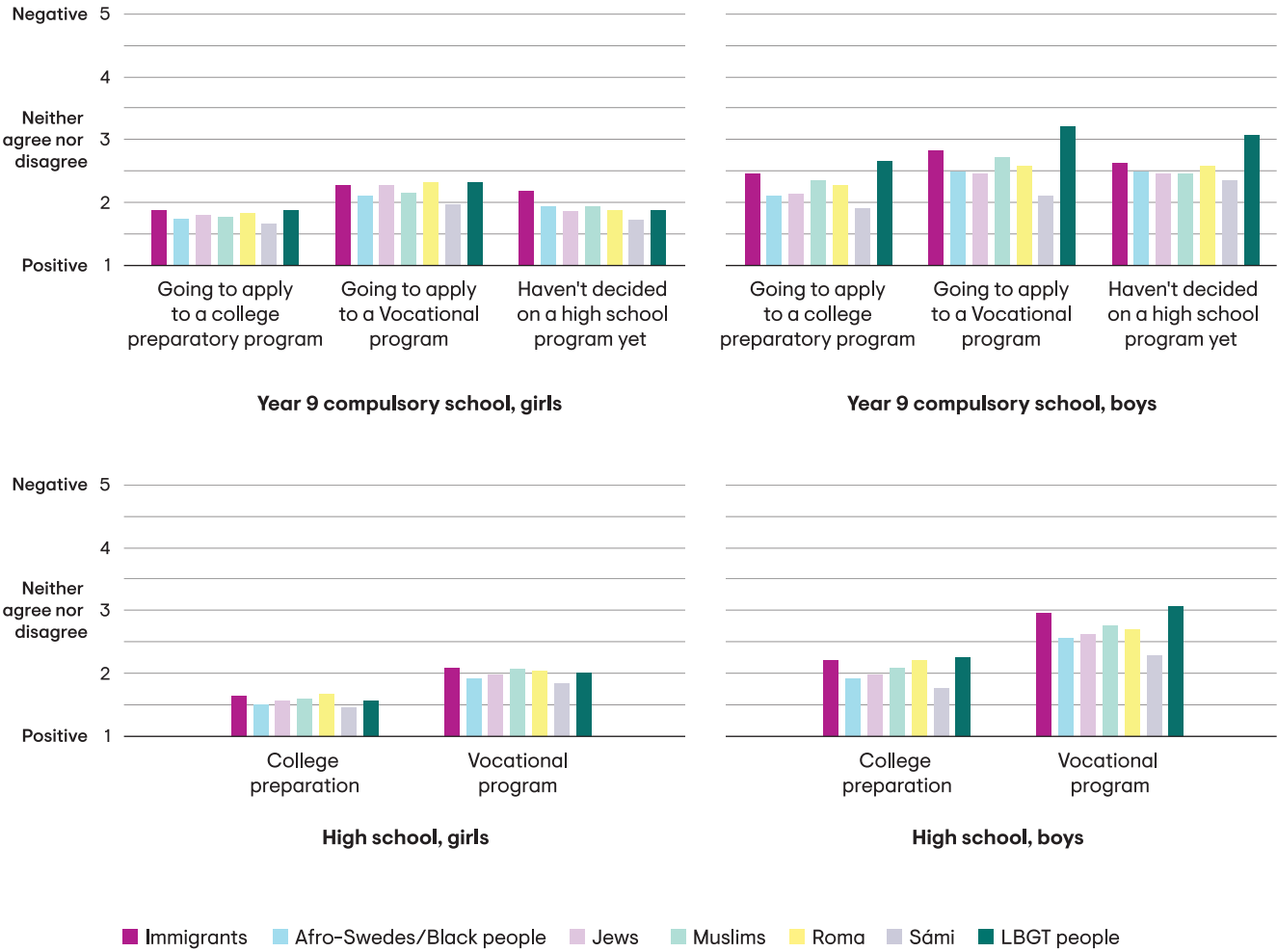
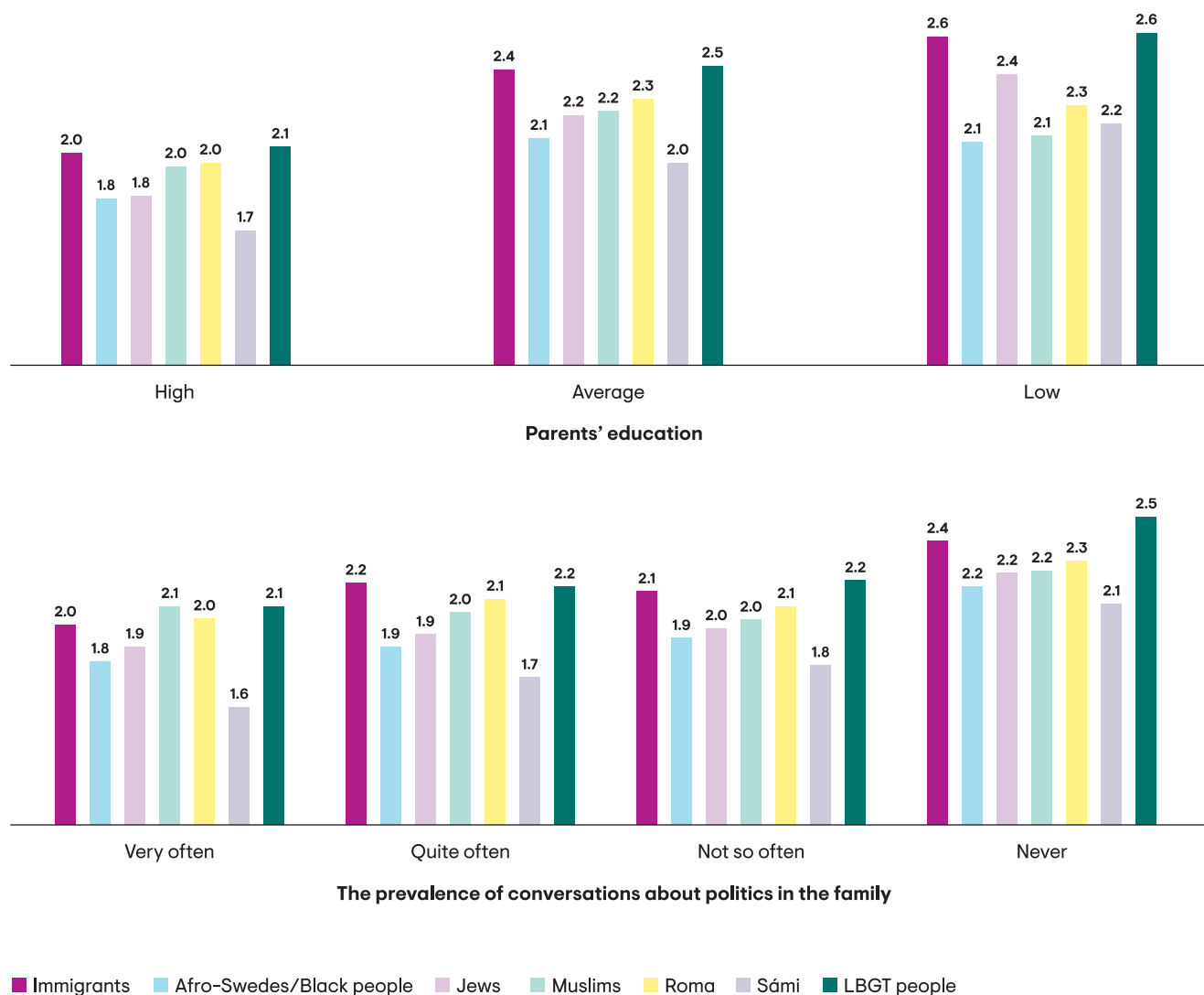


Figure 5.7. The seven measures of association (1–5) with parents' education and family discussions about politics (mean values, weighted data).

Note: Low level of education is compulsory school; medium is an upper secondary qualification and those with less than two years post-secondary education; and high level of education is at least two years of post-secondary education. If two parents have different levels of education, the one with the highest level is reported. The sample for the measure of association 'immigrants' is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association 'Muslims' is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for 'Jews', all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for 'LGBT people', all pupils who identify as heterosexual. The observed differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).



Significance of parents' education and political discussions at home

The literature often points to the importance of a person's circumstances for their tolerant or intolerant attitudes. For some theories, it is people's teenage years that are significant in shaping their attitudes and personal values. Young people's encounters with a variety of 'agents of socialisation' are considered particularly important. Agents of socialisation range from family and friends to institutional actors such as schools or the church and other faiths. Such encounters can help socialise young people into various belief systems, which can instil both tolerance or intolerance.⁷⁵

Pupils with degree-educated parents are more positive

A family's socioeconomic status is largely determined by the education of the parents or guardians. Further, parents or guardians are important agents of socialisation for young people and can influence their attitudes. The literature shows that there is a strong correlation among adults between higher education and more tolerant attitudes.⁷⁶ There is reason to expect more tolerant attitudes among young people whose parents or guardians have a university degree or similar. However, there is research to suggest that the crucial factor is what young people believe their parents attitudes to be and not their parents' actual attitudes, which confuses the picture.⁷⁷

Previous pupil surveys have found that the higher the parents' education, the more positive the pupils' attitudes to vulnerable groups. In the 2024–5 survey, the results are largely the same (Figure 5.7). With the exception of attitudes to Muslims, a larger proportion of pupils with degree-educated parents or guardians have more positive attitudes to the minorities in question than other pupils do.

Pupils who discuss politics at home are more positive

Pupils were asked how often their families discussed politics. It appears there is a correlation between the frequency of family political discussions and more positive attitudes to Jews, LGBT people, Afro-Swedes/Black people, and the Sámi, though the correlation is less strong for the measures of association 'immigrants', 'Muslims', and 'Roma'. There is also a weak but statistically significant correlation between parents' education and political discussions at home. The significance of family political discussions for pupils' attitudes varies according to the parents' education.⁷⁸

Figure 5.8 shows the mean values for the measure of association 'Jews', taking into account not only the occurrence of family political discussions, but also parents' education. The difference in pupils' attitudes between families where politics is not discussed and families where political discussions are common is greater if the pupils have degree-educated parents. There may be several reasons. One possibility is that it reflects a difference in the parents' attitudes.

In the Living History Forum's 2020 survey of antisemitic attitudes in Sweden, people with a university degree or similar were less likely to express antisemitic views than those who left school at 16 or 19.⁷⁹ An alternative, related possibility is that the parents' education is significant for their role as agents of socialisation. One study has shown that Swedish 16-year-olds who think their parents are politically engaged and informed are also more likely to understand and internalise any political discussions with their parents compared to young people who do not share that view of their parents.⁸⁰

Correlation between school grades and attitudes

Pupils' own performance may also be relevant. Figure 5.9 shows the attitudes of Year 9 pupils relative to their final grade in social studies in Year 6. There is a weak but statistically significant correlation between a higher mark in Year 6 and a more positive attitude to various minorities more than two years later.⁸¹ There are similar correlations between Year 9 school leavers' academic merit ratings and their scores for the various measures of association (Figure 5.10).⁸²

Attitudes are influenced by personal background

Previous pupil surveys found differences in attitudes depending on whether pupils had a Swedish or foreign background. A Swedish background refers to Swedish-born pupils with at most one foreign-born parent. The category of foreign background includes pupils who were born abroad or who were born in Sweden but whose parents were both born abroad. In the Living History Forum surveys, pupils with a Swedish background were demonstrably more negative to immigrants and Muslims than pupils with a foreign background were. Pupils with a foreign background, on the other hand, have a more negative attitude to LGBT people, Jews, and Roma.

The same pattern is evident in the 2024–5 survey. Using this classification, it is apparent that pupils with a Swedish background have a more negative attitude to Muslims compared to pupils with a foreign background. Pupils with a foreign background, on the other hand, have a more negative attitude to LGBT people, Jews, and the Sámi compared to pupils with a Swedish

Figure 5.8. Mean values for the 'Jews' measure of association with parents' education and family discussions about politics.

Note: The sample is all pupils who do not identify as Jewish. High education is at least two years of post-secondary education. Number of responses = 7,276.

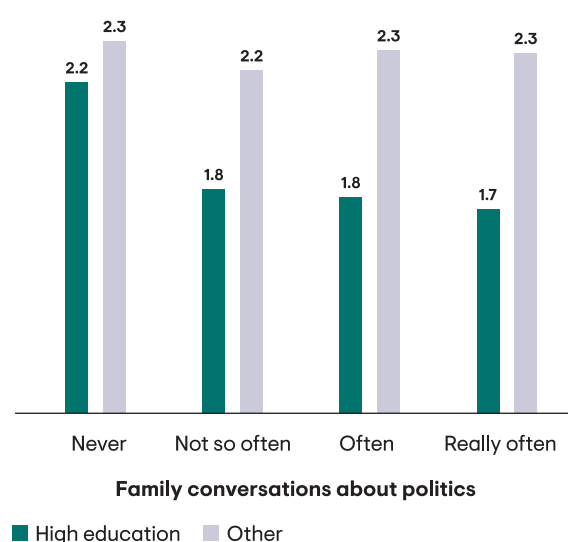


Figure 5.9. The seven measures of association (1–5) for Year 9 pupils with their social studies grades in Year 6 (mean values, weighted data).

Note: The sample for the measure of association ‘immigrants’ is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association ‘Muslims’ is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for ‘Jews’, all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for ‘LGBT people’, all pupils who identify as heterosexual. All differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

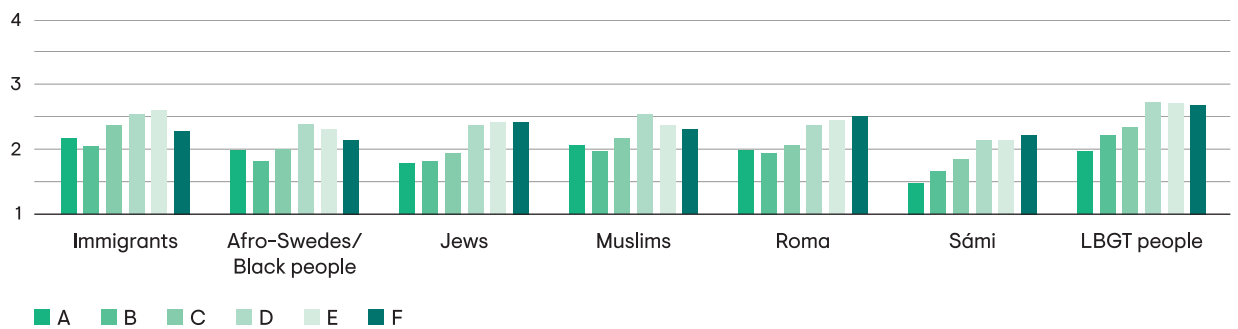


Figure 5.10. Levels for the seven measures of association (1–5) for upper secondary school pupils with their academic merit rating in Year 9 (means, weighted data).

Note: The sample for the measure of association ‘immigrants’ is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association ‘Muslims’ is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for ‘Jews’, all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for ‘LGBT people’, all pupils who identify as heterosexual. All differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

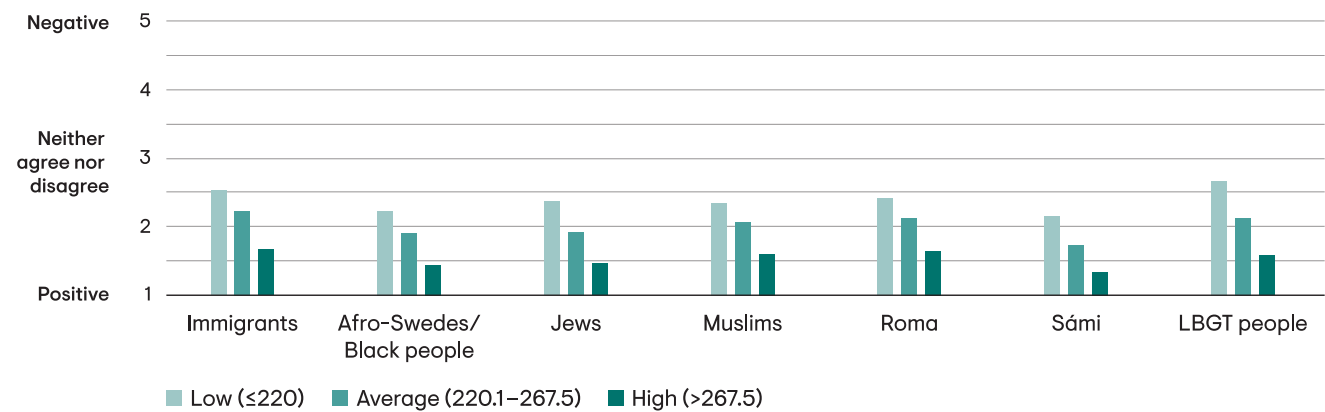
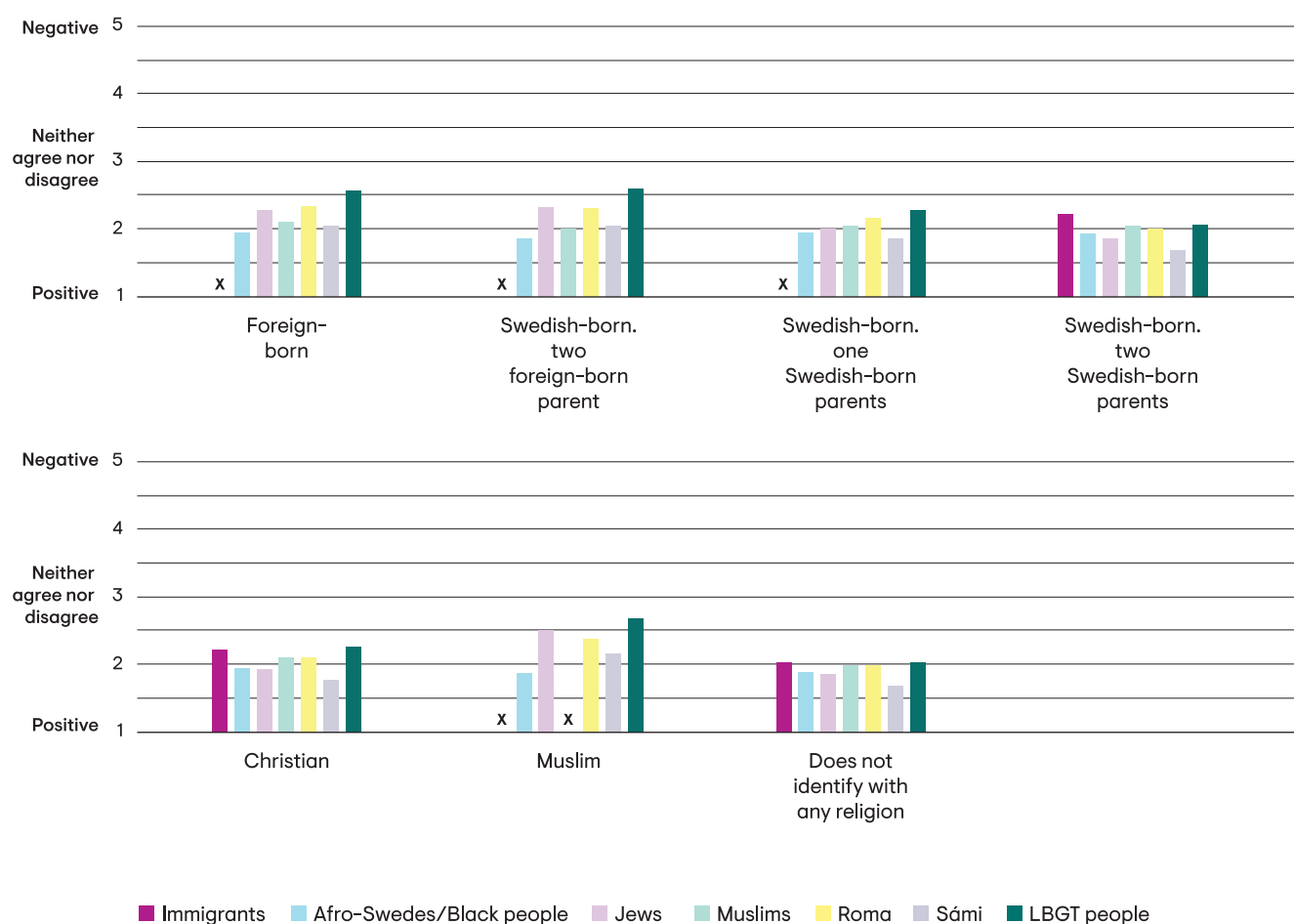


Figure 5.11. The seven measures of association (1–5) with pupil background and religious affiliation (mean values, weighted data).

Note: The question about religious affiliation had more responses, but due to low numbers they are not presented here. The sample for the measure of association 'immigrants' is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association 'Muslims' is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for 'Jews', all pupils

who do not identify as Jews; and for 'LGBT people', all pupils who identify as heterosexual. Of the Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents only 10 identify as Muslims. With so few, the attitudes of Muslim pupils towards immigrants are not reported. All differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).



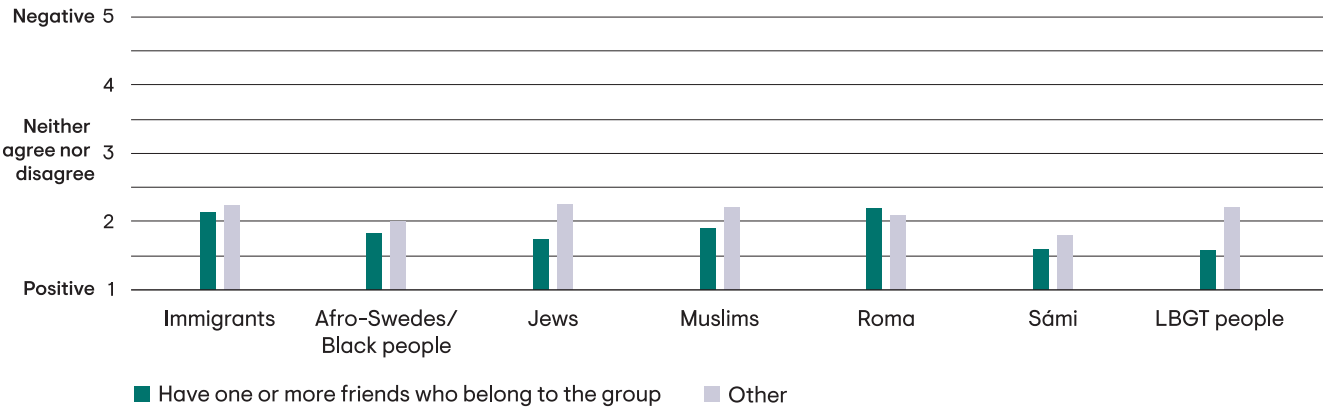
background. Figure 5.11 shows how the mean values differ when using a less broad classification. The trend, however, remains the same. Previous studies also found a link between pupils' religious affiliation and their attitudes to minorities. As shown in Figure 5.11, pupils who identify as Muslims have, on average, more negative attitudes to LGBT people, Jews, Roma, and Sámi people

than pupils who identify as Christians and pupils with no religious affiliation. Pupils who identify as Christian have consistently slightly more negative attitudes than those who said they do not belong to any religion.

A consistent finding in different studies is that those who have experience of contact with people from another group tend to have less

Figure 5.12. The seven measures of association (1–5) with friendships (mean values, weighted data).

Note: The correlation with Afro-Swedes/Black people is based on the question 'Do you have any friends with an African background?' The sample for the measure of association 'immigrants' is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association 'Muslims' is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for 'Jews', all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for 'LGBT people', all pupils who identify as heterosexual. All correlations are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).



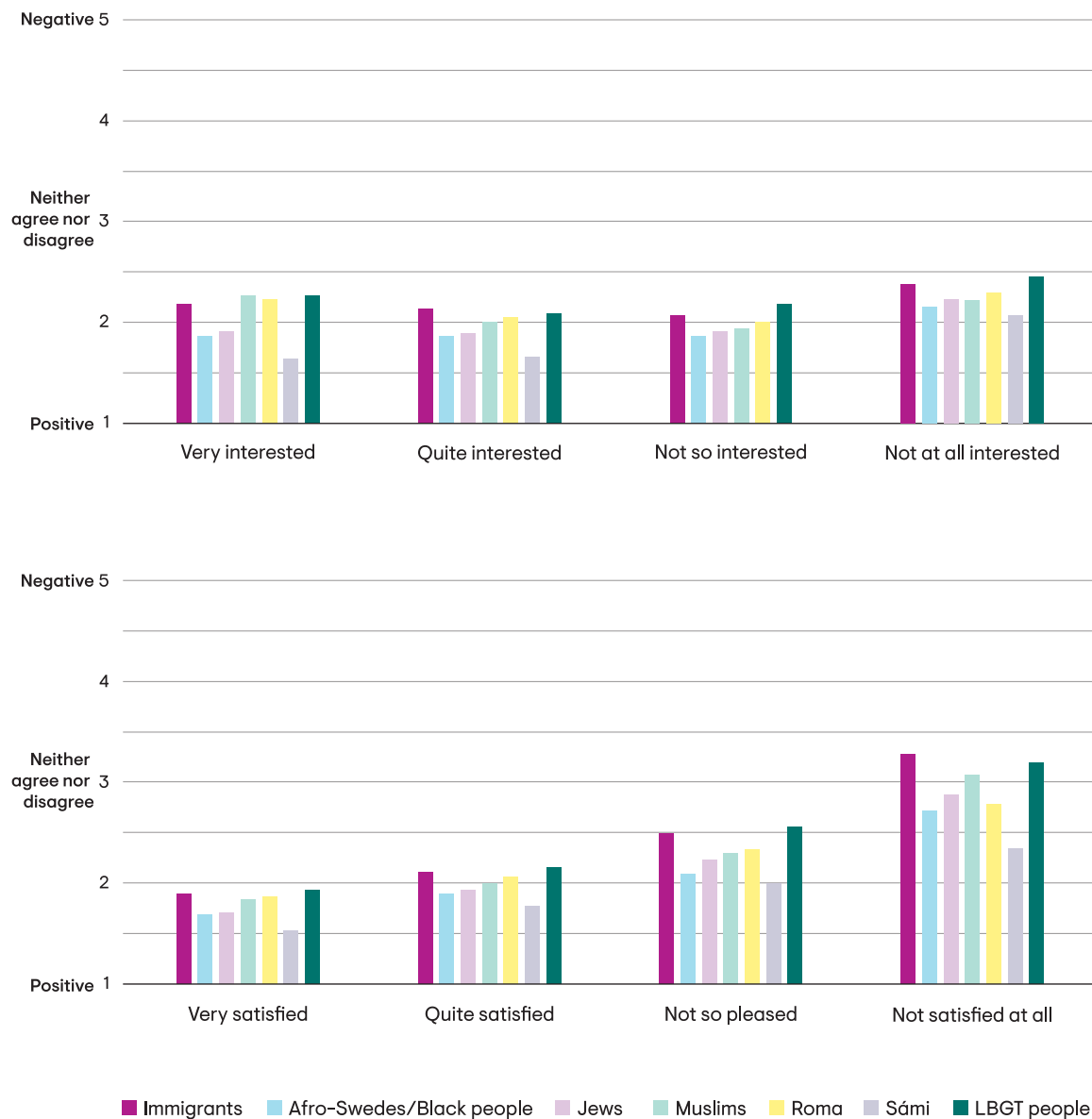
stereotypical views and often a more positive attitude to that group. That is also the assumption underlying the classic sociopsychological theory known as the contact hypothesis. However, not all forms of contact are equal. The likelihood that interpersonal contact will reduce the prevalence of negative attitudes is greater in situations where individuals have equal status and are working towards a shared objective. Under certain circumstances, however, interpersonal contact can lead to conflict and an increase in negative attitudes.⁸³

With the exception of the measure of association 'Roma', pupils who have one or more friends in a minority group tend to have a more positive attitude to that group than other pupils do (Figure 5.12). The correlation is strongest for LGBT people.

Figure 5.13. The seven measures of association (1–5) with their interest in politics and satisfaction with democracy in Sweden (mean values, weighted data).

Note: The sample for the measure of association 'immigrants' is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association 'Muslims' is

all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for 'Jews', all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for 'LGBT people', all pupils who identify as heterosexual. All correlations are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).



Political interest correlates with both negative and positive attitudes

Just over a third of pupils (37 per cent) say they are interested or very interested in politics (see Ch. 3). In the 2013 survey, pupils who were interested in politics were consistently more positively disposed towards various minority groups compared to those who had no interest in politics.

When it comes to an interest in politics, the measures of association ‘immigrants’, ‘Muslims’, ‘Roma’ and ‘LGBT people’ in the 2024–5 survey form a bimodal distribution with a U-shaped dip in the middle (Figure 5.13). On average, pupils who are very interested in politics and those with no interest at all have more negative attitudes than the other pupils. For the measures of association ‘Jews’ and ‘Sámi’, the pattern is the same as in the 2013 survey: pupils with a greater interest in politics have more positive attitudes to minorities than those who are not interested in politics.

Pupils satisfied with democracy and confident about the future are more positive

The 2013 survey found a correlation between attitudes to minority groups and the pupils’ satisfaction with how Swedish democracy works. Those who were more dissatisfied with the workings of democracy tended to have more negative attitudes. The same was true of the 2024–5 survey. For all measures of association, the average level of negative attitudes increases the more dissatisfied pupils are with Swedish democracy.

The social sciences use ‘group threat theory’ to explain how the struggle for scarce resources, regardless of whether there is a scarcity or it is merely thought to exist, can lead to hostility towards other groups in a society. It is thus

conceivable, for example, that fears about rising immigration or the difficulty of finding work in future could lead to greater hostility towards immigrants.⁸⁴ Stereotypical and prejudiced notions of different groups’ propensity to commit crime or terrorism may also have a negative impact on people’s attitudes to them.⁸⁵

As shown in Figure 5.14, fears about rising immigration are linked to more negative attitudes to immigrants and Muslims. There is also a correlation between fears about rising immigration and negative attitudes to Roma and Afro-Swedes/Black people, as well as weaker correlations between fears about rising immigration and the other measures of association.⁸⁶ Further, there are weak correlations between fears about rising crime and terrorism on the one hand and more negative attitudes to immigrants and Muslims on the other.⁸⁷ However, there are no statistically significant correlations between pupils’ attitudes and their concern it will be difficult to find work.

It can be concluded that there is correlation between fears about rising immigration and negative attitudes to immigrants, but not between fears about rising immigration and labour market issues.⁸⁸ Generally speaking, pupils do not seem to be particularly worried about future unemployment (see Ch. 3).

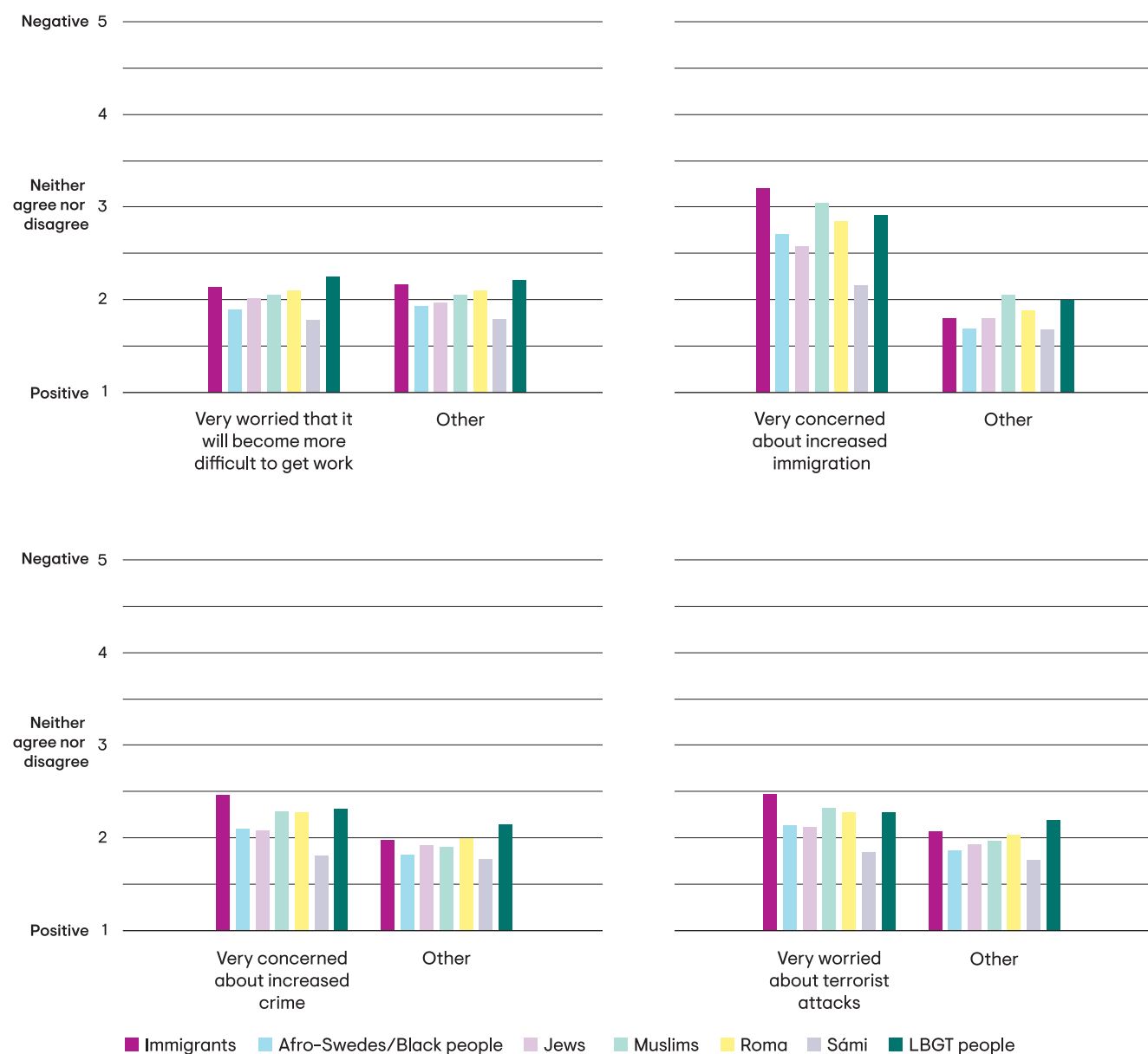
Pupils with greater trust in people and institutions have more positive attitudes

There is considerable attention in the social science literature to the importance of trust in democracy. The research has primarily focused on two types: trust in other people and trust in institutions. In short, all else being equal, societies where there are high levels of trust function better than those with low levels of

Figure 5.14. The seven measures of association (1–5) with fears about youth employment, rising immigration, rising crime, and terrorist attacks (mean values, weighted data).

Note: The question was 'How worried are you that the following will happen in Sweden in the next five years?' with the responses 'Harder to find work', 'Rising crime', 'Rising immigration', 'Terrorist attack'. The four-point response scale ranged from 'Very concerned' to 'Not concerned at all'. In the analysis, the scale is reversed so a higher value represents greater concern. The sample for the

measure of association 'immigrants' is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association 'Muslims' is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for 'Jews', all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for 'LGBT people', all pupils who identify as heterosexual.



trust. Trust is dependent on the perception of others' trustworthiness, and it would seem our attitudes to other groups are linked to how much we trust them. Certainly, as shown in Figure 5.15, there is a connection between negative attitudes to various minorities and the pupils' low levels of interpersonal trust.⁸⁹

Another factor the literature often singles out as crucial for a functioning democracy is people's trust in public institutions and the political system. As seen, there is a correlation between how satisfied pupils are with Swedish democracy and their attitudes to minority groups. Is the same true of pupils and their trust in institutions such as school or the police? Figure 5.16 shows the measures of association between pupils' attitudes to minorities and their trust in the police.⁹⁰ The lower their level of trust in the police, the more likely they are to voice negative attitudes to minority groups.

Pupils with negative attitudes trust social media more

Another area of trust is social media. It is generally accepted that such platforms are key arenas for the spread of prejudice and hatred of different groups.⁹¹ How much people trust the information communicated from such platforms may well influence how much they are affected by it. The survey included questions about pupils' trust in information from social media. Figure 5.17 shows the levels of the measures of association with pupils' trust in information from TikTok, which is one of the most common sources of public information among young Swedes of that age group:⁹² there is plainly a link between greater trust in information shared on TikTok and a higher level of negative attitudes to the minority groups in the survey.⁹³

Figure 5.15. The seven measures of association (1–5) with interpersonal trust (mean values, weighted data).

Note: e question was The response scale ranged from 0 (others cannot be trusted) to 10 (others can be trusted). The sample for the measure of association 'immigrants' is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding

sample for the measure of association 'Muslims' is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for 'Jews', all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for 'LGBT people', all pupils who identify as heterosexual. All differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

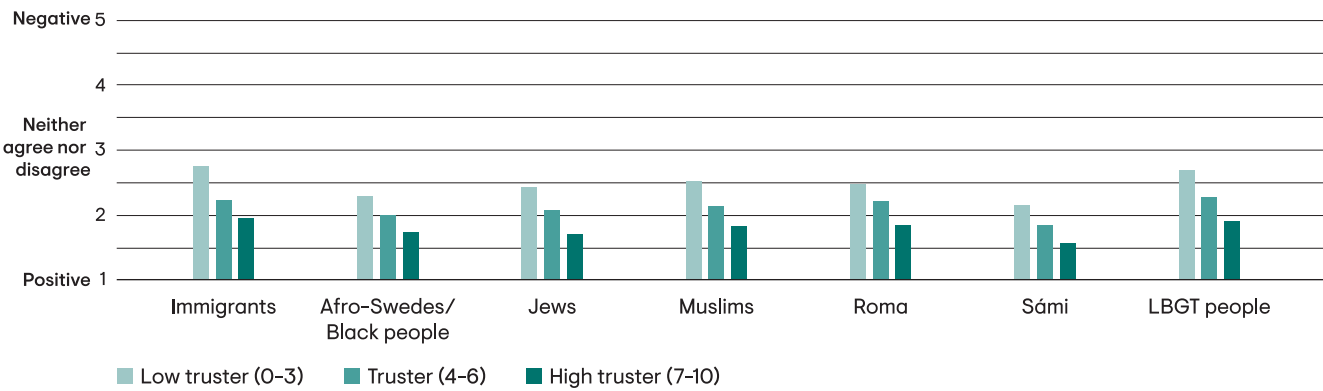


Figure 5.16. The seven measures of association (1–5) with pupils' trust in the police (mean values, weighted data).

Note: The sample for the measure of association 'immigrants' is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association 'Muslims' is

all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for 'Jews', all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for 'LGBT people', all pupils who identify as heterosexual. All differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

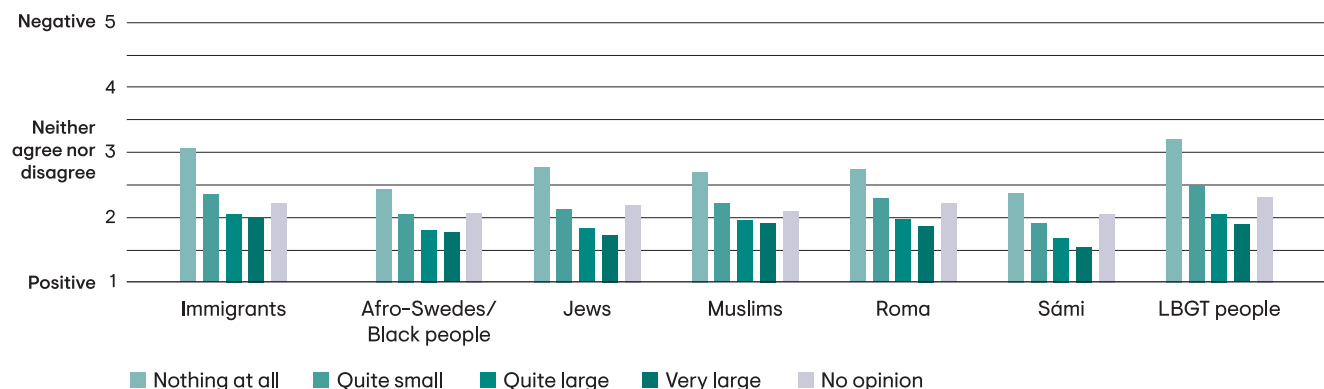
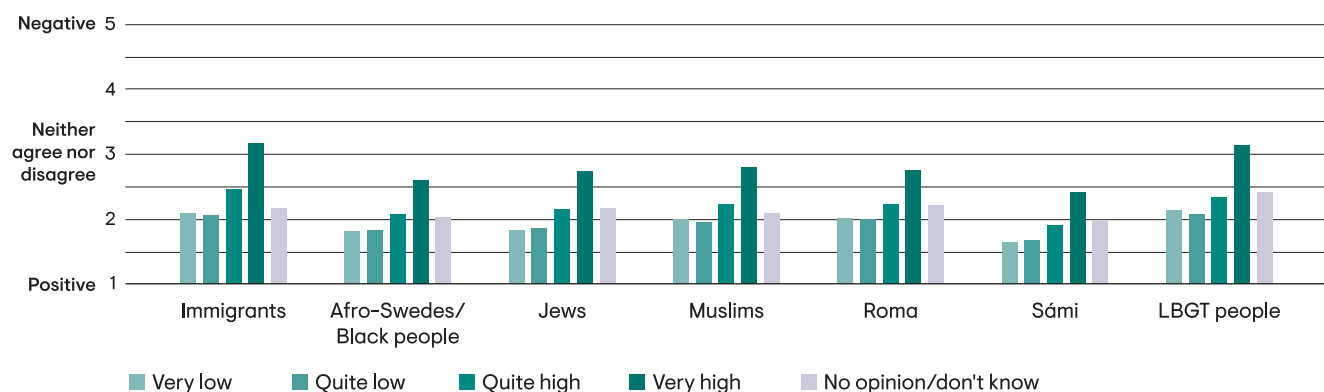


Figure 5.17. The seven measures of association (1–5) with pupils' trust in information shared on TikTok (mean values, weighted data).

Note: The sample for the measure of association 'immigrants' is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association 'Muslims' is

all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for 'Jews', all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for 'LGBT people', all pupils who identify as heterosexual. All differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).



Both historically and today, hostility towards Jews and Muslims has often gone hand in hand with conspiracy theories. Today, for example, the Great Replacement conspiracy theory features in debates and opinion formation about immigration to Europe from countries in Africa and the Middle East.⁹⁴ In recent years, research has pointed to the importance of conspiratorial x-thinking for people's willingness to believe conspiracy theories, where a conspiratorial thinking can be defined as 'a relatively stable, general psychological tendency to view the world in conspiratorial terms and to believe conspiracy theories'.⁹⁵

To what extent does the level of conspiratorial thinking correlate with pupils' attitudes to minority groups? To investigate this, the 2024–5 survey set out to measure young people's conspiratorial thinking using several statements that were shown to work in a British context.⁹⁶ The responses to the nine statements have been combined into an additive index ranging from 9 to 63, where a higher value indicates high level of conspiratorial thinking, and the index divided into three categories: low (9–18), comprising 30 per cent of all pupils; medium (19–30), comprising 35 per cent; and high (31–63), comprising the remaining 35 per cent. As shown in Figure 5.18, there is a link between a higher level of conspiratorial thinking and a higher level of negative attitudes to the minority groups in the survey.⁹⁷

The 2024–5 survey also included a statement about Jewish influence, which is based on a standard antisemitic conspiracy theory about Jewish power (see Ch. 4). There was also a clear correlation between a higher level of conspiratorial thinking and an increased tendency among pupils to agree with that statement.⁹⁸ The result is not surprising, given the historical link between hostility towards Jews and antisemitism on the one hand, and conspiracy theories on the other.

Perceived vulnerability correlates with negative attitudes

There is also a link between more negative attitudes to minority groups and a greater sense of social vulnerability, in the sense of lacking people to turn to for help and support. Pupils were asked if there was anyone they could turn to for help if they had problems: 'If you were to have problems, for example if you were ill or having a rough time, do you have someone to turn to for help or support?' They could choose one or more of the following options: 'No', 'Yes, family (e.g. parents, siblings)', 'Yes, friends/people my age', 'Yes, an adult outside the family', 'Yes, the school nurse or another adult at school', 'Yes, online chat/forum', 'Don't know'. Four categories were created for the analysis:

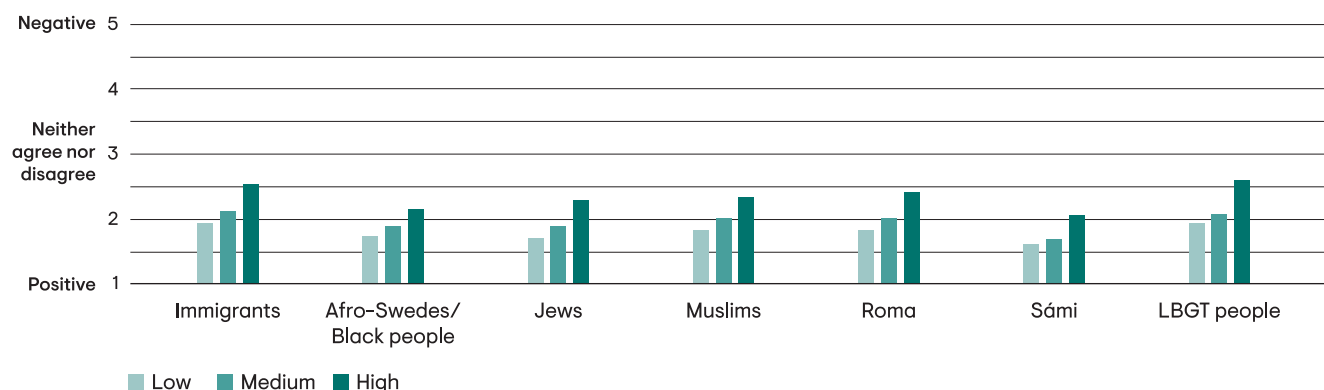
1. those who said they had no one to turn to or did not know if they did (13 per cent of pupils);
2. those who said they had one source of help (32 per cent);
3. those who said they had two sources of help (29 per cent);
4. and those who said they had three or more sources of help (26 per cent).

As shown in Figure 5.19 compared to other pupils, those who feel they have no one to turn to or are uncertain if they do have more negative attitudes to all the minority groups. Further, the proportion with negative attitudes decreases the more sources of help they have. This applies to all measures of association (Appendix Table B1).

Figure 5.18. The seven measures of association (1–5) with pupils' conspiratorial thinking (means, weighted data).

Note: The sample for the measure of association 'immigrants' is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association 'Muslims' is

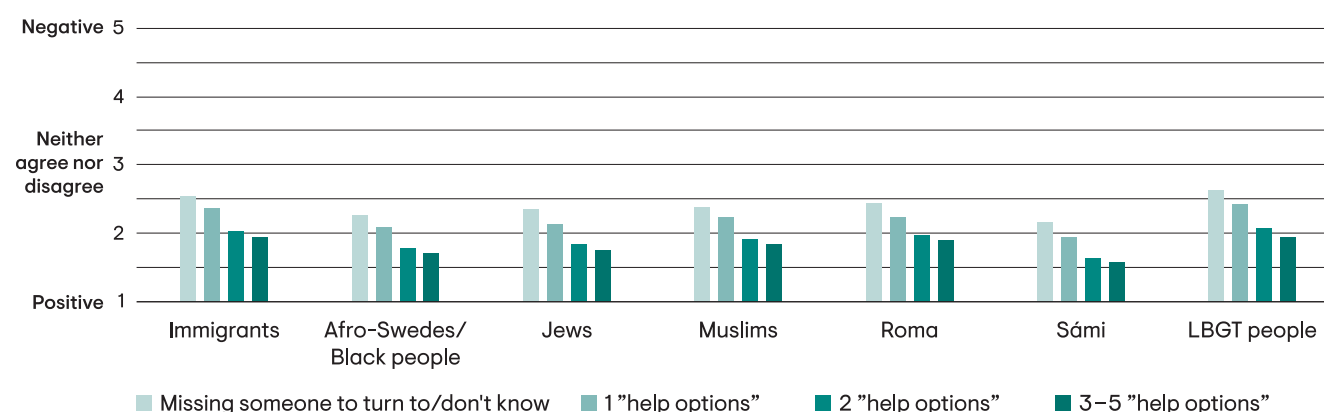
all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for 'Jews', all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for 'LGBT people', all pupils who identify as heterosexual. All differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).



FigureE 5.19. The seven measures of association (1–5) with pupil's experiences of social vulnerability (mean values, weighted data).

Note: The sample for the measure of association 'immigrants' is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association 'Muslims' is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for

'Jews', all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for 'LGBT people', all pupils who identify as heterosexual. The observed differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.001$).



The correlation between attitudes and school

Turning finally to the correlation between the various measures of association and a number of school-related factors, pupils are in different classes, which in turn are in different schools in various types of area. An in-depth statistical analysis indicates that differences between schools account for between 18 and 26 per cent of the variance in the data depending on the measure of association, while the remainder relate to differences between the various school classes or individual differences between pupils.⁹⁹ This section presents how the measures of association vary according to school- and classroom-related factors.

Figure 5.20 shows the levels of the various measures of association by four different categories of local authorities. The category 'Metropolitan areas and local authorities close to metropolitan areas' consists of (1) local authorities with a population of at least 200,000, of whom at least 200,000 live in the main urban area, and (2) local authorities where at least 40 per cent of the resident population commutes to work in a metropolitan area or a local authority close to a metropolitan area. The category 'Cities and local authorities near cities' consists of (1) local authorities with a population of at least 50,000, of whom at least 40,000 live in the largest urban area; (2) local authorities where at least 40 per cent of the population commute to work in a city; and (3) local authorities where less than 40 per cent of the population commute to work in a city. The category 'Towns/smaller urban areas' consists of local authorities with a population of at least 15,000 but less than 40,000 in the largest urban area, as well as local authorities where at least 30 per cent of the population commutes to work in another town and/or where at least 30 per cent of the working population lives in another local authority. Finally, the category 'Rural local authorities' consists of local authorities with a

population under 15,000 inhabitants in the largest urban area and low levels of commuting (less than 30 per cent of the population). As shown in the figure, pupils at schools in or near major cities and larger towns exhibit, on average, more positive attitudes to the minority groups compared to those whose schools are in towns/smaller urban areas or in rural local authorities.

Another way to break down the data is to look at the socioeconomic status (SES) of the school's area. The Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, together with Statistics Sweden, defines different types of SES area using a range of variables.¹⁰⁰ It is a national classification that highlights variations in socioeconomic status across the country. There are five types: very low SES areas (Type 1), low SES areas (Type 2), mixed SES areas (Type 3), high SES areas (Type 4), and very high SES areas (Type 5).

More negative attitudes in low and mixed SES areas

As shown in Figure 5.21, pupils at schools with low and very low SES catchment areas tend to have more negative attitudes than pupils at schools in high or very high SES areas. Strikingly, there are relatively high levels of negative attitudes in schools in mixed SES areas. For several of the measures of association, pupils at schools in mixed SES areas have a higher level of negative attitudes than those at schools in low SES areas.

More positive attitudes in schools with more qualified teachers

The 2013 survey implied that pupils in schools with a higher proportion of qualified teachers tend to have more positive attitudes to minority groups, as do pupils who enjoy school. The schools in the 2024–5 survey have been divided into three groups: low category schools, where the proportion of qualified teachers ranges from 38.2 to 81.2 per cent, have 34 per cent of the pupils in the survey; medium category schools, where

Figure 5.20. The seven measures of association (1–5) with schools by the classification of local authorities (mean values, weighted data).

Note: The sample for the measure of association 'immigrants' is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association 'Muslims' is all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for 'Jews', all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for 'LGBT people',

all pupils who identify as heterosexual. All differences are statistically significant, except for the difference between the categories 'Metropolitan areas and local authorities close to metropolitan areas' and 'Cities and local authorities close to cities' for the measure of association 'Roma' ($p < 0.01$).

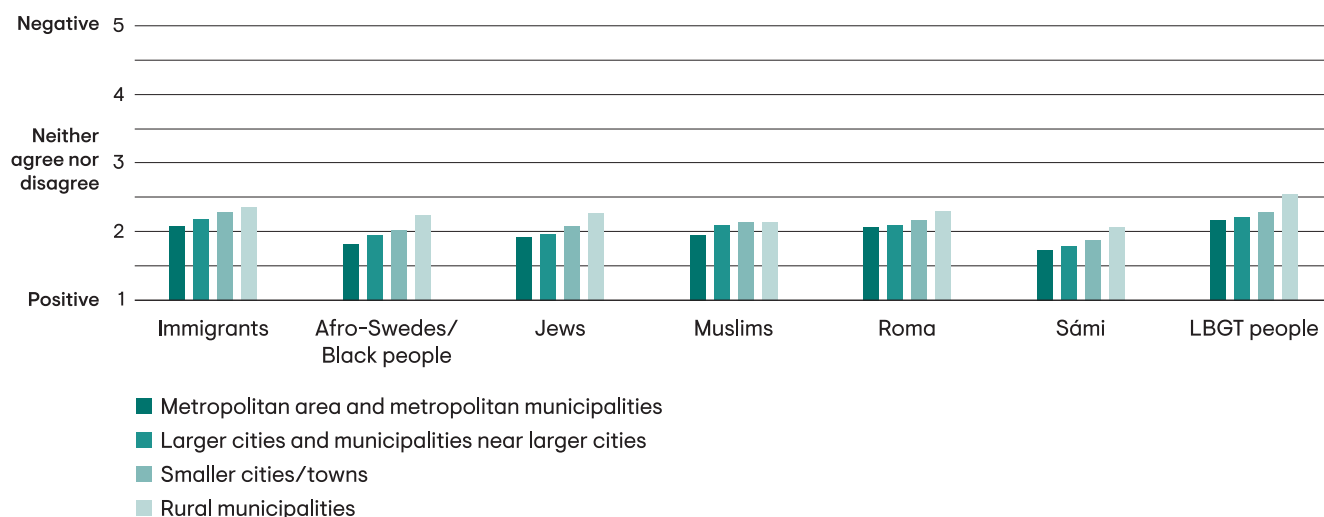


Figure 5.21. The seven measures of association (1–5) with their school location in the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning's area classification (mean values, weighted data).

Note: The sample for the measure of association 'immigrants' is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association 'Muslims' is

all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for 'Jews', all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for 'LGBT people', all pupils who identify as heterosexual. All differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$).

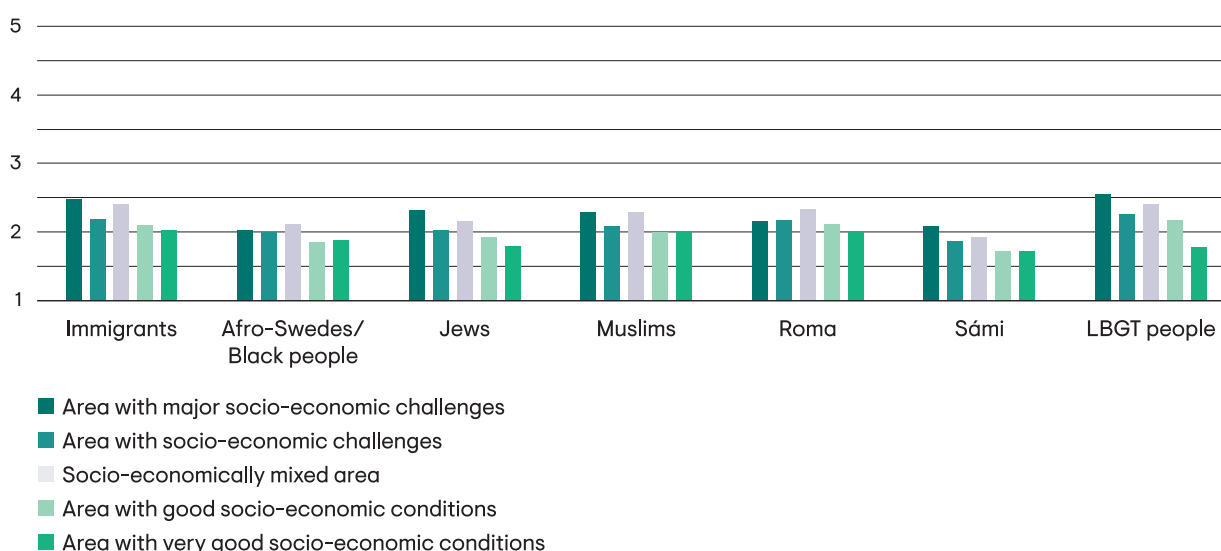


Figure 5.22. The seven measures of association (1–5) with the proportion of qualified teachers at the school (means, weighted data).

Note: The sample for the measure of association ‘immigrants’ is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association ‘Muslims’ is

all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for ‘Jews’, all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for ‘LGBT people’, all pupils who identify as heterosexual. All differences are statistically significant ($p<0.01$).

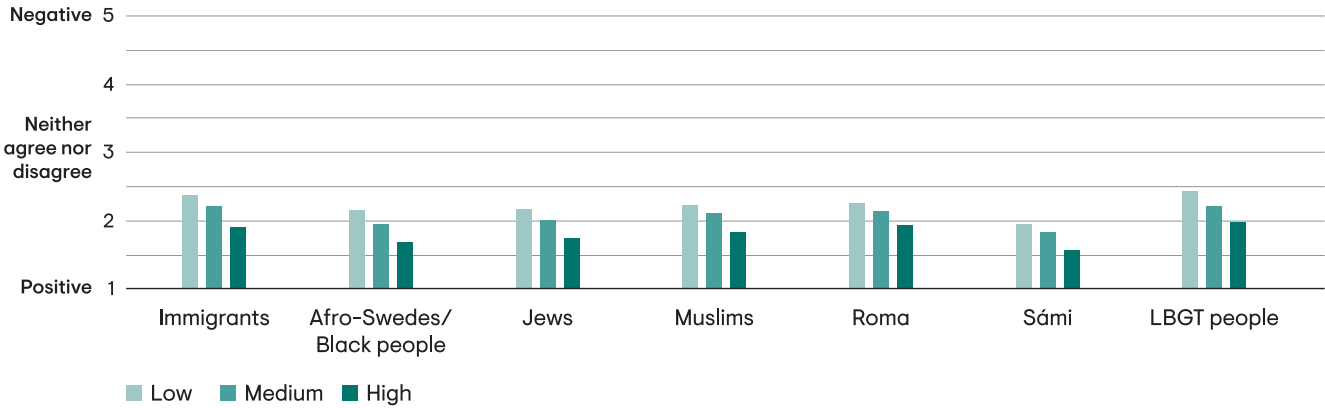
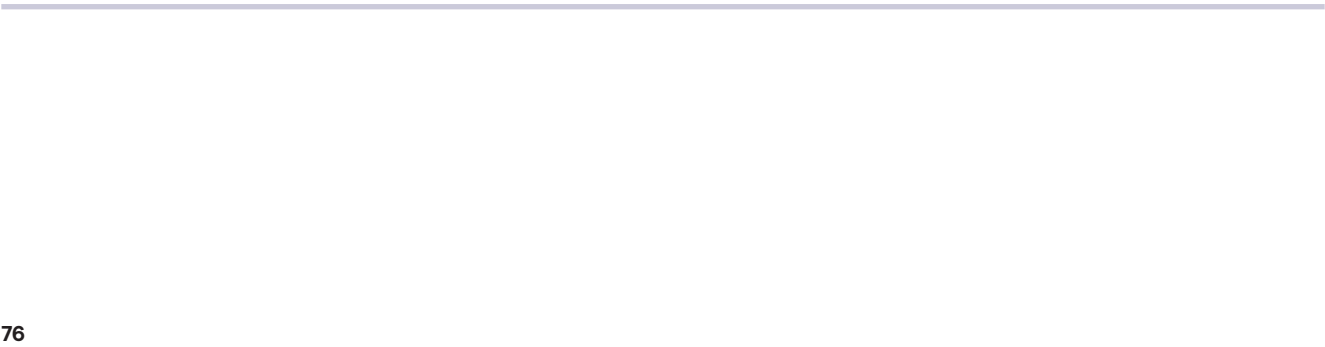
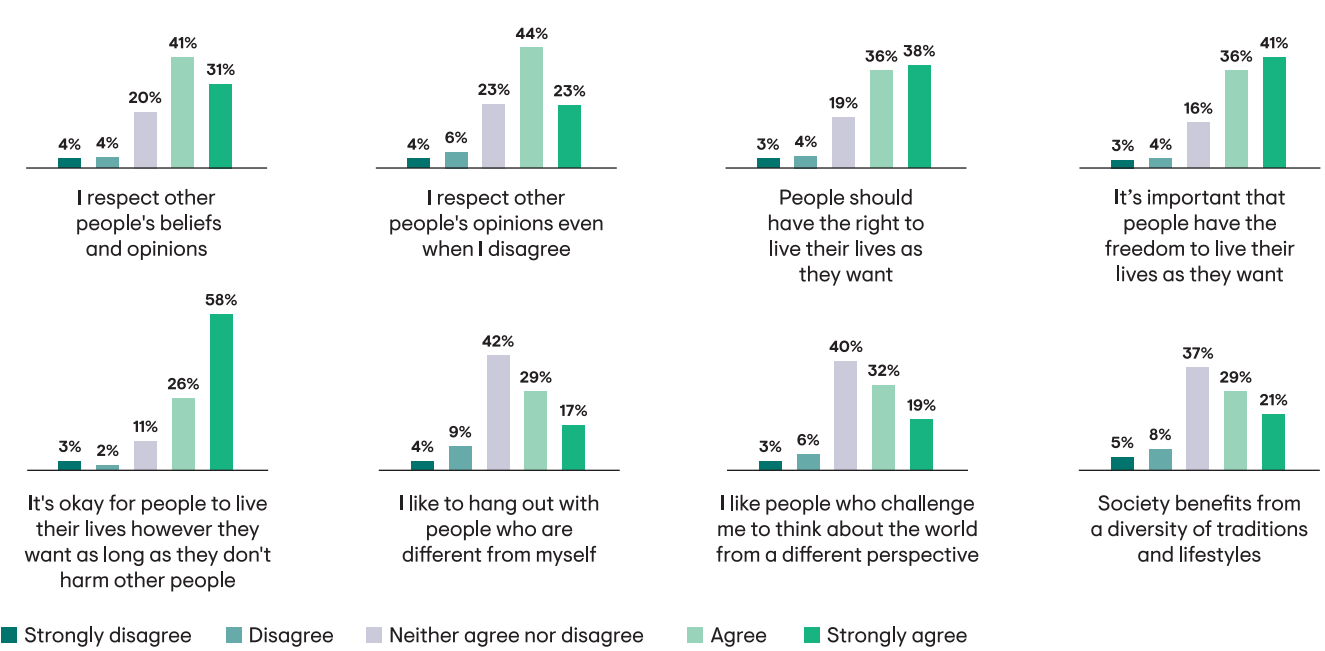


Figure 5.23. The seven measures of association (1–5) with school satisfaction (class averages, mean values, weighted data).

Note: The sample for the measure of association ‘immigrants’ is all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The corresponding sample for the measure of association ‘Muslims’ is

all pupils who do not identify as Muslim; for ‘Jews’, all pupils who do not identify as Jews; and for ‘LGBT people’, all pupils who identify as heterosexual. All differences are statistically significant ($p<0.01$).



qualified teachers make up 81.3–91.4 per cent of the teaching staff, have 33 per cent of pupils; and high category schools, where the proportion of qualified teachers is greater than 91.4 per cent, have the remaining 33 per cent of pupils in the survey. Figure 5.22 shows how the measures of association are distributed between the three categories of schools.¹⁰¹ It is evident that the same difference observed in the 2013 survey about the importance of qualified teachers was seen in the 2024–5 survey. In schools where the proportion of qualified teachers is high, the level of negative attitudes among pupils is lower compared to schools with a relatively smaller proportion of qualified teachers.

Pupils who enjoy school are more positive

Finally, there is a link between how much pupils enjoy school and their attitudes to minority groups. Pupils in classes that enjoy school also tend to have more positive attitudes to minorities than those in classes where school satisfaction is lower.¹⁰² Figure 5.23 shows how the measures of association are distributed between three categories.¹⁰³ The low category consists of pupils (34 per cent of the total) who are in classes where the majority do not like school. The middle category consists of pupils in classes where the majority are satisfied with school – 34 per cent of pupils fall into this category. Finally, the high category consists of pupils (32 per cent of the total) in classes where the majority like school.

6. Attitudes to an open, tolerant society

As discussed in the introductory chapter, there are several ways of understanding tolerance and intolerance. One criticism levelled at studies such as this is that they measure people's attitudes to groups which the researchers anticipate the respondents may view negatively. If tolerance is understood as the acceptance of something one dislikes then this method is problematic, because it is not certain that respondents have any objections to, or even an opinion about, the groups in question. One consequence of the method, as here, is that it equates tolerance with the absence of prejudice about other groups.

Tolerance can also be understood as an appreciation and acceptance of diversity, pluralism, and difference. Based on this premise, researchers at Umeå University have developed a new way of measuring tolerance: a set of questions to measure tolerance as defined as 'a value orientation towards difference'.¹⁰⁴ The matrix of questions, which has already been tested in several countries including Sweden, was included in the 2024–5 survey. The statements and the pupils' standpoints are shown in Figure 6.1.

Pupils' responses have been combined into a measure of association ranging from 1 to 5, where a higher value represents a more open, positive attitude to diversity and difference.¹⁰⁵ Like the previous measures of association, it too has been divided into three categories: low, medium, and high. Note that this measure of association runs in the opposite direction than the previous measures of association, and higher mean value therefore indicates a more tolerant attitude and vice versa. Figure 6.2 shows the distribution for all pupils with a number of factors.

There is also a clear gender difference in pupils' attitudes. 82 per cent of girls fall into the high category compared to 62 per cent of boys, while only 2 per cent of girls are in the low category compared to 6 per cent of boys. This means that girls are more likely than boys to agree with the various statements in Figure 6.1.

Age also plays a role. The older the year group, the smaller the proportion of pupils in the low category (negative attitude), ranging from 6 per cent in Year 9 of compulsory school to 3 per cent in Year 3 of upper secondary school. For the high

Figure 6.1. Pupils' responses to a number of statements about their attitudes to other people and a pluralist society (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils.

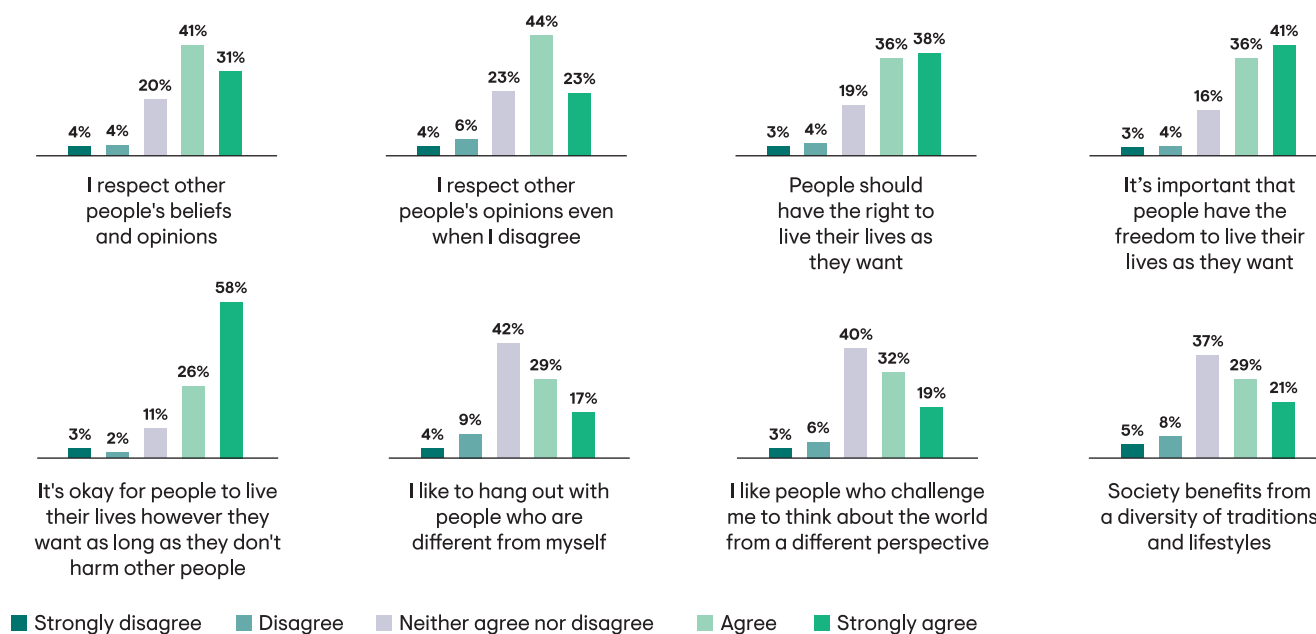
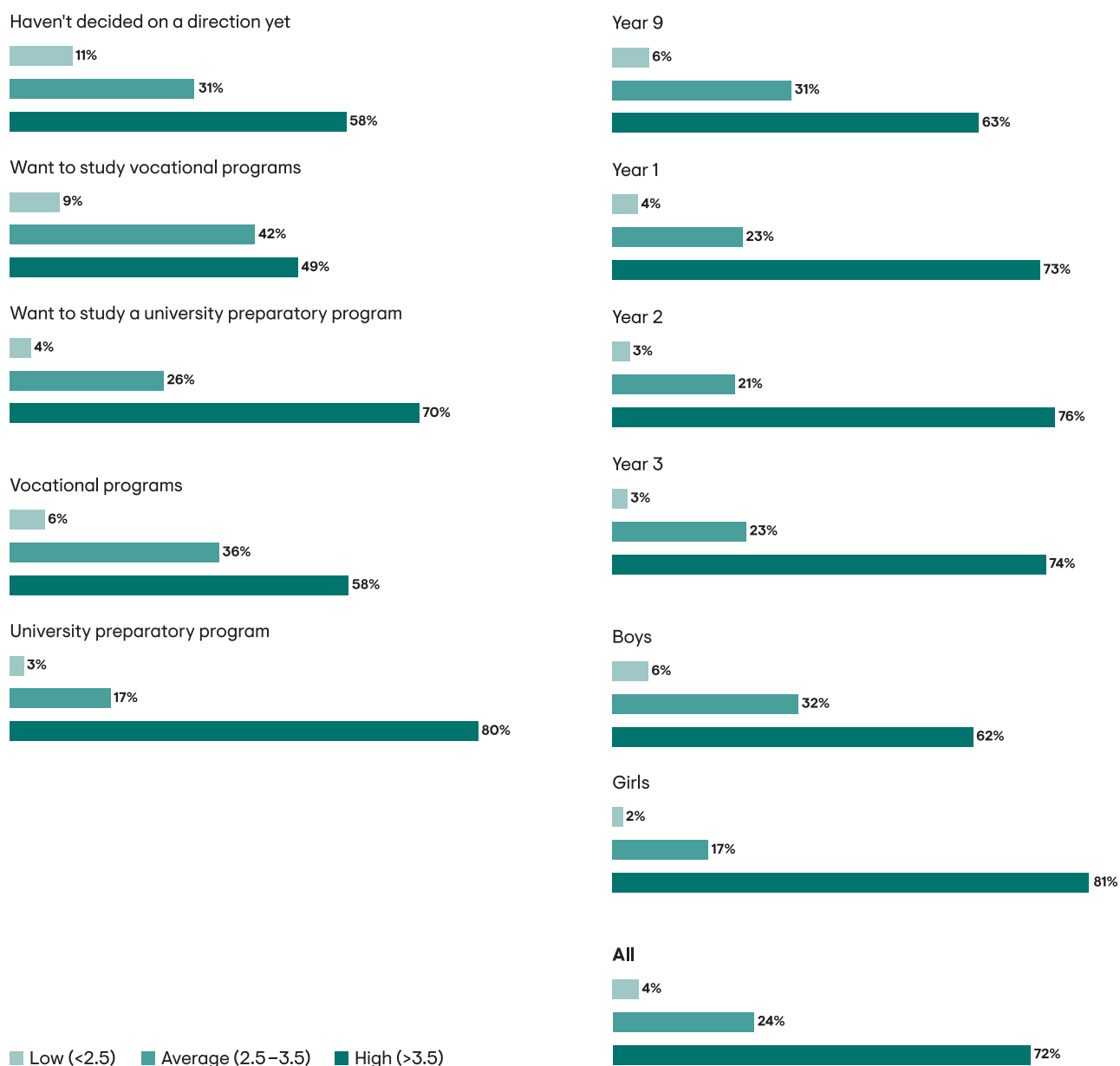


Figure 6.2. Pupils in an explicit measure of association. Total and by gender, year group, upper secondary school programme, and Year 9 choice of upper secondary school programme (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils. All differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).



category, the main dividing line is the transition from compulsory school to upper secondary school: 63 per cent of pupils in Year 9 fall into the high category (positive attitude) compared to 73–76 per cent of upper secondary school pupils.

The key factor is the choice of upper secondary school programme: 80 per cent of pupils in academic programmes fall into the high category compared to 58 per cent of pupils in vocational programmes. At the other end of the scale, 2 per cent of pupils in academic programmes fall into the low category compared to 6 per cent of pupils in vocational programmes. When it comes to 'general tolerance', it appears the difference is already evident among pupils in Year 9 of compulsory school. Those intending to take an academic programme tend to score higher on the measure of association (indicating a more positive attitude) than those planning to take a vocational programme.

As with the other measures of association, the distribution differs when parents' education is taken into account (Figure 6.3). Compared to other pupils, a larger proportion of pupils with degree-educated parents are found in the high category.

When it comes to pupil background, it is interesting to note the variation among the foreign-born pupils. Foreign-born pupils are the group that simultaneously accounts for the largest proportion in the low category (6 per cent) and

the largest proportion in the high category (76 per cent). 71 per cent of Swedish-born pupils with two foreign-born parents are in the high category. The same applies to Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. Swedish-born pupils with one foreign-born and one Swedish-born parent are marginally more likely to be in the medium group (31 per cent compared to 17–25 per cent).

Pupils who identify as Christian tend to fall into the high category less than others (69 per cent compared to 74–75 per cent for the other pupils). Pupils who identify as Muslims most frequently disagree with the statements (8 per cent of them fall into the low category) while at the same time most frequently agreeing with them (75 per cent belong to the high category). It may at least partially be linked to immigration background, as the same was true of foreign-born pupils.¹⁰⁶

There is also a clear correlation between the score on the general tolerance scale and the degree of dissatisfaction with Swedish democracy (Figure 6.4). 23 per cent of pupils who are not at all satisfied with democracy are in the low category compared to 3 per cent of those who are very satisfied with how democracy works in Sweden. Finally, there is a clear correlation between pupils' trust in other people and their acceptance of an open, tolerant society. 78 per cent of those with high levels of trust are in the group with high levels of tolerant attitudes. 57 per cent of those with 'low trust' are in the same group.

Figure 6.3. Pupils in an explicit measure of association by parents' education, background and religious affiliation (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils. All differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

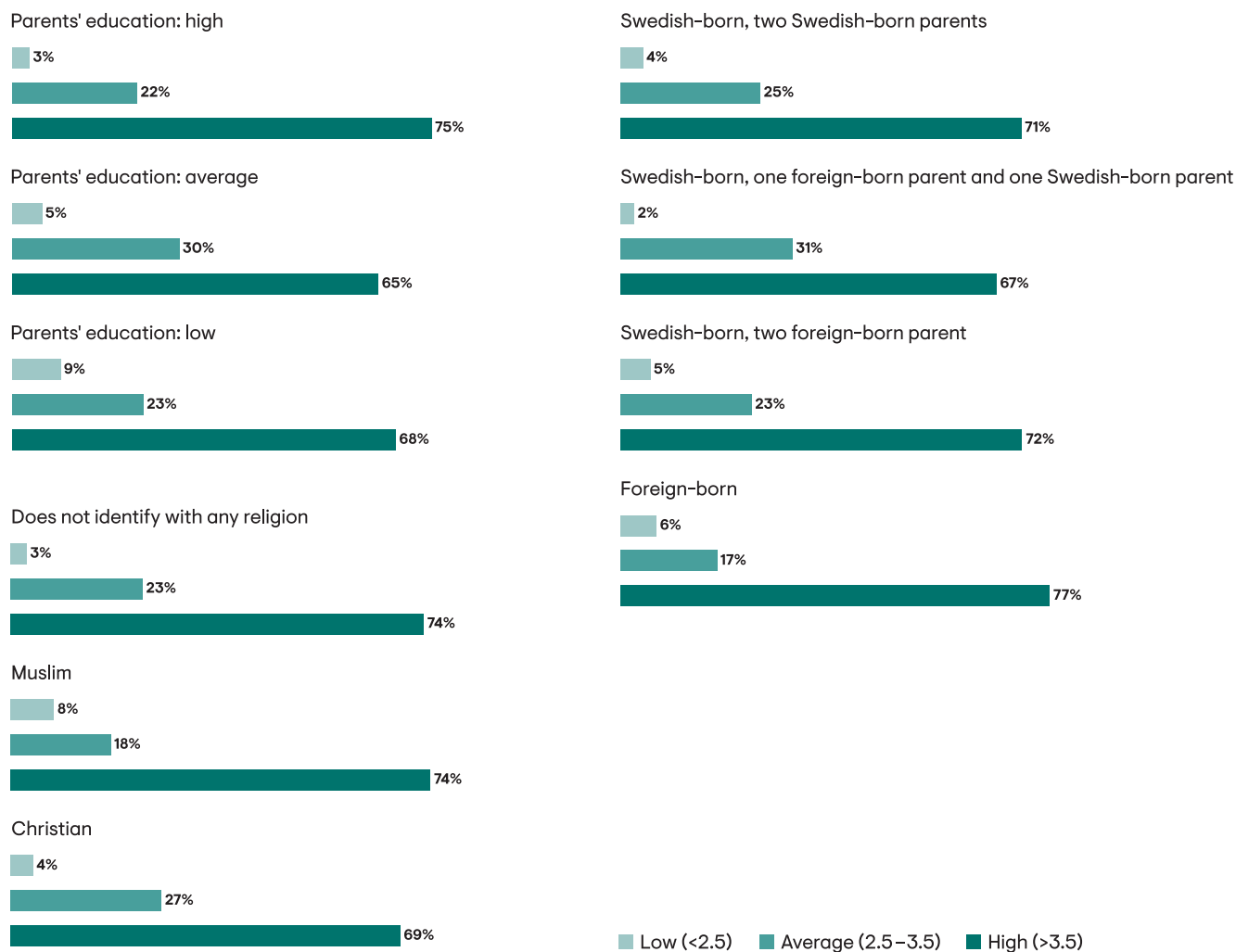
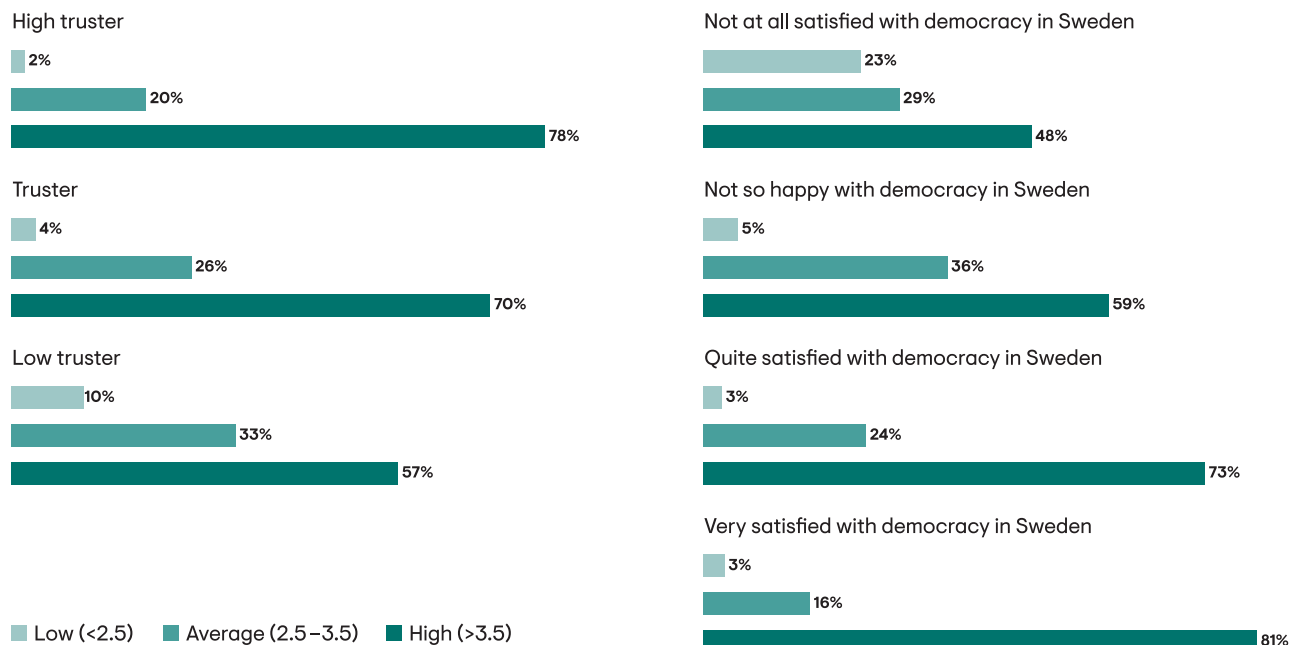


Figure 6.4. Pupils in an explicit measure of association by satisfaction with democracy in Sweden and trust in others (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The response scale for the measure of interpersonal trust ranged from 0 (it is impossible to trust others) to 10 (it is possible to trust others). The low category is responses in the range 0–3, medium in the range 4–6, and high in the range 7–10. The sample is all pupils. All differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).



7. Vulnerable to bullying, threats, and violence

This chapter presents pupils' responses to a number of questions about people being vulnerable to bullying, threats, and violence. Several surveys in recent years have found that many young people in Sweden find themselves in a vulnerable situation, and it is urgent to deepen our understanding of this.

For reasons of comparability, the 2024–5 survey asked largely the same questions as the Living History Forum's 2013 survey. There was a particular focus on possible links to gender, sexual orientation, religious affiliation, and immigrant background.

Having outlined how pupils view vulnerability in Swedish society, the chapter presents the responses to a number of questions about their own experiences of being verbally bullied, threatened, or physically assaulted in the preceding twelve months. and looks at whether pupils feel they have been verbally bullied because of their background. The chapter concludes with their experiences of online vulnerability and exposure on social media.

Varying perceptions of vulnerability

How do young people view the vulnerability of different groups? The present survey asked whether there is any group in Swedish society that is frequently exposed to violence, threats, or harassment. 36 per cent of pupils said yes, 23 per cent no, and 41 per cent said they did not know.

Girls were more likely to answer in the affirmative than boys (43 per cent and 29 per cent respectively). Pupils in academic programmes at upper secondary school are more likely to answer yes to the question than pupils in vocational programmes or in Year 9 of compulsory school. Of pupils in academic programmes, 42 per cent said there are vulnerable groups in Swedish society compared to 27 per cent of pupils in vocational programmes and 29 per cent of compulsory school pupils. Pupils with a foreign background are slightly less likely to answer yes than those with a Swedish background (27 per cent compared to 39 per cent).¹⁰⁷ Last but not least, pupils who are interested in politics were more

likely to answer yes than those who say they have no interest in politics: 57 per cent of pupils who said they are very interested in politics answered that there are vulnerable groups, as opposed to 32 per cent of those who describe themselves as less interested and 23 per cent of those who say they are not at all interested in politics.

Many view immigrants as a vulnerable group

Pupils who answered yes to the question of whether there are particularly vulnerable groups in Swedish society could also write a free-text response with one or more groups they considered particularly vulnerable to violence, threats, or harassment. Some of the responses are unspecific and refer to people who do not follow 'the norm' or who are 'different'. Others say that depending on the situation, any social group can be vulnerable. The vast majority of responses, however, mention people of foreign origin. The most common term is 'immigrant': 31 per cent of the some 2,770 pupils who answered the question

used 'immigrant' or in a few instances phrases such as 'immigrant background'. A relatively large number also use 'foreign background' or similar.

35 per cent of pupils with a foreign background who answered the question said 'immigrant' compared to 30 per cent of those with a Swedish background.¹⁰⁸ A few pupils (5 per cent of the responses) instead refer to people who are not Swedish being vulnerable: 'non-Swedish background'; 'anyone who is not Swedish'; 'non-ethnic Swedes'; 'everyone except typical Swedes'. Those who answered were equally likely to have a foreign or Swedish background, but girls were more likely to answer than boys (7 per cent compared to 2 per cent).¹⁰⁹

More boys than girls think Swedes are vulnerable

For other pupils, it is 'Swedes' who are a vulnerable group: 'Swedes', 'young Swedish people', 'Swedish teenage boys', 'Swedish girls'. 27 per cent of the boys who answered the question mentioned Swedes compared to 2 per cent of the

Figure 7.1. Proportion of pupils who said in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys they had been verbally bullied, threatened, or physically assaulted at least once in the preceding twelve months. Total and by gender (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The questions were ‘In the past 12 months have you been bullied by someone so you felt angry or sad?’, ‘In the past 12 months have you been threatened by someone so you felt very afraid?’, ‘In the past 12 months have you been physically hurt?’ The response options were ‘No, never’, ‘Yes, once’, ‘Yes, several times’. The figure shows the proportion who answered ‘Yes, once’ or ‘Yes, several times’. The sample is all pupils.



girls.¹¹⁰ Pupil background is also significant here. 14 per cent of pupils with a Swedish background who answered the question said that Swedes are a vulnerable group, as opposed to 4 per cent of pupils with a foreign background.¹¹¹ Some mention both immigrants and Swedes in their answers, pointing to the importance of context: ‘immigrants and Swedes, it depends where you are’, ‘both immigrants and Swedes’, ‘It depends on where you are’, ‘Swedes in council estates, immigrants in “Swedish” places’.

More girls than boys think LGBT people are vulnerable

Another common response is ‘LGBTQI people’, ‘homosexuals’, ‘LGBTQ’, or ‘LGBTQIA+’. In total, 24 per cent of the pupils who answered the question mention the group, but there is a significant gender difference, because while 31 per cent of the girls who answered the question mentioned LGBT people, only 14 per cent of the boys did so.¹¹²

Pupils with a foreign background are more likely to think Muslims are vulnerable

11 per cent of those who answered the question mention Muslims as a particularly vulnerable group. The tendency to mention Muslims is greater among pupils with a foreign background than among those with a Swedish background (21 per cent and 9 per cent respectively) and among those who identify as Muslims (32 per cent compared to 8 per cent of those who identify as Christians and 9 per cent of those who said they have no religious affiliation).¹¹³

An interest in politics linked to the idea that Jews are vulnerable

7 per cent of those who answered the question listed Jews among the vulnerable groups. Mentions of Jews varies according to pupils’ interest

in politics: 15 per cent of pupils who said they are very interested in politics mention Jews compared to 7 per cent of those who say they are interested, 5 per cent of those who are not interested and 4 per cent of those who are not interested at all.¹¹⁴

More girls than boys think women are vulnerable

10 per cent of pupils who answered the question refer to women as a vulnerable group. 15 per cent of girls who answered the question and 6 per cent of boys chose the answer.

A few think other groups are vulnerable

Finally, 5 per cent of those who answered the question say 'non-white' or 'dark-skinned' people are a particularly vulnerable group, while a smaller number include Roma and Sámi people in their answers.

Exposure to bullying, threats, and violence

The 2024–5 survey had a number of questions about pupils' own experiences of being vulnerable. They were first asked whether they had been verbally bullied, threatened, or physically assaulted in the preceding twelve months. These questions were also included in the 2013 survey. As shown in Figure 7.1, there was a higher proportion of affirmative responses in 2024–5 than ten years earlier: in 2024–5, 51 per cent responded that they had been verbally bullied (33 per cent in 2013), 13 per cent said they had been threatened (8 per cent in 2013) and 16 per cent said they had been physically assaulted (11 per cent in 2013) (see also Appendix Table C1).

Figure 7.2. Proportion of pupils who stated in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys they had been verbally bullied, threatened, or physically assaulted at least once in the preceding twelve months, by year group (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils.

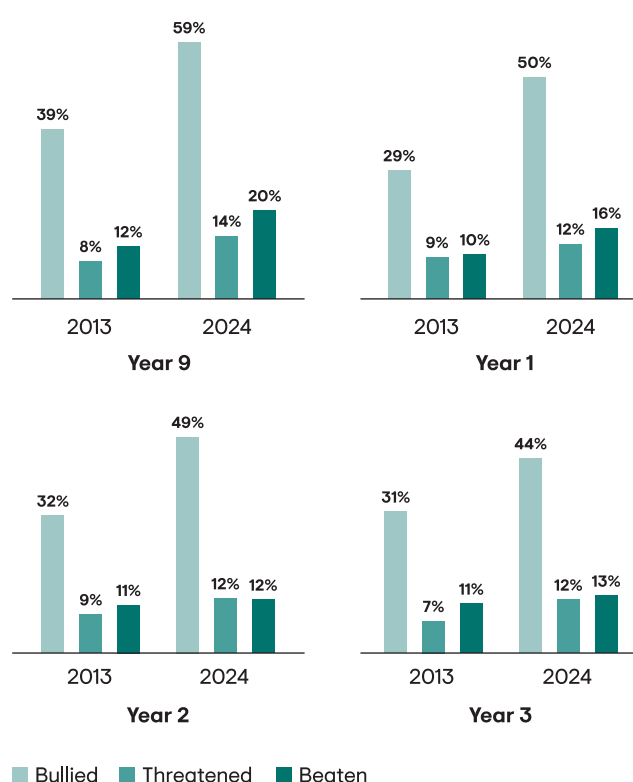
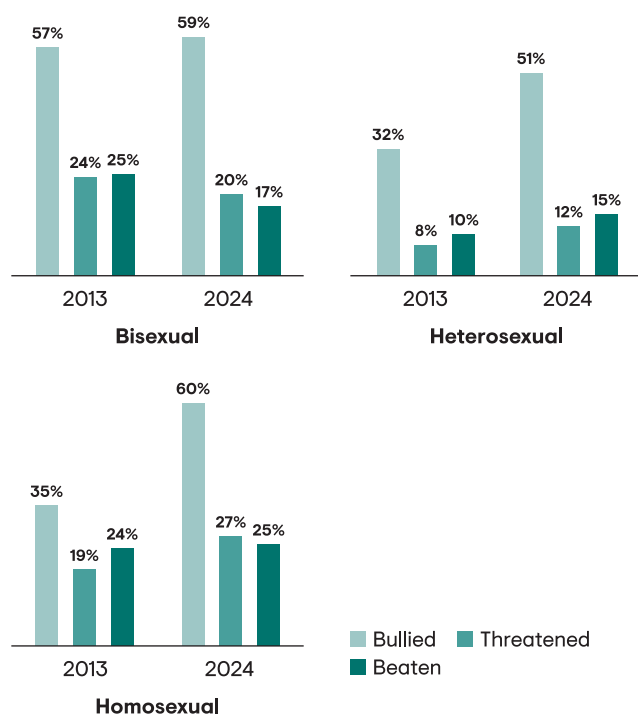


Figure 7.3. Proportion of pupils who stated in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys they were verbally bullied, threatened, or physically assaulted at least once in the preceding twelve months, by sexual orientation (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils who identify as heterosexual, homosexual, or bisexual.



Increasing numbers verbally bullied, threatened, or physically assaulted

As Figure 7.1 shows, there are gender differences. A higher proportion of girls than boys reported having been verbally bullied: in 2024–5, 58 per cent of girls answered yes to the question compared to 44 per cent of boys, while in 2013 a slightly higher proportion of girls than boys said they had been threatened (10 per cent and 7 per cent respectively). In 2024–5, the opposite was the case: 13 per cent of boys said they had been threatened compared to 12 per cent of girls. In both surveys, a higher proportion of boys than girls reported having been physically assaulted in the preceding twelve months. In 2024–5, 21 per cent of boys and 10 per cent of girls stated they had been subject to physical violence.

Compulsory school pupils more vulnerable than secondary school pupils

As shown in Figure 7.2, younger pupils are generally more vulnerable than older pupils: in 2024–5, 59 per cent of pupils in Year 9 of compulsory school reported having been verbally bullied compared to 39 per cent in 2013. The corresponding figures for pupils in Year 3 of upper secondary school are 44 per cent in the 2024–5 survey compared to 31 per cent in 2013. In the 2024–5 survey, 20 per cent of compulsory school pupils reported having been physically assaulted compared to 12 per cent in 2013. There was a smaller increase among pupils in Year 3 of upper secondary school. In 2024–5, 13 per cent of them reported having been physically assaulted compared to 11 per cent in 2013.

Homosexual or bisexual pupils refer more often to bullying, threats, and violence

The reported levels of exposure also differ depending on sexual orientation. As shown in Figure 7.3, in both 2024–5 and 2013 the pupils who identify as homosexual or bisexual reported higher levels of exposure than heterosexual pupils. In 2024–5, 60 per cent of pupils who identify as gay and 59 per cent of those who identify as bisexual said they had been verbally bullied in the past year compared to 51 per cent of heterosexual pupils. At the same time, 12 per cent of heterosexual pupils said they had been threatened compared to 20 per cent of bisexual pupils and 27 per cent of homosexual pupils. Further, 25 per cent of gay pupils said they had been physically assaulted in the preceding twelve months. The corresponding figure for bisexual pupils was 17 per cent and for heterosexual pupils 15 per cent.

Few Jewish pupils, most of whom report feeling vulnerable

Figure 7.4 shows the responses to the three questions by religious affiliation. The proportion of pupils who identified as Buddhists, Hindus, or Jews was so small that the results have been omitted from the figure; however, going by published reports of Jewish pupils' vulnerability in recent years, it should be noted that of the 26 pupils who identified as Jewish in the 2024–5 survey, 20 (77 per cent) said they had been verbally bullied in the preceding twelve months, 10 (38 per cent) that they had been threatened, and 10 (38 per cent) that they had been physically assaulted.¹¹⁵

Figure 7.4. Proportion of pupils who stated in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys they had been verbally bullied, threatened, or physically assaulted at least once in the preceding twelve months, by religious affiliation (per cent, weighted data).

Note: So few pupils identified as Buddhists, Jews, or Hindus that they are not included here.

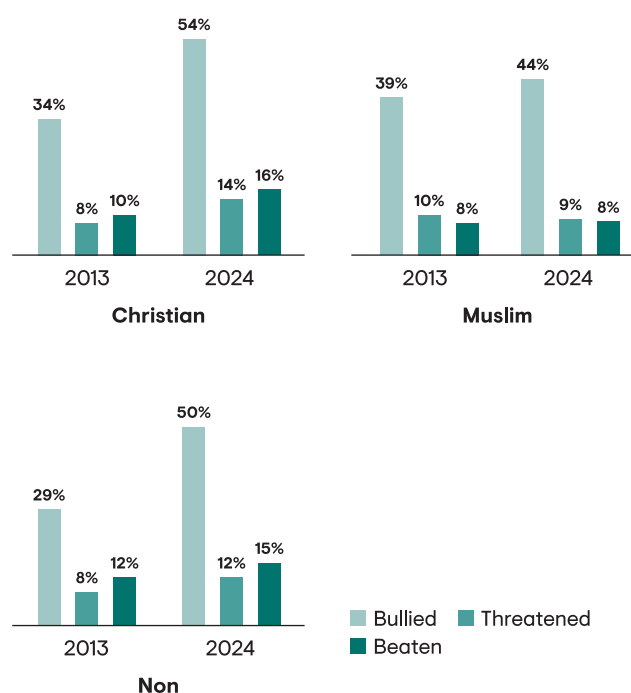
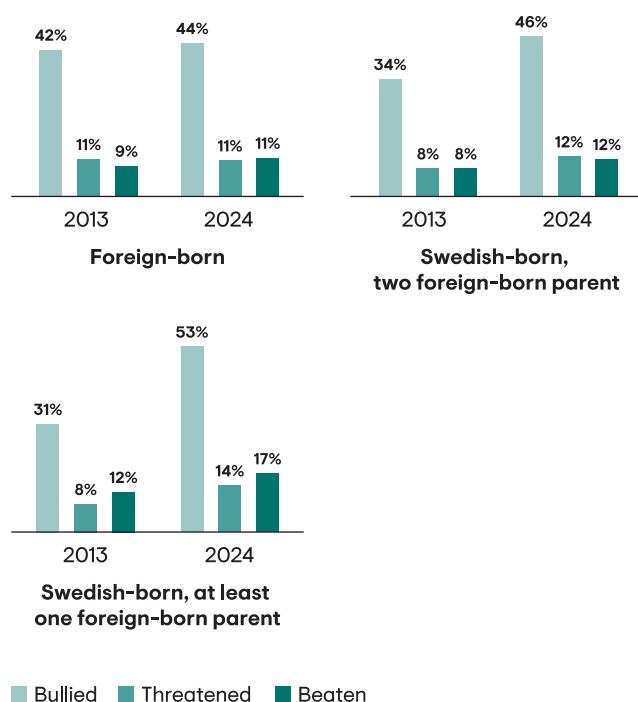


Figure 7.5. Proportion of pupils who stated in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys they had been verbally bullied, threatened, or physically assaulted at least once in the preceding twelve months, by immigration background (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils.



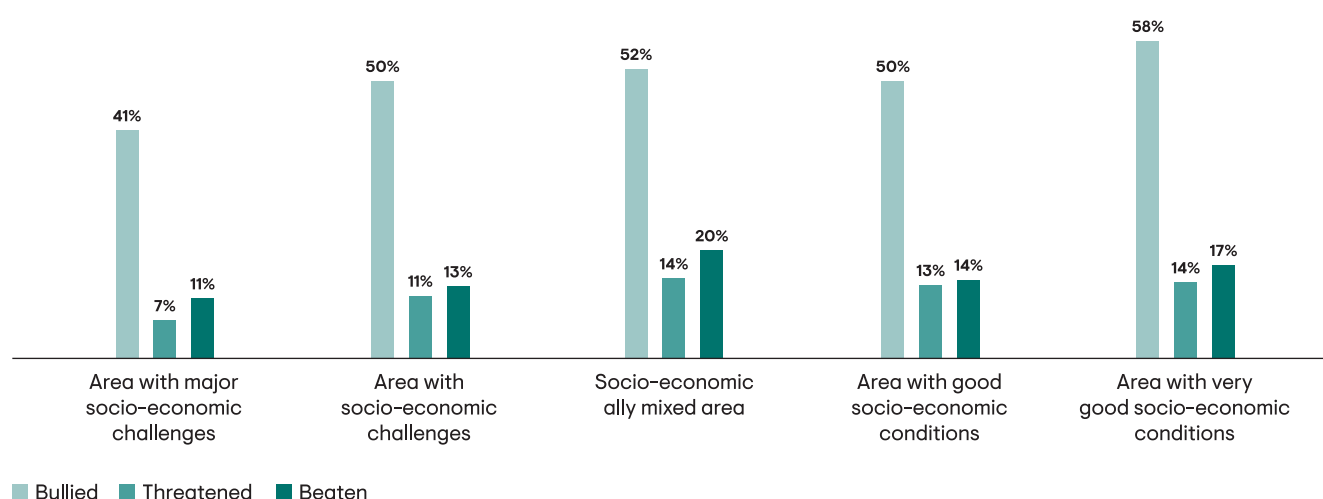
More in 2024–5 than in 2013

In the 2013 survey, 39 per cent of Muslim pupils said they had been verbally bullied compared to 34 per cent of Christian pupils and 29 per cent of pupils with no religious affiliation. 10 per cent of Muslim pupils also said they had been threatened compared to 8 per cent of both Christian pupils and those with no a religious affiliation. In the latter group, however, 12 per cent of pupils said they had been physically assaulted compared to 10 per cent of Christian pupils and 8 per cent of Muslim pupils. In the 2024–5 survey, the situation had changed. Now it was the Christian pupils who were most likely to answer yes: 54 per cent of them said they had been verbally bullied compared to 50 per cent of pupils with no religious affiliation and 44 per cent of Muslim pupils. 14 per cent of Christian pupils said they had been threatened compared to 12 per cent of those with no religious affiliation and 9 per cent of Muslim pupils. 14 per cent of Christian pupils also said they had been threatened compared to 9 per cent of Muslim pupils and 12 per cent with no religious affiliation. Finally, 16 per cent of Christian pupils, 15 per cent of those with no religious affiliation, and 8 per cent of Muslim pupils reported having been physically assaulted in the preceding twelve months.

Immigrant background also plays a role. Figure 7.5 shows the responses to the three questions categorised as foreign-born pupils, Swedish-born pupils with two foreign-born parents, and Swedish-born pupils with at least one Swedish-born parent. The proportion of pupils who said they had been verbally bullied, threatened, or physically assaulted was higher in 2024–5, regardless of background. The largest increase was among Swedish-born pupils with one or two Swedish-born parents (Appendix Table C1). In 2024–5, 44 per cent of foreign-born pupils said they had been verbally bullied, 11 per cent

FIGURE 7.6. Proportion of pupils who stated in the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys they had been verbally bullied, threatened, or physically assaulted at least once in the preceding twelve months, by the school's location according to the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning's SES classification (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils.



that they had been threatened, and 11 per cent that they had been physically assaulted. Of the Swedish-born pupils whose parents were born abroad, the distribution of responses was similar: 46 per cent said they had been verbally bullied, 12 per cent that they had been threatened, and 12 per cent that they had been physically assaulted. Finally, 53 per cent of the Swedish-born pupils with one or two Swedish-born parents answered that they had been verbally bullied, 14 per cent that they had been threatened, and 17 per cent that they had been physically assaulted in the preceding twelve months.

Figure 7.6 shows the proportion of pupils who said they had experienced severe verbal bullying, threats, or violence in the preceding twelve months, grouped by the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning's classification of the school's SES area.

Less in very low SES areas

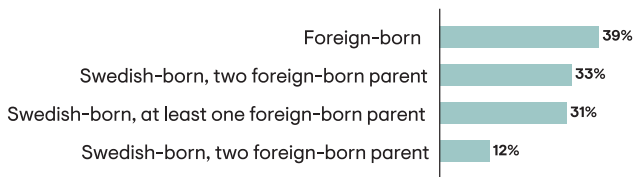
Pupils at schools in very low SES areas consistently experience less verbal bullying, threats, and violence than pupils elsewhere: 41 per cent said they had experienced severe verbal bullying in the preceding twelve months compared to 58 per cent of pupils at schools in very high SES areas. 7 per cent of pupils in very low SES areas said they had been threatened, and 11 per cent that they had been physically assaulted in the preceding twelve months. The corresponding figures for pupils at schools in mixed SES areas are 14 and 20 per cent respectively, and in very high SES areas 14 and 17 per cent respectively.

Agreement with other studies

To what extent is the pupils' sense of their own vulnerability consistent with the findings of other surveys? In Brå's recent *School Survey on Crime*,

Figure 7.7. Proportion of pupils who in the 2024–5 survey answered yes to the question whether they had been verbally bullied in the preceding twelve months because of their Swedish or foreign background, by immigration background (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The question was ‘In the past twelve months have you been verbally bullied because of your Swedish or foreign background?’ The response options were ‘No, never’, ‘Yes, once’, ‘Yes, several times’, ‘Yes, many times’, and ‘Don’t know’. The figure shows those who answered ‘Yes, once’, ‘Yes, several times’, and ‘Yes, many times’. Note: The sample is all pupils.



which uses data from the autumn of 2023, 21 per cent of boys reported having been assaulted in the preceding twelve months compared to 17 per cent of girls, while 13 per cent of girls reported having been threatened in the preceding twelve months compared to 11 per cent of boys. 3 per cent of girls reported having been threatened in the preceding twelve months compared to 11 per cent of boys. This broadly agrees with the results of the Living History Forum’s 2024–5 survey. Brå’s survey of victims of crime in 2024–5 pointed to something similar about gender differences, because it found reported victims of assault per 100,000 inhabitants was highest for boys aged 15–17 and second highest for men aged 18–24. For girls and women of corresponding age the figures were significantly lower, as two or three times as many boys as girls aged 7–17 were registered as victims of assault.¹¹⁶ Similarly, in terms of the number of reported victims of unlawful threats per 100,000 inhabitants, boys in the 15–17 age group were the largest category, followed by young men aged 18–24.¹¹⁷

The Brå school survey also found differences in terms of background, although they were

relatively small: 22 per cent of foreign-born pupils stated they had been the victim of an assault in the preceding twelve months compared to 20 per cent of Swedish-born pupils with two foreign-born parents and 19 per cent of Swedish-born pupils with at least one Swedish-born parent. Further, 13 per cent of foreign-born pupils reported having received threats in the preceding twelve months, whereas the corresponding figure was 10 per cent for Swedish-born pupils with two foreign-born parents, and 12 per cent among Swedish-born pupils with at least one Swedish-born parent.¹¹⁸ There are thus certain differences compared to the Living History Forum’s 2024–5 survey, and above all its finding that a smaller proportion of pupils said they had been physically assaulted in the preceding twelve months, with foreign-born pupils least affected.

Vulnerability because of background

The 2024–5 survey included a question that directly addressed vulnerability because of background: ‘In the past 12 months, have you been bullied about your Swedish or foreign origin?’ The response options were ‘No, never’, ‘Yes, once’, ‘Yes, several times’, ‘Yes, many times’, and ‘Don’t know’. In total, 21 per cent of pupils said they had been verbally bullied because of their background in the preceding twelve months. Boys tend to answer in the affirmative slightly more than girls: 24 per cent of boys said they had been verbally bullied because of their background at least once in the preceding twelve months compared to 16 per cent of girls. Age also appears to be significant. 23 per cent of pupils in Year 9 of compulsory school answered yes compared to 16 per cent of pupils in Year 3 of upper secondary school (Appendix Table C2).

Pupils with a foreign background experience greater vulnerability

As shown in Figure 7.7, the difference between responses is greater when looking at immigration background. 39 per cent of foreign-born pupils, 33 per cent of Swedish-born pupils with two foreign-born parents, and 31 per cent of Swedish-born pupils with one foreign-born parent said they had been verbally bullied about their background at least once in the preceding twelve months. The corresponding figure for Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents was 12 per cent.

The odds of being verbally bullied because of one's background also vary according to the school's SES area (Figure 7.8, also Appendix Table A3). Of foreign-born pupils, 44 per cent at schools in mixed SES areas and 49 per cent at schools in low SES areas said they have been verbally bullied because of their origins compared to 25–32 per cent of other foreign-born pupils. Of Swedish-born pupils whose parents were both born abroad, 51 per cent at schools in very high SES areas said they have been verbally bullied because of their background compared to 26–35 per cent at schools in other areas.

For Swedish-born pupils whose parents were both born in Sweden, the situation is reversed. 16 per cent of them at schools in very low SES areas said they have been verbally bullied because of their origins compared to 11–12 per cent of them at schools in other areas.

Online harassment and hate crimes are common

As is well documented from other studies, young people often experience online harassment and hate crimes, whether it be websites, text messages, chat rooms, or social media. In a Swedish Agency for the Media survey of young people's media habits in 2022, 18 per cent of the 13–16 age group reported that someone had been unkind or

Figure 7.8. Proportion of pupils who in the 2024–5 survey answered yes to the question whether they had been verbally bullied in the preceding twelve months because of their Swedish or foreign background, by immigration background and the school's location according to the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning's SES classification (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils.

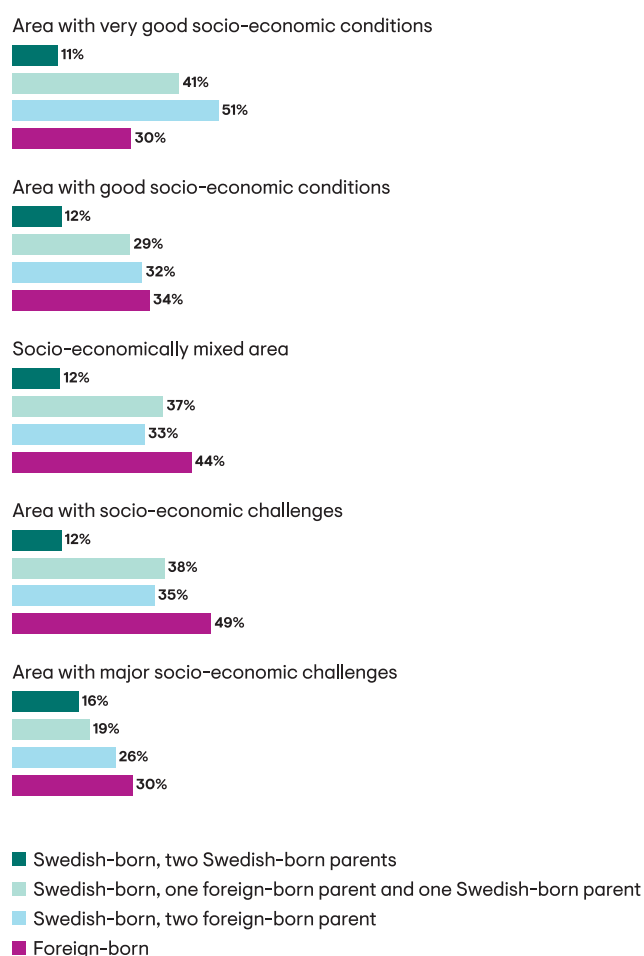


Figure 7.9. Proportion of pupils who said they had received threatening emails, text messages, comments on social media, or chat messages in the preceding twelve months that they associated with their origins, religion, sexual orientation, or gender identity (per cent, weighted data).

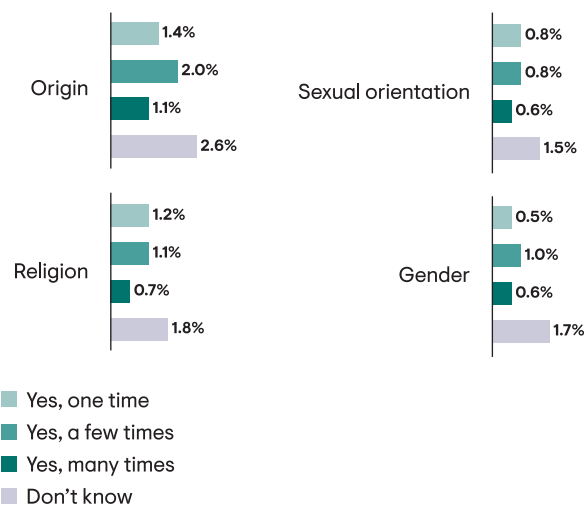
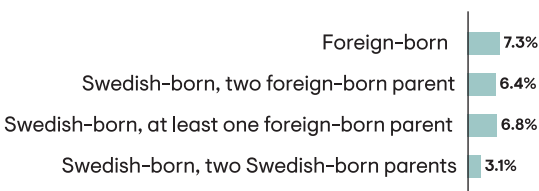


Figure 7.10. Proportion of pupils who said they had received threatening emails, text messages, comments on social media or chat messages on one or more occasions in the preceding twelve months that they associated with their origins, by immigration background (per cent, weighted data).

Note: The sample is all pupils.



bullied them online or on their mobile phone in the preceding year. The corresponding figure for the 17–18 age group was 14 per cent. Further, 10 per cent of young people aged 13–16 and 7 per cent of those aged 17–18 reported being threatened online or on their mobile phone in the preceding year.¹¹⁹

In Brå’s school survey of 2023, 37 per cent of girls and 25 per cent of boys said someone had written offensive things about them online in the preceding twelve months.¹²⁰

Young people worst affected according to an early study

According to a 2024 survey by the Swedish Internet Foundation, 7 per cent of Swedes aged 12 and up had experienced online bullying, abuse, and negative remarks, which was almost double the figure in a 2021 survey.¹²¹ Young people aged 12–19 were the worst affected. 23 per cent of boys in this group and 17 per cent of girls responded that they had experienced online bullying. In terms of education levels, 22 per cent of compulsory school pupils and 18 per cent of upper secondary school pupils said they had been subjected to online bullying.¹²²

The 2024–5 survey had a number of questions about pupils’ experiences of being targeted online: ‘In the past 12 months, have you received threatening emails, texts, chats, or social media comments that you associate with the following?’ And the response options for background, religion, sexual orientation, and gender identity were ‘No, never’, ‘Yes, once’, ‘Yes, several times’, ‘Yes, many times’, and ‘Don’t know’. As shown in Figure 7.9, a relatively small proportion of pupils reported having received threatening messages or comments associated with those background factors (Appendix Table A4). 4 per cent said they had been threatened because of their origins, 3 per cent because of their religion, 2 per cent because of their sexual orientation, and 2 per cent because of their gender identity.

In Figures 7.10 and 7.11, the results are broken down by immigration background, religion, and sexual orientation. As shown in Figure 7.10, just over 7 per cent of foreign-born pupils reported having been threatened on one or more occasions because of their origins. The corresponding proportion for Swedish-born pupils with one or two foreign-born parents was 6–7 per cent, and for Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents just over 3 per cent (Appendix Table A5).

Many Muslim and Jewish pupils experience online threats

Concerning religious affiliation, it is primarily pupils who identify as Muslim who report having been threatened in emails, text messages, chat messages, or comments on social media. Pupils who define themselves as Christian also reported more that they had been threatened because of their religion compared to pupils with no religious affiliation (Figure 7.11, also Appendix Table A6). 8 per cent of Muslim pupils and 3 per cent of Christian pupils they had experienced it at least once in the preceding twelve months. Of the 26 Jewish pupils, 10 (31 per cent) said they received online threats in the same period.

Many gay and bisexual pupils feel vulnerable

Online threats are particularly high among pupils who identify as homosexual or bisexual. Figure 7.12 shows that almost one in five pupils who identify as homosexual said that in the preceding twelve months they have received threatening emails, text messages, comments on social media, or chat messages which they associate with their sexual orientation (Appendix Table A7). The corresponding figure for pupils who identify as bisexual is 14 per cent – compared to just under 1 per cent of pupils who identify as heterosexual.

Figure 7.11. Proportion of pupils who said they had received threatening emails, text messages, comments on social media, or chat messages in the preceding twelve months that they associated with their religion, by religious affiliation (per cent, weighted data).

Note: So few pupils identified as Buddhists, Jews, or Hindus that they are not included here.

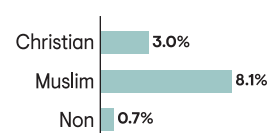
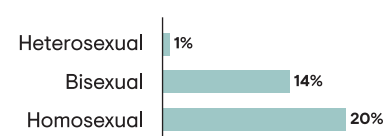


Figure 7.12. The proportion of pupils who said they had received threatening emails, text messages, comments on social media, or chat messages in the preceding twelve months that they associated with their sexual orientation, by sexual orientation (per cent, weighted data).



8. Concluding discussion

The Living History Forum's new pupil survey shows that Swedish school pupils generally display strongly positive attitudes to minority groups, believe it is important for people to be free to live how they want, and feel that society benefits from having diverse traditions and lifestyles.

Despite these predominantly positive attitudes, however, there are signs they are more intolerant than Swedish school pupils a decade ago. The biggest change is in attitudes to homosexuals, bisexuals, and transgender people. Together they were the category in the 2013 survey whom pupils were most positive about; in the 2024–5 survey, however, they were the category about whom pupils were most negative.

There are, however, exceptions to this negative trend. Pupils display more positive attitudes concerning the right to build houses of worship, for example, or to wear religious clothing.

When it comes to vulnerability, more pupils report having experienced bullying, threats, and violence now than in 2013. Negative attitudes to

homosexual and bisexual people are also evident – they are the group who report being affected to the greatest extent.

Just as in the Living History Forum's previous pupil surveys, the 2024–5 survey shows there is a clear correlation between the respondent's gender and negative attitudes to minority groups. Boys tend to express higher levels of negative attitudes than girls do.

Another repeated correlation is that pupils in vocational programmes at upper secondary school tend to express more negative attitudes than pupils in academic programmes. A new finding in the 2024–5 survey is that it seems to be a pre-existing difference, evident even when Year 9 pupils apply to upper secondary school; the difference thus does not seem to arise at upper secondary school but at an earlier age.

As in the 2013 survey, there is a correlation between attitudes to minorities and trust in people and public institutions. The greater the trust in people and institutions, the more positive the attitudes – and vice versa.

At the same time, the relationship between attitudes and interest in politics is changing. In earlier surveys, an interest in politics was generally linked to more positive attitudes to minority groups, but in the 2024–5 survey interest in politics and attitudes form a bimodal distribution with a U-shaped dip in the middle. The most intolerant and most tolerant pupils alike tend to be more interested in politics than other pupils are.

The 2024–5 survey included questions about conspiratorial thinking for the first time. The results show that there is a clear correlation between higher levels of negative attitudes and a higher level of conspiratorial thinking.

These and other findings must be interpreted with caution, taking many factors into account at once. The 2024–5 survey covers several minority groups and has a wide range of questions and statements about each of them. There are many components to the picture that emerges and which, when compared to the previous pupil survey in 2013, are evident an increase in both negative attitudes and perceived vulnerability.

Further, it is reasonable to assume that, in addition to the individual factors studied in the survey, there are also external factors influencing the results.

The decade between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys has seen the rapid development of social media, with its ever-increasing reach used to spread hate and polarisation in both open and encrypted channels.¹²³ The upbringing of entire pupil cohorts has changed beyond recognition and social media can safely be assumed to determine how they view the world – and how they obtain information. The survey shows that pupils who say they have great confidence in the information from social media, such as TikTok, are more likely to express negative attitudes to the minorities in the survey.

More negative attitudes than in previous surveys

The 2024–5 survey shows that the majority of Swedish school pupils have positive attitudes to the minority groups in question. Yet there is still a break in the trend towards increasingly positive attitudes which generally characterised the Living History Forum's previous pupil surveys. The proportion of negative attitudes has increased in the responses to most statements. When it comes to attitudes to LGBT people, the shift towards negativity is striking.

It is perhaps best illustrated by the proportion of pupils who responded negatively to the statements about minority groups.

In the 2013 survey, 12 per cent of pupils chose response options that expressed negative attitudes to at least two of the four statements about immigrants.¹²⁴ The corresponding proportion in 2024–5 is 20 per cent.¹²⁵

In the 2013 survey, 3 per cent of non-Jewish pupils gave at least three negative responses to the six statements about Jews; that figure in the 2024–5 survey is 5 per cent.¹²⁶

In the 2013 survey, 11 per cent of non-Muslim pupils gave negative responses to at least four of seven statements about Muslims compared to 17 per cent in 2024–5.¹²⁷

In the 2013 survey, 9 per cent of pupils responded in the negative to at least three out of five statements about Roma compared to 8 per cent in the 2024–5 survey.¹²⁸

In the 2013 survey, 3 per cent of pupils also expressed negative attitudes in their responses to at least two out of four statements about LGBT people compared to 14 per cent in the 2024–5 survey.¹²⁹

Finally, 7 per cent of pupils in the 2024–5 survey responded negatively to at least two out of three statements about Afro-Swedes/Black people, and 3 per cent of pupils responded negatively to at least

two out of three statements about the Sámi.

It is not easy to determine what constitutes a significant increase or decrease in terms of percentages, but it is clear that the greatest changes relate to attitudes to LGBT people and immigrants. The proportion with plainly negative attitudes to Roma, on the other hand, has fallen by 1 percentage point. For the two new groups included in the survey – Afro-Swedes/Black people and the Sámi – similar comparisons will have to wait.

Based on the analyses thus far, no single factor presents itself as the driving force behind these developments. As seen, there is a correlation between pupils' attitudes and a variety of individual and contextual factors. Pupils' attitudes to minorities tend to be interlinked – where they have negative attitudes to one group they will probably have negative attitudes to other groups too (Table 5.1) – but the correlations can vary. A variety of factors can influence personal attitudes to varying degrees.

A jump in negative attitudes to LGBT people

The sharp increase in negative attitudes to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people is striking, particularly so as it runs counter to everything the literature has to say about trends, theories, and predictions, at least for Europe and North America.¹³⁰

In the autumn of 2025, RFSL found signs that the once increasingly positive trends might have turned among Swedish schoolchildren.¹³¹ The results of this pupil survey bear it out.

It is worth noting that in attitude research about LGBT issues there are three factors held to be fundamental to studies of attitude changes among different age groups:

- age effects, or attitude changes among different age groups, because generally speaking

the proportion of adults with negative attitudes tends to increase with age;

- cohort effects, or effects linked to year of birth, because a particular age group's attitudes to, say, homosexuality may vary between surveys conducted at different times, depending on impact factors date back to when they were in their late teens and twenties – their formative years, and when each a new cohort or generation replaces another in a particular age group, it may appear as though the group is changing attitudes, but in reality it is simply a case of the individuals within the age group being replaced;
- Zeitgeist effects, or the spirit of the age contributing to a change in attitudes.¹³²

Since this is a study of young people, the vast majority aged 15–18, the more negative attitudes must surely be linked to the last factor – the impact of the prevailing social climate. It would certainly allow for a link between the survey's findings and the general rise in gender-stereotyping highlighted by several studies, including one about attitudes and values by the Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society (MUCF), which identifies a shift in attitudes between 2018 and 2024 so that more young people now believe it is important for girls to be feminine and boys to be masculine. The present study has found a relatively strong correlation between negative attitudes to LGBT people and a rejection of statements about the importance of working for an equal society and women having the same rights as men. There may also be a connection between these results and the trans debate in Sweden in recent years. As the statement is worded in the questionnaire, no distinction is made between homosexual, bisexual, and transgender people, which makes it impossible to separate out the attitudes to transgender people.

Less support for gender equality and human dignity, more for mosques and synagogues

When it comes to statements about gender equality, the proportion of respondents agreeing has fallen slightly in 2024–5 compared to the 2013 survey. There is a similar trend in MUCF's attitude and values study, where the proportion of young people who consider gender equality to be one of the three most pressing social issues of the day has decreased.¹³³

The same decline in affirmative responses is evident in the part of the pupil survey about human dignity in all respects. The main exception is a number of statements about mosques and synagogues and about TV presenters wearing headscarves. In the 2024–5 survey, a larger proportion are in favour of Muslims having the right to build mosques in Sweden and of TV presenters wearing headscarves than was previously the case, matched by a higher proportion who believe Swedish Jews should have the right to build synagogues. This indicates that religious freedom and questions of religious practice are a unique aspect of tolerance and intolerance.¹³⁴

Girls are more tolerant than boys

The correlation between attitudes and background factors is much the same as in previous pupil surveys. Like them, the analysis of data from the 2024–5 survey confirms that various factors correlate with the level of negative attitudes, although the degree of correlation may vary between measures of association.

One finding applies throughout: there is a significant gender difference, because girls generally express more positive attitudes than boys. Gender is the one factor of all the background variables which has the strongest correlation with pupils' attitudes. This is wholly in line with the results

of previous pupil surveys. If only to combat intolerance of minorities, further interdisciplinary research on this topic would be welcome.

Pupils in academic programmes are more tolerant

The programmes in upper secondary school have also been shown to have a significant impact on pupils' negative attitudes. Pupils in academic programmes have a consistently lower level of negative attitudes compared to pupils in vocational programmes. The strongest correlation is the 'Jews' measure of association, but there are also relatively strong correlations for the other measures of association. This has also been noted in previous studies. Yet it is important not to draw sweeping conclusions about vocational programmes in upper secondary school, as there are also differences in attitudes between the various vocational programmes.

One novel finding by the present study is that the difference in attitudes appears to pre-exist pupils starting upper secondary school. The question is why. When Year 9 pupils who intend to apply for academic programmes are compared with those who plan to apply for vocational programmes, differences in certain factors become apparent (Appendix Table D1):

- Boys are more likely to choose vocational programmes than girls.
- Pupils with degree-educated parents are more likely to apply for academic programmes.
- Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents are more likely to apply for vocational programmes.
- Those most likely to apply for academic programmes are Swedish-born pupils with two parents born abroad.

- Pupils who are unhappy at school are more likely to apply for vocational programmes, while pupils who feel very stressed by schoolwork tend to apply for academic programmes.
- Pupils at city compulsory schools and local authorities close to cities are less likely to choose vocational programmes.

However, by far the most important factor of all appears to be the final grade in maths in Year 6: the higher the grade, the more likely the pupil will go on to choose an academic programme at upper secondary school.¹³⁵ However, the link between choice of upper secondary school and the level of negative attitudes to minority groups remains unclear and further research would be useful.

Negative attitudes are linked to dissatisfaction with democracy

The results indicate that a key factor influencing the level of negative attitudes to the minority groups is how satisfied pupils are with the workings of Swedish democracy. The more dissatisfied they are, the more negative their attitudes. This was found in the 2013 survey too, and now just as then the level of negative attitudes also correlates with pupils' trust in people and in institutions such as the police.

What is new is the finding that there is a correlation between pupils' willingness to embrace diversity and pluralism in society and their positive attitudes to the minority groups. Notably it does not relate directly to individual groups but to society at large, and this too warrants further research.

Negative attitudes and conspiratorial thinking are linked

A new observation in the 2024–5 survey is the link between a higher level of negative attitudes to the minority groups and a higher level of conspiratorial thinking. This is important, not least because of the large-scale propagation of conspiracy theories on social media.¹³⁶

One question yet to be answered, given the available data, is whether that link in fact is a sign of other underlying personality factors such as social dominance orientation or right-wing authoritarianism (see Ch. 1). The literature shows there is a connection between the psychological factors and level of conspiratorial thinking. It is therefore conceivable that rather than with higher levels of conspiratorial thinking, the link is in fact between negative attitudes and a higher degree of social dominance orientation or right-wing authoritarianism.¹³⁷ Further research is needed to establish whether this is the case.

Pupils are more vulnerable than before

Another change compared to the 2013 survey concerns the level of self-reported vulnerability. The results from the 2024–5 survey largely confirm the picture of that school pupils feel more vulnerable – something seen in other recent Swedish surveys. Compared to the 2013 survey, pupils who responded to the 2024–5 survey said they are far more vulnerable to bullying, threats, and violence. The proportion of pupils who said they had been verbally bullied rose from 33 per cent to 51 per cent; the proportion who had been threatened increased from 8 per cent to 13 per cent; and the proportion who reported having been physically assaulted rose from 11 per cent in 2013 to 16 per cent in 2024–5. In both surveys, girls are more likely than boys to say they had

experienced verbal bullying, while boys report a higher incidence of physical violence.

Younger pupils tend to be more vulnerable to bullying, threats, and violence. In the 2024–5 survey, pupils who identified as homosexual or bisexual reported experiencing far more bullying, threats, and violence than heterosexuals did. Vulnerability also varies according to religious affiliation.

Vulnerability varies by background and religion

There are certain differences that relate to background. Pupils born abroad, as well as those born in Sweden with two foreign-born parents, did not report being verbally bullied, threatened, or physically assaulted as much as the other pupils. Pupils born abroad or in Sweden with one or two foreign-born parents are significantly more likely to have been verbally bullied because of their background. However, the likelihood of being verbally bullied because of their background varies somewhat depending on the socioeconomic status of the school's catchment area.

The results also show that Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents are less likely than others to have received online threats which they associate with their background.

Self-reported experiences of online threats are higher among pupils who identify as Muslim compared to those who identify as Christian or have no religious affiliation. Jewish pupils have the greatest tendency to report having been threatened online in the preceding twelve months. Pupils who identify as homosexual or bisexual are more likely than heterosexuals to say they have experienced online threats which they associate with their sexual orientation.

School has a vital role

A consistent finding in all the pupil surveys is that school is key. The school's remit includes the teaching of democratic norms and values, critical thinking, and an ability to evaluate sources. Yet at the same time, all schools are heterogeneous and can vary considerably in such things as the number qualified teachers, school climate, and pupils' circumstances. The conditions for combating intolerant attitudes thus differ from school to school. It is doubtful whether there is a one-size-fits-all solution in prospect; instead, measures will probably need to be tailored. This is where quantitative studies of this kind can only provide the roughest of indications, and its findings will have to be complemented with qualitative studies. An example of how a quantitative study can be combined with an in-depth qualitative study is the Norwegian HL-Senteret's study of young people's attitudes to Jews and Muslims. Focus groups largely confirmed the picture painted by a questionnaire survey, while the analysis of the interviews with the young people provided a far more nuanced understanding of how young Norwegians viewed antisemitism and anti-Muslim racism.¹³⁸

Concluding remarks and further research

The present report is essentially a descriptive review of the survey's main findings, informed by comparisons with previous surveys by the Living History Forum, and in particular the most recent one in 2013. The data will be used in turn for future analyses of a similar nature – for there is a need for further research to better understand the causes and correlations involved, though, and to provide a better-contextualised picture of the situation.

It bears repeating that a clear majority of school

pupils have a high level of positive attitudes to minority groups, believe it is important for people to live how they want, and feel that society can only benefit from diverse traditions and lifestyles. At the same time, the pupils' responses mark a worrying trend in rising intolerance towards various minorities, as well as the vulnerability of young people. It is not possible from the survey results alone to judge whether the increase in negative attitudes and the heightened sense of vulnerability are part of a long-term trend or more a temporary rise, but either way it is a cause for concern. Several other recent reports from the Equality Ombudsman, the Swedish Institute for Human Rights, the Ombudsman for Children, and the Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society all point to a similar trend.

This is worrying for the individuals and groups whose lives are blighted by negative attitudes, bullying, threats, and violence, but it is also a cause of concern for society and democracy. Although this study does not specifically measure different forms of racism, there is an obvious connection between negative attitudes to minority groups and racism, hatred, and threats – and their consequences.

What is called for is further in-depth research based on the study's findings, for example in a series of qualitative studies. The priority areas include:

- the causes of the sharp rise in negative attitudes to LGBTQI+ people and their growing vulnerability
- the far greater sense of vulnerability among Swedish school pupils, and how that perception alone can impact attitudes to other groups and society at large
- the rise in negative attitudes to immigrants and immigration
- the link between satisfaction with democracy and more tolerant attitudes

- the relationship between a greater tendency to accept conspiracy theories and more intolerant attitudes
- why girls generally have more tolerant attitudes than boys

At time of publication, the Living History Forum is preparing to launch a major new survey on intolerance which will cover the entire Swedish population aged 16 and over, to be presented in 2027.

Appendix

1. Pupils' responses to individual statements about different social group

Table A1. Pupils' responses to four statements about 'immigrants', 2013 and 2024 (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'Most immigrants are probably decent people'	2013	3.0	6.4	19.4	37.0	34.2	100	71.2
	2024-5	8.0	9.4	21.4	31.0	30.2	100	61.2
Change 2013 to 2024-5		+5.0	+3.0	+2.0	-6.0	-4.0	0	-10.0
'It would be OK to be neighbours with an immigrant'	2013	2.5	3.6	12.0	30.3	51.6	100	81.9
	2024-5	5.9	5.4	16.7	25.1	46.9	100	72.0
Change 2013 to 2024-5		+3.4	+1.8	+4.8	-5.2	-4.7	0	-9.9
'Immigrants cannot be trusted'	2013	44.4	22.9	25.3	5.2	2.2	100	7.4
	2024-5	37.9	25.6	23.1	8.0	5.4	100	13.4
Change 2013 to 2024-5		-6.5	+2.7	-2.2	+2.8	+3.2	0	+6.0
'There are far too many immigrants in Sweden'	2013	24.5	15.2	26.6	16.9	16.8	100	33.7
	2024-5	15.5	12.8	28.9	19.3	23.5	100	42.8
Change 2013 to 2024-5		-9.0	-2.4	+2.3	+2.4	+6.7	0	+9.1

Note: The sample was Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents.

Table A2. Pupils' responses in 2013 and 2024-5 to the statement 'Immigration is good for Swedish society,' by background (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Total (%)	Total agreement
Swedish-born, two Swedish-born parents	2013	14.7	20.5	33.9	16.1	14.8	100	50.0
	2024-5	19.8	25.4	26.8	6.7	21.3	100	33.5
Change 2013 to 2024-5		+5.1	+4.9	-7.1	-9.4	+6.5	0	-16.5
Swedish-born, at least one foreign-born parent	2013	16.2	19.9	30.9	20.5	12.5	100	51.4
	2024-5	11.9	20.2	32.5	11.5	23.9	100	44.0
Change 2013 to 2024-5		-4.4	+0.3	+1.6	-9.0	+11.5	0	-7.4
Foreign-born	2013	11.8	20.2	38.2	20.5	9.3	100	58.7
	2024-5	6.4	14.0	36.4	17.8	25.4	100	54.2
Change 2013 to 2024-5		-5.4	-6.2	-1.8	-2.7	+16.1	0	-4.5

Table A3. Pupils' responses in 2013 and 2024–5 to the statement 'Immigrants who want to stay in Sweden should for their own good be as like the Swedes as possible', by background (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Total (%)	Total agreement
Swedish-born, two Swedish-born parents	2013	14.5	20.5	26.7	20.5	17.8	100	47.2
	2024–5	11.6	19.1	29.8	19.6	19.9	100	49.4
Change 2013 to 2024–5		-2.9	-1.4	+3.1	-0.9	+2.1	0	+2.2
Swedish-born, at least one foreign-born parent	2013	16.4	21.9	28.6	20.5	12.6	100	49.1
	2024–5	16.0	22.4	26.4	14.5	20.7	100	40.9
Change 2013 to 2024–5		-0.4	+0.5	-2.2	-6.0	+8.1	0	-8.2
Foreign-born	2013	16.6	17.1	32.3	17.0	17.0	100	49.3
	2024–5	18.5	21.8	20.7	15.3	23.7	100	36.0
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+1.9	+4.7	-11.6	-1.7	+6.7	0	-13.3

Table A4. Pupils' responses in 2013 and 2024–5 to the statement 'Excessive immigration from countries outside Europe is destroying Swedish culture', by background (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Total (%)	Total agreement
Swedish-born, two Swedish-born parents	2013	21.6	14.8	25.8	17.4	20.4	100	43.2
	2024–5	13.0	16.4	27.5	23.1	20.0	100	50.6
Change 2013 to 2024–5		-8.6	+1.6	+1.7	+5.9	-0.4	0	+7.4
Swedish-born, at least one foreign-born parent	2013	25.4	15.0	22.9	18.6	18.1	100	41.5
	2024–5	18.4	18.2	24.1	15.3	24.0	100	39.4
Change 2013 to 2024–5		-7.0	+3.2	+1.2	-3.3	+5.9	0	-2.1
Foreign-born	2013	25.0	16.4	20.0	16.4	22.2	100	36.4
	2024–5	21.1	19.8	19.1	9.8	30.2	100	28.9
Change 2013 to 2024–5		-3.9	+3.4	-0.9	-6.6	+8.0	0	-7.5

Table A5. Pupils' responses in 2013 and 2024–5 to the statement 'Swedes are more open-minded and generous to refugees than other nationalities are', by background (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Total (%)	Total agreement
Swedish-born, two Swedish-born parents	2013	4.9	16.7	39.4	14.7	24.3	100	54.1
	2024–5	5.2	15.0	31.8	11.9	36.1	100	43.7
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+0.3	-1.7	-7.6	-2.8	+11.8	0	-10.4
Swedish-born, at least one foreign-born parent	2013	5.4	12.5	39.6	19.2	23.3	100	58.8
	2024–5	9.4	19.4	28.4	10.3	32.5	100	38.7
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+4.0	+6.9	-11.2	-8.9	+9.2	0	-20.1
Foreign-born	2013	5.2	16.6	45.1	14.1	19.0	100	59.2
	2024–5	5.6	15.7	29.8	11.5	37.4	100	41.3
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+0.4	-0.9	-15.3	-2.6	+18.4	0	-17.9

Table A6. Pupils' responses in 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 to the statement 'Sweden should continue to accept refugees' (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
Swedish-born, two Swedish-born parents	2003	13.0	8.9	19.6	23.3	35.2	100	58.5
	2013	11.3	9.3	23.6	26.3	29.5	100	55.8
	2024–5	18.6	13.9	28.2	23.6	15.7	100	42.5
Change 2003 to 2024–5		+5.6	+5.0	+8.6	+0.3	-19.5	0	-16.0
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+7.3	+4.6	+4.6	-2.7	-13.8	0	-17.0
Swedish-born, at least one foreign-born parent	2003	9.4	5.9	19.1	23.0	42.6	100	65.6
	2013	9.4	10.0	21.0	25.1	34.5	100	59.6
	2024/25	12.6	10.8	31.4	24.1	21.1	100	45.2
Change 2003 to 2024–5		+3.2	+4.9	+12.3	+1.1	-21.5	0	-20.4
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+3.2	+0.8	+10.4	-1.0	-13.4	0	-14.0
Foreign-born	2003	3.1	2.6	12.6	26.0	55.7	100	81.7
	2013	7.6	6.2	29.9	22.3	34.0	100	56.3
	2024–5	6.1	8.2	32.7	27.0	26.0	100	53.0
Change 2003 to 2024–5		+3.0	+5.6	+20.1	+1.0	-29.7	0	-28.7
Change 2013 to 2024–5		-1.5	+2.0	+2.8	+4.7	-8.0	0	-3.3

Table A7. Pupils' responses to three statements about Afro-Swedes/Black people (per cent, weighted data).

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'Most Afro-Swedes/Black people are probably decent people'	7.2	4.8	17.6	29.5	40.9	100	70.4
'It would be OK to live next door to an Afro-Swedish/Black person'	4.8	2.7	11.3	22.2	58.9	100	81.1
'Afro-Swedes/Black people cannot be trusted'	46.5	24.3	19.0	5.0	5.3	100	10.3

Table A8. Pupils' responses to several statements about Jews in 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'Most Jews are probably decent people'	2003	3.8	2.7	21.6	30.5	41.4	100	71.9
	2013	3.7	1.9	16.0	39.6	38.8	100	78.4
	2024–5	7.0	3.3	21.6	32.7	35.4	100	68.1
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+3.2	+0.6	0	+2.2	-6.0	0	-3.8
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+3.3	+1.5	+5.6	-6.9	-3.4	0	-10.4
'It would be OK to be neighbours with a Jewish person'	2003	4.0	2.3	11.1	19.0	63.6	100	82.6
	2013	2.8	2.3	10.7	27.6	56.6	100	84.2
	2024–5	5.5	2.1	12.8	25.2	54.4	100	79.6
Change 2003 to 2024–5		+1.5	-0.2	+1.7	+6.2	-9.2	0	-3.0
Change 2013 to 2024–25		+2.7	-0.2	+2.1	-2.4	-2.2	0	-4.6
'Jews cannot be trusted'	2003	45.8	15.9	29.9	4.1	4.3	100	8.4
	2013	51.5	22.5	19.9	4.1	2.0	100	6.1
	2024–5	45.2	23.8	20.5	5.5	5.0	100	10.5
Change 2003 to 2024–5		-0.6	+7.9	-9.4	+1.4	+0.7	0	+2.1
Change 2013 to 2024–5		-6.3	+1.3	+0.6	+1.4	+3.0	0	+4.4
'There are far too many Jews in Sweden'	2003	37.9	14.6	35.2	6.1	6.2	100	12.3
	2013	34.7	19.7	37.0	5.6	3.0	100	8.6
	2024–5	33.9	22.8	33.8	4.9	4.6	100	9.5
Change 2003 to 2024–5		-4.0	+8.2	-1.4	-1.2	-1.6	0	-2.8
Change 2013 to 2024–25		-0.8	+3.1	-3.2	-0.7	+1.6	0	+0.9

Note: The sample was all pupils who did not identify as Jewish. For all statements, the differences between the 2013 and 2024–5 surveys are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

Table A9. Pupils' responses to the statement 'It is true to say that Jews are stingy'.

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'It is true to say that Jews are stingy'	2003	24.7	18.1	45.4	7.1	4.7	100	11.8
	2013	29.3	19.6	41.3	6.9	2.9	100	9.8
	2024-5	32.8	17.0	37.2	6.3	6.7	100	13.0
Change 2003 to 2024-5		+8.1	-1.1	-8.2	-0.8	+2.0	0	+1.2
Change 2013 to 2024-5		+3.5	-2.6	-4.1	-0.6	+3.8	0	+3.2

Note: The sample was all pupils who did not identify as Jewish.

Table A10. Pupils' responses to the statement 'Jews have too much influence in the world today' (per cent, weighted data).

		Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'Jews have too much influence in the world today'	2003	43.7	39.9	12.3	4.1	100	16.4
	2013	43.5	41.6	11.6	3.3	100	14.9
	2024-5	42.5	33.5	16.8	7.2	100	24.0
Change 2003 to 2024-5		-1.2	-6.4	+4.5	+3.1	0	+7.6
Change 2013 to 2024-5		-1.0	-8.1	+5.2	+3.9	0	+9.1

Note: The sample was all pupils who did not identify as Jewish.

Table A11. Pupils' responses to the statement 'There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of Jews' (per cent, weighted data).

		Disagree	Don't know	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of Jews'	2003	37.2	29.0	21.6	12.2	100	33.8
	2013	41.4	34.6	18.5	5.5	100	24.0
	2024-5	48.8	27.4	18.0	5.8	100	23.8
Change 2003 to 2024-5		+11.6	-1.6	-3.6	-6.4	0	-10.0
Change 2013 to 2024-5		+7.4	-7.2	-0.5	+0.3	0	-0.2

Note: The sample was all pupils who did not identify as Jewish.

Table A12. Pupil's views on Judaism as a religion in 2013 and 2024–5 (per cent, weighted data).

	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total (%)
2013	18.3	55.9	25.8	100
2024–5	20.9	57.0	22.1	100
Change 2013 to 2024–5	+2.6	+1.1	-3.7	0

Note: The question was 'What do you think of the following world religions/beliefs?' Respondents were asked to rate their views on a scale from 0 (very negative) to 10 (very positive). The response 'Neither agree nor disagree' was coded as 5. Respondents who answered 0–4 were categorised as negative, those who answered 5 as neutral, and those who answered 6–10 as positive. The sample was all pupils who did not identify as Jewish.

Table A13. Pupils' responses to the statement 'Jews in Sweden should have the right to build synagogues (religious premises)' (per cent, weighted data).)

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'Jews in Sweden should have the right to build synagogues (religious premises).'	2003	14.5	7.2	26.8	19.3	32.2	100	51.5
	2013	18.4	9.2	24.4	23.8	24.2	100	48.0
	2024–5	10.5	7.1	22.0	29.0	31.4	100	60.4
Change 2003 to 2024–5		-4.0	-0.1	-4.8	+9.7	-0.8	0	+8.9
Change 2013 to 2024–5		-7.9	-2.1	-2.4	+5.2	+7.2	0	+12.4

Note: The sample was all pupils who did not identify as Jewish.

Table A14. Responses to the statement 'Jews in Sweden should have the right to build synagogues (religious premises)' from pupils who disagree or strongly disagree with the statement 'Most Jews are probably decent people' in 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'Jews in Sweden should have the right to build synagogues (religious premises).'	2003	65.9	10.2	15.5	2.5	5.9	100	8.4
	2013	53.4	10.2	12.8	9.9	13.7	100	23.6
	2024–5	41.3	9.6	17.0	12.7	19.4	100	32.1
Change 2003 to 2024–5		-24.6	-0.6	+1.5	+10.2	+13.5	0	+23.7
Change 2013 to 2024–5		-12.1	-0.6	+4.2	+2.8	+5.7	0	+8.5

Note: The sample was all pupils who did not identify as Jewish.

Table A15. Pupils' responses to several statements about Muslims in 2003, 2013, and 2024-5 (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'Most Muslims are probably decent people'	2003	3.8	5.9	22.9	34.9	32.5	100	67.4
	2013	4.1	6.0	19.1	39.0	31.8	100	70.8
	2024-5	8.1	7.6	20.8	34.0	29.5	100	63.5
Change 2003 to 2024-5		+4.3	+1.7	-2.1	-0.9	-3.0	0	-3.9
Change 2013 to 2024-5		+4.0	+1.6	+1.7	-5.0	-2.3	0	-7.3
'It would be OK to be neighbours with a Muslim'	2003	3.1	2.1	8.1	19.4	67.3	100	86.7
	2013	4.0	3.6	11.9	28.6	51.9	100	80.5
	2024-5	6.3	3.5	11.7	22.3	56.2	100	78.5
Change 2003 to 2024-5		+2.3	+1.1	+2.2	+1.4	-7.0	0	-8.2
Change 2013 to 2024-5		+2.3	-0.1	-0.2	-6.3	+4.3	0	-2.0
'Muslims cannot be trusted'	2003	42.5	19.0	27.8	6.5	4.2	100	10.7
	2013	46.9	24.3	19.9	6.2	2.7	100	8.9
	2024-5	43.9	27.2	17.0	6.2	5.7	100	11.9
Change 2003 to 2024-5		+1.4	+8.2	-10.8	-0.3	+1.5	0	+1.2
Change 2013 to 2024-5		-3.0	+2.9	-2.9	±0	+3.0	0	+3.0
'There are far too many Muslims in Sweden'	2003	28.8	16.1	30.3	12.7	12.1	100	24.8
	2013	25.1	17.0	30.5	14.9	12.5	100	27.4
	2024-5	20.9	16.4	28.8	17.1	16.8	100	33.9
Change 2013 to 2024-5		-7.9	+0.3	-1.5	+4.4	+4.7	0	+9.1
Change 2013 to 2024-5		-4.2	-0.6	-1.7	+2.2	+4.3	0	+6.5

Note: The sample was all pupils who did not identify as Muslim. In the 2003 survey, the statement about neighbours was formulated differently: 'It would be OK to be neighbours with a decent Muslim person.'

Table A16. Pupils' responses to two statements about Muslims in 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'Most Muslim immigrants are probably law-abiding'	2003	7.1	9.5	25.1	31.1	27.2	100	58.3
	2013	4.3	9.9	24.7	31.3	29.8	100	61.1
	2024–5	8.8	10.1	26.6	28.5	26.0	100	54.5
Change 2003 to 2024–5		+1.7	+0.6	+1.5	-2.6	-1.2	0	-3.8
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+4.5	+0.2	+1.9	-2.8	-3.8	0	-6.6
'Most Muslims just want to live on benefits'	2003	22.0	19.8	32.3	15.8	10.1	100	25.9
	2013	27.3	19.3	33.4	13.7	6.3	100	20.0
	2024–5	24.4	22.3	30.5	12.8	10.0	100	22.8
Change 2003 to 2024–5		+2.4	+2.5	-1.8	-3.0	-0.1	0	-3.1
Change 2013 to 2024–5		-2.9	+3.0	-2.9	-0.9	+3.7	0	+2.8

Note: The sample was all pupils who did not identify as Muslim.

Table A17. Pupils' responses in 2013 and 2024 to the statement 'Muslim men are more likely than other men to oppress women' (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'Muslim men are more likely than other men to oppress women'	2013	7.7	11.5	27.0	32.5	21.4	100	53.9
	2024–5	6.5	10.6	32.7	29.4	20.8	100	50.2
Change 2013 to 2024–5		-1.2	-0.9	+5.7	-3.1	-0.6	0	-3.7

Note: The sample was all pupils who did not identify as Muslim.

Table A18. Pupils' views on Islam in 2013 and 2024–5 (per cent, weighted data).

	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total (%)
2013	31.3	49.5	19.2	100
2024–5	36.0	46.9	17.1	100
Change 2013 to 2024–5	+4.7	-2.6	-2.1	0

Note: The question was 'What do you think of the following world religions/beliefs?' Respondents were asked to rate their views on a scale from 0 (very negative) to 10 (very positive). The response 'Neither agree nor disagree' was coded as 5. Respondents who answered 0–4 were categorised as negative, those who answered 5 as neutral, and those who answered 6–10 as positive. The sample was all pupils who did not identify as Muslim.

Table A19. Pupils' responses in 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 to the statement 'Muslims in Sweden should have the right to build mosques (religious premises)' (per cent, weighted data).

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
2003	15.8	7.7	23.7	20.1	32.7	100	52.8
2013	25.5	9.5	23.0	21.3	20.7	100	42.0
2024–5	14.6	8.9	20.3	28.4	27.8	100	56.2
Change 2003 to 2024–5	-1.2	+1.2	-3.4	+8.3	-4.9	100	+3.4
Change 2013 to 2024–5	-10.9	-0.6	-2.7	+7.1	+7.1	100	+14.2

Note: The sample was all pupils who did not identify as Muslim.

Table A20. Pupils' responses in 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 to the statement 'TV presenters should be allowed to wear headscarves' (per cent, weighted data).

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
2003	27.2	15.6	20.8	11.9	24.5	100	36.4
2013	17.1	8.6	19.1	16.9	38.3	100	55.2
2024–5	7.4	3.6	11.6	13.6	63.8	100	77.4
Change 2003 to 2024–5	-19.8	-12.0	-9.2	+1.7	+39.3	0	+52.9
Change 2013 to 2024–5	-9.7	-5.0	-7.5	-3.3	+25.5	0	+41.0

Note: The sample was all pupils who did not identify as Muslim.

Table A21. Pupils' responses to the statements 'Muslims in Sweden should have the right to build mosques (religious premises)' and 'TV presenters should be allowed to wear headscarves' from pupils who disagree with the statements 'Most Muslims are probably decent people' and 'It would be OK to be neighbours with a Muslim' respectively (per cent, weighted data).

Non-Muslim pupils who disagree or strongly disagree with the statement 'Most Muslims are probably decent people'	'Muslims in Sweden should have the right to build mosques (religious premises)'							
		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
	2003	64	9.6	16	4.2	6.2	100	10.4
	2013	72.3	10.9	8	5.1	3.7	100	8.8
	2024-5	52.3	16.4	12	10.4	8.9	100	19.3
	'TV presenters should be allowed to wear headscarves'							
		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
	2003	68.9	10.1	10	5.4	5.6	100	11
	2013	52.8	13.2	17.5	9.7	6.8	100	16.5
	2024-5	32	10.4	18.1	14.5	25.0	100	39.5
Non-Muslim pupils who disagree or strongly disagree with the statement 'It would be OK to be neighbours with a Muslim'	'Muslims in Sweden should have the right to build mosques (religious premises)'							
		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
	2003	76.5	9.1	9.1	2.9	2.4	100	5.3
	2013	81.9	12.1	4.2	1.6	0.2	100	1.8
	2024-5	69.8	13.3	8.3	6.9	1.8	100	8.7
	'TV presenters should be allowed to wear headscarves'							
		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
	2003	73.5	10	9.3	3.3	3.9	100	7.1
	2013	60.7	16.3	15.5	3.7	3.8	100	7.5
	2024-5	44.5	14.3	19.5	10.1	11.6	100	21.7

Table A22. Pupils' responses to several statements about Roma in 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'Most Roma are probably decent people'	2013	5.6	4.1	23.7	35.3	31.2	100	66.5
	2024–5	7.3	3.9	26.5	28.7	33.7	100	62.4
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+1.7	-0.2	+2.8	-6.6	+2.5	0	-4.1
'It would be OK to be neighbours with a Roma'	2013	5.4	5.0	18.9	24.6	46.1	100	70.7
	2024–5	5.7	3.2	18.5	23.7	48.9	100	72.6
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+0.3	-1.8	-0.4	-0.9	+2.8	0	+1.9
'Roma cannot be trusted'	2013	43.7	21.4	26.4	5.0	3.5	100	8.5
	2024–5	41.4	20.8	25.9	6.3	5.5	100	11.8
Change 2013 to 2024–5		-2.3	-0.6	-0.4	+1.3	+2.0	0	+3.3
'There are far too many Roma in Sweden'	2013	28.9	18.2	39.3	8.4	5.3	100	13.7
	2024–5	32.2	18.1	37.6	6.4	5.6	100	12.0
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+3.3	-0.1	-1.5	-2.0	+0.3	0	-1.7

Table A23. Pupils' responses to the statement 'Roma are more likely than others to be involved in crime' in 2013 and 2024–5 (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'Roma are more likely than others to be involved in crime'	2013	25.8	12.3	44.0	12.1	5.8	100	17.9
	2024–5	26.6	12.1	48.7	8.6	3.9	100	12.5
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+0.8	-0.2	+4.7	-3.5	-1.9	0	-5.4

Table A24. Pupils' responses to three statements about the Sámi (per cent, weighted data).

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'Most Sámi are probably decent people'	4.5	1.6	18.6	26.5	48.8	100	75.3
'It would be OK to be neighbours with a Sámi person'	2.7	1.3	13.9	21.1	61.0	100	82.1
'The Sámi cannot be trusted'	51.4	20.9	21.3	2.8	3.6	100	6.4

Table A25. Pupils' responses to three statements about LGBT people in 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'Most homosexual, bisexual, and trans people are probably decent people'	2013	2.5	1.9	10.7	28.8	56.1	100	84.9
	2024–5	11.3	6.9	19.2	27.5	35.1	100	62.6
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+8.8	+5.0	+8.5	-1.3	-21.0	0	-20.6
'It would be OK to be neighbours with a homosexual, bisexual, or trans person'	2013	2.9	2.6	9.5	22.5	62.5	100	85.0
	2024–5	11.8	5.6	15.3	20.3	47.0	100	67.3
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+8.9	+3.0	+5.8	-2.2	-15.5	0	-17.7
'Homosexual, bisexual, and transgender people cannot be trusted'	2013	59.2	20.7	13.8	3.6	2.7	100	6.3
	2024–5	42.0	22.0	20.7	6.6	8.7	100	15.3
Change 2013 to 2024–5		-17.2	+1.3	+6.9	+3.0	+6.0	0	9.0

Note: The sample was all pupils who identified as heterosexual. n = 6 431 (2013) 6 455 (2024–5).

Table A26. Pupils' responses to the statement 'Being homosexual is just as natural as being heterosexual' in 2013 and 2024–25 (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'Being homosexual is just as natural as being heterosexual'	2013	8,2	11,1	8,3	18,9	53,5	100	72,4
	2024–5	22,6	17,0	17,3	24,5	18,6	100	43,1
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+14,4	+5,9	+9,0	+5,6	-34,9	0	-29,3

Note: The sample was all pupils who identified as heterosexual. n = 6 381 (2013), 6 399 (2024–5).

Table A27. Pupils' responses to three statements about equality in 2003, 2013, and 2024–5 (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'It is important to work towards a more gender-equal society'	2013	1.1	1.5	7.7	21.8	67.9	100	89.7
	2024–5	3.2	2.5	11.2	18.3	64.8	100	83.1
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+2.1	+1.0	+3.5	-3.5	-3.1	0	-6.6
'Men and women should have equal pay for equal work'	2013	1.4	1.1	4.3	11.7	81.5	100	93.2
	2024–5	2.9	1.7	8.0	11.9	75.5	100	87.4
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+1.5	+0.6	+3.7	+0.2	-6.0	0	-5.6
'Women should have exactly the same social rights as men'	2013	0.9	0.8	4.6	10.8	82.9	100	93.7
	2024–5	1.9	1.2	7.5	10.8	78.6	100	89.4
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+1.0	+0.4	+2.9	±0	-4.3	0	-4.3

Table A28. Pupils' responses to two statements about human dignity and friendship in 2003, 2013, and 2024 (per cent, weighted data).

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (%)	Total agreement
'All people are free and equal'	2003	4.7	3.2	7.0	14.1	71.0	100	85.1
	2013	2.7	2.7	8.4	18.1	68.1	100	86.2
	2024-5	4.8	3.9	11.0	18.9	61.4	100	80.3
Change 2003 to 2024-5		+0.1	+0.7	+4.0	+4.8	-9.6	0	-4.8
Change 2013 to 2024-5		+2.1	+1.2	+2.6	+0.8	-6.7	0	-5.9
'You can be friends with anyone, wherever they come from'	2003	2.5	2.3	5.4	12.8	77.0	100	89.8
	2013	0.9	1.3	5.3	14.4	78.1	100	92.5
	2024-5	3.0	2.3	8.3	15.2	71.2	100	86.4
Change 2003 to 2024-5		+0.5	±0	+2.9	+2.4	-5.8	0	-3.4
Change 2013 to 2024-5		+2.1	+1.0	+3.0	+0.8	-6.9	0	-6.1

B. Correlation with various background factors

Table B1. Mean of the measures of association (1–5) in 2013 and 2024–5 (weighted data).

Survey	Immigrants	Muslims	Jews	Roma	LGBT	Afro-Swedes/ Black	(Sámi)
2013	1.94 (0.88)	1.95 (0.92)	1.84 (0.86)	2.10 (0.98)	1.66 (0.83)	—	—
2024–5	2.17 (1.07)	2.05 (1.03)	1.98 (0.96)	2.10 (0.99)	2.19 (1.17)	1.92 (0.96)	1.79 (0.84)

Note: Standard deviations in parentheses. The sample for immigrants was all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The sample for Muslims was all pupils who did not identify as Muslim. The sample for Jews was all pupils who did not identify as Jewish. The sample for LGBT is all pupils who identified as heterosexual. The observed discrepancies between the surveys are statistically significant for immigrants, Muslims, Jews, and LGBT people ($p < 0.01$).

Table B2. The seven measures of association (1–5) by pupils' perception of their 'social vulnerability' (mean, weighted data).

	Immigrants	Afro-Swedes/ Black people	Jews	Muslims	Roma	Sámi	HBTQ people
No one to turn to/Don't know	2.55	2.27	2.36	2.40	2.46	2.18	2.65
1 source of help	2.38	2.10	2.14	2.24	2.25	1.94	2.43
2 sources of help	2.04	1.79	1.85	1.92	1.98	1.64	2.08
3–5 sources of help	1.94	1.71	1.76	1.84	1.90	1.59	1.94
η	0.20***	0.21***	0.22***	0.20***	0.20***	0.24***	0.21***

Note: The sample for 'immigrants' was all Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The sample for 'Muslims' was all pupils who did not identify as Muslim. The sample for 'Jews' was all pupils who did not identify as Jewish. The sample for 'LGBT' was all pupils who identified as heterosexual. Control variables were gender and whether the pupil is in Year 9 of compulsory school or an academic or a vocational programme at upper secondary school.

Tables B3–B9

The tables give the distribution for the measure of association as percentages of the high, medium, and low categories, where high is the most negative. They also give Cramer's V , which accommodates variations in sample size and makes no assumptions about data distribution. It ranges from 0 to 1, where 0 means there is no correlation between the measure of association and the background variable. The closer the value is to unity, the greater the measure of association. In addition, the mean value of the original uncategorised association measure (which ranges from 1–5) as well as the correlation coefficient, η , is shown. η is a measure of association that varies from 0 to 1 and expresses the relation between the background variable and the corresponding implicit association measure. A value closer to unity implies a stronger association.

Table B3. Measure of association, immigrants.

		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
Total		65.5	22.8	11.7	100		2.17	
Gender	Girls	78.6	17.2	4.2	100	0.29	1.81	0.33
	Boys	52.8	28.0	19.2	100		2.52	
School year	Year 9 compulsory school	59.5	25.9	14.6	100	0.06	2.37	0.12
	Year 1 upper secondary school	65.4	22.8	11.8	100		2.18	
	Year 2 upper secondary school	69.2	19.8	11.0	100		2.05	
	Year 3 upper secondary school	68.5	22.1	9.4	100		2.06	
Upper secondary school programme	academic	75.5	17.1	7.4	100	0.27	1.88	0.26
	vocational	48.2	32.6	19.2	100		2.63	
Upper secondary school choice	academic	71.1	17.1	11.8	100	0.19	2.16	0.19
	vocational	45.1	36.0	18.9	100		2.60	
	not yet decided	48.7	40.3	11.0	100		2.51	
Parents' education	high	70.1	19.9	10.0	100	0.10	2.03	0.17
	medium	56.6	28.0	15.4	100		2.43	
	low	52.5	32.7	14.9	100		2.59	
Family conversations about politics	often	71.9	16.4	11.7	100	0.08	1.97	0.10
	sometimes	66.4	19.2	14.4	100		2.17	
	rarely	66.8	23.7	9.5	100		2.13	
	never	57.2	28.7	14.1	100		2.37	
Religious affiliation	Christian	64.3	22.9	12.8	100	0.08	2.22	0.10
	Muslim*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	no religious affiliation	67.5	22.8	9.7	100		2.03	
	other	53.3	16.2	30.5	100		2.28	
Has one or more friends in the group in question	yes	67.5	21.5	11.0	100	0.05	2.13	0.04
	no/don't know	62.2	24.8	13.0	100		2.23	
Interest in politics	very interested	64.7	17.0	18.3	100	0.11	2.18	0.10
	interested	67.3	18.7	14.0	100		2.14	
	not interested	69.4	22.5	8.1	100		2.08	
	not interested at all	54.9	31.9	13.2	100		2.38	

School pupils' attitudes in Sweden: Minorities, bullying, threats, and violence

		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
Satisfaction with democracy in Sweden	very satisfied	75.5	15.0	9.5	100	0.18	1.90	0.25
	satisfied	67.6	23.1	9.3	100		2.11	
	not satisfied	52.8	30.2	17.0	100		2.49	
	not satisfied at all	25.8	29.8	44.4	100		3.27	
School location	Stockholm	82.8	13.4	3.8	100	0.09	1.71	0.16
	Gothenburg	50.3	32.9	16.8	100		2.61	
	Malmö	58.8	28.9	12.3	100		2.24	
	rest of country	64.2	23.3	12.5	100		2.20	
School local authority	metropolitan area or local authority near metropolitan area	69.6	20.7	9.7	100	0.08	2.08	0.07
	city or local authority near city	66.4	20.8	12.8	100		2.17	
	town/small urban area	58.2	29.1	12.7	100		2.28	
	rural local authority	52.7	33.5	13.8	100		2.36	
School area	very low SES area	49.9	34.0	16.1	100	0.09	2.48	0.12
	low SES area	66.7	19.2	14.1	100		2.19	
	mixed SES area	54.5	28.6	16.8	100		2.41	
	medium SES area	67.7	22.0	10.3	100		2.10	
	high SES area	72.5	18.2	9.3	100		2.03	

Note: * Only 10 pupils in this category identified as Muslims. The sample was Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents.

Table B4. Measure of association, Afro-Swedes/Black people.

		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
Total		75.8	17.4	6.8	100		1.92	
Gender	girls	85.2	12.5	2.2	100	0.23	1.65	0.28
	boys	66.9	21.9	11.2	100		2.18	
School year	Year 9 compulsory school	70.9	21.2	7.9	100	0.05	2.10	0.12
	Year 1 upper secondary school	76.6	16.4	7.0	100		1.91	
	Year 2 upper secondary school	78.7	14.9	6.4	100		1.83	
	Year 3 upper secondary school	77.7	16.5	5.8	100		1.83	

		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
Upper secondary school programme	academic	83.9	12.1	4.0	100	0.25	1.69	0.30
	vocational	60.5	26.3	13.2	100		2.33	
Upper secondary school choice	academic	79.5	13.8	6.7	100	0.15	1.92	0.20
	vocational	59.8	30.8	9.4	100		2.35	
	not yet decided	61.3	30.2	8.5	100		2.24	
Parents' education	high	79.5	14.6	5.9	100	0.08	1.81	0.15
	medium	69.9	21.8	8.3	100		2.10	
	low	70.9	23.2	5.9	100		2.08	
Family conversations about politics	often	80.3	11.0	8.7	100	0.10	1.79	0.11
	sometimes	79.8	13.0	7.2	100		1.86	
	rarely	76.1	19.1	4.8	100		1.90	
	never	66.8	22.7	10.5	100		2.15	
Origin	foreign-born	76.5	17.3	6.2	100	0.04	1.95	0.03
	Swedish-born, two foreign-born parents	80.5	16.5	3.0	100		1.84	
	Swedish-born, one Swedish-born parent	74.3	18.9	6.8	100		1.95	
	Swedish-born, two Swedish-born parents	75.1	17.2	7.7	100		1.93	
Religious affiliation	Christian	74.6	18.8	6.6	100	0.07	1.95	0.04
	Muslim	80.5	14.8	4.7	100		1.86	
	no religious affiliation	76.8	16.4	6.7	100		1.88	
Has one or more friends in the group in question	yes	80.4	14.1	5.5	100	0.11	1.83	0.10
	no/don't know	71.1	20.7	8.2	100		2.02	
Interest in politics	very interested	78.3	13.3	8.4	100	0.10	1.87	0.12
	interested	78.4	13.8	7.8	100		1.87	
	not interested	78.4	17.4	4.2	100		1.86	
	not interested at all	65.9	23.9	10.2	100		2.15	
Satisfaction with democracy in Sweden	very satisfied	84.0	11.2	4.7	100	0.16	1.69	0.21
	satisfied	77.3	16.9	5.8	100		1.90	
	not satisfied	68.0	24.8	7.2	100		2.09	
	not satisfied at all	49.1	21.4	29.5	100		2.71	
School location	Stockholm	85.6	10.8	3.6	100	0.06	1.63	0.12
	Gothenburg	69.5	22.1	8.4	100		2.12	
	Malmö	78.1	17.3	4.6	100		1.87	
	rest of country	74.7	18.0	7.3	100		1.96	

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		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
School local authority	metropolitan area or local authority near metropolitan area	79.8	14.6	5.6	100	0.07	1.82	0.10
	city or local authority near city	75.1	16.9	8.0	100		1.95	
	town/small urban area	71.5	22.1	6.4	100		2.02	
	rural local authority	62.8	29.4	7.8	100		2.24	
School area	very low SES area	69.9	23.6	6.5	100	0.07	2.03	0.12
	low SES area	74.3	16.6	9.0	100		2.00	
	mixed SES area	68.4	22.0	9.6	100		2.13	
	medium SES area	78.3	15.9	5.8	100		1.85	
	high SES area	78.5	13.7	7.8	100		1.88	

Note: The sample was all pupils.

Table B5. Measure of association, Jews.

		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
Total		72.3	21.0	6.7	100		1.98	
Gender	girls	82.7	14.7	2.7	100	0.24	1.70	0.28
	boys	62.1	27.2	10.7	100		2.24	
School year	Year 9 compulsory school	67.8	24.9	7.3	100	0.06	2.13	0.12
	Year 1 upper secondary school	69.1	23.9	7.0	100		2.02	
	Year 2 upper secondary school	76.2	17.0	6.9	100		1.87	
	Year 3 upper secondary school	76.3	18.0	5.7	100		1.86	
Upper secondary school programme	academic	80.4	15.2	4.5	100	0.25	1.75	0.29
	vocational	55.9	32.0	12.1	100		2.38	
Upper secondary school choice	academic	75.1	18.9	6.0	100	0.13	1.95	0.20
	vocational	55.6	36.1	8.2	100		2.39	
	not yet decided	69.3	21.8	8.9	100		2.19	
Parents' education	high	78.1	16.7	5.2	100	0.12	1.82	0.21
	medium	63.5	28.1	8.4	100		2.21	
	low	60.8	24.2	15.0	100		2.41	

		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
Family conversations about politics	often	77.0	12.6	10.4	100	0.10	1.86	0.12
	sometimes	74.6	19.2	6.2	100		1.92	
	rarely	73.1	22.5	4.4	100		1.95	
	never	63.6	24.6	11.8	100		2.22	
Origin	foreign-born	60.1	29.2	10.7	100	0.12	2.27	0.20
	Swedish-born, two foreign-born parents	59.1	29.9	11.0	100		2.31	
	Swedish-born, one Swedish-born parent	70.0	22.2	7.9	100		2.01	
	Swedish-born, two Swedish-born parents	77.6	17.5	4.9	100		1.85	
Religious affiliation	Christian	75.2	19.5	5.3	100	0.15	1.92	0.23
	Muslim	49.1	35.3	15.6	100		2.51	
	no religious affiliation	77.0	18.1	4.9	100		1.84	
Has one or more friends in the group in question	yes	80.9	15.1	4.0	100	0.07	1.74	0.09
	no/don't know	71.1	21.8	7.1	100		2.26	
Interest in politics	very interested	74.5	15.8	9.8	100	0.10	1.91	0.14
	interested	74.0	19.7	6.3	100		1.90	
	not interested	75.2	20.9	3.9	100		1.91	
	not interested at all	62.7	25.5	11.8	100		2.23	
Satisfaction with democracy in Sweden	very satisfied	81.1	13.8	5.1	100	0.19	1.70	0.26
	satisfied	74.5	20.6	4.9	100		1.93	
	not satisfied	60.4	31.0	8.6	100		2.24	
	not satisfied at all	45.1	22.3	32.6	100		2.87	
School location	Stockholm	78.7	17.0	4.3	100	0.07	1.73	0.12
	Gothenburg	64.2	22.0	13.8	100		2.28	
	Malmö	60.1	28.1	11.8	100		2.25	
	rest of country	72.2	21.3	6.5	100		1.98	
School local authority	metropolitan area or local authority near metropolitan area	73.8	19.4	6.8	100	0.05	1.92	0.08
	city or local authority near city	73.1	20.5	6.4	100		1.96	
	town/small urban area	68.6	23.7	7.7	100		2.07	
	rural local authority	63.2	31.7	5.1	100		2.27	

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		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
School area	very low SES area	59.6	24.2	16.2	100	0.08	2.32	0.13
	low SES area	70.0	24.1	5.9	100		2.03	
	mixed SES area	66.6	24.0	9.4	100		2.16	
	medium SES area	74.1	19.9	6.0	100		1.92	
	high SES area	80.9	12.2	6.9	100		1.79	

Note: The sample was all pupils who did not identify as Jewish.

Table B6. Measure of association, Muslims.

		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
Total		71.5	18.5	10.0	100		2.05	
Gender	girls	82.7	13.8	3.5	100	0.27	1.72	0.32
	boys	60.5	23.0	16.5	100		2.05	
School year	Year 9 compulsory school	65.8	22.5	11.7	100	0.06	2.24	0.12
	Year 1 upper secondary school	70.8	19.3	9.9	100		2.05	
	Year 2 upper secondary school	75.2	15.7	9.1	100		1.94	
	Year 3 upper secondary school	74.8	15.9	9.3	100		1.95	
Upper secondary school programme	academic	79.7	14.1	6.2	100	0.24	1.80	0.28
	vocational	57.5	24.8	17.8	100		2.45	
Upper secondary school choice	academic	73.0	16.6	10.3	100	0.15	2.07	0.18
	vocational	51.3	36.2	12.5	100		2.50	
	not yet decided	69.5	15.7	14.8	100		2.30	
Parents' education	high	74.3	16.1	9.6	100	0.06	1.96	0.12
	medium	66.2	22.5	11.2	100		2.23	
	low	71.9	22.3	5.7	100		2.11	
Family conversations about politics	often	65.6	19.9	14.5	100	0.05	2.06	0.08
	sometimes	65.2	22.5	12.3	100		2.03	
	rarely	65.3	25.1	9.6	100		1.99	
	never	60.4	26.7	12.9	100		2.23	

		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
Origin	foreign-born	73.3	16.7	10.1	100	0.03	2.09	0.02
	Swedish-born, two foreign-born parents	75.6	18.1	6.3	100		2.00	
	Swedish-born, one Swedish-born parent	69.4	21.3	9.3	100		2.04	
	Swedish-born, two Swedish-born parents	71.2	18.3	10.5	100		2.05	
Religious affiliation	Christian	70.1	19.0	10.9	100	0.05	2.10	0.07
	no religious affiliation	73.6	18.0	8.4	100		1.98	
Has one or more friends in the group in question	yes	77.3	15.5	7.2	100	0.15	1.91	0.15
	no/don't know	64.0	22.3	13.7	100		2.22	
Interest in politics	very interested	63.7	17.6	18.7	100	0.11	2.27	0.12
	interested	71.7	17.1	11.2	100		2.01	
	not interested	75.7	17.5	6.8	100		1.95	
	not interested at all	65.3	23.0	11.7	100		2.22	
Satisfaction with democracy in Sweden	very satisfied	78.8	13.6	7.6	100	0.18	1.83	0.24
	satisfied	74.3	17.6	8.1	100		1.99	
	not satisfied	59.7	27.1	13.2	100		2.29	
	not satisfied at all	36.6	22.4	41.0	100		3.07	
School location	Stockholm	82.5	12.8	4.7	100	0.06	1.70	0.13
	Göteborg	68.6	18.0	13.4	100		2.25	
	Malmö	70.1	16.8	13.1	100		2.10*	
	rest of country	70.1	19.3	10.6	100		2.09*	
School local authority	metropolitan area or local authority near metropolitan area	74.9	15.8	9.3	100	0.06	1.95	0.07
	city or local authority near city	70.2	18.5	11.4	100		2.09	
	town/small urban area	67.5	23.2	9.3	100		2.14	
	rural local authority	72.0	22.8	5.2	100		2.14	
School area	very low SES area	59.8	26.5	13.8	100	0.05	2.29	0.09
	low SES area	71.0	19.3	9.6	100		2.09	
	mixed SES area	65.8	20.8	13.4	100		2.29	
	medium SES area	72.5	18.1	9.4	100		2.00	
	high SES area	73.2	16.0	10.8	100		1.99	

Note: The sample was all pupils who did not identify as Muslim.

* The difference between Malmö and the rest of the country is not statistically significant.

Table B7. Measure of association, Roma.

		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
Total		65.4	26.7	7.9	100		2.10	
Gender	girls	78.1	19.4	2.5	100	0.28	1.79	0.31
	boys	53.2	33.8	13.0	100		2.40	
School year	Year 9 compulsory school	62.2	30.4	7.4	100	0.05	2.20	0.07
	Year 1 upper secondary school	64.0	28.2	7.8	100		2.11	
	Year 2 upper secondary school	69.2	22.9	7.9	100		2.01	
	Year 3 upper secondary school	66.6	24.9	8.5	100		2.06	
Upper secondary school programme	academic	72.1	21.8	6.1	100	0.20	1.91	0.24
	vocational	51.3	35.2	13.5	100		2.46	
Upper secondary school choice	academic	70.6	23.3	6.1	100	0.16	2.03	0.20
	vocational	44.4	45.4	10.1	100		2.48	
	not yet decided	58.5	37.2	4.3	100		2.25	
Parents' education	high	69.8	23.0	7.2	100	0.08	1.98	0.15
	medium	58.5	32.7	8.8	100		2.29	
	low	60.8	32.9	6.3	100		2.26	
Family conversations about politics	often	71.4	16.7	11.9	100	0.09	2.00	0.09
	sometimes	66.3	25.5	8.2	100		2.09	
	rarely	66.0	28.5	5.4	100		2.06	
	never	59.1	29.1	11.9	100		2.28	
Origin	foreign-born	55.7	35.6	8.7	100	0.08	2.33	0.14
	Swedish-born, two foreign-born parents	58.9	31.7	9.4	100		2.29	
	Swedish-born, one Swedish-born parent	63.9	25.9	10.2	100		2.16	
	Swedish-born, two Swedish-born parents	69.0	24.0	7.0	100		2.00	
Religious affiliation	Christian	64.8	27.5	7.7	100	0.10	2.10	0.13
	Muslim	52.8	37.8	9.4	100		2.37	
	no religious affiliation	70.4	22.8	6.8	100		1.99	
Has one or more friends in the group in question	yes	62.7	27.7	9.6	100	0.03	2.19	0.04
	no/don't know	65.8	26.5	7.7	100		2.09	

		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
Interest in politics	very interested	62.6	21.2	16.2	100	0.10	2.23	0.11
	interested	65.7	26.5	7.8	100		2.05	
	not interested	69.3	25.9	4.8	100		2.01	
	not interested at all	57.8	31.0	11.2	100		2.29	
Satisfaction with democracy in Sweden	very satisfied	75.1	18.2	6.7	100	0.15	1.87	0.20
	satisfied	67.3	26.4	6.3	100		2.06	
	not satisfied	52.9	37.3	9.8	100		2.33	
	not satisfied at all	42.3	29.8	27.9	100		2.78	
School location	Stockholm	71.6	21.5	6.9	100	0.05	1.92	0.09
	Gothenburg	55.9	33.9	10.2	100		2.33*	
	Malmö	54.6	34.2	11.2	100		2.35*	
	rest of country	65.4	26.8	7.8	100		2.10	
School local authority	metropolitan area or local authority near metropolitan area	66.5	25.3	8.2	100	0.04	2.06	0.05
	city or local authority near city	66.2	25.9	7.9	100		2.09	
	town/small urban area	63.2	29.3	7.5	100		2.16	
	rural local authority	55.5	37.2	7.3	100		2.30	
School area	very low SES area	53.7	34.5	11.8	100	0.06	2.16	0.10
	low SES area	64.6	29.7	5.7	100		2.18	
	mixed SES area	59.4	29.6	11.0	100		2.34	
	medium SES area	66.6	25.8	7.6	100		2.12	
	high SES area	69.2	22.7	8.1	100		2.02	

Note: The sample was all pupils. * There is no statistically significant difference between Gothenburg and Malmö.

Table B8. Measure of association, Sámi.

		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
Total		78.6	18.7	2.7	100		1.79	
Gender	girls	86.4	13.0	0.5	100	0.20	1.58	0.24
	boys	71.0	24.3	4.7	100		1.98	
School year	Year 9 compulsory school	75.2	21.9	2.9	100	0.05	1.94	0.12
	Year 1 upper secondary school	76.7	20.4	2.9	100		1.80	
	Year 2 upper secondary school	80.5	17.1	2.4	100		1.71	
	Year 3 upper secondary school	82.1	15.5	2.4	100		1.68	

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		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
Upper secondary school programme	academic	85.6	12.6	1.8	100	0.24	1.59	0.28
	vocational	64.1	31.3	4.6	100		2.12	
Choice of upper secondary school	academic	80.8	17.8	1.4	100	0.07	1.77	0.17
	vocational	73.4	23.6	3.0	100		2.05	
	not yet decided	71.7	2.5	3.8	100		2.06	
Parents' education	high	84.2	13.7	2.1	100	0.12	1.65	0.21
	medium	70.6	26.1	3.3	100		1.98	
	low	63.3	33.9	2.8	100		2.17	
Family conversations about politics	often	85.1	11.3	3.6	100	0.12	1.57	0.17
	sometimes	82.9	15.5	1.6	100		1.71	
	rarely	78.5	20.1	1.4	100		1.77	
	never	68.8	24.1	7.1	100		2.07	
Origin	foreign-born	68.7	27.4	3.9	100	0.10	2.05	0.14
	Swedish-born, two foreign-born parents	69.7	26.8	3.5	100		2.04	
	Swedish-born, one Swedish-born parent	76.6	20.1	3.3	100		1.84	
	Swedish-born, two Swedish-born parents	82.7	15.2	2.1	100		1.67	
Religious affiliation	Christian	79.8	18.1	2.1	100	0.12	1.76	0.18
	Muslim	65.1	29.3	5.6	100		2.16	
	no religious affiliation	82.4	15.9	1.7	100		1.68	
Has one or more friends in the group in question	yes	84.9	11.6	3.5	100	0.07	1.60	0.09
	no/don't know	77.8	19.6	2.6	100		1.81	
Interest in politics	very interested	82.1	14.8	3.1	100	0.12	1.64	0.18
	interested	83.0	15.2	1.8	100		1.66	
	not interested	80.2	18.5	1.3	100		1.76	
	not interested at all	67.4	26.3	6.3	100		2.07	
Satisfaction with democracy in Sweden	very satisfied	87.2	10.7	2.1	100	0.15	1.53	0.22
	satisfied	80.4	17.4	2.2	100		1.77	
	not satisfied	66.6	31.2	2.2	100		2.00	
	not satisfied at all	60.1	27.4	12.5	100		2.35	
School location	Stockholm	86.9	11.3	1.8	100	0.07	1.58	0.11
	Gothenburg	76.8	20.2	3.0	100		1.96	
	Malmö	65.2	29.8	5.0	100		2.03	
	rest of country	78.0	19.3	2.7	100		1.80	

		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
School local authority	metropolitan area or local authority near metropolitan area	81.3	16.0	2.7	100	0.06	1.73	0.08
	city or local authority near city	78.7	18.7	2.6	100		1.78	
	town/small urban area	74.3	22.6	3.1	100		1.88	
	rural local authority	68.2	31.1	0.7	100		2.06	
School area	very low SES area	65.3	27.5	7.2	100	0.08	2.09	0.12
	low SES area	75.8	22.0	2.2	100		1.87	
	mixed SES area	73.0	23.9	3.1	100		1.92	
	medium SES area	80.3	17.4	2.3	100		1.72	
	high SES area	83.1	12.1	4.8	100		1.72	

Note: The sample was all pupils.

Table B9. Measure of association, LGBT people.

		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
Total		63.4	21.7	14.9	100		2.21	
Gender	girls	79.6	15.4	5.0	100	0.34	1.76	0.37
	boys	48.4	27.6	23.9	100		2.63	
School year	Year 9 compulsory school	53.2	25.6	21.2	100	0.10	2.48	0.15
	Year 1 upper secondary school	63.5	22.7	13.8	100		2.23	
	Year 2 upper secondary school	67.9	17.8	14.3	100		2.11	
	Year 3 upper secondary school	69.6	20.4	10.0	100		2.02	
Upper secondary school programme	academic	74.1	17.5	8.4	100	0.26	1.90	0.31
	vocational	48.1	28.1	23.8	100		2.69	
Choice of upper secondary school	academic	60.8	22.1	17.1	100	0.13	2.28	0.20
	vocational	40.5	29.3	30.2	100		2.86	
	not yet decided	49.5	31.0	19.5	100		2.54	
Parents' education	high	68.6	19.2	12.2	100	0.10	2.06	0.17
	medium	55.3	25.6	19.1	100		2.45	
	low	49.2	27.0	23.8	100		2.61	
Family conversations about politics	often	67.4	18.3	14.3	100	0.08	2.06	0.11
	sometimes	66.7	19.1	14.2	100		2.15	
	rarely	64.7	22.4	12.9	100		2.18	
	never	52.4	25.8	21.8	100		2.49	

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		Low (<2.5)	Mean (2.5–3.5)	High (>3.5)	Total (%)	Cramer's V	Mean uncategorised scale (1–5)	η
Origin	foreign-born	53.5	25.3	21.2	100	0.12	2.56	0.18
	Swedish-born, two foreign-born parents	47.8	29.6	22.6	100		2.59	
	Swedish-born, one Swedish-born parent	60.1	24.0	15.9	100		2.28	
	Swedish-born, two Swedish-born parents	68.6	19.3	12.1	100		2.07	
Religious affiliation	Christian	62.2	20.9	16.9	100	0.12	2.25	0.17
	Muslim	45.9	29.7	24.4	100		2.68	
	no religious affiliation	70.1	20.4	9.5	100		2.03	
Has one or more friends in the group in question	yes	86.9	10.2	2.9	100	0.34	1.57	0.38
	no/don't know	52.2	27.3	20.5	100		2.21	
Interest in politics	very interested	62.3	17.0	20.7	100	0.08	2.27	0.11
	interested	68.3	18.5	13.2	100		2.09	
	not interested	64.0	23.4	12.6	100		2.18	
	not interested at all	55.0	24.9	20.1	100		2.46	
Satisfaction with democracy in Sweden	very satisfied	73.3	16.7	10.0	100	0.17	1.93	0.23
	satisfied	65.8	21.4	12.8	100		2.16	
	not satisfied	48.3	29.3	22.4	100		2.55	
	not satisfied at all	32.9	24.3	42.8	100		3.19	
School location	Stockholm	68.6	17.2	14.2	100	0.05	2.03	0.17
	Gothenburg	54.8	26.6	18.6	100		2.50	
	Malmö	55.2	30.0	14.9	100		2.38	
	rest of country	63.5	21.7	14.8	100		2.22	
School local authority	metropolitan area or local authority near metropolitan area	65.0	20.1	14.9	100	0.03	2.16	0.06
	city or local authority near city	63.7	21.9	14.4	100		2.21	
	town/smaller urban area	60.4	23.9	15.7	100		2.28	
	rural local authority	56.4	26.4	17.1	100		2.54	
School area	very low SES area	48.7	26.8	24.5	100	0.09	2.55	0.14
	low SES area	64.7	20.7	14.6	100		2.27	
	mixed SES area	55.9	24.9	18.2	100		2.41	
	medium SES area	64.8	20.8	14.4	100		2.17	
	high SES area	77.0	18.1	4.9	100		1.78	

Note: The sample was all pupils who identify as heterosexual.

C. Vulnerabilities

Table C1. Proportion of pupils who in 2013 and 2024–5 reported having been bullied, threatened, or physically hurt at least once in the preceding 12 months. Total and by gender, school year, sexual orientation, background, and religious affiliation (per cent, weighted data).

In the past 12 months have you been...

		...bullied by someone so you felt angry or sad?	...threatened by someone so you felt very afraid?	...physically hurt?
Total	2013	32.6	8.5	11.1
	2024–5	51.2	12.9	15.6
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+18.6	+4.4	+4.5
Gender				
girls	2013	39.5	9.9	8.4
	2024–5	58.3	12.3	9.8
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+18.8	+2.4	+1.4
boys	2013	25.7	7.1	13.7
	2024–5	44.3	13.3	21.1
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+18.6	+6.2	+7.4
School year				
Year 9 compulsory school	2013	38.6	8.4	11.9
	2024–5	59.4	14.3	20.1
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+20.8	+5.9	+8.2
Year 1 upper secondary school	2013	29.2	9.3	10.1
	2024–5	50.5	12.4	16.0
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+21.3	+3.1	+5.9
Year 2 upper secondary school	2013	32.3	8.8	11.3
	2024–5	49.4	12.4	12.3
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+17.1	+3.6	+1.0
Year 3 upper secondary school	2013	31.4	7.4	10.9
	2024–5	44.5	12.1	13.2
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+13.1	+4.7	+2.3
Sexual orientation				
heterosexual	2013	20.3	7.5	10.3
	2024–5	50.6	12.2	15.3
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+19.0	+4.7	+5.0
bisexual	2013	56.6	24.4	25.0
	2024–5	59.3	20.1	17.2
Change 2013 to 2024–5		+2.7	-4.3	+7.8

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In the past 12 months have you been...

		...bullied by someone so you felt angry or sad?	...threatened by someone so you felt very afraid?	...physically hurt?
homosexual	2013	34.8	18.7	24.3
	2024-5	60.3	27.1	25.1
Change 2013 to 2024-5		+25.5	+8.4	+0.8
Pupil background				
foreign-born	2013	42.1	10.8	9.1
	2024-5	43.9	10.6	11.2
Change 2013 to 2024-5		+1.8	-0.2	+2.1
Swedish-born, two foreign-born parents	2013	33.8	8.2	8.2
	2024-5	45.8	11.7	11.9
Change 2013 to 2024-5		+12.0	+3.5	+3.7
Swedish-born, one or two Swedish-born parents	2013	30.9	8.2	11.8
	2024-5	53.3	13.5	17.0
Change 2013 to 2024-5		+22.4	+4.8	+5.2
Religious affiliation				
Christian	2013	33.8	7.7	9.9
	2024-5	53.7	14.0	16.3
Change 2013 to 2024-5		+20.7	+6.3	+6.4
Muslim	2013	39.2	9.8	7.8
	2024-5	43.9	9.0	8.3
Change 2013 to 2024-5		+4.7	-0.8	+0.5
no religious affiliation	2013	28.9	8.1	11.7
	2024-5	49.5	11.8	15.4
Change 2013 to 2024-5		+20.6	+3.7	+3.7

Note: There are so few results for pupils who identify as Hindus, Buddhists, or Jews that they cannot be considered statistically significant and so have not been included. att de inte kan sägas vara statistiskt säkerställda och de har därför inte tagits med.

Table C2. Pupils' responses in 2024–5 about being bullied about their Swedish or foreign origin in the preceding 12 months, by gender, school year, high school programme, and background (per cent, weighted data).

	No, never	Yes, once	Yes, several times	Yes, many times	Don't know	Total	Total agreement	Cramer's V
Total	73.3	5.8	8.7	6.0	6.2	100	20.5	
Gender								0.12***
girls	77.2	5.6	7.7	3.2	6.3	100	16.5	
boys	69.5	6.0	9.6	8.6	6.3	100	24.2	
School year								0.05***
Year 9 compulsory school	69.3	6.1	9.1	7.6	7.9	100	22.8	
Year 1 upper secondary school	74.4	6.1	7.8	5.8	5.9	100	19.7	
Year 2 upper secondary school	71.7	5.7	10.1	6.5	6.0	100	22.3	
Year 3 upper secondary school	78.3	5.1	7.7	3.7	5.2	100	16.5	
Upper secondary school programme								0.05***
academic programme	74.6	5.6	9.2	5.4	5.2	100	20.2	
vocational programme	75.2	5.7	6.8	5.5	6.8	100	18.0	
Pupil background								0.16***
foreign-born	54.3	12.2	14.6	12.2	6.7	100	39.0	
Swedish-born, two foreign-born parents	60.2	7.4	14.9	10.3	7.2	100	32.6	
Swedish-born, one Swedish-born and one foreign-born parent	61.6	6.9	14.1	10.1	7.3	100	31.1	
Swedish-born, two Swedish-born parents	82.0	3.8	5.2	3.1	5.9	100	12.1	

TABLE C3. Proportion of pupils in 2024–5 who responded in the affirmative to having been bullied for their Swedish or foreign origin in the preceding 12 months, by migration background and school SES area (per cent, weighted data).

School area	Foreign-born	Swedish-born, two foreign-born parents	Swedish-born, one Swedish-born and one foreign-born parent	Swedish-born, two Swedish-born parents
Very low SES area	29.8	25.5	19.0	16.4
Low SES area	49.3	35.3	37.5	12.1
Mixed SES area	44.3	32.9	37.2	12.0
Medium SES area	34.1	32.1	29.3	12.1
High SES area	29.6	51.0	41.3	11.2

Table C4. Pupils' responses in 2024–5 about receiving threatening emails, texts, chats, or social media comments in the preceding 12 months because of their origin, religion, sexual orientation, or gender identity (per cent, weighted data).

	Yes, once	Yes, several times	Yes, many times	Don't know	No[CM1.1]	Total (%)
Origin	1.4	2.0	1.1	2.6	92.9	100
Religion	1.2	1.1	0.7	1.8	95.2	100
Sexual orientation	0.8	0.8	0.6	1.5	96.3	100
Gender identity	0.5	1.0	0.6	1.7	96.2	100

Table C5. Pupils' responses in 2024–5 about receiving threatening emails, texts, chats, or social media comments in the preceding 12 months because of their origin. Total and by gender, school year, and background (per cent, weighted data).

	No, never	Yes, once	Yes, several times	Yes, many times	Don't know	Total (%)	Total agreement	Cramer's V
Total	92.9	1.4	2.0	1.1	2.6	100	4.5	
Gender								0.08***
girls	94.4	1.5	1.5	0.5	2.1	100	3.5	
boys	91.4	1.3	2.6	1.7	3.0	100	5.6	
School year								0.03***
Year 9 compulsory school	91.5	1.7	2.4	1.4	3.0	100	5.5	
Year 1 upper secondary school	93.6	1.2	2.3	0.7	2.2	100	4.2	
Year 2 upper secondary school	92.5	1.4	2.0	1.2	2.9	100	4.6	
Year 3 upper secondary school	94.0	1.4	1.4	1.1	2.1	100	3.9	
Background								0.07***
foreign-born	89.2	1.6	4.0	1.7	3.5	100	7.3	
Swedish-born, two foreign-born parents	90.4	2.9	2.7	0.8	3.2	100	6.4	
Swedish-born, one Swedish-born and one foreign-born parent	88.8	2.7	2.8	1.3	4.4	100	6.8	
Swedish-born, two foreign-born parents	95.0	0.8	1.3	1.0	1.9	100	3.1	

Table C6. Pupils' responses in 2024–5 about receiving threatening emails, texts, chats, or social media comments in the preceding 12 months because of their religion. Total and by gender, school year, and religious affiliation (percentage, weighted data).

	No, never	Yes, once	Yes, several times	Yes, many times	Don't know	Total (%)	Total agreement	Cramers V
Total	95.2	1.2	1.1	0.7	1.8	100	3.0	
Gender								0.06***
girls	96.2	1.2	1.1	0.2	1.3	100	2.5	
boys	94.2	1.2	1.2	1.1	2.3	100	3.5	
School year								0.04***
Year 9 compulsory school	94.0	1.2	1.5	1.2	2.1	100	3.9	
Year 1 upper secondary school	96.5	0.7	0.8	0.4	1.6	100	1.9	
Year 2 upper secondary school	95.4	1.2	1.1	0.5	1.8	100	2.8	
Year 3 upper secondary school	94.8	1.8	1.1	0.6	1.7	100	3.5	
Religious affiliation								0.12***
Christian	95.6	1.5	1.1	0.4	1.4	100	3.0	
Muslim	88.4	2.9	3.1	2.1	3.5	100	8.1	
no religious affiliation	97.7	0.4	0.2	0.1	1.6	100	0.7	

Table C6. Pupils' responses in 2024–5 about receiving threatening emails, texts, chats, or social media comments in the preceding 12 months because of their sexual orientation. Total and by gender, school year, and sexual orientation (per cent, weighted data).

	No, never	Yes, once	Yes, several times	Yes, many times	Don't know	Total (%)	Total agreement	Cramer's V
Total	96.3	0.8	0.8	0.6	1.5	100	2.2	
Gender								0.05***
girls	96.7	0.8	0.8	0.2	1.5	100	1.8	
boys	96.0	0.8	0.7	1.0	1.5	100	2.5	
School year								0.04***
Year 9 compulsory school	96.0	0.5	0.6	1.1	1.8	100	2.2	
Year 1 upper secondary school	96.8	0.6	0.7	0.6	1.3	100	1.9	
Year 2 upper secondary school	95.6	1.2	1.3	0.2	1.7	100	2.7	
Year 3 upper secondary school	96.8	0.8	0.5	0.4	1.5	100	1.7	
Sexual orientation								0.17***
heterosexual	98.3	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.9	100	0.8	
bisexual	82.6	6.0	4.9	2.7	3.9	100	13.6	
homosexual	72.0	4.6	8.7	6.2	8.5	100	19.5	

D. Factors in choice of upper secondary school

TABLE D1. Results of a logistic regression analysis of the response that compulsory school pupils planned to apply to an upper secondary school vocational programme (odds ratios).

Gender		
girl		ref. cat.
boy		2,204***
Parents' education		
low		1,974***
medium		3,296***
high		ref. cat.
Background		
foreign-born		0,537***
Swedish-born, two foreign-born parents		0,266**
Swedish-born, one Swedish-born and one foreign-born parent		0,693***
Swedish-born, two Swedish-born parents		ref. cat.
School ranking		
very good		ref. cat.
good		1,593***
not good		2,548***
not good at all		2,568***
Stressed by schoolwork		
very stressed		ref. cat.
stressed		0,600***
not stressed		0,508***
not stressed at all		0,419***
Final grade in maths in Year 6		
A		ref. cat.
B		2,833***
C		7,440***
D		8,392***
E		12,882***
F		13,684***
Teacher to pupil ratio[CM1 . 1]		0,890***
School's proportion of qualified teachers		1,017***
School's average merit rating in Year 9		0,993***

School area (local authority classification)	
metropolitan area or local authority near metropolitan area	ref. cat. .
city or local authority near city	2,242***
town/smaller urban area	2,243***
rural local authority	1,430***
School location (National Board of Housing, Building and Planning's SES classification)	
very low SES area	1,456***
low SES area	0,848***
mixed SES area	1,160***
medium SES area	1,117***
high SES area	ref. cat.
Nagelkerke R ²	0,333
Cox & Snell R ²	0,231
η	753

Note: Only pupils who responded that they intend to go on to upper secondary school were included in the analysis .

Endnotes

- 1 An earlier version of this report was reviewed by Docent Andrea Bohman of Umeå University.
- 2 For LGBT terminology, see p. 7.
- 3 Arne Trankell, 'Svenskarnas fördomar mot invandrare', in SOU 1974:70 *Invandrarutredningen*, app. 4 (Stockholm 1974).
- 4 Charles Westin, *Majoritet om minoritet: En studie i etnisk tolerans i 80-talets Sverige* (Stockholm 1982).
- 5 Charles Westin, *Den toleranta opinionen: Inställningen till invandrare 1987* (Stockholm 1987).
- 6 Anders Lange & Charles Westin, *Ungdomen om invandringen* (Stockholm 1991).
- 7 Anders Lange & Charles Westin, *Den mångtydiga intoleransen* (Stockholm 1997).
- 8 Marie Demker, 'Attityden till flyktingar: Unga flickor och unga pojkar på var sin sida', in ead. (ed.), *Svensk migrationspolitisk opinion 1991–2012* (Gothenburg 2013), 148.
- 9 Anders Lange, Heléne Löow, Stéphane Bruchfeld & Ebba Hedlund, *Utsatthet för etnisk och politiskt relaterat hot m. m., spridning av rasistisk och antirasistisk propaganda samt attityder till demokrati m. m. bland skolelever* (Stockholm 1997).
- 10 Jonas Ring & Scarlett Morgentau, *Intolerans: Antisemitiska, homofobiska, islamofobiska och invandrarfientliga tendenser bland unga* (Stockholm 2004).
- 11 Birgitta Löwander & Anders Lange, *Den mångtydiga intoleransen: En studie av gymnasieungdomars attityder läsåret 2009/2010* (Stockholm 2010).
- 12 Statements about homosexuals were changed to be more inclusive of LGBT people.
- 13 Jacob Severin, *Tid för tolerans: En studie om vad skolelever i Sverige tycker om varandra och om sambället i stort* (Stockholm 2014).
- 14 *Stockholmsposten* 6 Nov. 1778: 'Eller är meningen, då det såges att wi förgätit Locke, det wi icke, såsom han skulle vara tolerante och Christne. Beskyllningen af intolerance är oss förut i detta stycke tämligen tydlig gjord' ('Or when it is said we have forgotten our Locke, is it that we are not tolerant and Christian, as he would have it? The accusation of intolerance is spelled out to us earlier in this passage').
- 15 There is an extensive literature. For a general introduction, see Erik Lundberg, 'Tolerans: En introduktion till begreppet, forskningen och antologin', in id. (ed.), *Toleransens mekanismer: En antologi* (Stockholm 2017).
- 16 Written in Latin in the winter of 1686 and published in an English translation without Locke's knowledge.
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- 27 Severin 2014, 17.
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- 55 Designed to increase the number of respondents from southern Sweden, in collaboration with Malmö University. The same approach was used for the 2013 survey.
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- 64 See, for example, Andrea Bohman, *Anti-immigrant attitudes in context: The role of rhetoric, religion and political representation* (Umeå 2014).
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- 68 For the connection between antisemitic attitudes and views about Israel, see Bachner & Bevelander 2020 and further references.
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- 80 Stattin et al. 2022.
- 81 Immigrants ($\eta = 0.19$), Afro-Swedes/Black people ($\eta = 0.21$), Jews ($\eta = 0.28$), Muslims ($\eta = 0.20$), Roma ($\eta = 0.22$), Sámi ($\eta = 0.27$), LGBT people ($\eta = 0.21$). All relationships are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).
- 82 Immigrants ($\eta = 0.33$), Afro-Swedes/Black people ($\eta = 0.34$), Jews ($\eta = 0.38$), Muslims ($\eta = 0.30$), Roma ($\eta = 0.31$), Sámi ($\eta = 0.40$), LGBT people ($\eta = 0.38$). All relationships are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).
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- 85 Jedinger & Eisentraut 2020.
- 86 Immigrants ($\eta = 0.58$), Afro-Swedes/Black people ($\eta = 0.45$), Jews ($\eta = 0.34$), Muslims ($\eta = 0.55$), Roma ($\eta = 0.41$), Sámi ($\eta = 0.24$), LGBT people ($\eta = 0.35$). All relationships are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).
- 87 Crime: Immigrants ($\eta = 0.22$), Afro-Swedes/Black people ($\eta = 0.14$), Jews ($\eta = 0.08$), Muslims ($\eta = 0.19$), Roma ($\eta = 0.31$), Sámi ($\eta = 0.02$), LGBT people ($\eta = 0.07$). Terrorism: Immigrants ($\eta = 0.16$), Afro-Swedes/Black people ($\eta = 0.12$), Jews ($\eta = 0.08$), Muslims ($\eta = 0.15$), Roma ($\eta = 0.10$), Sámi ($\eta = 0.04$), LGBT people ($\eta = 0.06$). All relationships are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).
- 88 Immigrants ($\eta = 0.01$), Afro-Swedes/Black people ($\eta = 0.01$), Jews ($\eta = 0.01$), Muslims ($\eta = 0.00$), Roma ($\eta = 0.00$), Sámi ($\eta = 0.00$), LGBT people ($\eta = 0.00$). All relationships are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$), except for Muslims, Roma Sámi and LGBT people.
- 89 Immigrants ($\eta = 0.24$), Afro-Swedes/Black people ($\eta = 0.20$), Jews ($\eta = 0.27$), Muslims ($\eta = 0.22$), Roma ($\eta = 0.23$), Sámi ($\eta = 0.25$), LGBT people ($\eta = 0.23$). All relationships are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).
- 90 Immigrants ($\eta = 0.24$), Afro-Swedes/Black people ($\eta = 0.20$), Jews ($\eta = 0.31$), Muslims ($\eta = 0.21$), Roma ($\eta = 0.23$), Sámi ($\eta = 0.28$), LGBT people ($\eta = 0.31$). All relationships are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).
- 91 Pablo Madriaza, Ghayda Hassan, Sébastien Brouillette-Alarie, Aoudou Njingouo Mouchingam, Loïc Durocher-Corfa, Eugene Borokhovski, David Pickup & Sabrina Paillé, 'Exposure to hate in online and traditional media: A systematic review and meta-analysis of the impact of this exposure on individuals and communities', *Campbell Systematic Reviews* 21:1 (2025).
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- 93 Immigrants ($\eta = 0.11$), Afro-Swedes/Black people ($\eta = 0.19$), Jews ($\eta = 0.23$), Muslims ($\eta = 0.17$), Roma ($\eta = 0.17$), Sámi ($\eta = 0.22$), LGBT people ($\eta = 0.19$). All relationships are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).
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- 95 Jesper Strömbäck, 'Konspiratorisk läggning, medieanvändning och tro på konspirationsteorier', in Oscar Österberg (ed.), *I det fördolda: en antologi om konspirationsteorier* (Stockholm 2025).
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- 97 Immigrants ($\eta = 0.24$), Afro-Swedes/Black people ($\eta = 0.19$), Jews ($\eta = 0.27$), Muslims ($\eta = 0.20$), Roma ($\eta = 0.25$), Sámi ($\eta = 0.23$), LGBT people ($\eta = 0.25$). All relationships are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).
- 98 Oscar Österberg, 'Föreställningar om "judiska" konspirationer: En utdragen historia', in Österberg 2025.
- 99 Variance is a measure of how of far a set of observed values deviate from the mean. The higher the value, the greater the variance.
- 100 segregationsbarometern.boverket.se/ojamlikhetsindex-och-omradestyper/
- 101 Immigrants ($\eta = 0.18$), Afro-Swedes/Black people ($\eta = 0.19$), Jews ($\eta = 0.18$), Muslims ($\eta = 0.16$), Roma ($\eta = 0.14$), Sámi ($\eta = 0.18$), LGBT people ($\eta = 0.16$). All relationships are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).
- 102 Class average is a better measure of classroom climate than individual pupil responses about whether they like school.
- 103 Immigrants ($\eta = 0.24$), Afro-Swedes/Black people ($\eta = 0.24$), Jews ($\eta = 0.24$), Muslims ($\eta = 0.23$), Roma ($\eta = 0.14$), Sámi ($\eta = 0.23$), LGBT people ($\eta = 0.24$). All relationships are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).
- 104 Hjerm et al. 2020.
- 105 Cronbach's alpha = 0.874. The mean is 3.84 with a standard deviation of 0.73. There are relatively strong negative correlations between this measure of association and the other group-focused measures of association. The Pearson correlation coefficient (r) for the various measures of association is in the range -0.408 ('Sámi') to -0.495 ('immigrants'). Yet these correlations are not so strong that the new measure of association can be said to measure only the same thing as the others. Tolerance and intolerance are about more than people's attitudes towards various social groups.
- 106 Regression analysis, however, shows that foreign background and religious affiliation remain statistically significant when controlling for each other.
- 107 Foreign background here refers to pupils born abroad or in Sweden with two foreign-born parents. Swedish background refers to those born in Sweden with at least one Swedish-born parent.
- 108 The difference is statistically significant.
- 109 The difference is statistically significant.
- 110 The difference is statistically significant.
- 111 The difference is statistically significant.
- 112 The difference is statistically significant.
- 113 The difference is statistically significant.
- 114 The difference is statistically significant.
- 115 Miriam Katzin, *Skolgårdsrasism, konspirationsteorier och utanförskap: En rapport om antisemitism och det judiska minoritetskapet i Malmös förskolor, skolor, gymnasier och vuxenutbildning* (Malmö 2021); Kristin Wagrell, *Antisemitismen i Stockholms skolor: En rapport om skolpersonal och elevers upplevelser och tankar kring antisemitiska uttryck i sin skolmiljö* (Stockholm 2022); Maja Lapidus & Naima Grossman, 'Vi är inte välkomna här: Judiska studenter och anställdas upplevelser av otrygghet och antisemitism på svenska universitet och högskolor efter den 7 oktober 2023' (Judiska ungdomsförbundet 2025); Skolverket (Swedish National Agency for Education), *Antisemitism i skolan* (2025:28; Solna 2025).

- 116 Brå, *Målsägare vid brottsanmälan 2024: Övergripande statistik för utvalda brottstyper riktade mot person* (Stockholm 2025), 25.
- 117 Brå 2025, 40.
- 118 Brå, Skolundersökningen om brott 2023, s.v. 'Tabellsamling 2015–2023', tab. 3A. bra.se/rapporter/arkiv/2024-10-24-skolundersokningen-om-brott-2023
- 119 Statens medieråd, *Ungar & medier 2023: En statistisk undersökning av ungas medievanor och attityder till medieanvändning* (Stockholm 2024), 107.
- 120 Brå, *Skolundersökningen om brott 2023: Om utsatthet för och delaktighet i brott* (2024:10; Stockholm 2024), 78–79.
- 121 Internetstiftelsen, *Svenskarna och internet 2024* (2024), 113.
- 122 Internetstiftelsen 2024, 118.
- 123 Hannah Pollack Sarnecki, Lenita Törning & Anders Strindberg, *Antisemitism i digitala miljöer: En kunskapsöversikt* (Stockholm 2025).
- 124 They chose the response options 'Strongly disagree' or 'Disagree' for positively worded statements and 'Agree' or 'Strongly agree' for negatively worded statements.
- 125 'Most immigrants are probably decent people', 'It would be OK to be neighbours with an immigrant', 'Immigrants cannot be trusted', 'There are far too many immigrants in Sweden'. The sample is Swedish-born pupils with two Swedish-born parents. The difference between the surveys is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). Cramer's $V = 0.11$.
- 126 'Most Jews are probably decent people', 'It would be OK to be neighbours with a Jewish person', 'Jews cannot be trusted', 'There are far too many Jews in Sweden', 'It is true to say that Jews are stingy', 'Jews have too much influence in the world today'. The difference between the surveys is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). Cramer's $V = 0.06$.
- 127 'Most Muslims are probably decent people', 'It would be OK to be neighbours with a Muslim person', 'Muslims cannot be trusted', 'There are far too many Muslims in Sweden', 'Most Muslim immigrants are probably law-abiding', 'Most Muslims just want to live on benefits', 'Muslim men are more likely than other men to oppress women'. The difference between the surveys is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). Cramer's $V = 0.07$.
- 128 'Most Roma are probably decent people', 'It would [not] be OK to be neighbours with a Roma', 'Roma cannot be trusted', 'There are far too many Roma in Sweden', 'Roma are more likely than others to be involved in crime'. The difference between the surveys is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). Cramer's $V = 0.02$.
- 129 'Most homosexual, bisexual, and trans people are probably decent people', 'It would be OK to be neighbours with a homosexual, bisexual, or trans person', 'Homosexual, bisexual, and transgender people cannot be trusted', 'Being homosexual is just as natural as being heterosexual'. The difference between the surveys is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). Cramer's $V = 0.20$.
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- 133 Myndigheten för ungdoms- och civilsamhällesfrågor (Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society), *Så tycker unga 2025: Demokrati och viktiga samhällsfrågor* (Stockholm 2025).
- 134 For an in-depth discussion of how best to interpret this, see Verkuyten 2023.
- 135 The odds of a school leaver with an E in maths choosing to apply for a vocational programme are 13 times greater than for one with an A.
- 136 For the greater prevalence of conspiracy theories and possible explanations, see Österberg 2025.
- 137 Shauna M. Bowes, Thomas H. Costello & Arber Tasimi, 'The Conspiratorial Mind: A Meta-Analytic Review of Motivational and Personological Correlates', *Psychological Bulletin* (2023).
- 138 Vibeke Moe (ed.), *Holdinger til jøder og muslimer i Norge 2022: Befolkningsundersøkelse, minoritetsstudie og ungdomsundersøkelse* (Oslo 2022), 129–145.
- 139 Vibeke Moe (ed.), *Holdinger til jøder og muslimer i Norge 2022: Befolkningsundersøkelse, minoritetsstudie og ungdomsundersøkelse* (Oslo 2022), 129–145.

