

Intolerance

Antisemitic, homophobic, islamophobic and
anti-immigrant tendencies among young people

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Preface

Intolerance of minorities — which may take such forms as discrimination, harassment, vilification, threats, and physical violence — is a serious social problem. Knowledge about intolerance, its prevalence, nature, geographical incidence etc., is central to our ability to combat it. Action taken without such knowledge risks being ineffectual or misdirected. The present survey, a collaboration between the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ) and the Living History Forum, examines antisemitism, islamophobia, homophobia and general intolerance among school students in terms of their attitudes, victimisation, self-reported criminality, and dissemination of extremist propaganda.

The purpose of the survey is to contribute to our knowledge of the subject area by describing various aspects of the above phenomena. Its findings will also be useful as a basis for future studies focused on measuring changes. In its size, complexity and character the study is unique in this area not only in Sweden but internationally.

The collaborative project was overseen by a joint working group established at its inception and headed by Jan Ahlberg (a Head of Division at BRÅ) and Heléne Lööw (Director of the Living History Forum). This group approved the final form of the questionnaire and the areas to be investigated, regularly discussed the progress of the project, and reviewed the report for factual accuracy.

Thanks are due to the school staff and to the students who administered and responded to the questionnaire. It is our hope that this report may form a knowledge base for continued work to strengthen our common foundation of democratic values.

Different sections of the report were authored by Jonas Ring Ph.D and by Scarlett Morgentau, both at BRÅ. Jonas Ring was responsible for the design of the survey.* Project manager was Jan Ahlberg, Head of division at BRÅ. This publication constitutes a slightly revised translation of the original report, which was published in Swedish in October 2004.

Stockholm, May 2005

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* For a seven-month period Jonas Ring's participation in the project was financed by the Swedish Council for Working Life and Social Research out of a grant for research into young people's exposure to crime. This funding has also covered Jonas Ring's English translation of the survey instrument, and his review of this English version of the report.

Intolerance

Antisemitic, homophobic, islamophobic and anti-immigrant tendencies among the young

Summary

BACKGROUND

Intolerance towards minority groups – which may manifest itself in such forms as discrimination, harassment, insults, threats and physical violence – constitutes a serious social problem. In order to identify opportunities to combat intolerance, it is essential to possess knowledge about this phenomenon – its extent, character, geographical scope etc. Without such knowledge, there is a risk that any measures introduced will be misdirected. This survey, which has taken the form of a collaborative project between the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brottsförebyggande rådet – BRÅ) and the Living History Forum (Forum för levande historia), examines antisemitism, Islamophobia, homophobia and general intolerance among school youths in relation to attitudes, victimisation, self-reported crime and the dissemination of extremist propaganda.

OBJECTIVE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The principal objective of the study has been to provide a picture of young people's attitudes on questions relating to Islamophobia, antisemitism, homophobia and xenophobia. The study has also focused on illuminating young people's exposure to, and levels of participation in, various forms of crime and antisocial behaviour associated with these phenomena.

The terms crime and antisocial behaviour refer to a broad spectrum of offensive behaviours, including everything from acts of violence against the person or vandalism to harassment and acts of discrimination. The study also estimates the extent of the dissemination of certain types of extreme nationalistic and racist propaganda.

The study investigates:

- What attitudes youths hold in relation to different minority groups and to immigrants in general.
- To what extent young people themselves report having been exposed to different types of offensive behaviour as a result of their Swedish or foreign background respectively, or religious affiliations, or because they are perceived to be homosexual.
- To what extent young people participate in different forms of offensive behaviour as a result of another's origins, religion or homosexuality.
- Whether there is a correlation between intolerance and social background factors.

10,600 STUDENTS COMPLETED THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The study is based on a comprehensive questionnaire survey of school youths in years eight and nine (the final two years of compulsory schooling), and in years one, two and three of upper secondary level programmes. A random sample was drawn from among all Swedish school pupils in the relevant age-groups. The sampling units comprised classes within the compulsory school system and, at the upper secondary level, further education programmes distributed over upper secondary schools. Each class included in the sample was given a set of questionnaires, which the students then completed during lesson time. The questionnaires were completed anonymously. Of a total of 672 classes included in the sample, completed questionnaires were received from 606. The final response frequency at the level of the individual lies at 76.2 per cent, when the students in those classes that did not participate in the study are included among the non-response. Among the classes that did participate, the final response frequency at the individual level amounted to 82 per cent. The material finally comprised questionnaires from a total of 10,600 students. The mean age of the respondents is 16 years.

The non-response was somewhat greater among the respondents in upper secondary schools than it was among those in the compulsory school system, and first and foremost among students on vocational, individual and specially formulated study programmes, which together produced a non-response of 31.6 per cent at the individual level. This may contribute to a certain underestimation of the proportion of young people with intolerant attitudes.

MEASURES OF INTOLERANT ATTITUDES, VICTIMISATION, AND PARTICIPATION

The point of departure adopted in relation to the study's attempts to measure antisemitic, Islamophobic, homophobic and xenophobic tendencies among young people focused on the various forms of expression taken by group-focused intolerance, which in many respects appear to manifest themselves in similar ways. These include

distrust and suspicion directed at an entire group as a collective, powerful dislike and repudiation and a willingness to take or support measures that discriminate against individuals belonging to the relevant group or category.

The questionnaire included a relatively large number of questions with fixed answer options that relate to attitudes towards different minority groups in Sweden. The questions are often posed in the form of statements which the student then responds to by signifying the extent to which he or she agrees or does not agree with a given statement. To take a few examples: "Muslims in Sweden should have the right to build mosques"; "It would be completely okay to live next door to a responsible Muslim"; "There are far too many Muslims in Sweden", and so forth.

Corresponding questions were asked in the form of items relating to Jews and homosexuals respectively. There are clear reciprocal correlations between the answers to the individual questions. Attitude scales relating to attitudes towards the different groups were constructed on the basis of the respondents' answers. These scales take the form of mean indexes and have a range from zero to four. High scores indicate that an individual agrees with negatively charged statements and repudiates those that are positively charged.

Since the correlations between the attitude scales relating to Muslims, Jews and homosexuals respectively were relatively strong, an index of general intolerance towards these groups was also created by combining the original subscales. The questionnaire also included a number of questions focusing on attitudes towards immigrants, which were used to create other indexes.

As a result of the study's theme, it is inevitable that certain of the statements and questions included in the questionnaire may be perceived as provocative. The inclusion of such items was necessary in order to elicit a response and to get respondents to declare a position that reflected their attitudes. At the same time, it should be noted that a large proportion of the statements contain positively charged formulations, which were included *inter alia* in order to avoid a concentration of negatively charged assertions relating to various groups.

In addition, questions were posed relating to exposure to, and participation in, various forms of antisocial behaviour associated with background characteristics. It is important to point out that these items were constructed in order to measure events that, on the basis of the student's own interpretation and assessment, occurred as a result of the respondent's or the victim's background, religion or perceived homosexuality, e.g. having been insulted because others perceived one as homosexual.

RESULTS

The majority of students profess positive attitudes towards different minority groups.

The findings from the study indicate that the vast majority of youths profess a positive attitude towards the different minority groups. The young people included in this study tend for example to agree with statements that most Muslims (or Jews or homosexuals) are undoubtedly “good people” whereas they tend to distance themselves from negatively charged statements. The scale mean on the combined general intolerance index against Muslims, Jews and homosexuals lies at a score of approximately one (with the scale assuming a maximum value of four). The corresponding score on the three subscales varies only slightly around this value (from 0.9 in relation to homosexuals to 1.2 in relation to Muslims).

The proportion of youths with a predominantly positive attitude, as manifested in low scores (<1.5) on the index, was found to be: 66 per cent in relation to attitudes towards Muslims; 68 per cent in relation to Jews and 74 per cent on the index relating to homosexuals. The corresponding proportion on the combined general intolerance index was noted at 72 per cent. In total, then, the responses of slightly over seven of ten young people expressed positively charged values.

The proportion presenting high levels of intolerance, as manifested in high scores (>2.5) on the indexes, was found to be approximately eight per cent on the index relating to attitudes towards Muslims, six per cent in relation to Jews, and seven per cent in relation to homosexuals. The corresponding proportion on the combined general intolerance scale was five per cent. Thus a total of one in twenty young people expressed a predominantly negative attitude. The proportion of students expressing a strong antipathy (>3 on the index) was smaller, comprising 1.7 per cent of the respondents.

A group was also identified that may be designated as more or less “undecided” or ambivalent in their attitude. In relation to the general intolerance index, this group comprises approximately 24 per cent of the youths surveyed. The size of this group is roughly the same in relation to the various subscales focusing on the respondents’ attitude towards the different minority groups.

Attitudes towards immigrants and immigration were measured by means of a number of attitude statements such as: “Sweden should continue to accept refugees.” Approximately twelve per cent of the respondents strongly disagreed with this statement. Another statement read: “Immigrants to Sweden from countries outside Europe should go back to their native countries.” The proportion who agreed completely with this statement was of the same magnitude as in the previous example (approximately ten per cent). Similarly, approximately ten per cent answered that they thought it would be “completely okay” or “fairly okay” if a friend of theirs “wrote ‘stop

immigration' on a wall in town in the form of graffiti." Young people who expressed a negative attitude towards immigration tended also to have negative attitudes towards Muslims, Jews and homosexuals.

GIRLS ARE LESS INTOLERANT THAN BOYS

There is a distinctive pattern of sex differences in the attitudes professed towards the different groups. Girls tended on the whole to have a more positive attitude than boys. The overriding pattern found among the boys was that, in round figures, slightly over 60 per cent expressed a predominantly positive attitude whereas approximately ten per cent expressed a high degree of intolerance. Among the girls, 82 per cent may be defined as having a positive general attitude in relation to the minorities named in the questionnaire, and two per cent may be characterised as intolerant. The variation across the attitude scales relating to the different groups is somewhat greater for the girls than it is for the boys. The greatest difference between boys and girls was noted in relation to their view of homosexuals, where almost nine of ten girls expressed a positive attitude, as compared to six of ten boys.

AGE DIFFERENCES ARE SLIGHT

There is a certain tendency for older students to profess positive attitudes more often than their younger counterparts. In relation to the combined general tolerance scale, the proportion with a predominantly positive attitude was lowest in year eight of compulsory school (68 per cent) and highest in year three of upper secondary school programmes (78 per cent).

DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES BY SCHOOL PROGRAMME

The proportion of upper secondary students professing an intolerant attitude towards Muslims, Jews and homosexuals was highest among students who were not reading theoretical, higher education foundation programmes and this pattern was particularly distinctive among the boys. The most positive attitudes were found among girls at upper secondary school reading theoretical foundation programmes. The proportion of girls enrolled in such programmes that professed a generally intolerant attitude towards the minorities named in the survey was found to be 0.1 per cent, by comparison with eleven per cent professing generally intolerant attitudes among the boys enrolled in other forms of upper secondary school programme.

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND HAVE A CERTAIN SIGNIFICANCE

Students with a completely Swedish background (i.e. those born in Sweden to two Swedish-born parents) tended to profess an intolerant

attitude towards Muslims somewhat more often than students with an immigrant background (i.e. students born abroad to parents also born outside Sweden). Of the former group, approximately nine per cent may be classified as “intolerant” (having scores of over 2.5 on the index) as compared with 1.5 per cent of the latter group. The reverse relationship is found in relation to attitudes towards homosexuals, where students with an immigrant background more often assumed a more guarded position. Approximately twelve per cent may be classified as intolerant by comparison with approximately six per cent of students with a completely Swedish background. As regards attitudes towards Jews, there were no differences between students from an immigrant background and those from a completely Swedish background respectively (with approximately six per cent of both groups professing intolerance).

The small group (1.7 per cent of all students) who were found to be highly intolerant (with scores of over three on the scale) towards all three minority groups, Muslims, Jews and homosexuals, was almost exclusively comprised of students born in Sweden (99.5 per cent).

The large group of students who did not report having any religious affiliation (approximately 40 per cent of the sample as a whole) tended to express intolerant opinions as regards their general attitude towards the different minority groups somewhat more often than other students (approximately seven per cent of those reporting no religious affiliation, by comparison with approximately five per cent of the total sample). With regard to attitudes specifically towards Jews, the level of intolerance within the group reporting no religious affiliation was roughly the same as that among those reporting themselves to be Muslims (with approximately eight per cent of both groups professing intolerance).

DISSEMINATION OF EXTREMIST PROPAGANDA MORE COMMON AMONG INTOLERANT YOUTHS

Approximately seven per cent of the students reported that they had come into contact with material produced by certain race-ideological and extreme nationalist organisations. The National Socialist Front (Nationalsocialistisk Front) was the most commonly reported organisation in this context. Of the students designated as generally intolerant towards the minority groups included in the survey, approximately 30 per cent reported having come into contact with an organisation of this kind, by comparison with six per cent among those professing a positive attitude.

Since 1997, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of racist websites. In the current study, seven per cent of students reported having visited a racist website or one with a hostile attitude towards immigrants. Among those professing a positive attitude towards the minority groups mentioned in the study, slightly over two

per cent had visited such a website, as compared with 38 per cent of those designated as intolerant.

The race-ideological underground movement often employs music as a means of channelling its message to an audience. Fifteen per cent of the students included in the survey reported having listened to so-called white-power music on at least one occasion. Comparisons with an earlier study indicate that there may have been an increase in this regard within certain groups. In 1997, approximately nineteen per cent of boys enrolled in practical programmes reported having listened to this type of music at least once, as compared to approximately 25 per cent of boys enrolled in vocational programmes in the current study.

PROPORTION OF THOSE NOT AT ALL SURE THE HOLOCAUST ACTUALLY HAPPENED HAS DECLINED SOMEWHAT

In the earlier survey conducted in 1997, an item was included with the intention of measuring how sure the students were that the Holocaust had taken place. The question posed was worded as follows: "The 'Holocaust' usually refers to the murder of approximately six million Jews by the Nazis during the Second World War. How certain are you that the 'Holocaust' took place?".

The question was criticised, primarily because of the specification of the number of Jews who fell victim to the Holocaust, since it was felt that the inclusion of this figure might contribute to the level of uncertainty among the respondents. A pilot study conducted prior to the present survey therefore tested three alternatively formulated questions all of which excluded information on the number of victims. These were tested against the original formulation with the result being that no substantial differences were noted in the response frequencies across the different formulations.

The original question was therefore also included in the current survey. Even though there are certain comparability problems, the results indicate two tendencies. One is that the proportion reporting themselves to be "completely certain" has diminished somewhat since the 1997 study. In the current survey, 67 per cent reported that they were completely certain, as compared to 71 per cent in the 1997 study. The other tendency noted was that the proportion who were "not at all certain", i.e. the group who were most uncertain, has decreased. The proportion reporting that they were not at all certain in 1997 lay at 4.1 per cent, as compared with 2.0 per cent in the current survey. In total, the structure of the distribution of responses is very similar across the two surveys (with approximately 85 per cent and 83 per cent respectively reporting themselves to be either completely certain or fairly certain).

In both surveys, the students were asked to specify their attitudes to the statement that "There is too much talk about Nazism and the

extermination of the Jews.” The tendency here is such that the proportion of students who agree with this statement has increased at the same time as the number who do not agree with it has diminished. The results from both surveys indicate that it is the students who are unsure that the Holocaust actually took place that feel that there is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews.

FORTY PER CENT OF FOREIGN BORN STUDENTS HAVE BEEN TEASED AT SOME POINT AS A RESULT OF THEIR ORIGINS

The most common form of victimisation relates to verbal insults. Approximately fourteen per cent of the students reported having been teased at least once over the course of the previous twelve months as a result of their Swedish or foreign origins. The corresponding proportion that had been threatened stood at six per cent. The proportion of respondents reporting they had been exposed to assault as a result of their origins stood at 2.6 per cent. Questions were also asked as to whether the respondents had experienced various events as a result of their religion. A total of approximately four per cent reported having been teased, 1.7 per cent reported they had been frozen out (or ‘sent to Coventry’), 0.9 per cent that they had been threatened, and 0.5 per cent reported that they had been hit because of their religion.

One pattern that was found consistently in relation to these forms of victimisation was that they were more common among foreign born students whose parents were also born abroad than they were among students with a completely Swedish background. To take one or two concrete examples, approximately 40 per cent of the students with an immigrant background of this kind reported that they had been teased as a result of their origins at some point as compared with nine per cent of the youths from a completely Swedish background. Of the students with an immigrant background, 31 per cent reported having had someone shout racist/xenophobic abuse at them whereas fourteen per cent of students with a completely Swedish background reported having been subject to similar abuses linked to their Swedish background. It was also more common for students with an immigrant background (46 per cent) to perceive themselves as having been subjected to unfair treatment at some point during the previous twelve months by someone (e.g. a person in authority) than it was for students with a completely Swedish background (nine per cent). Slightly over six per cent (6.6 per cent) of students with an immigrant background reported that they had been hit over the course of the previous year as a result of their origins, and fifteen per cent that they had been threatened.

Students with experience of victimisation reported that they had recently experienced negative feelings (felt “down and depressed”,

angry, anxious, or had difficulty sleeping) more often than those who did not report experience of victimisation.

As regards the issue of whether students had been exposed to various acts as a result of others perceiving them as homosexual, these questions were only posed among the students at upper secondary school. Of these, a total of 2.1 per cent reported having been victimised in some way as a result of others believing them to be homosexual. It was most common to have been teased (1.9 per cent) whilst it was more uncommon to have been threatened (0.2 per cent) or hit (0.3 per cent).

1.5 PER CENT REPORTED HAVING HIT SOMEONE AS A RESULT OF THEIR FOREIGN BACKGROUND

The questionnaire included questions both on participation in various forms of antisocial behaviour in general, and on behaviours of this kind that were linked to different aspects of the victim's background. As regards general participation, 33 per cent of the students reported having teased someone so that they became "angry or upset" at some point during the previous twelve months. Approximately 30 per cent reported that they had either threatened someone so that he or she, in the judgement of the student, became scared, or hit someone sufficiently hard to cause them pain.

Approximately eight per cent reported that they had teased someone "because of their foreign origins" over the course of the previous twelve months. The corresponding proportion for having threatened someone was 1.7 per cent, whilst 1.5 per cent reported having hit someone because of their foreign background.

As regards a Swedish background as a motivating factor, 2.6 per cent reported having teased someone, whilst 0.7 per cent had threatened someone and 0.6 per cent reported having hit someone because of the person's Swedish background.

With regard to the question of religion, approximately four per cent reported that they had teased someone as a result of their religion whereas the proportions who had threatened someone (0.8 per cent) or hit someone (0.6 per cent) were lower. The pattern is similar in relation to the question of whether respondents had done something to someone as a result of their being homosexual: approximately five per cent reported having teased someone, whereas 1.3 per cent had threatened someone and 0.8 per cent reported having hit someone for this reason.

The students were also asked whether they had committed any of a number of acts against someone "as a result of their foreign origins, religion, or skin colour": frozen someone out, spread lies about, badmouthed, started a row with or shoved someone, or destroyed something. A total of thirteen per cent reported having committed one of these acts during the previous twelve months. The most common

act reported was having “badmouthed” someone (approximately ten per cent) and having “started a row” (five per cent).

A CLEAR CORRELATION BETWEEN INTOLERANCE AND PARTICIPATION IN ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

A strong link emerged in the study between the degree of general intolerance towards Muslims, Jews and homosexuals and participation in various forms of antisocial behaviour that were directed against a person as a result of their foreign background, religion or homosexuality. This pattern was also found in relation to the indexes focusing on attitudes expressing hostility towards immigrants. The higher the level of intolerance, the more common it was to have teased, threatened or hit someone.

This pattern was found both among behaviours of this kind in general, and also in relation to theft offences for example. The strongest correlations however were found in relation to behaviours that according to the youths had been motivated by various aspects of the victim’s background. These correlations were found among both boys and girls.

It was most uncommon for those students who profess the most positive attitudes towards Jews, Muslims and homosexuals, to have reported having threatened or hit someone as a result of their foreign background or religion (0.1 per cent), whereas this was considerably more common within the small group of students professing the most intolerant attitudes (36.8 per cent). If the supposed homosexuality of the victim is added to the motivating factors, together with a foreign background and religion, the corresponding figures are as follows: 0.3 per cent among the group with the most positive attitudes report having threatened or hit someone at some point, as compared with 41.2 per cent of the most intolerant group of students.

According to a rough estimate, the twelve per cent of students with the highest scores on the measure of general intolerance account for almost three-quarters of the total number of acts of threats and violence that are reported to be linked to the victim’s foreign background, religion or sexuality.

INTOLERANCE IS ASSOCIATED WITH AMONGST OTHER THINGS SCHOOL FAILURE

One of the study’s initial assumptions was that levels of intolerance are not randomly distributed among young people. The findings confirm this assumption. Systematic differences were found in several different areas between the youths reporting a low level of intolerance and those who are highly intolerant.

High levels of intolerance tend to be associated with

- low levels of educational achievement and social class among parents

- certain individual level and emotional factors such as restlessness, aggressiveness and a lack of empathy (but not nervous problems)
- poor school performance and adjustment to school
- certain types of problematic family situation such as low levels of parental knowledge as to the youths' socialisation patterns
- stereotypical gender norms (male chauvinist attitudes)
- feelings of social alienation
- frequently associating with friends during the evening, often in a group, and also associating with a couple of older friends more often than the average.

Drinking alcohol and partying are more common among those professing intolerant attitudes by comparison with young people in general. There is a strong correlation between intolerance and perceptions of friends' attitudes on the question of hostility towards immigrants. The correlation between listening to white-power music and manifesting an intolerant attitude is similarly strong. The same is also true in relation to preferences for political parties with an extreme nationalist focus. These findings were noted among both boys and girls at both the compulsory school and upper secondary level.

These findings correspond relatively well with the picture of intolerant and xenophobic youth presented in studies that have employed other methods to study the characteristics and conditions associated with such young people. Nor do they contradict the idea that certain conditions, among which school failure assumes a relatively central position, constitute part of a process that involves youths tending to become more receptive to extreme nationalistic and xenophobic opinions. For certain youths who find it difficult in school or who have other kinds of problems, adopting the specific style and the opinions found in xenophobic groups may constitute an alternative means of acquiring status and creating an identity. This does not exclude the possibility that the xenophobic and racist underground culture may for various reasons exercise such a strong attraction for other youths, who do not suffer from problems of this kind, that they are drawn towards it.

THE RISK FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH INTOLERANCE ARE THE SAME AS THOSE LINKED TO CRIME

Several of the factors that were found in this study to be linked to high levels of intolerance have in other contexts often been described as risk factors for delinquent behaviour in the criminological literature. The results from this study suggest that even if one succeeded in reducing the prevalence of highly intolerant young people, this would be likely to produce only a very limited reduction

in the total level of participation in crime and antisocial behaviour among young people. Youth crime is a much larger and more far-reaching problem and is far from being limited to young people with xenophobic or otherwise highly intolerant opinions, even if this latter group appears to be more actively involved in crime than young people in general.

IMPORTANT TO INFLUENCE ATTITUDES

Crimes of the kind discussed here, and which constitute part of what are usually referred to as hate crimes, constitute an important social problem in themselves however. In addition to a large number of other measures – on the part of the anti-crime agencies, for example – efforts to affect attitudes constitute an important aspect of the work to combat this form of crime. It is particularly important to reduce the recruitment of young people into the group professing highly intolerant attitudes. At the same time however, the results suggest that the characteristics and conditions shared by a large number of these youths, and which they utilise to distinguish themselves from others, also happen to be factors that may constitute an obstacle to attitudinal change. It is possible that it might be simpler to attempt to persuade the youths located in the grey area between tolerance and intolerance to shift in the direction of a more tolerant attitude. Thanks are due to the school staff and to the students who administered and responded to the questionnaire. It is our hope that this report may form a knowledge base for continued work to strengthen our common foundation of democratic values.

Introduction

The present study is concerned with young people's intolerance of minorities and with their exposure to and participation in various types of abusive behaviour from xenophobic motives. A primary motivation of this study is that a common foundation of democratic values is one of the underpinnings of a democratic society. It is therefore a matter for serious concern when this foundation is compromised, or when it is directly violated by individual acts that deny the equal worth of all human beings.

Intolerance can manifest itself in a variety of ways and environments, such as the workplace, the school, and leisure activities. It can also manifest itself in the form of hate crimes. Since 1997 the Swedish Security Service (Säkerhetspolisen) has published annual statistics of reported crimes with links to white power, xenophobia, antisemitism and homophobia, so-called hate crimes.¹

In 2003 a total of around 3,900 hate crimes were reported, the majority being crimes with xenophobic motives. Xenophobia is defined as a negative attitude, disdain or hatred directed towards an individual or group on the grounds of their skin colour or national, ethnic or cultural background. The motives include racism, here defined as negative discrimination based on the notion that distinct human races exist. Crimes from antisemitic or homophobic motives constitute relatively minor categories, with 130 and 330 such offences respectively being reported in 2003 (Säkerhetspolisen, 2003).

It is difficult to know how well these statistics represent actual crime trends. Like all crime statistics, they only reflect crimes that are detected and reported to the police. As with other categories of crime, there is a hidden incidence whose extent is influenced primarily by the risk of detection and the propensity to report. A specific feature of hate crimes is that the motive must be noted in order for the crime to be identified and registered as such. This presupposes that the complainant is willing to state the motive, that the complainant or a witness perceives the motive, and that they mention it to the police officer taking the complaint. It further presupposes that the police officer describes the motive in his or her report, which for a number of reasons is not always done. In view of these factors, together with the generally problematic relationship between crime statistics and actual criminality, it is likely that these reported offences represent no more than the tip of the iceberg.

In 2001 the Government adopted a national plan of action against racism, xenophobia, homophobia and discrimination. The main emphasis of the plan is on identifying deficiencies to be remedied and

¹ These statistics include offences such as assault, threatening behaviour, molestation, defamation, vandalism, graffiti, incitement to racial hatred, and unlawful discrimination.

key areas for further work. One key area is that of communicating a common foundation of values to the young at an early age. The Government sees schools as a central player in communicating to children and young people a set of shared democratic values which emphasise the intrinsic worth of every human being. The most important instruments available to the Government are the Schools Act and the school curriculum. The Schools Act (1985) requires that the work of schools be informed by the values mentioned above, and since 1998 schools have been required to actively discourage all forms of abusive treatment and racist behaviour (Regeringens skrivelse 2000/01:59).

The curriculum laid down for the compulsory school system specifically stresses the importance of fundamental values, understanding, and human fellow-feeling (SKOLFS: 1994:1). The school has a duty to actively foster values such as the inviolability of human life, the freedom and integrity of the individual, and the equal worth of all human beings. School is identified as the link which transmits the values on which democratic society is founded from one generation to the next.

Given that school is identified as a central player in the communication of democratic values to young people, it may be of interest to try to discover what attitudes school students actually hold.

Background

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The issues addressed in the present work have been touched on in earlier studies. One of the most recent and extensive Swedish studies in the area is that commissioned from the University of Göteborg by the Swedish National Agency for Education (Osbeck, Holm and Wernersson, 2003). This is a survey of forms of abusive behaviour such as racism, ethnic discrimination, sexual harassment, homophobia and gender-related bullying at school. It consists of one large study and four smaller ones. The large study took the form of a national questionnaire survey which was answered by a total of 3,386 students.² The survey covered students in years five and eight of compulsory school and year two of upper secondary school³.

The study showed that students from foreign backgrounds are more subject to abuse than others. One out of four students from a foreign background reports suffering abuse. But they also, as a group, act antisocially towards others more often than do other students. In terms of age, students in year eight seem to exhibit more intolerance towards students from foreign backgrounds. The study also shows that students from foreign backgrounds suffer a degree of discrimination from teachers at school.

According to the findings of the study, ten percent of students are subjected to abusive behaviour on grounds related to homosexuality. It is mostly boys that suffer this type of abuse, and it is most common in year eight of compulsory school. The majority of the abusive behaviour perpetrated on grounds related to homosexuality consists of verbal abuse and a minority of acts such as threats and being socially excluded.

The study shows that racist/xenophobic signals are sometimes seen at schools, mainly in the form of graffiti. Around one third of all students report having seen graffiti of this type at school. The distribution of racist publications, contact with “white power” music, and the wearing by students of Nazi symbols also occurs, though less frequently.

In 2001 the Swedish National Institute for Working Life conducted a nation-wide questionnaire survey of students attending the first year of upper secondary school (Menckel and Witkowska, 2002). Around 1,000 students responded. The study indicates that more girls than boys see ethnic and sexual harassment and racial conflicts as problems

² At 148 schools in 86 municipalities.

³ The term ‘upper secondary school’ is employed throughout the text to refer to the Swedish ‘gymnasie’ school. This corresponds to what is known in the UK as ‘further education’, and comprises the phase lying between on the one hand the compulsory education system, and on the other, institutions of higher education such as universities and their equivalents.

at school. Fifty-two percent of girls and 42 percent of boys rate ethnic harassment as a problem at their school. Fifty-one percent of girls and 44 percent of boys see racial conflicts as a problem, and 29 percent of both girls and boys think that bullying of gays/lesbians is a problem at school. There are no major differences in the ranking of these problems between students taking different study programmes or between localities. Bullying is regarded as the biggest problem overall, followed by sexual harassment, ethnic harassment, and gay/lesbian bullying. However, there is a difference between students attending small schools and those at large schools (with enrolments of over 1,200). Overall, students at large schools seem to feel that all categories of abusive behaviour are a bigger problem than do those at small schools.

Since 1998 the Swedish Institute of Public Health has conducted regular questionnaire surveys of public attitudes to homosexuality. The samples consist of approximately 3,700 individuals aged 16–79 years. The most recent survey showed that between one in three and one in four people are more or less negatively disposed to homosexuals. Older men, those with low levels of educational attainment, and people living outside the cities are those most likely to have a negative attitude (Österman, 2002).

Swedish research has dealt with racism as part of a larger context. In 1997 a report focusing more specifically on racism was published by the then Centre for Immigration Research (CEIFO) at the University of Stockholm together with the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ) (Lange et al., 1997). The study consisted of a questionnaire survey of students in years six, eight and nine of compulsory school and years two and three of upper secondary school. A total of 7,927 completed questionnaires were returned from 120 schools in 60 localities. Amongst other things, the study investigated exposure to ethnically and politically related threats, the dissemination of racist and anti-racist propaganda, and attitudes to democracy among school students.

The study showed that almost half of students from non-European backgrounds reported having been subjected at some time to ethnically/racially or politically based insults, compared with eighteen percent of those from a Swedish background. Seventeen percent of students from non-European backgrounds had at some time felt threatened because of their origins, compared with five percent of Swedish students. Six percent of students from non-European backgrounds had suffered violence which they associated with their origins, as compared with two percent of those from a Swedish background. Students from immigrant backgrounds were also over-represented among those who had at some time felt ill-treated because of their origins, specifically by their teachers. In contrast to this exposure, the study showed that students from non-European

backgrounds presented the highest average scores on an index based on a number of items exploring attitudes towards Jews and homosexuals.

The study noted that students had been exposed to various forms of racist material: eight percent had read at least one racist publication, seventeen percent had come in contact with at least one racist organisation, and twelve percent had listened at least once to “white power” music. The study also explored students’ exposure to anti-racist material and organisations of a more or less militant character. Over ten percent of them had read at least one anti-racist publication and over 40 percent had come into contact with at least one anti-racist organisation.

The study included only one item addressing attitudes towards homosexuals. Eleven percent of the students agreed completely with the statement “I think the fact that so many homosexual men get HIV and AIDS is nature’s punishment for a perverse lifestyle,” and twelve percent partly agreed.

The study further attempted to measure students’ knowledge about the Holocaust, and a substantial majority (80 percent) were found to be completely or fairly certain that the Holocaust occurred.

In the context of the international research conducted in this area, a number of studies are worth noting. One of these has been published in a two-part report compiled in 2004 by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), an EU body. Both parts of the report focus on antisemitism among the European population. The main study is based on official and unofficial statistics collected by member countries at their National Focal Points, which constitute part of the European Information Network on Racism and Xenophobia (RAXEN). The main finding of the study is that member countries are largely lacking statistics on crimes motivated by antisemitism and that it is difficult to draw concrete conclusions. Bearing this in mind, the study does however note that antisemitism is clearly more manifest in Belgium, Germany, France, the Netherlands and the UK than in other member countries. Opinion polls conducted in France have shown that a relatively high percentage of young people in particular do not tolerate antisemitism. There are also some member countries which report very little or no violent antisemitic crime, but these are countries which do not collect systematic statistics of antisemitic incidents or crimes based on antisemitic motives. According to the EUMC, there are indications that in several of this group of member countries a repellent day-to-day antisemitic discourse is widespread among the population (EUMC, 2004).

The EUMC also publishes a regular survey (the Eurobarometer), which in 2000 studied the attitudes of the EU population to minority groups. Some 16,000 individuals were interviewed and all member countries participated. Attitudes to minorities have grown more

positive since an earlier study in 1997. The actively tolerant outnumber the actively intolerant in thirteen member countries. The study shows that the majority of EU citizens are positive towards a multicultural society and that many believe that minorities “enrich the cultural life” of the country in which the respondents live. A substantial majority are strongly opposed to sending immigrants back to their country of origin. The study also showed that positive attitudes are more prevalent among those with high levels of educational attainment than among those with low levels, and among families in which at least one member is of foreign descent. However, there have been increases in the proportion of persons believing that minorities are the cause of unemployment, and of a drop in levels of social welfare and educational standards respectively. The study reveals a strong relationship between those with a negative attitude towards cultural diversity and those who fear a worsening of socioeconomic conditions (EUMC, 2001).

A large on-going research project in Germany aims to study aspects of xenophobic attitudes among the population (Zick and Heitmeyer, 2004). These researchers proceed from a concept which they refer to as group-focused enmity. By this they mean “an anti-humanist political attitude which manifests itself especially as a rejection of minorities, such as foreigners, immigrants, homosexuals, homeless people, handicapped people, etc.” This enmity applies to groups who are perceived (by some people) as displaying behaviours and lifestyle that deviate from “normality”. Group-focused enmity is defined as a syndrome of racism, xenophobia, a negative attitude towards homosexuals and certain other minority groups, male chauvinism (“sexism”), prejudice, antisemitism, and islamophobia. All these facets of group-focused enmity are seen as having in common that they label individuals belonging to certain groups as being different and inferior, thus clearing the way for acts of discrimination and exclusion.⁴

The research project involves telephone interviews with random samples of the population (approximately 3,000 each year). The interviewees are asked how strongly they agree or disagree with statements such as “Jewish people have too much influence in the world,” “I find it good that more Jews are living in Germany again,” “Immigration to Germany should be forbidden for Muslims,” “I am distrustful of people of Muslim religion,” “Muslims who promote their religion in Germany should be deported,” etc.

The results show among other things that the percentage of people who agree with negative statements about Muslims tends to be rather

⁴ “Inequality, in the sense of unequal worth, is the core of each facet of group-focused enmity” (Zick and Heitmeyer, 2004, p. 4). See also Perry (2001), who discusses similar issues from a North American perspective.

higher on average than the percentage who agree with negative statements about Jews. Negative attitudes are found to be commonest among men and among the less well-educated. The results also indicate covariation among intolerant attitudes to different groups. Those who are negative towards Jews, for example, are often negative towards Muslims and other minorities as well.

DEFINITIONS

The present study addresses a number of complex concepts: xenophobia, racism, islamophobia, homophobia and antisemitism. While international organisations such as the UN and the Council of Europe seek to discourage these kinds of phenomena, they deliberately draft their treaties and conventions without definitions. Their starting point is to guarantee human rights and freedoms for all without regard to “race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status”⁵.

The Swedish Integration Board provides some background to these concepts and offers definitions of them based on extensive references to the relevant literature. The Board’s definitions of these concepts, as they appear on the website (Sverige mot rasism / Sweden against racism), are summarised below. (In 2005, the knowledge database “Sverige mot rasism” was transferred to, and is now administered by the Centre against Racism, translator’s note.)

The Board writes that *racism* is a much-debated concept, but a common view among researchers is that racism can be described as a set of theories, world-views, movements, processes, social systems and acts based on the belief or doctrine that:

1. The human race can be divided into different races or ethnic groups;
2. The racial or ethnic group-membership of an individual, group or society constitutes its essence;
3. These essences determine and explain differences in characteristics, abilities, talents, aptitudes etc. between different races, ethnic groups or individuals;
4. It is possible on the basis of these essences to identify “superior” and “inferior” ethnic groups, races and individuals, and to rank human beings on a scale from higher to lower;

⁵ This phrase is found in central international conventions such as the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950), the European Social Charter (1961), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965), the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), and the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966). There are slight variations of phrasing in some cases.

5. People may be treated accordingly on the grounds of these essences.

These criteria define the ideological plane of racism, which is necessary to legitimise actions and social processes. Originally racism was defined only as an ideology or doctrine, but since the 1960s it has acquired a broader meaning. Society found that it was no longer possible to separate this ideology from actions such as racial discrimination or racist violence. Nor could the ideology be separated from racial prejudices or stereotypes deriving from the same world-view as that on which the ideology was founded. Racism as a concept is today viewed more in terms of a process or a social system (see further e.g. Skovdahl, 1996).

The Integration Board notes that the concept of *xenophobia* borders on *racism* at certain points. The term *xenophobia* is most often used to distinguish generally negative attitudes towards immigrants to Sweden from racist attitudes of the eugenic type. Eugenism is the doctrine of biological racism which posits that there are relevant genetic differences which legitimise the ranking of human beings into superior and inferior types or races. *Xenophobia* (from Greek *xenos* 'foreign') is predicated on a definition of immigrants from certain parts of the world as "foreign". It thus embodies the same "us" versus "them" mentality as does racism.

Antisemitism is described by the Integration Board as a term which has come to mean "hatred of the Jews". "The word antisemitism comes from the Greek *anti*, meaning against, and *Semite*, which in this particular connection refers to the Jews. So a person who is antisemitic is hostile to the Jews and Jewry."

Homophobia is defined by the Integration board as "negative feelings, attitudes and behaviour towards homosexuals". Some people feel distaste for homosexuals and react to them with emotions such as guilt, shame, discomfort and fear. Others respond with more hostile emotions such as anger, disapproval, contempt and disgust. *Homophobia* can also take the form of negative attitudes, discrimination, disparaging remarks and jokes about homosexuals. Another manifestation of *homophobia* is the hatred that can sometimes generate threats of violence, unprovoked assault and murder — so-called hate crimes. The term *homophobia* was coined in 1967 in the sense of a fear of being around homosexuals. Notwithstanding the suffix *phobia*, the word does not denote a psychiatric symptom.

The Integration Board describes *islamophobia* as a term referring to "a fear of the religion of Islam and of its adherents, the Muslims". Here again the suffix *phobia* does not denote a psychiatric symptom. The concept of *islamophobia* is not limited to feelings of fear: many Muslims perceive that propaganda is directed against Islam and its followers. *Islamophobia* may therefore be succinctly defined as a fear

of Islam and Muslims which activates an anti-Islamic reaction towards Muslims. The term islamophobia was coined in 1997, when the British Home Secretary presented the report “Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All”. It won further official acceptance in January 2001, when the Stockholm International Forum on Combating Intolerance recognised islamophobia as a manifestation of intolerance comparable with racism, antisemitism and xenophobia.

Similar or identical definitions of several of these terms can be found in the Swedish encyclopaedia *Nationalencyklopedin*.⁶ This work defines racism as “in the strict (European) sense, an ideology based on the combination of the following five assumptions: (1) the opinion that it is reasonable to divide the human species into a number of distinct races on the basis of phenotypic differences (external characteristics); (2) the assumption that there is a connection between such phenotypic differences on the one hand and, on the other, inherited mental and intellectual aptitudes, behavioural patterns, temperaments and moral character; (3) the assumption that these inherited characteristics are shared by all members of a race; (4) the conviction that races can be classified in a hierarchy according to the quality of their inherited characteristics; (5) the conception that this hierarchical classification justifies members of supposedly superior races in dominating, exploiting and even exterminating members of supposedly inferior races. While the first assumption is debated, the second and third are scientifically incorrect and the fourth and fifth ethically and politically reprehensible” (Nationalencyklopedin, 1994, p. 431, our translation).

Here too a parallel is drawn with xenophobia: “Opinions and actions which do not meet all the criteria of the above definition may with some justification be termed racism when they reflect a general antipathy towards members of groups defined by physical, cultural or behavioural traits, without regard to those members’ individual characteristics. Often, however, such attitudes are more exactly described by the term *xenophobia*.”

Nationalencyklopedin offers the following definition of antisemitism: “(from Greek *anti* ‘against’ and Semite in the sense ‘Jew’), a term coined in 1879 by the German agitator Wilhelm Marr to describe the anti-Jewish campaigns of that time. The word soon came to denote hostility to Jews and Jewry in general” (Nationalencyklopedin, 1989, p. 435, our translation).

The same encyclopaedia’s definition of homophobia is as follows: “(from *homosexuality* and *phobia*), a personal, irrational fear of homosexuality, homosexuals, or one’s own homosexual impulses.

⁶ The print version of the *Nationalencyklopedin* (published between 1989-1996) did not include a definition of islamophobia.

Society's fear and intolerance of homosexuality may also be called homophobia" (Nationalencyklopedin, 1992, p. 91, our translation).

Zick and Heitmeyer (2004, p. 4f.) define antisemitism as "discrimination against people of Jewish origin", which they argue comprises three components explained as follows: "1. The willingness to practise discrimination involved in general antisemitism is fed by stereotypes and unfamiliarity with the Jewish way of life (general antisemitism). 2. Secondary antisemitism involves the charge that Jews today exploit the Holocaust and attempt to gain advantage from crimes committed against the Jewish people. 3. The emotional component is based on feelings of shame and guilt." They define islamophobia as "a general attitude of condemnation toward Muslims and all religious signs, symbols and religious practices of Islam." It is stated to have three aspects: "1. A general rejection, i.e. an attitude of fearful rejection and refusal toward Muslims [in Germany]. 2. A cultural devaluation, i.e. a general negative evaluation of Islamic culture and values. 3. Distancing behavioural intentions toward Muslims."

AIMS AND ISSUES ADDRESSED

The main aim of the present study is that of providing a picture of young people's attitudes on issues relating to islamophobia, antisemitism, homophobia and xenophobia. It also examines young people's exposure to and participation in various forms of criminal and antisocial behaviour connected with ethnic origin, religious affiliation or homosexual orientation. The terms criminality and antisocial behaviour refer to a broad spectrum of abusive behaviours ranging from assault and vandalism to harassment and discrimination. The study further estimates the extent of the dissemination of certain types of extremist antidemocratic propaganda. Some attempt has been made in the design of the study to facilitate comparisons with an earlier joint study by CEIFO and BRÅ (Lange et al., 1997).

The study addresses the following issues:

- the attitudes of young people to certain minority groups and to immigrants in general;
- the extent of young people's self-reported exposure to certain types of abusive behaviour on the basis of their origin, religious affiliation, or perceived homosexual orientation;
- the extent of young people's self-reported participation in certain forms of abusive behaviour on the basis of origin, religion, or homosexuality;

- whether there exist any correlations between intolerance on the one hand and socioeconomic and social background factors on the other.

Method

The basis for the choice of method was that the study was to provide an account of Swedish school students' attitudes, and of their exposure to and participation in general intolerance, antisemitism, homophobia and islamophobia. The choice of method was also influenced by the desire to facilitate certain comparisons with an earlier study by CEIFO and BRÅ (Lange et al., 1997). While the present work does not constitute a replication of that study, the questionnaire is based in part on that used by Lange et al., and the method chosen is the same. For the sake of comparability, some items are identical with those in the 1997 study, however the majority of the items have been redrafted and a number of new ones added in order to broaden the analysis.

This study is thus a self-report study based on classroom questionnaires administered to school students in years eight and nine of compulsory school and years one, two and three of upper secondary school.

The above-mentioned study by CEIFO and BRÅ included year six of compulsory school but, unlike the present work, omitted upper secondary year one. Comparability between the studies is therefore limited.

The survey was conducted in December 2003. Each selected class received a set of questionnaires to be completed by the students during school hours. The instructions to the teachers stated that participation was voluntary and that students were to be informed of this. The questionnaires for the year eight classes were accompanied by information sheets to be distributed ahead of time to the students' parents.

The questionnaires were completed anonymously, and students were given individual reply envelopes which they sealed themselves. Teachers were asked to give absent students the opportunity to complete the questionnaire on another occasion. Most of these replies were received in January, after the Christmas break.

OPERATIONALISATIONS

The concepts discussed above have emerged in a variety of ways, and definitions of the same term can vary somewhat. A common theme, however, is that they are concerned with negative attitudes towards and intolerance of minorities or categories of people. A starting point for the attempt to measure these phenomena was sought in the forms in which group-focused intolerance is expressed: these expressions do in fact seem to share many similarities. They include mistrust and suspicion (in some cases possibly connected with fear) of a category of persons as a group, strong disapproval and rejection, and a readiness

to commit or support actions which are discriminatory towards individuals belonging to the group or category in question.

The questionnaire includes a fairly large number of items relating to attitudes towards various minorities in Sweden. Many of them are framed as statements which respondents are asked to rate in terms of how strongly they agree or disagree with them. A number of attitude scales have been constructed from the responses. The scales are of the Likert type, a commonly used method of constructing measures of individuals' beliefs, attitudes, feelings and opinions about various phenomena (Nachmias-Frankfort and Nachmias, 1996). According to these authors, attitudes are "general orientations that can incline a person to act or react in a certain manner when confronted with certain stimuli". Individuals express their attitudes in speech or behaviour when they perceive the object of the attitude. A person may have a strong attitude for or against some phenomenon, and the attitude is aroused and expressed when the person comes into contact with the topic in some way or is confronted with it in the form of a question, such as in a questionnaire. Many attitudes have multiple aspects and dimensions. By asking a large number of questions about a topic one can gauge the strength of (and capture) a general attitude with a greater degree of certainty than by asking only a single question.

Attitudes are often regarded as beliefs or convictions that remain more or less consistent over time, although this does not mean that they cannot undergo change. It is not unusual in the psychological literature to divide attitudes into components: a cognitive component (consciously held opinions and beliefs); an affective component (the emotional tone); an evaluative component (positive or negative to the object); and a conative component (a disposition to act). Opinions differ as to which of these components should be given more or less weight (Reber, 1985, p. 65; see also e.g. Johnson and Lahdenperä, 1984). The latter note that many authors believe that the attitudes known as prejudices also have several components: an affective, a cognitive and a behavioural component. Stereotypes about certain groups (simplified, generalised pictures) belong to the cognitive component of prejudice, whereas irrational antipathy — like exaggerated sympathy — belongs to the affective component. The conative component of a prejudice manifests itself in the readiness to take discriminatory actions.⁷

The bulk of the items in the questionnaire are of the closed "tick the box" type. It is inherent to the theme of this study that the questionnaire includes a number of statements and questions that may be perceived as provocative. This is necessary in order to elicit the

⁷ "However, it is not clear how these constructed components are interrelated and influence each other" (Johnson and Lahdenperä, 1984, p. 5).

kind of responses and opinions that reflect attitudes. However, it must be emphasised that a large proportion of the statements are framed in terms that are sympathetic to the minorities in question — in part in order to avoid an accumulation of negatively loaded statements about certain groups.

The manner in which the attitude scales (indices) were constructed may be exemplified by describing the construction of an attitude scale towards Muslims. The items are intended to estimate the degree of intolerance towards this group. Respondents are given the opportunity to express the extent to which they distrust Muslims, the extent to which they don't want Muslims in their immediate vicinity, and the extent to which they feel there are too many Muslims in Sweden, and that Muslims in Sweden should have the right to practise their religion and the right to vote.

The first three statements read: "Most Muslims are no doubt decent people," "It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible Muslim," and "Muslims in Sweden should have the right to build mosques (places of worship)." The ranking of the response categories is such that a respondent who chooses "yes, strongly agree" (the most positive response alternative) is awarded zero points in connection with this item, while a respondent who answers "no, strongly disagree" (the alternative representing the opposite extreme) scores four. The three intermediate response categories carry intermediate scores.

The three statements above, phrased in terms positive to the group, are balanced by three negatively phrased statements: "There are far too many Muslims in Sweden," "Muslims can't be trusted," and "Muslims shouldn't be allowed to vote in elections." The ranking of responses to this set of statements is reversed such that a person who totally agrees with these statements scores four, while a person who totally disagrees scores zero.

The variables relating to this set of statements present clear correlations with one another. For example, young people who agree with the statement that "Muslims should have the right to build mosques" tend to reject the statement that "Muslims shouldn't be allowed to vote," and *vice versa*. The correlations between the responses are strong enough to confirm the relevance of constructing a common measure of the attitude towards Muslims.⁸ On this basis, the response scores were added together and the sum divided by the number of statements to produce an arithmetic mean index.

⁸ The internal consistency of the scale was tested by a variety of methods. The Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient is 0.86, exceeding the generally recommended requirement of 0.70 (Bohrstedt and Knoke, 1988, p. 384). A multivariate analysis using the unweighted least squares (ULS) method shows that all the variables load on the same factor, which accounts for over half of the variance in the sample. The factor loadings fall in the range 0.70–0.80 (see e.g. Walsh, 1990). Similar results were obtained for the attitude scales relating to Jews and homosexuals.

A score of zero on this index thus means that one has consistently chosen the responses to these six statements that are most favourable to Muslims. An index score of four means one has selected the least favourable response throughout. An index score of four means the subject's responses consistently express mistrust and antipathy towards the group and a clear tendency to deny constitutional rights and freedoms to its members. It is hard to see how one could describe such an attitude as anything other than highly intolerant. It is a reasonable assumption that high scores on the index reflect strongly islamophobic tendencies.

The next two batteries of items (section E of the questionnaire) are concerned with attitudes towards Jews and homosexuals. They comprise exactly the same statements as those presented above, except for the important difference that the group in focus is changed. Since the statements are otherwise identical, comparability between the measures can be expected to be high. Attitude scales were also constructed from these statements in the manner described above.

The questionnaire contains a further battery of statements which is referred to in some sections of the results as the "alternative battery", plus a battery of five statements phrased identically⁹ to statements used in the study by Lange et al. (1997) mentioned above.¹⁰ The questionnaire also includes items which explore the extent to which respondents regard anti-immigrant attitudes or actions on the part of their peers as acceptable.

A number of attitude scales were constructed on the basis of statements selected from these batteries. One scale relates to "xenophobia". It should be noted that xenophobia here primarily refers to attitudes to immigration and immigrants, as this constitutes the referent of most of the statements underlying the scale.¹¹ There is also a scale dealing with attitudes towards rather palpable forms of "anti-immigrantism" such as writing xenophobic graffiti or picking a fight with an immigrant. In addition, alternative scales are constructed for attitudes to Jews, Muslims and homosexuals. Appendix 3 (Table C 2) gives an overview of the specific items on which each scale is based.¹²

⁹ The items are the same, but comparability is subject to some caution due to certain changes in layout and form.

¹⁰ In the earlier study an index, referred to there as the "racism index", was constructed from the answers to these items (excluding the item "Immigrants to Sweden from countries outside Europe should go back to their home countries").

¹¹ This scale might be more correctly regarded as measuring "anti-immigrantism", but to avoid confusion it will be referred to as the xenophobia scale.

¹² The Appendix also presents reliability coefficients for each scale (see e.g. Bohrnstedt and Knoke, 1988).

The questionnaire also includes a number of additional items that provide indications of racist and xenophobic preferences. These are described in the relevant sections of the results presentation.

Scales were constructed for a variety of social and psychosocial factors in a similar way to that described above. For an overview of the particular items underlying these scales reference should be made to Table C 1 in Appendix 3.

With regard to the items about exposure to and participation in various types of antisocial behaviour related to background, it is important to note that the items were designed to measure incidents which, according to the student's own interpretation and judgement, occurred because of the origin, religion, or perceived homosexuality of the student/victim.¹³

SAMPLING PROCEDURE

In order for the study to yield a picture representative of the entire country, the study is based on a random sample of the total population of students in the school years selected. The sampling unit for compulsory school students was the *school* and for upper secondary students the *school-based programme of study*. The sample was adjusted to include as nearly as possible the same proportions of compulsory school students and upper secondary students as are found in the population.

An initial sampling frame was obtained from Statistics Sweden (SCB). It comprised 709 upper secondary schools and 8,613 school-based programmes, with 321,370 upper secondary students; and 1,648 compulsory schools with 235,535 compulsory school students.¹⁴

For upper secondary schools a one-stage cluster sampling procedure was employed for each upper secondary school programme. The sample comprised 200 school-based programmes, 67 from year one, 67 from year two and 66 from year three. The selected schools were then contacted to ascertain class codes and student enrolments in the relevant programmes for the autumn semester of 2003. Eleven school-based programmes in the selected years were dropped because they were not offered during this particular semester. In seven of these cases the school too was dropped from the study because it was only represented in the sample by that programme/year. The final sample for the upper secondary school consisted of 189 programmes, 142 schools, 388 classes and 7,415 students.

¹³ In the case of exposure to such incidents, this involves the student perceiving others to have perceived him/her as homosexual. (This item was presented to upper secondary students only.)

¹⁴ All figures refer to the autumn semester of 2002.

From the population of 1,648 compulsory schools a cluster sample of 90 schools was extracted. These schools were contacted for details of class codes and sizes. A list of the classes was compiled and sorted alphabetically by school name (primary key) and class code. The final stage involved a systematic sampling of classes by selecting every second class from this list. The final sample for the compulsory school students comprised 89 schools, 284 classes and 6,483 students.¹⁵

The total final sample surveyed comprised 231 schools, 672 classes and 13,898 students. Of this final sample, 93 percent of the schools and 90 percent of the classes agreed to take part in the study. The individual response rate was 76.2 percent.¹⁶ The total external non-response rate at the individual level was thus 23.8 percent. Of all the questionnaires that were returned, 96.8 percent were encoded (see Table B 1, Appendix 1).¹⁷ The non-response analysis reveals that the response rate is lower in cities than in other types of school district¹⁸, and that non-response is more marked at the upper secondary level.¹⁹ The third year of upper secondary school and vocationally oriented programmes also show lower response rates, which may be largely explained by students in this year and these programmes having less classroom teaching and more work experience other students.

The differing non-response rates of compulsory school and upper secondary students result in an over-representation of compulsory school students in the responding sample. The impact of this selection effect on analyses of the total responding sample may be regarded as small. In the case of attitudes on questions of antisemitism and homophobia, a relationship exists inasmuch as intolerance declines somewhat with increasing age, implying an overestimate of the prevalence of intolerance in the population. The relationships are weak, however, and the impact may therefore be considered very slight.

Individual non-response to classroom questionnaires is primarily a result of three main factors: illness, truancy, and non-response due to the class being divided into small groups or doing work experience. Non-response due to illness may in principle be considered random, i.e. it does not affect the results. In the case of truancy, however, there

¹⁵ The numbers of classes and class sizes were corrected according to information provided by the schools.

¹⁶ This is the response rate if all students at schools and in the classes which chose not to participate are counted as non-response. The individual response rate in the participating classes is 82 percent.

¹⁷ All the returned forms were reviewed before encoding and 3.2 percent discarded as incomplete or obviously frivolous.

¹⁸ The term 'school district' is employed throughout the report in place of the Swedish 'kommuntyp' which constitutes a division of local authority areas formulated by the Swedish Association of Local Authorities (*Svenska Kommunförbundet*), on the basis of their levels of urbanisation, population density, and industrialisation etc.

¹⁹ See Appendix 1.

is reason to believe that intolerance towards minorities among the truant group exceeds the average for students in general. This is indicated in particular by the results reported in the section *Psychosocial factors in relation to intolerance* (see below). Non-response due to truancy thus generates an under-representation of intolerant students in the total responding sample. However, this selection effect should not be overestimated.²⁰

In the case of non-response due to classes being divided into groups, with the result that not all students participated in completing the questionnaire, there is an over-representation of students in the upper secondary vocational programmes. These same programmes included classes which missed the questionnaire because the students were away on work experience. The analyses show that this component of the non-response would have produced a similar selection effect to truancy. Students in the vocational programmes tend to be more intolerant than the average student.

The fact that there is some level of selection within the sample as a result of truancy and higher levels of non-response in the vocational programmes may thus be assumed to have resulted in an underestimate of the prevalence of intolerance. With regard to correlational analyses, the majority of which focus on the relationships between the degree of intolerance and social background or psychosocial factors, the effect is generally to weaken these relationships somewhat.

The majority of variables are subject to some level of internal non-response, but this is generally quite low. One background variable for which the non-response should be noted however is the classification based on parental occupation, for which the internal non-response frequency was seven percent. An analysis suggests that parents in blue-collar occupations are over-represented in this non-response. In many cases the non-response arose from students merely stating their parents' place of work. A review of these workplaces suggests an over-representation of blue-collar parents. There will thus be some underestimation of the percentages and numbers of students from blue-collar backgrounds in analyses involving this variable.

THE RESPONDING SAMPLE

This section presents a general description of the composition of the responding sample. For details the reader is referred to the tables in Appendix 1. The responding sample is composed of 51 percent upper secondary school students and 49 percent compulsory school students. Around 50 percent are girls and 50 percent boys. The

²⁰ In studies of similar types it has been found that illegitimate absenteeism accounts for but a small proportion (in the order of 10 percent) of absent students (Andersson, Hibell and Sandberg, 2000).

average age overall is sixteen years. Fifty-one percent of the upper secondary students were attending academically oriented programmes, 35 percent vocational programmes, ten percent combined academic and vocational programmes, and four percent the individual programme. The latter two categories are dominated by boys.

The responses to the questions about parental occupation were encoded using the SEI code (age, sex, socioeconomic group) as defined by Statistics Sweden (SCB). The SEI codes were then classified into eight categories: unskilled blue-collar, skilled blue-collar, low-level white-collar, mid-level white-collar, high-level white-collar, self-employed professional, business owner, farmer. Children of blue-collar workers are overrepresented in vocational programmes and underrepresented in academically oriented programmes. Four percent of students stated that their mother was unemployed and three percent that their father was unemployed. Seventy-one percent reported that they lived with both parents and twenty-nine percent that they did not.

Students were also asked about their subjectively assessed religious affiliation. The bulk of the responding sample consists of students who reported that they were Christian (51 percent) or had no religious affiliation²¹ (43 percent). For the sake of simplicity, the students who did not state a religious affiliation will be referred to hereafter as “non-religious”. Slightly less than six percent of the students stated that they were Muslims and slightly under one percent had other religious affiliations.

Further background questions focused on the respondents’ origins. The questionnaire asks for the student’s country of birth and that of his/her parents. In this study two terms are employed referring to students’ origins: *national background* and *region of origin*. In classifying the students’ backgrounds, the study has attempted to conform to the principles employed by Lange et al. (1997). The Lange et al. study divided respondents into students from exclusively Swedish background and students from foreign backgrounds. In place of this dichotomous classification the current study employs a trichotomy. Students who are Swedish-born and whose parents are also Swedish-born are defined as being from a “completely Swedish” background. It should be noted that the term “completely Swedish” is used in the strictly technical sense of the student and his/her parents all being Swedish-born. Foreign-born students with foreign-born parents are defined as being from a “foreign” background. Students reporting that at least one but not all of the persons inquired about (student, father, mother) were foreign-born are defined as being from

²¹ The available response categories were: Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Hindu, Buddhist and “None of the above”.

a “partly foreign” background. Of those students who reported the country of birth of all the persons inquired about, around 76 percent are from a “completely Swedish” background, seventeen percent from a “partly foreign” background, and seven percent from a “foreign background”.

Respondents were also encoded according to a detailed geographical classification, after which they were categorised more coarsely into four *regions of origin*. In the present study, as in Lange et al. (1997), these regions are (1) Sweden, (2) Northern Europe, Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and certain western countries (USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand), (3) Southern Europe, (4) non-European (excluding “certain western countries” as above).²² The term “region of origin” denotes the region of the world from which students and their parents come, except in the case of students from “completely Swedish” backgrounds, whose region of origin is Sweden. About nine percent of respondents are from the region Northern/Eastern/Western Europe plus certain western countries, four percent are from Southern Europe, and eleven percent are of non-European origin (excluding certain western countries).²³ The breakdown of respondents to the 1997 survey was approximately similar.

²² In cases where e.g. parents were born in different regions of origin, the respondent was assigned to the region having the higher numerical value in a predetermined list (see the text). This principle, based to some degree on a combination of sociocultural and geographical distance from Sweden, was chosen to facilitate consistency in the encoding procedure.

²³ These figures exclude students who reported that they themselves or their parents were foreign-born but who did not specify the country.

Results

The presentation of results is structured such that young people's attitudes towards Muslims, Jews and homosexuals, respectively are presented first. The chapter on attitudes concludes with a more detailed examination of tendencies towards generalised intolerance and various aspects of xenophobia among school students. A separate chapter is devoted to their knowledge of the Holocaust. The presentation also includes an examination of the dissemination of certain types of racist and extreme nationalist propaganda. It then moves on to the issue of students' exposure to and participation in various forms of antisocial behaviour that is linked inter alia to their origins. The presentation of results concludes with an analysis focusing on the relationship between intolerant attitudes and on the one hand certain social and psychosocial factors and on the other participation in antisocial behaviour.

The results are reported in the text in some detail. Further particulars can be found in the appendices to this volume.

ISLAMOPHOBIC TENDENCIES

The concept of islamophobia is a relatively new one which was only beginning to gain acceptance at the time of the previous study (Lange et al., 1997). Hence it was not discussed in that report.²⁴

To measure the students' degree of intolerance towards Muslims they were presented with a list of statements to respond to. The following statements formed one battery of items:

Most Muslims are no doubt decent people...
It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible Muslim...
Muslims in Sweden should have the right to build mosques (places of worship)...
There are far too many Muslims in Sweden...
Muslims can't be trusted...
Muslims shouldn't be allowed to vote in elections...

The response categories were: "no, strongly disagree," "disagree somewhat," "uncertain/don't know," "agree somewhat," and "yes, strongly agree." (The responses are reported in detail in Appendix 1.)

Most students have no objection to living next door to a responsible person of Islamic faith. Eighty-six percent strongly agree or agree somewhat with the statement "It would be completely OK to

²⁴ With the exception of one item which touched on the topic: "We are now going to present a list of statements representing opinions that people can hold. We ask you to indicate whether you agree or disagree with these opinions," followed by the statement "Muslims have the right to build mosques in Sweden."

live next door to a responsible Muslim”. Somewhat fewer, 68 percent, are of the opinion that most Muslims are no doubt decent people. A somewhat smaller proportion think that Muslims are trustworthy, but there is still a clear majority, 62 percent, who strongly disagree or disagree somewhat with the statement “Muslims can’t be trusted”.

The proportion of students with a negative attitude towards the building of mosques is around 23 percent. These students disagree strongly or somewhat with the statement “Muslims in Sweden should have the right to build mosques (places of worship)”.

The item in this battery about which students display the most doubt is the statement “There are far too many Muslims in Sweden,” to which 31 percent reply that they are uncertain/don’t know. Twenty-nine percent strongly disagree with the statement and over fifteen percent disagree somewhat. The proportion that agree strongly or somewhat lies at 25 percent.

The item about denying voting rights to Muslims was answered in the negative by most students. Three out of four disagree strongly or somewhat with the statement “Muslims shouldn’t be allowed to vote in elections”.

From time to time in recent years the media have repeated claims about welfare dependence and criminality among Muslims. In one notable case a woman was refused a job as a television anchor because she wore a headscarf, and a widespread debate in Europe about girls wearing headscarves at school has been echoed somewhat in Sweden. It was therefore deemed to be of interest to investigate students’ attitudes to these issues. Items addressing these questions were included in the so-called alternative battery of questions. As has been noted, these items were made deliberately provocative in order to elicit the kind of responses and opinions that reflect an attitude. The students were asked whether they agreed with the following three statements:

Most Muslim immigrants are probably law-abiding people.
A television anchor should be allowed to wear a headscarf.
Most Muslims only want to live on welfare.

The answer categories were “no, absolutely not,” “no, hardly,” “uncertain,” “yes, perhaps,” and “yes, absolutely.”

The results show that nearly 60 percent of students agree more or less with the statement “Most Muslim immigrants are probably law-abiding people.” One out of four is uncertain. Seventeen percent hardly agree or absolutely disagree.

On the statement “A television anchor should be allowed to wear a headscarf” opinion is divided: 28 percent are absolutely positive, fifteen percent somewhat positive, twelve percent somewhat negative

and 24 percent absolutely negative. One out of five (21 percent) is unsure.

There is also some difference of opinion over the statement “Most Muslims only want to live on welfare.” One out of three (33 percent) reply that they are uncertain. Over four out of ten (41 percent) reject the statement more or less strongly, while one out of four (26 percent) agree with it to some extent.

OVERALL MEASURE OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS MUSLIMS

Figure B 1 in Appendix 2 shows the distribution of responses on the attitude scale towards Muslims. The markedly skewed distribution shows that most students score in the lower half of the scale, i.e. the “positive” half, as reflected by the fact that the average index score is close to unity (1.12). As has been noted, this corresponds approximately to the score of a respondent who consistently chooses the second most sympathetic response category. The group with index scores of three and four, i.e. showing a clearly unfavourable attitude, amounts to less than five percent of the students. This finding shows that in statistical terms, at least, it is unusual to express such a negative attitude.

If the definition of “intolerant” is broadened to include respondents with scores above 2.5, meaning that they express an attitude that is at least fairly consistently negative, the “intolerant” group comprises 7.7 percent of students (Table 1). The table divides the students into four groups. The “very tolerant” group consists of those who selected the most favourable response choice to each one of the six items on which the scale is based. The “tolerant” group is defined as those scoring around 1 on the scale and the “uncertain” group as those clustered around a score of 2. As has been noted, the “very tolerant” and “tolerant” groups together constitute a clear majority, around two-thirds, of the students. The table also shows how categories of students defined by a number of sociodemographic factors are distributed across the tolerance groups. Tables B 32 and B 33 in Appendix 1 report results for boys and girls separately.

As has already been noted, the average score on the index designed to measure intolerance towards Muslims is 1.12. Since the study is based on a random sample, the implication is that the average student in Sweden (in the aggregate of the school-grade cohorts surveyed) holds an attitude towards Muslims that is slightly higher than the above-mentioned norm, i.e. they agree somewhat that Muslims should have the right to build mosques, and they disagree somewhat with the statement that Muslims can’t be trusted, etc.

Slightly over one quarter (26 percent) of the students in the cohorts studied fall into the category whose attitude is described as “uncertain” (index range 1.5–2.5). The “very tolerant” group (index score = 0), i.e. those who responded “no, strongly disagree” to all the

negative statements and “yes, strongly agree” to all the positive statements, is smaller, amounting to one in seven (14 percent) of the country’s students (in the aggregate of the cohorts studied).

The group described as “intolerant” (index score > 2.5) is fairly small. In principle, students in this category returned an intolerant response to over half the items, responding for example “agree somewhat” or “yes, strongly agree” to the statement “Muslims can’t be trusted,” or “no, disagree strongly” or “disagree somewhat” to the statement “Most Muslims are no doubt decent people,” and so on. This group constitutes less than eight percent, or about one in twelve, of all students, or in the order of 8,000 students per school-grade cohort in Sweden.

In general, boys are more intolerant than girls in their attitudes towards Muslims. The average intolerance index score for boys is 1.27 and for girls 0.96. This means among other things that a smaller percentage of girls are uncertain or intolerant. Twenty-eight percent of girls fall into one or other of these categories as against 40 percent of boys.

Table 1. Attitude towards Muslims (index) by background factors

		Attitude towards Muslims					Relationship (categorised scale) C	Mean (non- categorised scale, 0–4) m	Relationship (non- categorised scale) Eta
		Very tolerant (score 0) Row %	Tolerant (0.1–1.49) Row %	Uncertain (1.5–2.5) Row %	Intolerant (>2.5) Row %	n			
Total sample		13.9	52.2	26.2	7.7	10,572		1.12	
Sex	Girls	16.3	55.9	23.0	4.8	5,326	0.15***	0.96	0.17***
	Boys	11.5	48.4	29.6	10.6	<u>5,246</u> 10,572			
School year	Compuls. school yr 8	13.3	51.6	27.2	7.8	2,523	0.06***	1.15	0.05***
	Compuls. school yr 9	13.8	50.8	27.6	7.8	2,660			
	Upper secondary year 1	12.3	52.1	27.6	8.0	2,433			
	Upper secondary year 2	15.6	53.2	23.7	7.4	1,571			
	Upper secondary year 3	16.2	54.7	22.3	6.9	<u>1,385</u> 10,572			
Sex, school type, programme	Girls, compulsory school, years 8–9	16.1	54.6	23.8	5.5	2,621	0.23***	0.99	0.25***
	Boys, compulsory school, years 8–9	11.0	47.7	31.1	10.2	2,562			
	Girls, upper sec., academic	20.8	59.3	17.4	2.6	1,526			
	Boys, upper sec., academic	17.9	56.1	20.8	5.2	1,238			
	Girls, upper sec., other	11.2	54.3	28.4	6.1	1,179			
	Boys, upper sec., other	6.7	42.9	34.4	16.0	<u>1,446</u> 10,572			
Upper secondary programme	Academic	19.5	57.9	18.9	3.7	2,764	0.28***	0.85	0.31***
	Academic/Vocational	10.9	56.6	25.5	7.1	534			
	Vocational	8.8	48.2	31.9	11.2	1,871			
	Individual	3.2	26.4	45.0	25.5	<u>220</u> 5,389			
Region	Södra Götaland	9.8	50.3	30.0	9.9	2,437	0.10***	1.27	0.10***
	Västra Götaland	16.2	51.9	24.1	7.8	1,458			
	Östra Götaland	13.9	51.3	27.2	7.6	1,600			
	Svealand	15.6	54.2	23.7	6.5	3,466			
	Norrland	14.5	51.8	27.1	6.6	<u>1,611</u> 10,572			
School district type	City/suburban	15.9	54.9	22.7	6.5	2,841	0.09***	1.01	0.10***
	Large/medium town	14.2	52.8	26.0	7.0	4,678			
	Other	11.6	48.6	30.0	9.8	<u>3,053</u> 10,572			
Socioeconomic classification (parents)	Unskilled blue-collar	10.2	46.6	32.6	10.7	1,931	0.19***	1.33	0.20***
	Skilled blue-collar	10.1	48.4	32.3	9.2	1,400			
	Low-level white-collar	10.2	53.3	29.2	7.2	1,163			
	Mid-level white-collar	16.7	55.8	21.6	5.9	2,645			
	High-level white-collar	18.7	58.1	19.4	3.8	893			
	Self-employed professional	24.8	57.2	13.1	4.9	670			
	Business owner	13.6	54.1	24.2	8.1	922			
	Farmer	11.9	53.0	26.1	9.0	<u>134</u> 9,758			
National background	Completely Swedish	12.9	50.9	27.7	8.5	7,904	0.12***	1.17	0.13***
	Partly foreign	15.2	55.8	22.7	6.3	1,788			
	Foreign	23.9	58.6	16.0	1.5	<u>712</u> 10,404			
Region of origin	Sweden	12.8	50.9	27.8	8.5	8,033	0.13***	1.17	0.14***
	Northern/Western/Eastern Europe	13.7	52.2	27.6	6.5	949			
	Southern Europe	23.5	56.3	17.2	3.0	396			
	Outside Europe	18.9	60.8	16.5	3.8	<u>1,119</u> 10,497			
Religion	Non-religious	13.0	48.0	28.8	10.2	4,369	0.19***	1.23	0.19***
	Christian	12.6	54.7	26.3	6.4	5,228			
	Muslim	33.9	61.3	4.4	0.4	563			
	Other (Jew/Buddhist/Hindu)	18.6	47.5	28.8	5.1	<u>59</u> 10,219			

***p<0.001 **p<0.01

Parental socioeconomic status (based on occupation) is related to students' intolerance towards Muslims. The occupationally based classification was effected according to a dominance principle whereby students were assigned to the same category as their higher-ranked parent on the socioeconomic scale.²⁵ (The presentation hereafter proceeds as though both parents fell into this higher-ranked category.) There is a clear tendency for students to be more intolerant the "lower" their parents' socioeconomic status. For example, students whose parents are classified as "unskilled blue-collar worker" have an average intolerance index score of 1.33, as compared with children of self-employed professionals, who average 0.76.

A comparison of students from a blue-collar background (unskilled and skilled) with those from a white-collar background (low-, mid- and high-level) reveals that the first group have an average index of 1.30, as against 1.00 for the second group. However, the difference between the percentages of "very tolerant" students (index score = 0) in the two groups is not very great — about ten percent of students from blue-collar backgrounds fall in this category and about fifteen percent of those from white-collar backgrounds. The percentage of students from blue-collar backgrounds that can be described as intolerant (index score > 2.5) is as large as the very tolerant group among these students, or ten percent. Compare this with students from white-collar backgrounds, where the intolerant group is six percent.

There is a weak tendency for the degree of intolerance towards Muslims to decline as students progress through the school system, but the changes are small and not altogether consistent. For example, first-year upper secondary students have a somewhat higher score on the intolerance index than those in year nine of compulsory school.

The strong relationship between students' intolerance towards Muslims and their socioeconomic background is a likely explanation of the differences observed when students are classified by type of school and by programme. The average index score for all compulsory school students is 1.14, while that for the older upper secondary students is 1.10. But if the upper secondary students are divided into those taking academically oriented or other programmes respectively, the picture changes. The average index score for students attending academically oriented programmes is low at 0.85, while that of students attending vocational programmes is considerably

²⁵ The principle entails, for example, that if one parent belongs to a "white-collar" category and the other to a "blue-collar" category, the "white-collar" classification is used. Business owners and farmers dominate in all constellations due to the specific working conditions applying to these occupations.

higher (1.35), above the average for compulsory school students. This pattern is common to both girls and boys.

The probable explanation is thus that social background is more strongly related to degree of intolerance than is advancing age. The non-academic upper secondary programmes (“other” programmes) include a relatively large overrepresentation of students from blue-collar backgrounds, whom we have seen present a greater than average intolerance of Muslims. The opposite is true of the academic programmes, in which students from white-collar backgrounds are overrepresented, resulting in a lower degree of intolerance. These overrepresentations do not exist in compulsory school, and hence the average intolerance there is lower than it is among the older students taking non-academic upper secondary programmes.

The more urbanised the district where students live (or more exactly, that where they go to school), the less is their degree of intolerance towards Muslims. While the differences are small, the tendency is clear. As regards different geographical regions of the country, Östra Götaland and particularly Södra Götaland score above average on the intolerance index, whereas Västra Götaland, Norrland and particularly Svealand score below average. The rather higher degree of intolerance towards minorities in Södra Götaland has been observed in previous studies (Lange et al., 1997).

Students from a completely Swedish background are on average more intolerant of Muslims than students from partly foreign or foreign backgrounds. This remains true even if Muslim students are excluded from the analysis. The difference is statistically significant. It may be noted in this context that only one-tenth of the over 700 foreign-born students of two foreign-born parents can be described as intolerant of Muslims, i.e. having an index score above 2.5.

Students who stated that they did not belong to any of the religions listed in the question about religious affiliation (“non-religious”) are on average markedly more intolerant of Muslims than those who described themselves as Christian, Jewish, Buddhist or Hindu. The “non-religious” group, who at over 40 percent constitute a very large percentage of Swedish school students (in the five school-grade cohorts surveyed), had an average intolerance index score of 1.23. This may be compared with 1.09 for Christians and 0.97 for the small group comprising “other religions”. The low score of this latter group is generated by the Jewish students. While students describing themselves as Buddhists or Hindus are on a par with the Christians and the “non-religious” respectively in their average level of intolerance towards Muslims, Jewish students present the extremely low average index score of 0.48. However, the numbers in these groups are very small: the group of Jewish students that generated the last result comprises just seventeen individuals.

ANTISEMITIC TENDENCIES

The first battery of items on antisemitic attitudes was constructed in the same way as the items relating to islamophobia. It consisted of the following statements:

Most Jews are no doubt decent people...
It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible Jew...
Jews in Sweden should have the right to build synagogues (places of worship)...
There are far too many Jews in Sweden...
Jews can't be trusted...
Jews shouldn't be allowed to vote in elections...

The response categories were: "no, strongly disagree," "disagree somewhat," "uncertain/don't know," "agree somewhat," "yes, strongly agree."

As in the case of attitudes to Muslims, somewhat more students are inclined to react positively to living next door to an individual belonging to the minority in question than to assume that most of its members are "decent people". Eighty-three percent agree more or less strongly with the statement "It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible Jew." Seventy-two percent agree strongly or somewhat with the first statement in the battery.

As regards the right of Jews to build synagogues, the proportion of negative responses is fractionally lower than it was in response to the item about Muslims' right to build mosques. Twenty-two percent of students disagree strongly or somewhat with the statement "Jews in Sweden should have the right to build synagogues (places of worship)".

About twelve percent of students strongly agree or agree somewhat with the statement "There are far too many Jews in Sweden." This is just half of the percentage that agreed with the corresponding statement about Muslims. This may be partly explained by the fact that Jews *de facto* constitute an exceedingly small fraction, about 0.2 percent, of Sweden's population.²⁶

A majority of students reject or are uncertain about the statement that Jews are not to be trusted. Forty-six percent disagreed strongly, sixteen percent disagreed somewhat, and 30 percent are uncertain or don't know. Eight percent agree strongly or somewhat with the statement. Thus 92 percent of students are critical or uncertain of the claim. This result is of some interest in view of the fact that prejudice against "the Jew" as dishonest and vengeful has figured in anti-Jewish discourse for centuries if not millennia (Bachner, 1999).

²⁶ An exact figure is not available. The Jewish Community of Stockholm estimates the number at 18,000. This includes all those who consider themselves Jews, whether they are believers or not.

Most students reject the statement that “Jews shouldn’t be allowed to vote in elections.” Over seven out of ten (72 percent) disagree more or less strongly. One may possibly note a slightly higher percentage of uncertain responses to this item (20 percent) than to the corresponding items relating to Muslims (17 percent) and homosexuals (10 percent). (For a presentation of all the responses to the above questions see Table B 18, Appendix 1.)

One of the ways to try to measure antisemitism is to make use of a prejudice. The stereotype of the “miserly, grasping Jew” has historical and cultural roots both in Sweden and elsewhere in Europe (Andersson, 2000). For this reason the following item was included in the questionnaire, which has also been used in various forms in international research on antisemitism:

There’s a lot of truth in the claim “Jews are miserly.”

Of the nine statements in the alternative battery, the above item received the greatest number of uncertain responses (46 percent). One respondent out of four absolutely disagreed, while one out of twenty absolutely agreed. The tendency to respond with uncertainty to this statement may be a result of the fact that the prejudice it expresses has become dated and unfamiliar. One might assert that such a prejudice should indeed be antiquated in a modern society. From this point of view it is notable that more than one out of ten students nonetheless seem to agree to some extent with the claim that “Jews are miserly” (the total produced by summing the categories who answered that they agreed “yes, perhaps” and “yes, absolutely”).

The two statements below replicate²⁷ items from the earlier study (Lange et al., 1997):

The Jews have too much influence in the world today.
There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews.

The response categories to these statements were “disagree,” “partly agree,” “completely agree,” and “don’t know.”

The statement “The Jews have too much influence in the world today,” which has appeared in several earlier studies of antisemitism²⁸, reflects an idea that is prominent in antisemitic discourse. Forty-four percent of students do not agree that Jews have too much influence in the world today, twelve percent partly agree and four percent agree completely. Forty percent chose the response category “don’t know.” While there is not enough information to permit a direct comparison²⁹, the previous study, reflecting conditions in 1996,

²⁷ Disregarding certain differences of layout and form.

²⁸ E.g. Zick and Heitmeyer (2004).

²⁹ The set of school-grade cohorts surveyed differed from that in the 1997 study.

reported that 26 percent replied “don’t know” to this statement. The percentage of uncertain responses is thus rather higher in the present study, while the percentage disagreeing with the statement has dropped somewhat.³⁰ One possible cause of the shift from a clear stance against the statement to a more uncertain position is that more of today’s school students are unfamiliar with this type of rhetoric and therefore react questioningly to it. Another possible reason may be that the statement is somehow associated with Israeli policies. It is possible that school students today tend to regard Jews as synonymous with Israel and influence as synonymous with power — military power in this case. Hence their uncertainty could be to some extent a sign of disapproval of Israel’s policy towards Palestine rather than of a greater inclination to believe in the notion of an “international Jewish conspiracy”, a central conviction among activists of the racist underground (Löow, 1998).

Of the responses to the statement “There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews,” 37 percent express disagreement, 22 percent partial agreement and twelve percent complete agreement. Twenty-nine percent of respondents are uncertain. This item is discussed in the section *The Holocaust question*.

OVERALL MEASURE OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS JEWS

The frequency distribution of responses on the scale of attitudes towards Jews — like that on the scale for Muslims — is highly skewed. The mean of 1.04 is somewhat lower than the mean islamophobia index score of 1.12. Thus the majority of students are overall positively disposed towards the Jewish minority. Consistent with this, the intolerant group, defined as those with an index score greater than 2.5 (Table 2), is smaller, at less than six percent (7.7 percent for Muslims). The table below shows the distribution of students, classified by their degree of intolerance, across a number of sociodemographic factors in the same manner as before.³¹

The students’ mean score on the antisemitism scale defined in this study was 1.04. The average student’s score is thus equivalent to that of a person who consistently selected the second most favourable response to each item (“agree somewhat” to the positive statements and “disagree somewhat” to the negative statements). Since the study is based on a random sample, this means that the average student nationally (in the aggregate of the school-grade cohorts studied) reflects approximately this score in their attitude towards Jews. They agree somewhat that Jews should have the right to build synagogues,

³⁰ Sixty-two percent of the students who participated in the earlier study chose the response category “disagree”.

³¹ Male and female students are presented separately in Appendix 1, Table B 34 and Table B 35.

and disagree somewhat with the statement that Jews cannot be trusted, and so on. The average student is thus far from intolerant. It is important to note, however, that this result is based on the six items included in this study. The average index could be different if other items had been used. However, analyses against control items (not included in the index) indicate that the groupings of students (into “very tolerant”, “intolerant”, etc.) would not be markedly changed if other items were substituted. Correlations with alternative items included in the study, such as “There’s a lot of truth in the claim that Jews are miserly” and “The Jews have too much influence in the world today,” are strong.

Approximately one quarter (27 percent) of Swedish school students, an estimated 25,000 per school-grade cohort, fall into the category described as “uncertain” towards Jews (index 1.5–2.5), meaning that on the average they responded to the items with “uncertain/don’t know.”

The “very tolerant” group (index = 0), i.e. those who responded “no, strongly disagree” to all the negative statements and “yes, strongly agree” to all the positive statements, numbers not quite one-fifth (18 percent) of Swedish school students (in the aggregate of the grade-school cohorts surveyed). This group is thus larger than the “very tolerant” group towards Muslims, which numbered fourteen percent.

Table 2. Attitude towards Jews (index) by background factors

		Attitude towards Jews					Relationship (categorised scale) C	Mean (non- categorised scale, 0–4) m	Relationship (non- categorised scale) Eta
		Very tolerant (score 0) Row %	Tolerant (0.1–1.49) Row %	Uncertain (1.5–2.5) Row %	Intolerant (>2.5) Row %	n			
Total sample		17.5	50.2	26.6	5.8	10,555		1.04	
Sex	Girls	20.4	53.2	23.1	3.3	5,317	0.15***	0.89	0.17***
	Boys	14.5	47.1	30.2	8.2	5,238			
						10,555			
Cohort	Year 8	15.4	48.6	29.6	6.4	2,521	0.08***	1.12	0.08***
	Year 9	16.6	49.3	27.6	6.5	2,655			
	Upper secondary year 1	16.6	51.2	26.9	5.3	2,427			
	Upper secondary year 2	19.2	50.8	24.1	5.9	1,568			
	Upper secondary year 3	22.3	52.3	21.5	3.9	1,384			
						10,555			
Sex, school type, programme	Girls, compulsory school, years 8–9	18.3	52.1	25.6	4.0	2,616	0.25***	0.96	0.27***
	Boys, compulsory school, years 8–9	13.6	45.8	31.7	8.9	2,560			
	Girls, upper sec., academic	28.0	55.9	14.9	1.2	1,525			
	Boys, upper sec., academic	23.3	55.4	17.6	3.7	1,235			
	Girls, upper sec., other	15.1	52.4	28.1	4.4	1,176			
	Boys, upper sec., other	8.4	42.3	38.3	10.9	1,443			
						10,555			
Upper secondary programme	Academic	25.9	55.7	16.1	2.3	2,760	0.32***	0.74	0.35***
	Both academic and vocational	16.1	56.8	23.1	3.9	533			
	Vocational	11.0	47.1	34.1	7.8	1,867			
	Individual	3.2	20.5	56.2	20.1	219			
						5,379			
Region	Södra Götaland	13.5	50.6	29.4	6.6	2,435	0.08***	1.14	0.07***
	Västra Götaland	18.8	47.4	26.6	7.2	1,457			

	Östra Götaland	17.0	49.7	27.7	5.6	1,597		1.06	
	Svealand	19.4	51.5	23.9	5.2	3,457		0.97	
	Norrland	18.5	49.9	27.0	4.5	<u>1,609</u>		1.02	
						10,555			
School district type	City/urban	18.7	51.7	24.1	5.4	2,834	0.09***	0.98	0.09***
	Town	18.7	51.1	25.2	5.0	4,675		1.00	
	Other	14.4	47.4	31.1	7.1	<u>3,046</u>		1.17	
						10,555			
Socioeconomic classification (parents)	Unskilled blue-collar	11.4	45.3	35.2	8.0	1,927	0.22***	1.28	0.23***
	Skilled blue-collar	11.9	49.8	31.6	6.7	1,398		1.19	
	Low-level white-collar	14.1	51.4	29.4	5.1	1,162		1.10	
	Mid-level white-collar	22.6	52.5	20.6	4.4	2,642		0.88	
	High-level white-collar	24.7	56.0	17.0	2.2	893		0.74	
	Self-employed professional	30.9	54.4	12.1	2.5	669		0.63	
	Business owner	16.4	52.1	25.8	5.6	921		1.03	
	Farmer	19.4	47.0	27.6	6.0	<u>134</u>		1.04	
						9,746			
National background	Completely Swedish	17.6	49.8	26.7	5.9	7,894	0.03 (not sig.)	1.05	0.03 (not sig.)
	Partly foreign	18.3	51.5	25.3	4.9	1,784		0.98	
	Foreign	14.5	54.4	25.2	5.8	<u>709</u>		1.06	
						10,387			
Region of origin	Sweden	17.5	49.6	26.9	5.9	8,022	0.04 (not sig.)	1.05	0.03 (not sig.)
	Northern/Western/Eastern Europe	19.7	50.9	25.0	4.3	947		0.96	
	Southern Europe	16.2	53.4	23.3	7.1	395		1.04	
	Outside Europe	15.8	52.7	26.2	5.3	<u>1,117</u>		1.03	
						10,481			
Religion	Non-religious	17.0	45.8	29.6	7.6	4,364	0.12***	1.14	0.11***
	Christian	18.2	53.9	24.1	3.7	5,219		0.95	
	Muslim	16.3	49.4	25.9	8.3	563		1.12	
	Other (Jew/Buddhist/Hindu)	29.3	48.3	22.4	0.0	<u>58</u>		0.70	
						10,204			

***p<0.001 **p<0.01

The “intolerant” group consists of the students who scored over 2.5 on the index. A score exceeding 2.5 means, in principle, that they returned intolerant responses to a majority of the questions. The group is quite small, less than six percent of all students. In absolute terms this is in the order of 6,000 students per school-grade cohort, rather fewer than those who could be described as intolerant of Muslims. Nevertheless the result does indicate that antisemitic ideas and stereotypes live on to some extent. Whether they have been passed on from one generation to the next, and if so how, are questions that cannot be answered by a study of this nature but which warrant further investigation. One relevant factor in this regard is the attitude of the adult population to these issues.

The results also show that attitudes towards a community are in no way determined by the number of individuals it comprises. Sweden’s Jewish community is very small, and most of the students who express intolerance towards it are unlikely to have had personal contact, at least of anything approaching an intimate nature, with Jews or Jewish institutions.

There is a clear difference between girls and boys in attitudes to Jews. The average index score for girls lies at 0.89 and for boys 1.20,

i.e. girls are on average more positive in their attitudes. The most notable sex-based difference is that significantly fewer girls than boys fall into the intolerant group (index score > 2.5). Only one out of thirty girls, 3.3 percent, can be assigned to this group, while the proportion of boys is almost one in twelve, or 8.2 percent.

As with attitudes to Muslims, there is a clear tendency for intolerance towards Jews to vary with parental (occupationally defined) socioeconomic status. The “lower” the parents’ socioeconomic status, the more intolerant the student tends to be. There is a consistent decrease in the index from the children of “unskilled blue-collar workers” (average index score = 1.28) to those of “self-employed professionals” (index score = 0.63). The differences between students classified by socioeconomic background are thus substantial. Socioeconomically related differences in attitudes to Jews are larger than those in attitudes to Muslims. Children of “unskilled blue-collar workers” score on average more than twice as high on the index as those of “self-employed professionals” (1.28 : 0.63). The ratio between the indices of the corresponding groups is somewhat smaller in the case of the islamophobia index (1.33 : 0.76).

Levels of intolerance towards Jews shows a clear tendency to decline as students progress through the school system. There is a consistent decrease in the index from the youngest students, those in year eight (index score = 1.12) to the oldest, those in year three of upper secondary school (index score = 0.88). This age-related effect is more pronounced for antisemitism than for islamophobia.

Increasing age brings growth in maturity but also growth in knowledge. It is likely that these factors contribute to the positive development that takes place over the years. Natural follow-up questions to this “ageing effect” are up to what age attitudes continue to grow more positive, and what is the final attitude arrived at, i.e. the attitude of the adult population. The fact that this age-related pattern is less clear in the case of islamophobia might suggest that students’ attitudes to Muslims are more influenced by specific events, such as terrorist attacks, which have a more general effect across all age groups.

The more urbanised the district that students live in, the lower their degree of intolerance towards Jews. While the differences are small, the tendency is clear. Contrary to the general tendency, however, students from the relatively urbanised Södra Götaland region tend to manifest greater intolerance than those in the relatively rural Norrland. This somewhat contradictory result suggests that intolerance towards Jews in these two regions is being influenced by other factors — negatively in Södra Götaland and positively in Norrland. Södra Götaland is one of the regions where extreme nationalist and racist groups have traditionally been strongest. In Norrland, on the other hand, much of the extreme nationalist and

racist activity seems to have died out over the post-war period. There are no clear-cut answers to why these two regions pattern the way they do, but historical traditions presumably play a part.

There are no detectable differences depending on the number of persons with an immigrant background in the student's family (i.e. the student and his or her parents). A comparison of students from the three background categories "completely Swedish", "partly foreign" and "foreign" yields no statistically significant differences. The same is true when students are compared on the basis of their family's region of origin. That intolerance towards Jews seems not to vary with families' national origins may be seen as logical inasmuch as the phenomenon of antisemitism and intolerance towards Jews is common to most cultures and religions. Antisemitism differs in this respect from islamophobia, where completely Swedish families stand out as somewhat more intolerant.

In 2003 a research report was published on antisemitism among Muslim students at Swedish schools (Tossovainen, 2003). It was based on a relatively small number of interviews with teachers at suburban schools in Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö. The study led to some debate as to how extensive the problem was. The results of the present study do not indicate that Muslim students nationally are more intolerant of Jews than are other, numerically much larger, groups. When respondents are classified by their reported religious affiliation, the average antisemitism index score of Muslim students is 1.12. This is lower than that of the large "non-religious" group (average index score = 1.14), though higher than that of students describing themselves as Christian (average index score = 0.95).

The conclusion that Muslim students at the national level do not appear to be more intolerant of Jews than other considerably larger groups is based on a comparison with the "non-religious" group, which had a slightly higher average index score than the Muslim group. The "non-religious" group, consisting predominantly of students from a completely Swedish background who do not regard themselves as Christian, comprises almost half of the student body (43 percent³²) across the five school-grade cohorts. This may be compared with the Muslim group, which comprises five to six percent³³ of this population.

However, the Muslim group does include an extremist fringe which is somewhat larger in percentage terms than that found in other religiously defined groups. The group that may be described as "extremely intolerant" (defined by an index score > 3.0) comprises 5.3 percent of Muslim students as against 2.9 percent of all other students (and 4.1 percent of "non-religious" students). This means

³² Estimate based on the study sample.

³³ Estimate based on the study sample.

that Muslim students are overrepresented within the extremely intolerant group, which numbers approximately 3,000 students per school-grade cohort. Around one-tenth of this group are Muslims, while the remaining nine-tenths are found in other religiously defined categories, mainly among those defining themselves as “non-religious”, but also to some extent among those reporting themselves to be Christian.

HOMOPHOBIC TENDENCIES

The questionnaire included a battery of items relating to homophobic attitudes, drafted along the same lines as those described above. It consisted of the following statements:

Most homosexuals are no doubt decent people...
It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible homosexual...
Homosexuals should have the right to build their own club rooms...
There are far too many homosexuals in Sweden...
Homosexuals can't be trusted...
Homosexuals shouldn't be allowed to vote in elections...

The response categories were: “no, strongly disagree,” “disagree somewhat,” “uncertain/don't know,” “agree somewhat,” “yes, strongly agree.”

The students are equally positive towards living next door to a homosexual and towards the assumption that homosexuals are “decent people”. Seventy-eight percent agree strongly or somewhat with the statement “Most homosexuals are no doubt decent people”, and 76 percent have no serious objection to living next door to a ‘responsible’ homosexual.

The regular survey of young people's attitudes (16–29 years) conducted by the Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs contained a similar item about homosexuals: respondents were asked to state whether there were any among a list of groups, including homosexuals, that they would not want to have as neighbours (Ungdomsstyrelsen, 2003). The survey's results are similar to those noted in the present study.

As regards the right of homosexuals to build their own club rooms, almost eighteen percent of students are opposed to this possibility, whereas over 60 percent express support. The results indicate that of all the types of building mentioned in the questionnaire, mosques are those opposed by the largest proportion of students.

Forty-five percent totally reject the statement “There are far too many homosexuals in Sweden.” This is a larger proportion than that noted in connection with the corresponding questions about Muslims and Jews.

The majority of students disagree with statements that Muslims and Jews are generally untrustworthy, and this disagreement is clearer still in relation to homosexuals. Around 72 percent are more or less critical of the statement "Homosexuals can't be trusted," while one student in ten agrees with it absolutely or in part.

The disenfranchisement of homosexuals is clearly opposed by most of the students. Seventy-eight percent feel that the statement calling for this is absolutely contrary to their own views, which constitutes the most notable difference by comparison with the responses obtained for the corresponding statements in the islamophobia and antisemitism batteries. Six percent of students agree more or less strongly with the statement calling for the disenfranchisement of homosexuals, by comparison with approximately eight percent in relation to the other two minority groups.

A bill permitting homosexuals to apply to adopt children, presented in June 2002, led to parliamentary debate on homosexual adoption. The bill was eventually passed into law, coming into force on 1st February 2003. In view of the debate on the issue it was considered of interest to investigate the attitude of the younger generation to this question.

The following statement was therefore included in the alternative battery:

Homosexuals should be allowed to adopt children.

The response categories were "no, absolutely not," "no, hardly," "uncertain" "yes, perhaps," and "yes, absolutely."

The students' responses reflect a higher degree of disagreement than did the vote of the Swedish Parliament [*Riksdagen*], in which 64 percent voted for the bill and twelve percent against, with 23 percent abstaining. Approximately half of the students (48 percent) are more or less positive towards the statement "Homosexuals should be allowed to adopt children," 30 percent are more or less negative, and 22 percent are uncertain. The issue seems to be a controversial one. In its 2003 survey, the National Board for Youth Affairs found that a large minority of young people (16–29 years) thought homosexuals should not have the right to adopt. Respondents were asked to indicate on a seven-point scale their level of agreement or disagreement with the statement "Homosexuals should have the right to adopt on the same terms as heterosexuals." Slightly under 50 percent of respondents disagreed with the statement, while over 40 percent agreed (Ungdomsstyrelsen, 2003).

The definition of a phenomenon as abnormal, deviant and reprehensible often involves linking it with disease. The study included the following statement:

Homosexuality is a disease.

A majority of the students rejected this statement. Seventy-six percent responded with “absolutely not” or “hardly”, ten percent were uncertain and around thirteen percent agreed completely or partially. The Board of Youth Affairs survey included an item touching on the same subject: “Homosexuality is not natural and should be actively discouraged by society.” A clear majority, about 80 percent, of the respondents (16–29 years) rejected this type of statement, while a minority of about ten percent agreed with it.

The alternative battery concluded with the following provocative statement:

I think the fact that so many homosexual men get HIV and AIDS is nature’s punishment for a perverse lifestyle.

The response categories to this item were “disagree,” “partly agree,” “completely agree,” and “don’t know.”

This statement was used by CEIFO as long ago as 1993 in a questionnaire survey of adults aged 18–71 years. It was rejected absolutely by 64 percent of the respondents to that study, while 4.6 percent replied “don’t know.” In 1997 CEIFO and BRÅ re-used the same item in a survey of school students. Fifty-nine percent of these respondents disagreed with the statement, while almost nineteen percent were uncertain (Lange et al., 1997). The present study seems to indicate that no significant change has taken place in school students’ attitudes to the statement: almost 60 percent reject it completely, while 23 percent reply “don’t know.” The relatively high proportion of uncertain responses by comparison with the survey of the adult population may be due to the statement containing a number of terms to which school students might react questioningly, such as “nature’s punishment” and “a perverse lifestyle”. Almost eighteen percent of the students in the current study replied that they agreed with the statement completely or partially.

OVERALL MEASURE OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALS

The distribution of respondents on the general scale of intolerance towards homosexuals is markedly skewed, the mean of 0.91 being the lowest of all the specific indices. On the whole, the great majority of students are positive towards homosexuals. The intolerant group is smaller than for islamophobia, though larger than for antisemitism: 6.6 percent have an index score in excess of 2.5. Table 3 shows the distribution of students classified by degree of intolerance across sociodemographic factors. See Appendix 1 for a separate presentation by sex.

The results noted in relation to attitudes towards homosexuals differ in certain ways from those noted with respect to intolerance towards Muslims and Jews. The mean index score for all the students surveyed is 0.9. The size of the intolerant group is 6.6 percent, or in the order of 6,500 students per school-grade cohort. This is somewhat more than those who could be considered intolerant towards Jews (around 6,000 students per school-grade cohort), but less than the number who are intolerant towards Muslims (8,000 per school-grade cohort). That the average score on the homophobia index is nonetheless lower than the average score on the antisemitism index is a result of the fact that this larger proportion of homophobics is outweighed by a significantly larger proportion who are “very tolerant” of homosexuals. Over one quarter (27 percent) of the students are “very tolerant” of homosexuals, by comparison with less than one-fifth (18 percent) in relation to Jews.

The “grey area”, i.e. students in the “uncertain” category, is also smaller in relation to homosexuals than to Jews or Muslims. This group comprises one student in five or 20 percent, some 20,000 per school-grade cohort. The corresponding group in relation to both Muslims and Jews is a little over one quarter, or 26 percent.

The difference between the degree of intolerance towards homosexuals on the one hand and towards Jews and Muslims on the other is largely accounted for by the major difference between the sexes in their levels of intolerance towards homosexuals — a difference that is considerably larger than in the case of intolerance towards Muslims and Jews. The average degree of intolerance towards homosexuals among boys is as high (index score = 1.26) as that towards Muslims and higher than that towards Jews. The contrary is true of girls: they are considerably less intolerant of homosexuals (average index score = 0.57) than they are of Muslims and Jews (average index scores = 0.96 and 0.89 respectively).

The proportion of boys that can be described as intolerant towards homosexuals (index score > 2.5) is also higher than the proportions that are intolerant towards Muslims and Jews. Among girls, intolerance towards homosexuals is downright uncommon (1.8 percent of respondents), significantly more so than intolerance towards Muslims or Jews. Moreover, nearly four out of ten girls are very tolerant towards homosexuals, about twice as many as are very tolerant towards Muslims and Jews. This differs from the situation among the boys.

There are probably a number of factors that explain these very marked sex differences in intolerance towards homosexuals. One explanation suggested in earlier studies is that the stronger rejection of homosexuals by boys is simply due to the ideal of masculinity prevalent among boys. A “homosexual man” tends to be perceived as effeminate, a “queen”, the opposite of the ideal “real man” or

“bloke”. The ideal of femininity, while less pronounced, is more concerned with status within the group and less with defining itself against the masculine (Osbeck, Holm and Wernersson, 2003). Another explanation may be that students rating statements about “homosexuals” in a questionnaire tend to think of homosexual *men* rather than women. For decades the focus of public debate and legislation (e.g. against gay saunas) has been on homosexual men.

The clear relationship between intolerance and socioeconomic background noted in relation to islamophobia and antisemitism is found once again in relation to homophobia. The average index score for the children of unskilled blue-collar workers is 1.13, a value which declines with rising socioeconomic status, through 0.90 for the children of low-level white-collar workers and 0.61 for children of self-employed professionals.

There are significant differences in levels of intolerance towards homosexuals between different upper secondary school programmes. The average index score in academic programmes is 0.62, to be compared with 1.05 in vocational programmes.

Table 3. Attitude towards homosexuals (index), by background factors

		Attitude towards homosexuals					Relationship (categorised scale) C	Mean (non-categorised scale, 0–4) m	Relationship (non-categorised scale) Eta
		Very tolerant (score 0) Row %	Tolerant (0.1–1.49) Row %	Uncertain (1.5–2.5) Row %	Intolerant (>2.5) Row %	n			
Total sample		27.1	46.7	19.6	6.6	10,557		0.91	
Sex	Girls	37.7	49.4	11.1	1.8	5,321	0.32***	0.57	0.36***
	Boys	16.3	44.0	28.2	11.5	<u>5,236</u>			
						10,557			
Cohort	Year 8	21.2	47.8	24.3	6.8	2,519	0.11***	1.03	0.09***
	Year 9	27.1	45.8	20.3	6.7	2,656			
	Upper secondary year 1	28.0	47.4	18.1	6.6	2,429			
	Upper secondary year 2	28.7	46.8	17.9	6.5	1,569			
	Upper secondary year 3	34.5	45.3	14.2	6.0	<u>1,384</u>			
						10,557			
Sex, school type, programme	Girls, compulsory school, years 8–9	33.7	50.2	14.0	2.1	2,618	0.36***	0.64	0.40***
	Boys, compulsory school, years 8–9	14.6	43.3	30.7	11.5	2,557			
	Girls, upper sec., academic	46.6	46.6	5.6	1.2	1,525			
	Boys, upper sec., academic	25.7	50.0	18.3	6.1	1,235			
	Girls, upper sec., other	35.1	51.4	11.8	1.7	1,178			
	Boys, upper sec., other	11.5	40.2	32.3	16.1	<u>1,444</u>			
Upper secondary programme	Academic	37.2	48.1	11.3	3.4	2,760	0.28***	0.62	0.30***
	Both academic and vocational	25.9	48.2	20.1	5.8	533			
	Vocational	23.1	46.0	21.6	9.3	1,869			
	Individual	4.5	30.9	43.2	21.4	<u>220</u>			
						5,382			
Region	Södra Götaland	23.5	48.8	21.3	6.4	2,433	0.08***	0.96	0.05***
	Västra Götaland	29.0	46.3	17.2	7.5	1,457			
	Östra Götaland	23.3	47.6	22.0	7.1	1,598			
	Svealand	30.4	45.4	17.6	6.6	3,460			
	Norrland	27.5	46.1	20.9	5.5	<u>1,609</u>			
						10,557			
School district type	City/urban	29.3	46.0	18.2	6.5	2,836	0.09***	0.87	0.08***
	Town	28.7	47.7	17.8	5.8	4,674			
	Other	22.6	45.9	23.6	7.8	<u>3,047</u>			
						10,557			
Socioeconomic classification (parents)	Unskilled blue-collar	19.5	46.4	25.1	9.1	1,931	0.19***	1.13	0.18***
	Skilled blue-collar	21.0	48.7	22.7	7.6	1,398			
	Low-level white-collar	24.2	49.4	20.8	5.6	1,161			
	Mid-level white-collar	32.6	47.1	15.1	5.2	2,642			
	High-level white-collar	36.9	48.9	11.2	2.9	891			
	Self-employed professional	42.6	41.1	12.0	4.3	669			
	Business owner	29.6	46.6	18.2	5.5	922			
	Farmer	28.4	44.0	22.4	5.2	<u>134</u>			
						9,748			
National background	Completely Swedish	28.6	46.9	18.7	5.8	7,898	0.11***	0.87	0.11***
	Partly foreign	25.9	48.4	18.5	7.2	1,784			
	Foreign	14.8	43.7	29.8	11.7	<u>709</u>			
						10,391			
Region of origin	Sweden	28.5	46.7	18.8	6.0	8,026	0.10***	0.87	0.10***
	Northern/Western/Eastern Europe	29.9	47.1	16.3	6.8	947			
	Southern Europe	17.3	47.1	23.9	11.7	393			
	Outside Europe	19.0	46.8	25.7	8.5	<u>1,116</u>			
						10,482			
Religion	Non-religious	28.3	43.8	20.5	7.4	4,366	0.13***	0.94	0.13***
	Christian	27.7	49.8	17.3	5.1	5,222			
	Muslim	12.9	42.9	31.3	13.0	560			
	Other (Jew/Buddhist/Hindu)	41.4	34.5	20.7	3.4	<u>58</u>			
						10,206			

***p<0.001 **p<0.01

As was the case with antisemitism, there is a clear, declining trend in levels of homophobia as students progress through school. Growing maturity and knowledge seem once again to play a part. (Intolerance towards Muslims follows a similar, but significantly weaker, trend.)

As regards attitudes towards Jews and Muslims it was found that the more urbanised the district in which a student lived, the lower their degree of intolerance. With attitudes to homosexuality this trend is less marked. Rather, there is a difference between on the one hand students who live in and around major cities and in large and medium-sized towns, and on the other students in more rural areas. The average index score for the first group is 0.86 and for the second 1.03.

The patterning by regions is also somewhat different for intolerance towards homosexuals. While intolerance towards Muslims and Jews was found to be highest in Södra Götaland, a fact that can probably in part be explained by historical traditions, the most negative attitudes towards homosexuals are found in Östra Götaland. This region is dominated in the sample by students from the county of Jönköping, where intolerance towards homosexuals is one point higher on the scale than the national average (average index score = 1.03). It should be noted, however, that three other counties have higher average scores than Jönköping: Norrbotten (1.14), Västernorrland (1.12) and Halland (1.05).

Religious affiliation has a relatively large impact on attitudes towards homosexuals. Students who gave their religious affiliation as Muslim are considerably more intolerant of homosexuals than other religious categories. The average index score for this group is 1.38, by comparison with those stating their religion as Christian, for example, who have an average index score of 0.83. It is noteworthy that the “non-religious” group, with an average index score of 0.94, is also more intolerant of homosexuals than the Christian group. Intolerance towards homosexuals is clearly lowest among the small group of students who gave their religious affiliation as Jewish, Buddhist or Hindu. Their average index score is 0.74.

The differences in intolerance between students of different religious affiliations have an effect on the results obtained when students are classified by national background. Students from completely Swedish families (student and both parents Swedish-born) have the lowest levels intolerance towards homosexuals (average index score = 0.87). The difference between this group and students from partly foreign backgrounds (average index score 0.93) is small. However, the group of students from foreign backgrounds (student and both parents foreign-born) diverges widely: their average index score is a substantially higher at 1.30. Muslim immigrants constitute a

relatively large part of this latter group, a factor which is largely responsible for this finding. For similar reasons, large differences may be seen between students classified by geographic origin. Students from origins in Northern, Western and Eastern Europe show on average approximately the same degree of intolerance towards homosexuals as those from completely Swedish families. There is a quite large difference between these groups and families of Southern European and non-European origin. The average index scores of the first-named groups are 0.87 and 0.86 respectively, and of the last-named 1.16 and 1.13 respectively. The elevated average noted among students from families of Southern European origin is due to the relatively large number whose origins are in the former Yugoslavia — a group in which many are Muslims.

GENERAL INTOLERANCE

Most of the results presented so far have been based on the scales for islamophobic, antisemitic and homophobic tendencies. However, one can ask whether these phenomena, at least in school students, do not to some extent reflect a wider syndrome, an underlying dimension that may be called general intolerance (cf. Zick and Heitmeier, 2004). As was mentioned under the heading Operationalisations, the study includes more scales besides the ones reported so far, which refer to negative attitudes towards specific groups. The questionnaire included three batteries of items relating to xenophobia in various forms. On the basis of these items it is possible to design alternative measures of intolerance towards Muslims, Jews, homosexuals and immigrants. An analysis reveals relatively strong relationships between all the scales referring to different forms of intolerance (see Appendix 2.)

A dimension that might be termed “general intolerance” of certain minorities has been measured by means of a “total index” constructed by combining the three separate indices of antisemitism, islamophobia and homophobia described above. To illustrate how the combined general intolerance scale covaries with certain other questions addressing the same topic, Fig. 1 shows the percentage of each intolerance group that agreed partly or completely with a number of statements that formed part of an attitude scale (termed the “racism index”) in Lange et al. (1997).³⁴

The general pattern is that the higher the degree of intolerance, the higher the percentage that partly or completely agree with the statement. Nine out of ten in the intolerant group, for example, agree partly or completely that “Immigrants to Sweden from countries

³⁴ The response categories were: “disagree,” “partly agree,” “completely agree” and “don’t know.” The “don’t know” category was not counted as internal non-response in this analysis. The tendencies and the patterning of the results are unchanged by including individuals responding “don’t know” in the analysis.

outside Europe should go back to their home countries,” as against almost none of those in the most tolerant category.

The clearly racist statement “It is against the laws of nature for people of different races to have children together” gains the partial or total agreement of over 70 percent of the intolerant group, while about 1.5 percent of the most tolerant group select this response. The results thus indicate that the constructed total index captures well the students’ attitudes to items of a racist nature.

There is a strong correlation ($r = 0.72$) between the total index and a similarly constructed index based on the following three statements: “You can be friends with anybody no matter where they come from,” “Sweden should continue accepting refugees,” and “Immigrants to Sweden from countries outside Europe should go back to their home countries.” Taking these statements individually, the proportion of the group defined as intolerant (total index score > 2.5) that responded “no, hardly” or “no, absolutely not” to the statement “You can be friends with anybody no matter where they come from” is 44 percent. The corresponding proportion of the most tolerant group is 0.3 percent.

There are also strong correlations between the total index and items addressing what may be described as “tolerance of anti-immigrant attitudes among one’s peers”. An index based on the three items³⁵ connected with this issue yields a fairly strong correlation ($r = 0.55$).

³⁵ See Appendix 3.

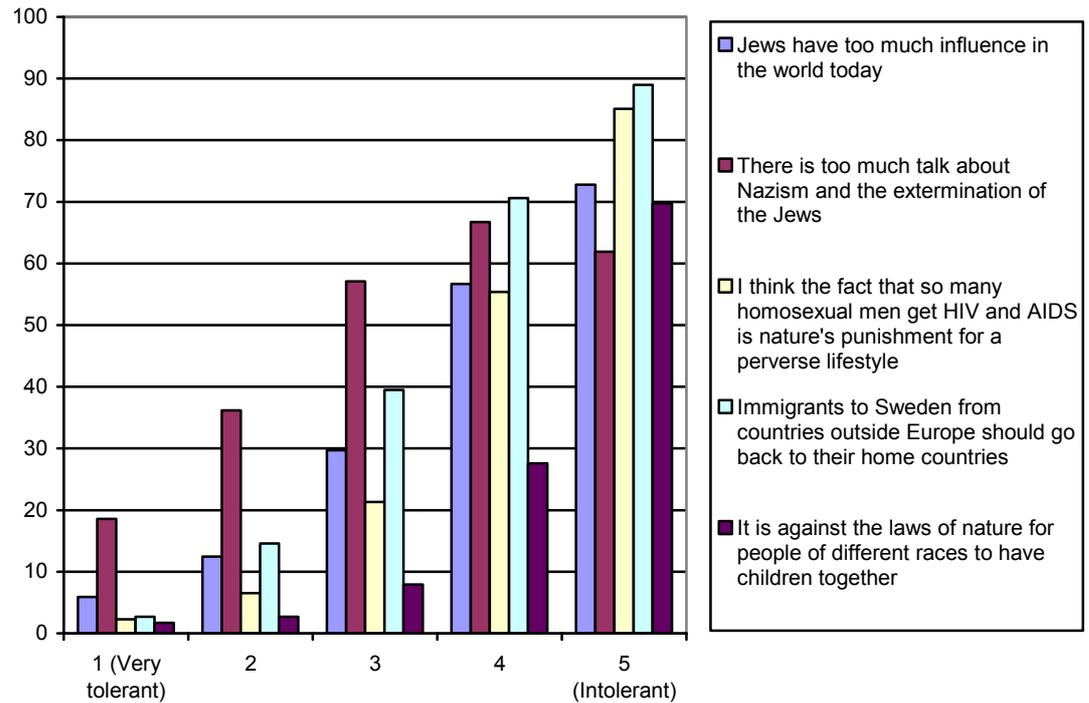


Figure 1. Percentage of each intolerance group who completely or partly agree with the statements shown

However, one of the statements intended to measure students' attitudes to these issues (excluded from the index) diverges from all the others. The correlation between the total index and the statement "There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews" is quite weak ($r = 0.25$), a tendency that can be seen from Fig. 1. The analysis suggests that counterposed effects are at work in this particular item. On the one hand, there seems to be a group among the "tolerant" students who for some reason have grown tired of the information on these issues and therefore feel there is too much talk about them. On the other hand, there is a group among the intolerant students who *de facto* have no objection to the issues being widely discussed.

INTOLERANCE INDEX

Figure B 4 in Appendix 2 shows the distribution of the total intolerance index. As for the constituent indices, the overall distribution is skewed for the composite phenomenon referred to in this context as general intolerance. This shows that the majority of young people have a positive attitude towards all the minorities

discussed. The mean value of the index is 1.02. The table below shows how the students, classified by degree of intolerance, are distributed across sociodemographic factors. See Appendix 1 for a separate presentation by sex.

One effect of purely mathematical origin is the shrinkage of the very tolerant and the intolerant groups on the total index, as compared with the constituent antisemitism, islamophobia and homophobia indices. The total index comprises eighteen statements rather than the six making up each of the constituent indices, and to qualify as very tolerant a respondent must return the response “No, strongly disagree” to all the negatively phrased statements and “Yes, strongly agree” to all the positively phrased ones. The probability of at least one divergence from this line is greater when there are eighteen items to respond to than when there are six. The requirement to qualify as intolerant is similarly stricter. This classification implies, in principle, that the respondent has for example chosen the second least favourable response (“agree somewhat” to negatively phrased statements, “disagree somewhat” to positively phrased statements) in relation to more than half of the items, i.e. at least ten items in the total index, or at least four items in the constituent indices, (provided that the respondent has chosen the “uncertain” category in relation to the remaining questions comprising the index).

The analyses indicate that quite a large part of the intolerance observed in the individual areas of antisemitism, islamophobia and homophobia is founded in general intolerance. A person who is intolerant of Jews tends to be intolerant of Muslims and homosexuals as well, and so on. The generally intolerant group (based on the total index) accounts for nearly half, 47 percent, of those who are intolerant of Muslims; over half, 57 percent, of those who are intolerant of Jews; and 43 percent of those who are intolerant of homosexuals. In general one could say that half of each of the groups described as intolerant of Muslims, Jews and homosexuals respectively consists of students harbouring a general intolerance towards minorities. The other half of each group has a more specific antipathy towards the minority in question, though these students are rarely tolerant of any of the minorities.

The batteries of items underlying the constituent indices are comparable to some extent. As was noted earlier, each index is based on essentially similar statements — for example, that Jews should have the right to build synagogues, Muslims mosques, and homosexuals club rooms in Sweden. The results based on the indices for the entire student sample suggest a fairly uniform level of intolerance towards all three minorities.

The average intolerance index score for islamophobia is 1.1, for antisemitism 1.0 and for homophobia 0.9. The very small difference between intolerance towards Muslims and Jews respectively may seem

somewhat surprising. The analyses suggest that a relatively large proportion of intolerance is founded in a general xenophobia, an antagonism on the part of certain students towards immigrants and immigration to Sweden. Given that Muslims constitute a very large immigrant group in Sweden, and one which is still experiencing some integration problems, while the small population of Swedish Jews is for the most part not an immigrant group at all, one would expect a greater difference in the degree of intolerance towards these two groups. While it may be, of course, that many respondents perceive both groups as foreign and as constituting groups of immigrants, the results do suggest that historical anti-Jewish notions still survive to some extent.

The average value of the total intolerance index is 1.0. The “generally intolerant” group (index score > 2.5) constitutes 4.6 percent of the students, while almost one quarter (24 percent) can be described as uncertain. One important observation in relation to the intolerant group is that nearly half of these students express sympathy for one or more of the extreme nationalist or national socialist parties (see below). This means that around half of the intolerant group can be said to have adopted a very definite position on these issues. Generally speaking, members of this group of students express intolerance towards each and every minority — Muslims, Jews and homosexuals alike.

Girls are in general much less intolerant than boys. The mean total index score for girls is 0.81 (boys: 1.25). The most conspicuous difference between the sexes is that general intolerance is unusual among girls (given the definition used here, i.e. an index score > 2.5). Only about 1.5 percent, or somewhere in the order of 1,500 girls per school-grade cohort (in Sweden), may be described as generally intolerant. The corresponding group of boys constitutes 7.5 percent, or around 7,500 per school-grade cohort. Girls display particularly low levels of intolerance towards homosexuals, which is the main reason why the average homophobia index is the lowest of the three constituent indices. Findings that girls are generally less intolerant of minorities have also been reported in other studies (Lange and Westin, 1993; Lange et al., 1997).

Table 4. Total intolerance (index), by background factors

		Intolerance scale					n	Relationship (categorised scale) C	Mean (non- categorised scale, 0-4) m	Relationship (non- categorised scale) Eta
		Very tolerant (score 0) Row %	Tolerant (0.1-0.67) Row %	Somewhat tolerant Row %	Uncertain (1.5-2.5) Row %	Intolerant (>2.5) Row %				
Total sample		10.4	31.0	30.2	23.8	4.6	10,575		1.02	
Sex	Girls	13.7	37.3	31.3	16.1	1.7	5,327	0.25***	0.81	0.27***
	Boys	7.1	24.7	29.0	31.7	7.5	5,248			
							10,575			
Cohort	Year 8	9.0	27.9	30.6	27.5	5.0	2,524	0.09***	1.10	0.08***
	Year 9	10.0	31.1	29.6	24.4	4.9	2,660			
	Upper secondary year 1	9.7	31.1	31.0	23.8	4.4	2,434			
	Upper secondary year 2	11.9	31.0	31.2	21.6	4.2	1,572			
	Upper secondary year 3	13.3	36.6	27.9	18.3	3.9	1,385			
							10,575			
Sex, school type, programme	Girls, compulsory school, years 8–9	12.6	35.5	31.0	18.7	2.1	2,621	0.32***	0.87	0.34***
	Boys, compulsory school, years 8–9	6.4	23.4	29.2	33.2	7.8	2,563			
	Girls, upper sec., academic	18.5	43.7	28.2	9.4	0.1	1,527			
	Boys, upper sec., academic	12.7	35.1	29.2	20.4	2.7	1,238			
	Girls, upper sec., other	9.8	33.0	36.0	18.7	2.5	1,179			
	Boys, upper sec., other	3.7	18.0	28.6	38.5	11.2	1,447			
							10,575			
Upper secondary programme	Academic	15.9	39.9	28.7	14.3	1.3	2,765	0.33***	0.74	0.36***
	Both academic and vocational	8.8	31.5	34.1	22.5	3.2	534			
	Vocational	6.4	24.6	32.7	29.4	6.9	1,872			
	Individual	0.9	9.5	20.0	48.6	20.9	220			
							5,391			
Region	Södra Götaland	7.2	27.6	32.7	27.7	4.7	2,438	0.10***	1.12	0.08***
	Västra Götaland	11.0	30.8	30.6	22.8	4.8	1,459			
	Östra Götaland	10.2	29.5	29.5	25.2	5.4	1,601			
	Svealand	11.8	34.2	29.1	20.7	4.2	3,466			
	Norrländ	12.0	31.1	28.8	24.0	4.2	1,611			
							10,575			
School district type	City/urban	10.8	33.2	31.1	21.4	3.4	2,842	0.10***	0.96	0.10***
	Town	11.1	32.5	30.0	22.4	3.9	4,679			
	Other	9.1	26.8	29.5	28.1	6.6	3,054			
							10,575			
Socioeconomic classification (parents)	Unskilled blue-collar	6.6	23.7	31.1	31.5	7.1	1,931	0.23***	1.25	0.23***
	Skilled blue-collar	6.4	26.0	32.6	29.7	5.3	1,401			
	Low-level white-collar	7.7	29.6	34.0	25.1	3.6	1,163			
	Mid-level white-collar	13.8	36.1	28.8	18.1	3.2	2,646			
	High-level white-collar	15.0	41.2	27.9	13.8	2.1	893			
	Self-employed professional	20.3	43.6	21.8	11.8	2.5	670			
	Business owner	10.6	32.5	31.3	20.9	4.7	923			
	Farmer	11.2	29.1	27.6	26.9	5.2	134			
							9,761			
National background	Completely Swedish	10.9	31.0	29.3	23.8	5.0	7,907	0.06***	1.03	0.03 (not sig.)
	Partly foreign	9.8	32.5	32.2	21.8	3.7	1,788			
	Foreign	7.7	30.3	35.0	25.3	1.7	712			
							10,407			
Region of origin	Sweden	10.8	30.9	29.3	24.0	5.0	8,036	0.07***	1.03	0.02 (not sig.)
	Northern/Western/Eastern Europe	11.0	32.1	29.9	23.1	3.9	949			
	Southern Europe	8.8	33.1	32.6	21.2	4.3	396			
	Outside Europe	7.8	31.5	35.5	23.5	1.7	1,119			
							10,500			
Religion	Non-religious	11.0	28.6	27.7	25.9	6.8	4,370	0.12***	1.11	0.09***
	Christian	10.2	33.3	31.5	22.1	2.9	5,230			
	Muslim	8.5	31.1	37.8	21.0	1.6	563			
	Other (Jew/Buddhist/Hindu)	18.6	33.9	20.3	27.1	0.0	59			
							10,222			

***p<0.001 **p<0.01

As was the case with the constituent indices relating to islamophobia, antisemitism and homophobia, there is a consistent relationship between the total index score and socioeconomic status based on parental occupation. The average index score for children of “unskilled blue-collar workers” is 1.25. From this value it declines via the children of white-collar workers to a level of 0.67 among the children of “self-employed professionals”. These differences are fairly substantial. Students whose parents are business owners (average index score = 0.99) or farmers (average index score = 1.04) present higher levels of intolerance than the children of white-collar workers, but lower levels than the children of blue-collar workers. The largest divergences in intolerance between students classified by socioeconomic background are found in relation to antisemitism and the lowest in relation to homophobia.

This pattern of increasing intolerance with “lower” socioeconomic status has been reported in a number of studies (Lange and Westin, 1993; Lange et al., 1997). One possible explanation, which has already been touched upon, is that differences in intolerance may be generated by varying degrees of negativity towards immigration, and that these may in turn be linked to problems with employment, for example. The idea that “they’re taking our jobs” may have been relevant for blue-collar workers, but is much less relevant to white-collar occupations, which for various reasons are exposed to competition from immigrants to a very limited extent. The hypothesis is that the negative attitudes so engendered in the parents have been propagated to the children. But this cannot account for the appearance of exactly the same pattern in the case of homophobia. Here it may have more to do with traditional attitudes among different groups, differing ideals of masculinity etc. The explanation noted above is also open to question in relation to levels of intolerance towards Jews.

A school-grade cohort will include approximately 4,000–5,000 students who may be described as generally intolerant. An estimate indicates that over 2,000 of these will be children of blue-collar workers, over 1,300 children of low to mid-level white-collar workers, and not quite 400 children of high-level white-collar workers or self-employed professionals. A slightly larger number, over 500, are children of business owners or farmers. Children of blue-collar workers are thus definitely over-represented. Children of blue-collar workers will number around 35,000 in a given school-grade cohort, being fewer than the approximately 40,000 children of low to mid-level white-collar workers. Children of high-level white-collar workers or self-employed professionals are underrepresented in the intolerant group.

Another interesting group is those who can be described as uncertain. This group is considerably larger — comprising somewhere in the range of 20,000–30,000 in a school-grade cohort. In terms of socioeconomic background, estimates indicate that over 10,000 are from blue-collar backgrounds, around 8,000 are children of low and mid-level white-collar workers, while around 2,000 are the children of high-level white-collar workers or self-employed professionals. Around 2,000 students in a school-grade cohort are the children of business owners and 400 of farmers.

Socioeconomic background closely reflects the differences observed when students are classified by school type and programme. Intolerance is lowest in academically oriented upper secondary programmes, where children of white-collar workers and professionals are overrepresented, and it is highest in upper secondary vocational programmes, which are dominated by children of blue-collar workers. At compulsory school, where such overrepresentation does not exist, intolerance is higher than in upper secondary academic programmes and lower than in other upper secondary programmes. A deviant group showing extremely high levels of intolerance is students taking individually designed programmes at upper secondary school. Their score on the total index is as high as 1.92, which is partly accounted for by the fact that no less than one in five (21 percent) of this group can be characterised as generally intolerant. This group presents similar results in relation to the constituent indices.

The tendency for general intolerance towards minorities to decline with advancing age and/or knowledge is consistent, although the change is relatively slow and the relationship very weak. The average total index for year eight students is 1.1 and for third-year upper secondary students 0.89. The proportion of intolerant students declines progressively from 5.0 percent in year eight to 3.9 percent in year three of upper secondary school.

One issue of some consequence in the context of discussions of societal measures to reduce intolerance involves attempts to direct such efforts at the groups on which they may be expected to have the greatest effect. The table below shows estimates of the number of students in each school year and school programme who can be described as intolerant and as uncertain respectively. Since girls and boys differ so widely in their levels of intolerance, the sexes are presented separately. It should be noted that the estimates are rough and are best regarded as orders of magnitude.

Table 5. Numbers of intolerant and uncertain students by school year/ programme and sex. Estimates

School year Programme	Intolerant		Uncertain	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Year 8	4,700	1,200	21,000	12,000

Year 9	4,600	1,200	19,000	10,000
Upper sec. year 1, academic	600	40	4,400	2,500
Upper sec. year 1, other	4,200	1,200	19,000	7,300
Upper sec. year 2, academic	500	20	3,700	2,200
Upper sec. year 2, other	2,800	800	12,000	4,700
Upper sec. year 3, academic	500	10	3,300	2,100
Upper sec. year 3, other	2,300	700	10,000	3,700
<i>Total sample</i>	<i>20,000</i>	<i>5,200</i>	<i>92,000</i>	<i>45,000</i>

There are no significant differences in average scores on the intolerance index between groups of students defined on the basis of their geographic origins. Students from a “completely Swedish” background and from “foreign” backgrounds have the same mean score on the general intolerance index, 1.03. Students from “partly foreign” backgrounds have a fractionally lower mean score of 0.97. However, a comparison of the first two groups reveals that there are a number of significant differences underlying these similar mean scores. Among students from foreign backgrounds, intolerance is positively unusual, with a prevalence rate of only 1.7 percent, while among students from “completely Swedish” backgrounds the prevalence rate is substantially greater at 5.0 percent. At the opposite end of the scale, the percentage of “very tolerant” students is also lower among students from foreign backgrounds. In other words, while the mean intolerance index score is the same for both groups, the dispersion is considerably greater among students from completely Swedish backgrounds. This group adopts a more definite stance in both directions.³⁶

As was found with the constituent indices, there are no major geographically based differences in general intolerance. However, a slightly higher degree of intolerance is detectable in southern Sweden. A number of factors no doubt contribute to this finding, including historical traditions (see e.g. Löw, 1990). The rather clear pattern mentioned above — the larger the town, the lower the degree of intolerance — is also noted in the case of total intolerance (racism). If we examine percentages of intolerant students, the differences are quite marked. While over three percent of students in city or city suburban districts can be described as intolerant, the corresponding figure is almost seven percent for “other” districts, i.e. districts situated outside city areas and outside large or medium-sized towns.

OTHER INDICATORS OF XENOPHOBIA ETC.

Other questionnaire items not discussed in detail so far probe for indications of xenophobia among school-age youth. The presentation begins by looking at a number of items from the alternative battery.

³⁶ These patterns remain even if Muslim students are excluded from the analysis.

The respondents were asked whether they agreed with the following statements:

All individuals are of equal human worth.
You can be friends with anybody no matter where they come from.
Sweden should continue accepting refugees

The response categories were “no, absolutely not,” “no, hardly,” “uncertain,” “yes, perhaps,” and “yes, absolutely.”

The first statement is of particular interest, since the principle of the equal worth of all human beings is fundamental to a democratic society and is expressed both in Sweden’s national action plan against racism and in the current school curriculum. Seventy-one percent of students agree with the statement absolutely, fourteen percent agree “perhaps”, and seven percent are uncertain. A total of eight percent disagree more or less strongly. Possibly the concept of “equal human worth” is too abstract for some students. Others may have understood this item as a claim about the state of the world today, where all human beings do not in fact seem to be of equal worth. The next item, which is close to the first in its implications but conceptually more concrete, elicits more definite opinions. Seventy-seven percent of students agree absolutely, thirteen percent “perhaps”, and the uncertain group is down to a little over five percent. The group that more or less disagree has also declined towards five percent.

Xenophobic parties have repeatedly blamed immigration for a variety of social problems. More or less heated debates on the question of refugees flare up and then die down again. Against this background it is of interest to investigate young people’s attitudes in relation to this issue. A majority of the students, over 60 percent, are in favour of Sweden accepting refugees. Almost 20 percent chose the “uncertain” response and the same percentage are more or less opposed to Sweden doing so.

The young people were also asked to rate a statement addressing attitudes to a certain category of immigrants and a statement with obvious racist implications:

Immigrants to Sweden from countries outside Europe should go back to their home countries.
It is against the laws of nature for people of different races to have children together.

The answer categories were: “disagree”, “partly agree,” “completely agree,” and “don’t know.”

Lange et al. (1997) used both these items for the purpose of investigating what impact certain central themes from xenophobic discourse and racist ideologies have had on young people. In their

findings, the first statement was rejected by 56 percent of students, while 27 percent partly agreed with it, seven percent completely agreed, and ten percent replied “don’t know.” In the present study the statement is rejected by 55 percent of students, 20 percent partly agree with it, ten percent completely agree, and fifteen percent reply “don’t know.”

The statement “It is against the laws of nature for people of different races to have children together” was rejected by 80 percent of students in 1997, while five percent partly agreed, five percent completely agreed, and nine percent answered “don’t know.” In 2003 77 percent of students disagree with the statement, five percent partly agree, five percent completely agree, and thirteen percent reply “don’t know.” There has thus been no major change in attitudes since 1997. For example, the proportion who totally reject the statement “Immigrants to Sweden from countries outside Europe should go back to their home countries” is equally large, at around 55 percent, in both studies.

Other indicators used included an item relating to ethnic groups. Students were asked to identify any ethnic group or groups for which they harboured “negative feelings” for any reason. The following ethnic groups were listed in this order: Swedes, Finns, Germans, Americans (USA), Chileans, Gypsies/Romany, Turks, Kurds, Iraqis, Palestinians, Israelis, Chinese, Ethiopians, Somalis. The selection of groups was intended to cover every part of the world.

Half of the students ticked at least one ethnic group. The option most frequently ticked by students from completely Swedish backgrounds is Turks (28 percent), followed by Iraqis (25 percent), Gypsies/Romany (24 percent), Kurds (22 percent), Palestinians (18 percent) and Israelis (17 percent). The most frequent options among students from a foreign background are Gypsies/Romany (22 percent) and Israelis (21 percent).

Similar patterns have been reported from a Norwegian study, which found that the Turks were the ethnic group which was most consistently rated low on an attitude scale by other groups. Here again, however, the dislike was not mutual: students from immigrant backgrounds were positively disposed towards Norwegians, while Norwegians were more lukewarm towards immigrants (Bratt, 2000).

A comparative report published in 1993 by the Centre for Immigration Research found that Romany people and Turks were somewhat victimised groups. It presented results from an earlier (1987) survey of young people’s attitudes to immigrants and immigration in which respondents had been asked to estimate the similarity between their own values³⁷ and the corresponding values held by twenty national and ethnic minorities. In 1990/1991 a fresh

³⁷ It was taken as understood that the question referred to Swedish values.

questionnaire survey of young people was conducted which formed the basis for the greater part of the analysis in the comparative report. The same approach was used, but the instructions were deliberately made less specific: respondents were asked to spontaneously estimate how similar/close or how different/remote the ethnic groups felt to/from the respondents themselves. An additional four groups were listed. A mean index of “total perceived difference” constructed from these items produced a ranking of the groups which permitted a comparison to be made. Notwithstanding the different instructions and the increase in the number of groups, the comparison showed that young people ranked Romany people and Turks lowest in both surveys (Lange and Westin, 1993).

That the Gypsies/Romany people were selected by so many students regardless of background in the present study is not particularly unexpected given their history as a victimised group and their minority status practically all over the world (Svanberg and Runblom, 1988). Part of the explanation for Israelis being selected by similar numbers of students irrespective of their Swedish or foreign backgrounds may have been a desire on the part of some students to register a critical opinion of the policy of the state of Israel in its conflict with the Palestinians — an opinion held by some proportion of the population in many countries. But it may also be related to the fact that an antisemitic discourse seems to exist in many countries, resulting in this group being selected with about equal frequency regardless of the respondents’ background.

Among the “very tolerant” students, i.e. those who scored zero on the total intolerance index³⁸, the option most frequently chosen (apart from not ticking any ethnic group at all) was Americans (USA), selected by twelve percent. This is probably a reflection of political attitudes. Twenty-one percent of the very tolerant group — a fairly small number, but a not insignificant proportion of the group — ticked one or more options. Discounting the “Americans” option, thirteen percent of this group of students ticked at least one ethnic group, by comparison with over 90 percent of the most intolerant students.

Young people’s attitudes towards democracy constitute another question of interest in this connection. The students were asked to rate the following statement:

Democracy is the best way of governing Sweden.

Lange et al. (1997) used this item to measure young people’s attitudes towards democracy as a form of government. The

³⁸ These students selected the most tolerant response category to every item in the general battery.

background was the conspicuous anti-democratic bias of neo-Nazi political movements, but also the contrary complaints by populist xenophobic parties that social institutions are *not* democratic and therefore take no notice of their opinions. An antidemocratic bias is also found in other extremist political and religious movements, and a disenchantment with democracy, other social issues, and the way society is governed has historically provided opportunities for extremist parties of both the left and the right to gain ground.

In the 1997 study around 64 percent of students agreed more or less with the statement “Democracy is the best way of governing Sweden,” about eight percent disagreed, and 28 percent replied “don’t know.” In the present study 72 percent agree more or less with the statement, four percent disagree, and 24 percent “don’t know.” The proportion of students that agree wholly or partly with the statement is thus larger in the present study, while the proportion that disagree appears to have diminished. It should be noted, however, that the earlier study included the year six cohort, which returned the greatest number of “don’t know” responses to this particular item. As many as 46 percent of the cohort were uncertain, making it difficult to know whether the change is a real one.

When asked about their party preferences, 42 percent of students in the study by Lange et al. (1997) replied “don’t know,” indicating either political indifference or ambivalence. In the present study a substantial group of students indicated no party preference at all, with 31 percent explicitly declaring their indifference by selecting the option “don’t care.”

Indifference to other social issues is very low, however, at least if the response “don’t know” can be taken as indicating indifference. Students were asked to rate the importance of accomplishing the following: enhancing equality between women and men, giving aid to poor countries, making it easier for big corporations to trade, and strengthening Sweden’s military defence. Only three percent selected the “don’t know” response to *all* these social goals.

INTOLERANCE RELATED TO PARTY PREFERENCE

The item relating to party preferences read: “Do you approve of any of the following political parties?” Students were allowed to tick a maximum of two options. Table 6 relates students’ party preferences to their mean scores on the four tolerance indices.³⁹

The mean intolerance indices range from very low among sympathisers of the more radical left-wing parties to very high among those reporting sympathies with parties that could be described as extreme nationalist or national socialist. Green Party sympathisers are

³⁹ This table differs slightly from that published in the original Swedish version of this report as a result of a difference in the treatment of cases with missing data.

similar in outlook to those who indicate approval of the Left Party. Among supporters of other parties the total index ranges from 0.89 (Social Democratic Party) to 1.14 (Moderate [i.e. conservative] Party).

It is also clear that the students who are most intolerant of all the minorities addressed in this study exhibit a quite pronounced tendency to prefer xenophobic parties.

Table 6. Average index scores by party preference. All. Ranked by mean scores (total index)

Stated party preference	Antisemitism index		Islamophobia index		Homophobia index		Total index	
	Mean	n	Mean	n	Mean	n	Mean	n
SAC-Syndicalists	0.31	66	0.29	66	0.34	66	0.31	66
Communist Party	0.61	80	0.57	80	0.45	80	0.54	80
Left Party	0.63	1,228	0.65	1,229	0.52	1,228	0.60	1,229
Green Party	0.63	1,144	0.70	1,144	0.50	1,143	0.61	1,144
Social Democratic Party	0.90	2,210	0.92	2,213	0.84	2,211	0.89	2,213
The Liberals	0.83	1,147	1.00	1,147	0.79	1,147	0.88	1,147
Centre Party	0.91	410	1.05	411	0.83	411	0.93	411
Christian Democrats	0.90	464	1.14	466	1.10	464	1.05	466
Moderate Party (conservatives)	1.11	1,238	1.34	1,238	0.97	1,238	1.14	1,238
Sverigedemokraterna	2.13	481	2.47	482	1.77	482	2.13	483
National Democratic Party	2.51	92	2.75	92	2.03	92	2.43	92
National Socialist Front	2.70	135	2.82	136	2.26	135	2.59	136
Don't know	0.96	2,073	1.00	2,077	0.76	2,074	0.91	2,078
Don't care	1.21	3,233	1.24	3,239	1.05	3,232	1.17	3,239
Total sample	1.04	10,555	1.12	10,572	0.91	10,557	1.02	10,575

Fig. 2 illustrates the clear relationship between level of intolerance and preference for certain parties of the extreme right. As has been noted, respondents were asked to tick either one or two parties that they approved of. The parties shown in the figure were those most often ticked by students in the intolerant group. However, it was not that unusual for students with high intolerance scores to tick all three parties (ignoring the instruction to tick no more than two). If these students are included in the analysis, almost half (49.2 percent) of the intolerant group ticked one or more of these three parties.

Of the 1.7 percent of respondents with scores of three or over on the intolerance scale — indicating a highly intolerant attitude — a clear majority of 64.2 percent ticked one or more of the three parties shown in the figure. It should be kept in mind that the proportion of students who ticked one or more of these parties, while quite small, still comprised over five percent of the approximately 10,000 students.

Young people's party preferences, like those of adults, are to some extent correlated with their social background. Hence the results reported in the above table can be seen as running directly counter to the otherwise clear tendency for students to be less intolerant the "higher" their parents' position on an (occupationally defined) social scale. Students from blue-collar backgrounds tend to be significantly

more intolerant than, say, children of high-level white-collar workers. Here the pattern is reversed: the students who indicate a preference for what are categorised as “labour/workers’ parties” are the least intolerant.

One explanation for these contradictory results might be sought in the fact that such a large proportion of students, around one half, ticked the options “don’t know” or “don’t care” in answer to the question about party preferences. The results for party preference vs. intolerance are thus generated by the more politically committed half of the sample.

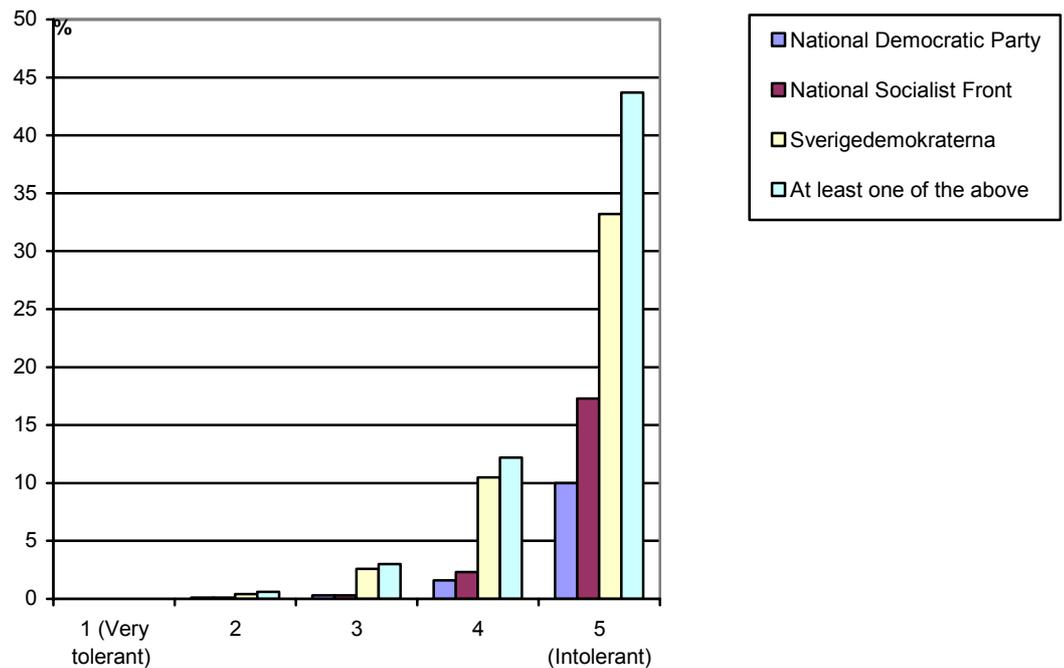


Figure 2. Percentage of each intolerance group indicating a preference for certain parties

If it were the case that students from blue-collar backgrounds were heavily overrepresented and students from white-collar and professional backgrounds heavily underrepresented in the group who don’t know or don’t care, this could account for the contradiction in the results. An analysis shows, however, that this cannot be the case. While there is some overrepresentation of the kind described, it is too marginal to affect the results. If we make the assumption that the students who are uncertain of their party preference would have “voted” in accordance with their socioeconomic background, the results would be essentially unaffected.

It is noteworthy that students from blue-collar backgrounds are clearly overrepresented among the group expressing support for extreme nationalist parties. Students from blue-collar backgrounds constitute just over one third (34 percent) of the entire sample, but almost half (48 percent) of nationalist party sympathisers.

SOCIAL ALIENATION

A very clear pattern emerges when students' perceived sense of social alienation is plotted against their general intolerance. The five items intended to measure alienation were:

- Most politicians probably couldn't care less about ordinary people's problems.
- I think the powers that be put their own interests first.
- I think the future looks so uncertain that I prefer not to think about it.
- These days it's hard to know who you can really count on.
- Many things are so complicated in today's society that it's easy to get confused.

The response categories were: 0 = that's totally wrong, 1 = that is partly wrong, 2 = uncertain/don't know, 3 = that is partly right, 4 = that's exactly right. An index to measure levels of perceived alienation was constructed in the manner described previously (by taking the sum of the individual item scores and dividing it by number of items).

Table 7. All. Average intolerance (total index) by degree of perceived social alienation (index range).

Alienation Index value	Total intolerance (index)	
	Mean	n
0 – 1.19	0.60	1,176
1.20 – 1.99	0.79	1,934
2.00 – 2.50	1.08	3,871
2.51 – 3.19	1.14	2,422
3.20 -	1.42	1,068

The results show that the higher the degree of alienation students feel, the more intolerant they are. The differences are very clear. Those who feel no alienation (index range 0–1.19) score an average score of only 0.60 on the intolerance index, a value far below the mean, whereas those who feel the highest degree of alienation (over 3.2) have on average an intolerance index score of 1.42, significantly above the mean. Almost identical results are obtained if the focus is directed at intolerance towards the specific groups Muslims, Jews and homosexuals.

Much the same pattern emerges if we look at the answers to the individual items used to measure alienation. In general, for each item, the more strongly students agree with the item the more intolerant they are, and no item shows a significantly different pattern.

However, those students who might be described as ambivalent, i.e. who choose the “uncertain/don’t know” responses, tend to stand out in a consistent fashion: they are somewhat more intolerant than those who think the statements are “partly right”, but definitely less intolerant than those who think the statements are “exactly right”.

A natural follow-up question to these results is that of whether there is a causal relationship whereby perceived alienation generates intolerance towards other people. An alternative hypothesis might be that these are co-occurring personality characteristics.

THE HOLOCAUST QUESTION

In response to attempts by historical revisionists to trivialise or deny the Holocaust, a number of international studies were initiated to try to measure the public’s knowledge about the Holocaust. It was noted by Lange et al. (1997) that the questions asked in these surveys were often difficult to interpret and varied in their wording, making comparisons impossible. There was also a lack of surveys of school students, which made it important to measure the level of knowledge among the younger generation as well as to produce an independent formulation of the question.

The 1997 study focused on trying to measure students’ knowledge of the Holocaust and of their confidence that it had occurred. The following question was formulated:

The “Holocaust” usually refers to the murder of approximately six million Jews by the Nazis during the second world war. How certain are you that the “Holocaust” took place?

The response categories were: “not at all certain”, “a bit uncertain,” “fairly certain”, “completely certain”, and “don’t know”.

The question has been criticised on the grounds of its wording and in particular for mentioning the number of Jewish victims of the Holocaust. The number in itself could cause uncertainty. Respondents who had no doubt that the Holocaust took place but who were uncertain about the number of victims might hesitate over which response category best reflected their opinion. Hence it is difficult to be sure whether the responses “a bit uncertain” and “not at all certain” reflect doubt about the number of victims or doubt about whether the Holocaust took place. However, it should be noted that the figure of six million is the very fact that is most persistently questioned by historical revisionists, making it important to include it in the question. The term “Holocaust” might also have influenced the responses because of its unfamiliarity to young people. However, a

variety of tests show that the formulation of the question had little effect on the responses.⁴⁰

Slightly over eighty percent of respondents in the present study are completely or fairly certain and five percent are a bit uncertain or not at all certain. If those who responded “don’t know” are included, the proportion expressing some kind of uncertainty about the Holocaust as a historical event amounts to eighteen percent.

Table 8. The Holocaust question

The “Holocaust” usually refers to the murder of approximately six million Jews by the Nazis during the second world war. How certain are you that the “Holocaust” took place?		
	Number	Percentage
Not at all certain	240	2.3
A bit uncertain	314	3.0
Fairly certain	1812	17.3
Completely certain	6723	64.3
Don't know	1364	13.0
Total	10453	100

The present study included the first year of upper secondary school, which was excluded from the 1997 study. The 1997 study, on the other hand, included year six of compulsory school, which was excluded from the present study. For the purpose of comparison these two cohorts were excluded from the respective samples. The 1997 results show that a total of 85 percent of students were completely or fairly certain that the Holocaust took place, while the corresponding figure for the present study is 80 percent. The proportion who responded “don’t know” has increased in the last eight years from eight to fourteen percent, while the proportion who are completely certain has declined from 71 to 62 percent. The differences might be due to the presence of a larger proportion of upper secondary school students in the 1997 sample, but even when this difference in distribution is controlled for the pattern persists, although it is somewhat less marked. The percentage of “completely certain” responses under the heading “Control” in Table 9, 67 percent, is still lower than in the previous study, and the percentage of “don’t know” responses is higher at twelve percent.

⁴⁰ In response to earlier criticism, three alternative items addressing the question of whether or not the Holocaust took place were produced and tested in a pilot survey. All of the alternative items excluded the number of victims. Two items were worded so as to avoid the use of the term Holocaust. In one alternative item respondents were asked to express in their own words what the term Holocaust referred to and whether it had taken place. These alternative items and the original item were tested in a pilot survey which was conducted in spring 2003. No differences in the distribution of responses were found between the different wordings, which indicates that the mention of the number of victims and the use of the term Holocaust are of subsidiary importance for the way the subjects responded.

Table 9. Comparison of Holocaust questions. Percent

	Lange et al., 1997*	Present study, 2004**	Control
Not at all certain	4.1	2.5	2.0
A bit uncertain	3.0	3.3	2.8
Fairly certain	14.0	17.6	16.5
Completely certain	70.8	62.4	66.6
Don't know	8.1	14.3	12.0

*excluding year 6

**excluding upper secondary year 1

The results reveal two tendencies. The proportion of “completely certain” responses has declined since the 1997 study⁴¹, but at the other end of the scale the proportion of “not at all certain” responses has halved over the same period. A number of causes are possible, ranging from indifference to the issue to the present generation of students not automatically accepting everything that their textbooks say. This generation is also further removed in time from the historical period in question and hence the event will appear more distant and abstract.

Of the students in the present study, those at compulsory school showed the most uncertainty about the Holocaust, particularly girls (Table 10). Indeed, girls at both types of school are more likely to choose the “don't know” response. Girls at compulsory school are also the most likely to choose the responses “not at all certain” and “a bit uncertain”.

Table 10. Responses to Holocaust question by sex and school type

School type	Sex	Not at all certain	A bit uncertain	Fairly certain	Completely certain	Don't know	Total	
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	Row %
Compulsory school (years 8–9)	Girl	3.6	4.4	18.7	51.6	21.6	2,587	100
	Boy	3.0	3.7	20.1	58.1	15.1	2,524	100
Upper secondary	Girl	1.0	2.0	13.5	73.9	9.5	2,692	100
	Boy	1.7	1.9	17.2	72.9	6.3	2,650	100

A survey of third year upper secondary students in 2001 revealed that almost all the students had heard of Auschwitz, while few of them had heard of the Gulag. The students surveyed were enrolled in the Social Science programme and should have been well-informed about history, but their awareness of the crimes of communism was remarkably limited (Küng and Franco de Castro, 2001).

In the present study 57 percent answered “yes” to the question “Some people claim that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened. Have you ever heard this claim?” Over 29 percent

⁴¹ The statistical uncertainty of both surveys is in the order of ± 1 percentage point.

answered “no”, while thirteen percent replied “don’t know”. Not surprisingly, upper secondary students were more likely than compulsory school students to have heard this revisionist claim, and at upper secondary school more boys had heard it than girls.

Fifty-five percent of students in the 1997 study had heard of revisionist claims one or more times.⁴² As in the present study, a larger proportion of upper secondary students reported hearing them. Four percent of respondents reported coming in contact with revisionist material on the internet. In the present study 1.4 percent of students report that they have visited the website of Radio Islam, which contains revisionist material.

Several international studies (The American Jewish Committee (AJC), 1999 and 2002; Anti-Defamation League, 2002) have specifically investigated knowledge about the Holocaust and historical revisionism. In 1999 SIFO conducted a study of these issues for the American Jewish Committee. The questions were put to a sample of the whole population, and not surprisingly the level of knowledge was quite high. The survey consisted of 1,000 telephone interviews with persons aged fifteen and above, who were asked to respond to 24 questions about the Holocaust. One of the questions was similar to the question about historical revisionism in Lange et al. (1997): “Some people claim that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened. Have you ever heard this claim?” Eighty-six percent answered that they had heard the claim and thirteen percent that they had not.

A follow-up question was included subsequent to the above item: “Does it seem possible to you that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened, or do you feel certain that it happened?” Ninety-six percent replied that they felt certain that it had happened, one percent that it seemed possible that it had not, and two percent responded “don’t know” (AJC, 1999).

The results show that the Swedish public in general have no doubt that the Holocaust took place. While the figures for the students in the present and the 1997 studies are lower, the pattern is the same. Even though around half of all the students have heard revisionist claims, a majority in both studies are completely certain that the Holocaust took place.

The statement “There’s too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews” is taken from Lange et al. (1997). Its purpose was to measure whether students found what they were taught about the Holocaust relevant to the present. A positive

⁴² The wording was as follows: “Some people (so-called revisionists) claim that the extermination of Jews during the second world war never took place. If you have heard such claims, in what way did you hear them?” In the present study the question was not designed to measure how many times or in what way students had heard revisionist claims.

response to this item may indicate a number of things, ranging from a wish to forget the past to fatigue with the issue.

Although there are some uncertainties in the comparison, the results suggest that there has been a shift in the direction of a greater level of doubt (Table 11). The number of students who disagree with the statement seems to have declined substantially and the number who reply “don’t know” has increased. There are also some indications that the number that agree with the statement has increased somewhat, but the size of the increases and the decrease cannot be determined exactly. It is mere speculation to wonder what has caused these differences, but there may be a suggestion of “fatigue” due to the quantity of information. Other contributing factors may include the content of the information and the way it is imparted.

Table 11. Comparison of question “There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews. Percent

	Lange et al.,	
	1997*	Present study, 2004**
Disagree	50.9	37.2
Partly agree	21.1	21.7
Completely agree	7.6	12.2
Don't know	20.4	29.0

*excluding year 8

**excluding upper secondary year 1

The results of the present study display a similar tendency to that from 1997, namely that students who are certain that the Holocaust took place tend to *reject* the statement that “there is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews.” Those who are more or less uncertain as to whether the Holocaust took place show a contrary tendency: nearly three quarters of them agree with the statement partly or completely (Table 12).

Table 12. Relationship between Holocaust question and the statement “There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews”

The “Holocaust” usually refers to the murder of approximately six million Jews by the Nazis during the second world war. How certain are you that the “Holocaust” took place?	There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews.*					
	Disagree		Completely/partly agree		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not at all certain/a bit uncertain	88	25.3	260	74.7	348	100
Don't know	167	28.7	415	71.3	582	100
Completely/fairly certain	3,598	56.0	2,828	44.0	6,426	100
Total	3,853	52.4	3,503	47.6	7,356	100

*Excluding the fraction that responded “Don't know”.

When responses to the question about the historical truth of the Holocaust are plotted against the attitude index towards Jews the two

are found to be correlated to some extent. Students who are free from antisemitic attitudes (index score = 0) tend to be completely certain that the Holocaust took place (see Table 13). Eighty-six percent of these “very tolerant” students are completely certain of the historical truth of the Holocaust. A proportion just over half as large, 47 percent, of students with antisemitic attitudes (index score > 2.5) are completely certain that the Holocaust took place. The results thus show that doubt about the Holocaust tends to increase with the level of intolerance.

Table 13. Relationship between attitudes towards Jews (index) and Holocaust question

The "Holocaust" usually refers to the murder of approximately six million Jews by the Nazis during the second world war. How certain are you that the "Holocaust" took place?

Antisemitism index	Not at all certain		A bit uncertain		Fairly certain		Completely certain		Don't know		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Very tolerant (score 0)	12	0.7	13	0.7	150	8.2	1565	85.9	82	4.5	1822	100
Tolerant (0.01-1.49)	84	1.6	106	2.0	914	17.4	3638	69.3	508	9.7	5250	100
Uncertain (1.5-2.5)	102	3.7	152	5.5	629	22.8	1226	44.5	644	23.4	2753	100
Intolerant (>2.5)	41	6.9	39	6.6	112	18.9	277	46.8	123	20.8	592	100

DISSEMINATION

Another section of the survey investigated the dissemination of racist, national socialist, and extreme nationalist propaganda, and in particular how much contact young people have had with material emanating from parties or associations of this kind.⁴³

Respondents were asked whether they had "come into contact with material" from certain extreme nationalist and racist organisations. Among the minority of around seven percent who report that they have done so, the organisation most frequently cited was the National Socialist Front. The fact that one has been in contact with material from such an organisation does not necessarily mean that one supports the opinions expressed. Of those students who were categorised as "intolerant" (index score > 2.5) in the analysis discussed above, 30 percent report having come into contact with one or more of these organisations, by comparison with six percent of the "very tolerant" group. Nothing can be said about causal relations here other than to note that there is a covariation between levels of intolerance and contact with material from racist organisations, as was indeed expected.

Table 14. Contact with racist organisations

Have you come into contact with material from any of the following organisations?

Organisation	No	Yes	Total	
	%	%	n	%
Nordiska rikspartiet	99.5	0.5	10,484	100
National Socialist Front	94.3	5.7	10,484	100
Swedish Resistance/ National Youth	97.1	2.9	10,484	100
Blood & Honour Scandinavia	98.7	1.3	10,484	100

⁴³ The organisations specified in the questions were chosen because they are under surveillance by the Swedish Security Service (SÄPO), Protection of the Constitution Section, and/or were included in the 1997 study (Lange et al., 1997).

Students were asked to tick any of a list of national socialist, racist and extreme nationalist publications that they had ever read. The results are presented in Table 15. *Den svenske nationalsocialisten* appears to be the publication most widely disseminated among young people, with 2.3 percent of students having read it at least once. Not surprisingly, a similar relationship to that found between levels of intolerance and contact with material from extreme nationalist organisations was found in relation to the question of having read their publications. Just 0.6 percent of students in the “very tolerant” group have ever read any of the publications, while a forty times larger proportion, 25 percent, of the intolerant group have done so.

Table 15. Contact with racist publications

Have you read any of these publications?						
Publication	No		Yes		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
<i>Nationellt motstånd</i>	10,327	98.6	145	1.4	10,472	100
<i>Nationell idag</i>	10,383	99.2	89	0.8	10,472	100
<i>Den svenske nationalsocialisten</i>	10,231	97.7	241	2.3	10,472	100

Since 1997 the number of racist websites has grown rapidly, from two or three explicitly racist sites in 1997 to at least 34 a few years later (BRÅ, 1999). This material is accessible at any time, and when surfing the internet one can easily come across such sites without necessarily sympathising with their content. Seven percent of students in the present study have visited an extreme nationalist or racist website. About two in one hundred (2.4 percent) of the “very tolerant” group report having done so and about four in ten (38 percent) of the “intolerant” group.

White-power music today consists of several different genres. During the 1990s Swedish producers of this music became international market leaders, and the economy of the racist underground is largely underpinned by the sale of these CDs. Central messages of the lyrics include white superiority, the “international Jewish conspiracy”, and denial of the Holocaust. Homosexuals too are counted among the movement’s “moral enemies” (BRÅ, 1999).

Young people are big music consumers. Given that this type of music is the main channel for the message of the racist underground, it is of interest to see how widely disseminated it is among school students. Fifteen percent of students report having listened at least once to white-power or “White Noise” music. A considerably smaller proportion, 2.8 percent, report that they listen to it “often”. In answer to a differently phrased question, almost four percent of

students state that they enjoy “racist rock”.⁴⁴ More boys than girls listen to white-power music — 18.5 percent vs. around twelve percent. Overall a slightly higher proportion of students listen to this music at compulsory school (17 percent) than at upper secondary school (14 percent). The groups that listen to it the most are boys at compulsory school (19 percent) and boys in “other” upper secondary school programmes (25 percent). Looking more closely at different secondary school programmes, the keenest listeners are boys in vocational programmes (25 percent) and especially students in individual programmes. Of the last-named group, both boys and girls, around four out of ten state that they have listened to this kind of music at least once. The highest proportion of students who *often* listen to this music is found among boys at compulsory school (4 percent), see Table B 46. The relationship between preferences for this type of music and level of intolerance is discussed in a later section.

The most usual way that students who listen to white-power music have come in contact with it is through peers, reported by over 65 percent. The second commonest contact route is the internet (25 percent), followed by “some other way” (22 percent).

The 1997 study included a question which read, “Do you listen to the following kinds of music?” One of the two options listed was “White Noise music/*rassemusik/nassemusik*”. Over twelve percent of students reported that they listened to racist music sometimes or often, and two percent that they listened to it often. As was noted in the present study, more boys (15 percent) than girls (9 percent) listened to this type of music, particularly boys at compulsory school (16 percent) and boys in practical programmes at upper secondary school (19 percent).

A comparison of the 1997 figures with those from the present study shows that there has been an increase in the percentage of students who listen to this type of music. Some caution is in order, however, as the questions asked in the two studies were not quite identical.⁴⁵ One point of agreement between the results of the two studies is that today, as in 1997, the most usual route by which students come in contact with this music is through their peers.

EXPOSURE TO ABUSE

To form a picture of the prevalence of intolerance towards minorities it is important to investigate students’ exposure to various forms of

⁴⁴ This question appeared in a separate battery in which students’ general music preferences were investigated.

⁴⁵ In 1997 the question included the terms *rassemusik/nassemusik*, while the more neutrally worded question in the present study speaks only of “white-power music” and “White Noise music”. (*Rassemusik* and *nassemusik* contain the pejorative slang expressions *rasse* ‘racist’, *nasse* ‘Nazi’, combined with *musik* ‘music’.)

abuse related to their background, religion or perceived homosexuality.⁴⁶ Only upper secondary students were asked about abuse based on perceived homosexuality. The questions about abuse referred to students' reported experience of violence, threats, teasing, name-calling, and perceived unfair treatment. It should be noted that the reporting is from the respondent's point of view, i.e. where the victim of abuse perceived the incident to be connected with his or her origins, religion, or assumed homosexuality.

VIOLENCE

While it is fairly unusual for students to be subjected to violence because of their origins, it does occur. Students were asked to state whether they had been assaulted as a result of their origins, this word being explained as referring to both Swedish and foreign origins. They were also asked about the frequency and the context of the violence.

A total of 275 students report having been assaulted because of their origins at least once in the last twelve months. This constitutes 2.6 percent of those surveyed. The majority of those who report being assaulted were victimised on a single occasion. Few students (1.6 percent) report repeated assaults. Suffering three or more assaults is unusual (0.5 percent).

Boys run a greater risk of violence than girls — 3.4 percent vs. 1.9 percent. The most targeted groups are boys in "other" (i.e. non-academic) upper secondary programmes (4.8 percent) and boys at compulsory school (3.2 percent). The most targeted group in terms of national background comprises those born abroad of foreign-born parents (6.6 percent). In terms of region of origin, students of Southern European (4.6 percent) and non-European (4.5 percent) origins are the most vulnerable and those from completely Swedish backgrounds the least (around 2 percent). Most of the violence reported to be due to students' origins takes place during leisure time: 1.7 percent of students report having been assaulted in the street, at discos, at youth clubs etc.

The findings from the 1997 study are in agreement with those of the present study in noting that a relatively small proportion of students were subjected to violence. A total of 2.9 percent reported having been assaulted because of their origins at least once in the past twelve months. The assaults mostly took place in the same contexts as they do today, i.e. on the street, at discos, at youth clubs etc. The most targeted groups in terms of origin were students of non-European (6.1 percent) and Southern European origin (5.1 percent). The incidence among students of Swedish background was 2.2 percent.

⁴⁶ Exposure to violence because of religion and perceived homosexuality are new categories in this study and did not appear in the 1997 study.

Even if no physical violence takes place, one can be subjected to quite serious abuse in the form of threats. While somewhat more frequently reported than violence, the prevalence of threats is still limited. The questions about threats were framed in the same way as those about violence.

A total of 6.5 percent of students report that they have been threatened because of their Swedish or foreign origins at least once in the last twelve months. The majority, 4.6 percent, experienced such threats on one or two occasions. A minority of the students, 1.9 percent, were threatened many (three or more) times.

There are no major differences in exposure to threats between upper secondary students (6.8 percent) and compulsory school students (6.3 percent). However, students in “other” upper secondary programmes are somewhat more likely to be targeted (8.1 percent). The biggest difference is between the sexes: boys (8.6 percent) are threatened because of their origins twice as often as girls (4.5 percent).

With regard to national background, exposure to threats is three times as frequent among students from foreign backgrounds (student and both parents foreign-born) as it is among students from a completely Swedish background (student and both parents Swedish-born). Fifteen percent of students from foreign backgrounds have been threatened because of their origins, compared with 5.3 percent of students from Swedish backgrounds. The most frequently targeted groups in terms of region of origin are students of Southern European (12.5 percent) and non-European descent (11.8 percent). As in the case of violence, the main contexts in which threats based on origin occur are the street, discos, youth clubs etc.

Another questionnaire item investigates how many students have recently been subjected to threatening behaviour by “skinheads”. A total of 5.5 percent of the students report this type of abuse — boys (7.4 percent) more often than girls (3.7 percent). Boys at upper secondary school are particular targets: 8.3 percent of boys in “other” programmes and 9.2 percent of boys in academic programmes report being threatened by skinheads, as do about four percent of girls in both programmes. In terms of national background the most heavily targeted group, not unexpectedly, comprises foreign-born students with foreign-born parents (13 percent).

The 1997 study found that 7.1 percent of students had been threatened because of their origins (Swedish or foreign) at least once in the past twelve months. The results showed that compulsory school students in years eight and nine were the most frequent targets (8.2 percent). Here there has been a change: the proportion of compulsory school students targeted by threats because of their origins in the present study is somewhat smaller than in 1997, at 6.3 percent,

making compulsory school students no longer the most targeted group. However, the biggest differences in the 1997 study, just as in the present one, were between the sexes, with boys being targeted markedly more often than girls. The proportion of boys of non-European descent found to have been threatened because of their origins was notably high, at around 22 percent, as compared to eleven percent of girls. The present results indicate that while this group of boys remains a vulnerable category, they are no longer the top target in terms of region of origin. Boys of Southern European and non-European descent are targeted more or less equally frequently (18 percent and 17 percent respectively).

VERBAL ABUSE

Verbal abuse accounts for the bulk of the abusive behaviour reported. The biggest targeted group comprises students who feel they have been teased because of their origins.

Almost fourteen percent of students state that they have been teased on at least one occasion in the last twelve months because of their Swedish or foreign origins. The incidence of repeated abuse of this type is quite high, as might be expected. A total of 4.6 percent of students, a minority of those who have been teased for their origins, have been teased just once, while 9.1 percent have been teased twice or many times. The majority of those who were teased repeatedly were targeted three times or more.

Verbal abuse is reported somewhat more frequently by compulsory school students (years eight and nine) than by upper secondary students. Fifteen percent of compulsory school students have been targeted, compared with twelve percent of upper secondary students. The most vulnerable group comprises boys at compulsory school (17 percent).

The largest differences are found between national backgrounds. Students from foreign backgrounds are targeted significantly more often than those from Swedish backgrounds. As many as 40 percent of foreign-born students with foreign-born parents have been teased for their origins, whereas only nine percent of Swedish-born students with Swedish-born parents have been targeted. In terms of region of origin, students of Northern, Western and Eastern European origins are less often targeted (22 percent) than those of Southern European (36 percent) and non-European descent (32 percent).

Unlike threats and violence, verbal abuse quite frequently occurs at school: A total of 8.4 percent of students have been teased either in school or in the schoolyard. The next most frequent context is in the street, at discos, youth centres etc. (7.7 percent).

Another type of verbal abuse is name-calling. Students were asked to tick any of a list of insulting names that they had been called at any

time in the last twelve months. It is common enough for school students to call each other this and that; however, the majority, over 61 percent, report that nobody has called them any of the names listed, nor any other insulting name.

Most of the students who have been subjected to name-calling indicate that they were called by various other insulting names not listed on the form: seventeen percent ticked the category “other insulting name”. The most frequent insulting label for girls is ‘*jävla hora*’ (translated in the english version of the survey instrument as ‘stupid/bloody etc. slut/ slapper/whore’) (reported by 25 percent) and for boys ‘*jävla bög/ homo/fikus*’ (translated as ‘stupid/bloody etc. gay/queer/faggot’) (20 percent).

It is not that unusual for respondents to have been called *svenskjävel/jävla svenne* (derogatory epithets for Swedes). This is in a sense unremarkable, since the majority of the sample consists of students from “completely Swedish” backgrounds. Looking at national background, 31 percent of students from foreign backgrounds have been called *jävla svartskalle/turk/blatte* (epithets for dark-skinned/Turkish/Mediterranean people). If we add other ethnic insults (*jävla neger/svarting* [blacks], *jävla kines/guling* [Chinese/Asians], *jävla jude/judesvin* [Jews], *jävla muslim* [Muslims]), exposure to name-calling among students from foreign backgrounds rises to nearly 38 percent.

A total of 5.5 percent of students have been called *nazistsvin/nasse/rasistjävel* (epithets for Nazis/racists) at some time in the last twelve months.⁴⁷

It should be remembered when interpreting these results that a question like this picks up a lot of “tough talk” which often has nothing to do with full-fledged racism, homophobia, islamophobia or antisemitism. Some of the students who have been targeted and who have targeted others specifically indicated on their questionnaire forms that it was “in fun”.

Lange et al. (1997) also investigated the prevalence of ethnic name-calling and of being dubbed *nazistsvin* and *rasistjävel* (epithets for Nazis and racists respectively). The question on ethnic insults was designed as a combination item which measured whether respondents had been called *djävla svartskalle* (epithet for dark-skinned persons), *judesvin* (Jews), *blattesvin* (dark/Mediterranean), *vitskalle* (white), *vitlök* (white), *svenskjävel* (Swedish), *djävla svenne* (Swedish), or similar epithets. A separate item investigated how many had been called *nazistsvin* or *rasistjävel* (Nazi/racist). Altogether 23 percent of students had been subjected to ethnic name-calling. Compulsory school students were the most targeted group (28 percent). The most

⁴⁷ There is a clear relationship between the categorised general intolerance scale and having been called by these epithets (gamma = 0.59).

targeted group in terms of origins comprised students of non-European descent (47 percent). Eighteen percent of students from Swedish backgrounds reported being targeted. Almost seven percent of students reported having been called *nazistsvin* or *rasistjäväl*. However, the figures are not comparable because the questions were posed in widely differing ways in the two studies.

UNFAIR TREATMENT

A more subtle form of abuse consists in making somebody feel they are being unfairly treated. Students were asked to state whether there was any occasion in the last twelve months when they felt unfairly treated because of their Swedish or foreign background, and if so, by whom. The response categories were: person in authority, teacher, other member of school staff, student at school, other person. The item was designed to measure frequency as well.

Students appear to feel that this form of abuse is almost as prevalent as being teased for one's origins. Fifteen percent of students have felt they were unfairly treated as a result of their Swedish or foreign origins at least once in the last twelve months. Differences between the sexes are negligible.

About one student in ten (11 percent) has felt unfairly treated at school, most often by another student or by a teacher. About four percent of students report feeling unfairly treated by a person in authority (e.g. a police officer or social welfare officer). Those who most often feel they have been subjected to this kind of abuse comprise students from foreign backgrounds (foreign-born students with foreign-born parents). Boys from foreign backgrounds report more frequently (35 percent) than other students that they have felt unfairly treated by persons in authority and/or by teachers. The corresponding figure for boys from completely Swedish backgrounds is five percent.

Lange et al. (1997) posed a similar question, but using the words "badly" and "unfairly" in the same item, which focused on the school environment. The questionnaire asked students if they had felt badly or unfairly treated at school because of their Swedish or foreign origins, and if so, by whom. Six response categories were offered, the majority being groups of students — classmates and other students at school, from immigrant or other backgrounds. The study showed that almost thirteen percent of students had felt badly or unfairly treated at school on at least one occasion as a result of their origins. The most targeted group, as in the present study, comprised students from foreign backgrounds. It was also noted that as many as one boy in five of non-European descent had felt badly or unfairly treated by a teacher at school, compared with three percent of boys from completely Swedish backgrounds.

RACIST GRAFFITI

Other types of incidents also occur. Around four percent of students report that someone has written racist slogans on their desk or locker in the past twelve months. Differences between the sexes are slight, but compulsory school students seem to be targeted more often by this type of incident, particularly boys in years eight and nine. The most frequently targeted group in terms of national background comprises students from foreign backgrounds (7.5 percent), whereas students from Swedish backgrounds are the least targeted (3.4 percent).

In the 1997 study around five percent of students reported that their locker or desk had been defaced with racist graffiti on at least one occasion.

THREATENING MESSAGES

A fairly small proportion of students are targeted by threatening electronic messages. Around one in ten (9 percent) report that they have received threatening e-mail, SMS or chat messages. A total of 1.7 percent of students have received messages of this kind which they associated with their origins. As in the case of exposure to unfair treatment and racist graffiti, there seems to be little difference between the sexes, with girls (1.5 percent) and boys (2 percent) being targeted more or less equally often.⁴⁸

EXPOSURE DUE TO RELIGION OR PERCEIVED HOMOSEXUALITY

Students' exposure to abuse as a result of their religion or their perceived homosexuality are both matters that have been investigated for the first time in the present study. It should be noted that the latter question relates to whether the respondent is perceived as homosexual by *others* and is for that reason, in his or her opinion, targeted by violence or threats.

A small proportion of students, 0.5 percent, report that they have been subjected to violence as a result of their religion. A smaller proportion still, 0.3 percent, report that they have been hit because they were perceived by others to be homosexual.

A slightly larger proportion of students, 0.9 percent, report being threatened because of their religion. One percent report that they have received threatening e-mails, SMS messages or chat messages due to their religion. The proportion of students who have been threatened because others perceived them to be homosexual lies at 0.2 percent.

⁴⁸ Lange et al. (1997) did not include any similar questions, but asked whether students had received anonymous phone calls, false mail orders or suffered other kinds of harassment which they attributed to their origins. A total of 4.1 percent of students had been subjected to abuses of this kind as a result of their origins.

In relation to religion and perceived homosexuality, verbal abuse is once again the type of abusive behaviour most frequently reported. A total of 4.2 percent of students report having been teased for their religion and 1.9 percent as a result of their perceived homosexuality.

Another form of abuse involves excluding or freezing an individual out of the group. This form of abuse was only measured in relation to religion and perceived homosexuality. A fairly small proportion of students report this type of abuse for these specific motives: 1.7 percent report that they have been frozen out at some time in the past twelve months because of their religion and 0.3 percent because of perceived homosexuality.

In terms of their total exposure to abuse (teasing, exclusion, threats or violence) on religious grounds, girls are targeted somewhat more than boys: 6.1 percent of girls report suffering one or more of the above forms of abuse due to their religion, compared with 5.2 percent of boys. Violence seems to be fairly unusual: 0.6 percent of boys and 0.4 percent of girls report that they have been hit because of their religion.

Students from foreign backgrounds are the most likely to be targeted on religious grounds. Over seventeen percent of students from foreign backgrounds have suffered one or more of the above forms of abuse, as compared with just over four percent of students from completely Swedish backgrounds. Among students from partly foreign or foreign backgrounds, the most frequently targeted groups are those of Southern European descent (around 16 percent) and those from non-European backgrounds (almost 13 percent). The special vulnerability of students from Southern European backgrounds to religiously motivated abuse is probably due to the Muslim element in this group. The region of origin termed Southern Europe includes the former Yugoslavia, from which young Bosnians have immigrated in fairly large numbers since 1999 as a result of the break-up of Yugoslavia. The majority of these students are Muslims. Based on the students who responded to the item on subjectively reported religious affiliation, more than half of the sample are Christians and the next largest group comprises Muslims (5.6 percent).

Students who reported that they were Muslims are the group most often targeted by abuse of whatever type, and also the group with the greatest total exposure to abuse. Twenty-one percent of Muslim students have been subjected to one or more of the above-mentioned forms of abuse, compared with 5.5 percent of students describing themselves as Christians and 15.5 percent of students of other faiths.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ This group includes the religions Buddhism, Judaism and Hinduism.

All these forms of abuse, both the more and the less serious, were combined to form a scale of total exposure to abuse as a result of origins or religion. The exposure scale thus includes reports of being teased, threatened, subjected to violence/hit, frozen out, sent threatening electronic messages, and unfairly treated.⁵⁰ The scale ranges from zero, denoting no exposure at all, to a maximum of six, the score of an individual who has suffered all of the above forms of abuse.

Fig. 3 presents mean scores on the total exposure index by national background. Students from foreign backgrounds have the highest mean exposure index score, at 1.3, while the mean for students from partly foreign backgrounds is just over half that value, 0.7. Students from completely Swedish backgrounds have the lowest mean of 0.3

A similar pattern was found in the study by Lange et al. (1997). Their scale consisted of seven levels and was differently constructed to that in the present study. The results correspond with those of the present study in showing a relationship between students' levels of exposure and their background. Boys from Southern European and non-European backgrounds had the highest mean, 3.3, whereas boys from completely Swedish backgrounds had the lowest, 2.0.

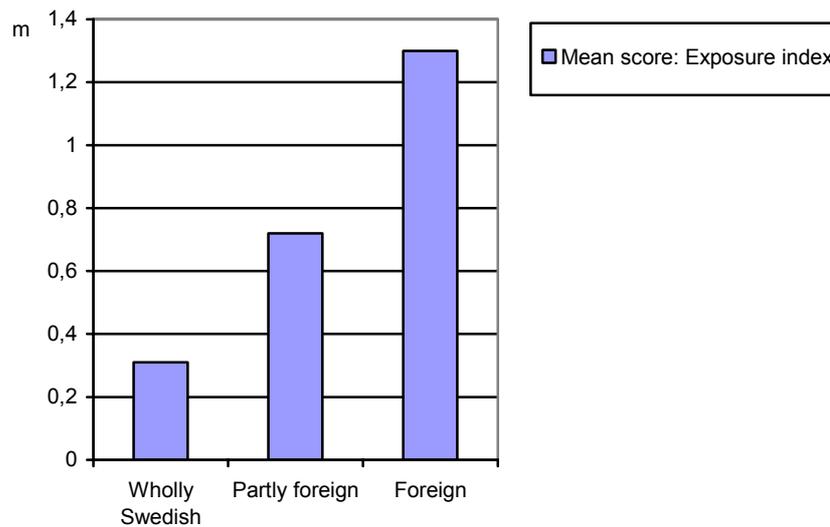


Figure 3. Mean scores on total exposure index by background

⁵⁰ The variables for the different forms of abuse were dichotomised and then summed into a single scale.

Confining our attention to those students who scored above zero on the exposure scale, we again find that the most vulnerable group comprises students from foreign backgrounds: 60 percent of this group have suffered one or more forms of abuse (see Fig. 4).

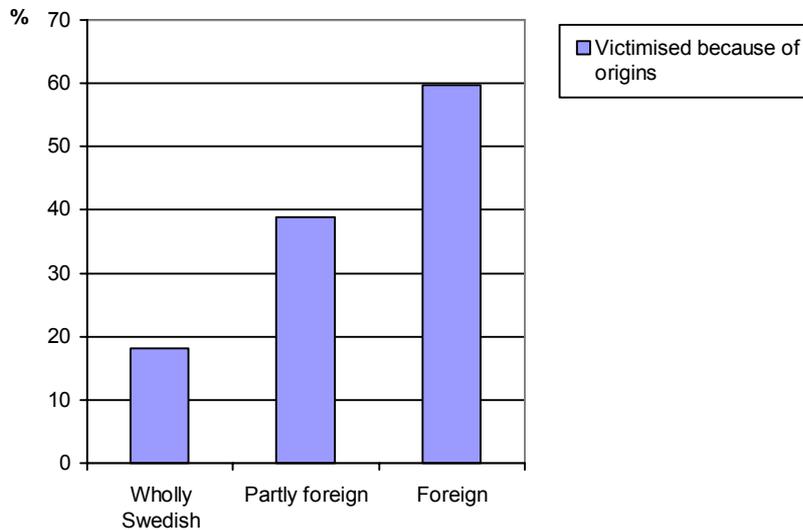


Figure 4. Proportions scoring above zero on exposure index, by background

The questionnaire also inquired about students' recent well-being. Students were asked whether they had felt afraid of going out at night, "down and depressed", angry, anxious, or had difficulty sleeping. The response categories for each question were "no, not at all," "once or twice," "sometimes," and "often." All these negative feelings, with the exception of fear of going out at night, were combined into a mean index ranging from zero to three. A person who has never experienced any of the negative feelings scores zero, while the top score of three represents a person who has experienced all the negative feelings frequently.⁵¹ The question about fear of going out at night is reported separately.

Fig. 5 shows that there is a correlation between exposure to abuse and experiencing negative feelings.⁵² The trend is that the more often one is subjected to abuse, the lower one's well-being. Fear of going out at night is also correlated with exposure to abuse. It will be seen from the figure that students who have not suffered abuse also sometimes experience the problems listed, albeit less frequently. The mean for the most victimised group is over twice as high as that for

⁵¹ The scale has a reliability coefficient of 0.82.

⁵² Students were divided into groups according to their scores on the exposure index.

the least victimised group. It is possible that abuse in its different forms has negative consequences for the students targeted, particularly in relation to their mental well-being.

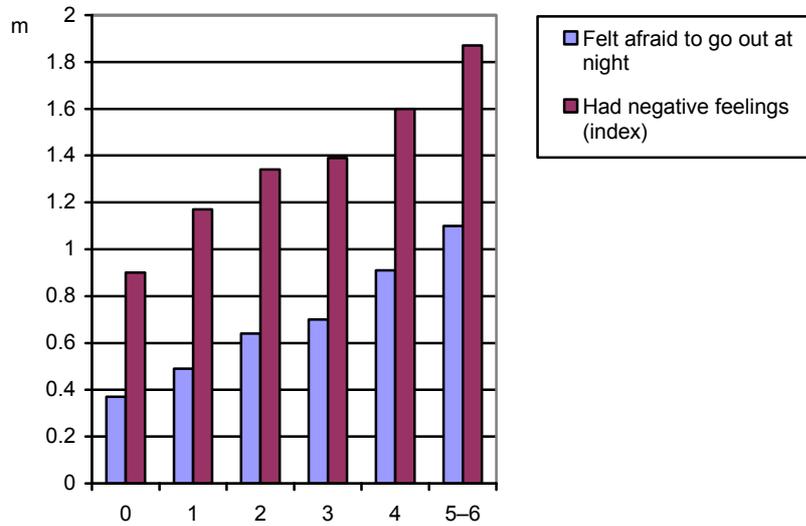


Figure 5. Mean values on negative feelings scale and on question how often one has felt afraid to go out at night, by exposure group

PARTICIPATION IN ABUSE

The obverse side of exposure to antisocial behaviour involves engaging in antisocial acts oneself. The question posed here is that of how many students participate in subjecting others to various forms of abuse because of the victim's origins, religion, or homosexuality. The items relating to participation in these behaviours were identical in the questionnaires sent to compulsory schools and to upper secondary schools. As in the case of exposure, reporting is based on the respondent's view of the incident, i.e. the perpetrator's opinion of its motive.

VIOLENCE

Students were asked whether they had hit anyone at any time in the last twelve months because of the victim's foreign origins, Swedish origins, religion, or homosexuality. The questions were constructed so as to also elicit information about the frequency of involvement in such acts.

The incidence of participation in physical violence is quite low. A total of 1.5 percent of students report that they have hit someone on at least one occasion as a result of their foreign origins. Relatively few

students target a person repeatedly for this reason: 0.5 percent report hitting somebody more than once because of their foreign origins. Hitting someone because of their Swedish origins does occur, but less frequently overall: 0.6 percent of students report this as a motive.

It is also fairly unusual for a student to have assaulted a person because of their religion: 0.6 percent of students report having done this. About the same proportion, 0.7 percent, state that they have hit somebody because of their homosexuality.

A total of 1.9 percent of students report that they have assaulted another person for the specific motives mentioned above (excluding Swedish origins). The incidence of participation in violence on the grounds of the victim's foreign origins or religion is somewhat lower, at 1.6 percent. Boys at compulsory school (2.8 percent) and boys in "other" upper secondary programmes (3.5 percent) are those most likely to assault another person because of the victim's ethnicity. The corresponding figures for girls are 1.0 (compulsory school) and 0.7 percent ("other" upper secondary programmes).

THREATS

The questions about threats were constructed in a similar manner to those about violence. The prevalence of the use of such threats is about the same as that noted in relation to violence. A total of 1.7 percent of students report that they have threatened a person because of their foreign origins. Once again, it is a minority of this group that makes threats repeatedly: 0.6 percent of students report having threatened somebody more than once as a result of their foreign origins. The proportion who have threatened a person on the grounds of their Swedish origins is quite small: 0.7 percent of students report that they have threatened someone at least once on the basis of this specific motive.

Making threats on the grounds of the victim's religion is somewhat more frequent than perpetrating violence from this motive: 0.8 percent of students report that they have threatened a person because of their religion at some point over the course of the last twelve months. A somewhat larger proportion (1.3 percent) say they have threatened someone because of their homosexuality at some point over this same period.

Altogether 2.5 percent of the students have threatened a person because of their foreign origins, religion or homosexuality. If we consider only the motives of foreign origins and religion, the pattern is the same as that found in the case of violence. It is mainly boys at compulsory school (3.1 percent) and boys in "other" upper secondary programmes (3.7 percent) who engage in this behaviour. Girls are less frequent perpetrators (one percent at compulsory school and 1.5 percent in "other" upper secondary programmes).

The milder forms of abuse are the most frequently perpetrated as well as the most frequently suffered.

Approximately eight percent of students have teased someone for their foreign origins on some occasion. It is significantly less common to have teased someone as a result of their Swedish origins: 2.6 percent of students report having teased someone for this reason.

Almost four percent of students say they have teased someone for their religion at least once in the last twelve months. Homosexuality is reported as a motive slightly more often: around five percent of students state that they have teased someone as a result of their homosexual orientation at some time.

A total of twelve percent report that they have been involved in teasing someone for their foreign origins, religion or homosexuality. The participation rate drops if the analysis is restricted to the motives of foreign origins and religion. Nine percent of students report having teased someone because of their ethnicity. As in the case of violence and threats, the most common perpetrators are boys at compulsory school (13.4 percent) and in “other” upper secondary programmes (14.5 percent). The corresponding figures for girls are 7.3 and 4.3 percent.

Students were also asked if they had called someone by any of a list of insulting names at any time in the last twelve months. The names were identical with those listed in the question on exposure to name-calling. A majority of the students, 64 percent, reported that they had never called anybody any of the names listed nor any “other insulting name”. The most frequent insult, ticked by 20 percent of respondents, is *jävla bög/homo/fikus* (‘stupid/bloody etc. gay/queer/faggot’).

OTHER ABUSIVE BEHAVIOURS

The questionnaire included questions about participation in other forms of abuse because of the victim’s ethnicity, but also because of racist opinions held by the victim.

Students were asked if they had ever committed any of a number of abusive acts against another person because of their foreign origin, skin colour or religion. The abusive acts listed were: freezing out, spreading lies, shoving, badmouthing, starting a row, and destroying someone’s property.

Altogether thirteen percent of students state that they have committed one or more of the above abusive acts against someone because of the victim’s ethnicity. The most frequent of the listed forms of abuse from this motive was badmouthing: almost ten percent of students state that they have badmouthed someone at some point over the past twelve months as a result of their ethnicity. The next most common form of abuse was “starting a row”. Five percent of students state that they have started a row with someone at some point

because of their foreign origins, skin colour or religion. The least frequent acts are spreading lies (0.8 percent) and destroying property (0.9 percent).

A question was also posed about similar kinds of abusive behaviour motivated by racist opinions on the victim's part. Students were asked if they had ever committed an abusive act against someone because of their racist opinions. Slightly under 20 percent of students state that they have committed at least one of the acts against someone on the basis of this motive at some point. This is a higher proportion than that reported in relation to the motive of foreign ethnicity.

The most frequent forms of abusive acts committed on the basis of this motive are once again badmouthing or starting a row with the person in question. Fourteen percent of students report that they have badmouthed someone and nine percent that they have started a row with someone because of their racist opinions. Destroying property from this motive seems to be rare: less than one percent state that they have ever destroyed a person's property because of their racist opinions.

TOTAL PARTICIPATION

Examining total participation in abuse from motives relating to foreign origins or religion, we find that the pattern already reported for individual forms of abusive behaviour is confirmed. Boys at compulsory school and in "other" upper secondary programmes are by far the most active groups when it comes to total participation in violence, threats, and teasing on at least one occasion due to the victim's foreign origins or religion. Boys at compulsory school (14 percent) are almost twice as likely to have committed these forms of abuse as girls at compulsory school (7.5 percent). Boys in "other" upper secondary programmes (16 percent) are involved almost three times as often as girls in the same programmes (4.6 percent).

It should however be emphasised that the majority of the students, 77 percent, have never taken part in any form of abusive behaviour, whether on the grounds of someone's foreign origin or of their religion.

It was noted in the earlier sections of the study dealing with the students' degree of intolerance towards the minorities studied that the average student has a low level of intolerance towards these minorities. It was also noted that the category of students that can be classified as intolerant was relatively small, in the order of one student in twenty. The "grey" category that could be classified as uncertain was considerably larger: one student in four could be assigned to this category.

One important question relating to these attitudes is that of how strong the relationship is between the degree of intolerance and action. How many students in the uncertain or the intolerant group, for example, have hit or threatened someone because of their origins or religion? The results of an analysis based on the total attitude index is presented in the table below. The table shows the proportion of individuals in each tolerance group who have hit and/or threatened someone over the past year, and the estimated numbers in each category who report having committed these acts. It should be noted that the absolute numbers are estimates. The question of participation in relation to the degree of intolerance is studied in more detail in later sections of the text.

Table 16. Proportion of each tolerance group (total index) who report having hit and/or threatened someone over the past year because of their origins or religion. Estimates of numbers of students in the national population of students from compulsory school year 8 up to upper secondary year 3 who have done so

Tolerance level	Hit someone due to origins/religion		Threatened someone due to origins/religion		Threatened or hit someone due to origins/religion	
	%	Number in population	%	Number in population	%	Number in population
Very tolerant	0	0	0.1	60	0.1	60
Tolerant	0.2	400	0.2	400	0.2	400
Somewhat tolerant	0.4	700	0.8	1,400	0.9	1,600
Uncertain	2.6	3,600	2.8	3,900	4.3	6,000
Intolerant	18.4	4,900	19.6	5,300	25.5	6,800
Total sample	1.5		1.7		2.6	

Having hit or threatened someone is very strongly related to attitudes. These actions are extremely rare among students in the three “tolerant” attitude categories (very tolerant, tolerant, and somewhat tolerant). They are also unusual in the “grey” uncertain category. The intolerant category, however, presents a very different picture. It is quite common for students in this category to have hit or threatened someone because of their origins or religion: one out of four report having done so over the past year.

Although the intolerant group contains a very high concentration of students who have committed violent acts, the picture is somewhat different when the focus is instead directed at the *numbers* of individuals who state that they have committed violence or made threats. Because the uncertain group is numerically much larger than the intolerant group, the absolute numbers in the uncertain group who have committed violent acts or made threats are almost as large as those in the intolerant group. Still in terms of absolute numbers, a clear line can be drawn between the three tolerant groups on the one hand and the uncertain and intolerant groups on the other: around 90 percent of the individuals who have hit and/or threatened someone belong to the latter two categories.

Similar analyses of participation in relation to attitudes, based on the constituent indices for islamophobia and antisemitism, yield similar results. Twelve percent of those who are intolerant of Muslims report that they have hit someone because of their origin or religion, and nineteen percent have either threatened or hit someone from these motives. The corresponding proportions among students who are intolerant of Jews are rather higher, sixteen percent and 22 percent respectively. The difference is generated by the presence of a larger element of extremely intolerant students (index score > 3.5) in the antisemitic group than in the islamophobic group. The proportion of

the extremely intolerant group who state that they have hit or threatened someone is very high, at close to 40 percent.

In relation to homophobic acts, students were asked whether they had “hit/threatened someone because of his/her homosexual orientation”. As was found in the case of general intolerance (total index), intolerance towards Muslims, and intolerance towards Jews, there is a very strong relationship between intolerance towards homosexuals and whether one has hit or threatened someone because of their homosexuality. Over seven percent of students who are intolerant of homosexuals have hit someone because of their homosexuality in the last year, and nearly twelve percent have either hit or threatened someone from the same motive. The corresponding proportions for the uncertain group are a little over one percent and slightly under three percent. In the tolerant groups these behaviours are highly unusual. In terms of numerical distribution the same pattern is found as in the other cases: almost 90 percent of homophobic violence was committed by the intolerant and uncertain groups.

Table 17. Proportion of each tolerance group (homophobia index) who report having hit and/or threatened someone over the past year because of their homosexuality. Estimates of numbers of students in the national population of students from compulsory school year 8 up to upper secondary year 3 who have done so

Tolerance level	Hit someone because of their homosexuality		Threatened someone because of their homosexuality		Threatened or hit someone because of their homosexuality	
	%	Number in population	%	Number in population	%	Number in population
Very tolerant	0	0	0.2	300	0.2	300
Tolerant	0.2	500	0.5	1,300	0.6	1,500
Uncertain	1.1	1,200	2.2	2,400	2.7	2,900
Intolerant	7.3	2,600	8.9	3,200	11.6	4,100
Total sample	0.7		1.3		1.6	

Social and psychosocial characteristics of tolerant and intolerant youth

The purpose of this section is to describe the relationships between levels of intolerance and a number of social and psychosocial factors, and between levels of intolerance and participation in abuse.

Previous sections have reported the prevalence of racist and xenophobic opinions among the young people surveyed. The results indicate that the great majority of young people are located towards the tolerant end of the tolerance–intolerance spectrum, while at the other end we find a relatively small but not insignificant group of young people who may be classified as clearly intolerant of certain minorities in the community. One question which naturally arises in this context is that of what it is that underlies the choices made by young people to embrace or reject this type of opinion. Another question is that of what factors serve to exacerbate or mitigate the risk of a person committing abusive acts related to the victim's foreign background or religion.

These are extremely complex and many-faceted issues, and it must be made clear at the outset that the following analysis makes no claim to provide general answers to these questions. Our aim is to investigate and describe to what extent the young people in the intolerant group share common conditions or characteristics in a number of areas of their lives and to see if they tend to differ in certain ways from their more tolerant peers.

The areas referred to, besides background factors such as sex and parents' social class, include a number of individual characteristics, family relations, school adjustment, certain attitudes other than racism and xenophobia, leisure conditions, and peer-related factors. The following section reviews some of the previous research in the field that bears on this topic in various ways.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Bjørger (1997), who has studied various aspects of xenophobic youth in the Nordic countries, distinguishes a number of characteristics of xenophobic gangs of youths aged thirteen to eighteen.⁵³ He argues that for young people of this age group, scarcity of economic resources is of less significance than it is for gangs consisting of

⁵³ Bjørger's observations are based on a large number of interviews with youth workers (e.g. field workers), police officers, teachers, parents of youths belonging to xenophobic groups, and active or former gang members.

somewhat older youths. Members of the younger gangs may come from families with varying social class backgrounds including the affluent middle class. What is important to these youths, in their quest for status and identity, is the need to belong to a circle of peers and to be protected by this group from attacks by bullies, rival gangs and other enemies. According to Bjørgo, many of these youths have problems with school, parents and their peers. He also notes findings, although systematic studies are lacking, that ADHD (attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder), Tourette's syndrome (a similar diagnosis), empathy disorders, dyslexia, and other psychosocial problems occur frequently among the members of some of these groups.

Although many of these gang members can be characterised as "losers" in one sense or another, there are also apparently fully functional young people among them, including some of considerable intellectual ability. Many have strained relations with their parents, who are offended by their involvement in racism. But there are also cases where young people's racist involvement seems to be a logical consequence of attitudes they have encountered in their parents.

Bjørgo (1997, p. 202ff) sums up the reasons that he has found for young people joining racist groups:

Ideology and politics

While in most cases young people do not join racist gangs because they are convinced racists (but rather adopt such views under the influence of the group), there are of course some who contact these groups because they do not find their views represented satisfactorily by the established political parties.

Provocation and anger

People may join the racist camp after experiencing provocative behaviour by immigrants or anti-racists. Some young people, particularly the socially marginalised, join up out of anger because they feel immigrants and asylum-seekers are taking social resources that rightly belong to them.

Protection

Young people who have been bullied find that the bullying ceases when they join the group and thus gain its protection. The same can happen with individuals who have suffered harassment by gangs of youths from immigrant backgrounds or similar incidents.

Drifting

It is not unusual for young people to try out or drift in and out of movements, organisations, styles or subcultures which are sometimes of very disparate natures. The underlying motive is often curiosity and the search for new experiences rather than any real commitment. However, it often turns out to be harder to leave racist groups than most other types of group, given their strong tendency to treat defectors as traitors.

Sensation seeking

People with a sensation-seeking personality type have a restless nature and a strong psychological need for excitement, for testing their own limits and for exposing themselves to potentially dangerous situations. Such people may be attracted to high-risk sports or occupations involving physical danger. But they are also at higher risk of trying out more destructive activities including crime and drug use. Some may be drawn to political extremism.

Violence, weapons, and uniforms

A strong contributing cause and in some cases the primary cause of some people joining militant, far-right groups is a fascination with the mystique of weapons and uniforms. The movement's cult of brotherhood and masculinity, together with its violent militarism, exercise a strong appeal.

Youth revolt

Some of today's young people have parents who were influenced by the New Left of the 1960s and 1970s, and there is a certain logic in their rebellious teenage children taking the opposite tack, towards right-wing extremism.

The search for a substitute family

Many of those joining extremist groups have a troubled relationship with their parents, particularly their fathers. Many parents neglect their children in favour of their jobs and their career. Provocative, rebellious behaviour is a way of evoking at least some form of response. Older activists often serve as substitute father figures. Some youths in extremist groups have been subjected to extremely strict modes of upbringing, violence from their parents, or in some cases sexual abuse.

The search for friends and community

A considerable proportion of those who join extremist groups are young people looking for friendship and acceptance, who have had difficulty finding friends elsewhere and have failed to gain acceptance in other peer groups. In order to access the inner circle of their new community they may sometimes carry out acts of violence or other crimes to demonstrate their loyalty and gain respect.

The search for status and identity

According to Bjørgo, the search for status and identity is an important factor involved in the formation of youth gangs in general and also for youths in xenophobic groups. Individuals who have failed to establish a positive self-image and status in relation to school, work, sports and other social activities and settings try to win respect by joining groups with a dangerous and intimidating image. Although they often mistake fear for respect, they soon notice a difference in the way people relate to them. A similar process can be observed at the level of the group. Local youth gangs engaging in petty crime may discover that by turning against immigrants they can

win a degree of appreciation from parts of the local community, gain media attention, and be hailed as patriots by far-right organisations.

The most common way of making direct contact with racist gangs is probably via an introduction through friends or older siblings who are members themselves. When one of two close friends becomes a member of such a group, the other one tends to either join too or break off the friendship. Girls often become involved as girlfriends, though girls are increasingly joining through other channels. Many youths have their interest piqued by the media focusing on specific racist actions. Far-right associations are also increasingly developing their own media such as magazines, local radio stations and internet websites. One effective way of recruiting new members is through white-power music CDs, videos and concerts. This music is reaching large numbers of youths, who thus come in contact with the movement and become familiar with its message.

As part of a large research project, Almgren (1999), studied a number of xenophobic youths in a small town in Central Sweden which had for several years suffered problems with the harassment of immigrants. The study sought among other things to investigate from various points of view the underlying factors that may have prompted young people to harass immigrant families. Interviews were conducted with over forty youths aged between 15 and 25 who had been involved in hostile acts against immigrants living in the area. The majority of the group were young men; the young women had a more peripheral status. They were asked about their social background, attitudes, school and education, drug use, criminality, everyday life, hobbies, social habits, and plans for the future. Interviews were also held with a number of youths who were not members of the group, but who knew individuals who were and could describe their living conditions, attitudes and behaviour.

With few exceptions, the xenophobic youths in the study were from blue-collar homes and few of their parents had received any post-secondary education. Some were second or third-generation immigrants whose parents or grandparents had come to Sweden as immigrant labour after the second world war, when local industry was short of labour. Their interest in school and education tended to be low, and most had poor results in compulsory school. Truancy seems to have been common. They preferred practical to theoretical school subjects. Those in upper secondary education tended to be taking vocational programmes and were described by school staff as "rowdy". Some reported that they had been bullied at school, and that this had ceased when they joined the racist gang. At the same time it was found that many of them had been involved in bullying others, including students from immigrant backgrounds. Those who had left home were generally unemployed and dependent on welfare.

Many of the youths had criminal records and had been sentenced for various offences such as assault, theft, burglary, illegally distilling liquor, and driving without a licence. Some were on probation. Few of them engaged in any kind of organised recreational activity, but some were bodybuilders. Their leisure time was mostly spent with friends, sometimes cruising round the town in search of excitement. Weekends were generally the time for parties. It was after they had been drinking alcohol that the youths were particularly prone to commit crimes and violence.

The majority of the youths regarded the future with pessimism. While they dreamed of being a “regular Joe” with a job and family, they felt that such a lifestyle was something remote and beyond their reach. They were more likely to meet the future as an outcast of one kind or another. There was a widespread distrust of politicians, and the opinion was commonly expressed that too much was spent on immigrants instead of creating jobs and welfare for the Swedish-born. Feelings of powerlessness and rage at their own situation were not unusual.

Almgren mentions the following as factors which may have contributed to the violence that took place in the town: the presence of older xenophobic youths and extremist leader figures who served as a model and inspiration; the increased availability of white-power music during the period of the study; passive support and half-hearted opposition from parts of the surrounding community. She also believes that the perpetrators of the violence had both instrumental motives — to scare immigrants into leaving town — and also expressive motives that were about projecting an image of themselves through their actions. The predominant ideal of manliness in the group demanded a latent preparedness on the part of members to commit violence and to be strong and hard. The group dynamics were such that these actions and attitudes won them the respect of others in the group. At the same time, it was important for them to identify themselves to outsiders as members of the group by means of symbols: this gave them an identity, made them “someone”.

There is some variation among the youths studied in the extent to which they gave expression to a consistent, implacable, ideologically based xenophobia (Almgren, 1999; see also e.g. Lööv, 2004). The study also identifies a hierarchical structure among the youths and the existence of a “trail” of sympathisers on the periphery of the gang. The latter are kept at a distance from the inner circle, to which however they seek to gain entry by various means.

Almgren considers in her discussion the group’s shared experiences and life situation in the broader social context of economic restructuring and the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial society. These changes mean that unskilled jobs in the manufacturing sector are becoming fewer, while educational prerequisites are higher,

the average duration of schooling is longer and the focus of education increasingly theoretical. The factory jobs that many of the youths in the study want and need are not there, and higher qualifications are something they are neither capable of attaining nor interested in pursuing (see further Trondman, 1995). Under the circumstances, these youths' gloomy view of their future may be not without justification. At the same time, they are further exacerbating their risk of permanent alienation through their actions and their gang membership.

It is not unusual for young people who feel out of place in the world of school to become part of the school's counterculture. This counterculture places a premium on actions and values which negate the prevailing middle-class ideals of the school. Cohen (1955), who developed this view, suggested it as an important explanation for the overrepresentation of working-class boys in crime. A solution to the problem of being unable to live up to the expectations of school is to invert the school's ideals in the gang. It is typical of this counterculture to be "non-utilitarian, malicious and negativistic" (Cohen, 1955, p. 25). As a result, youths may reinforce their outsider status by committing crimes and consuming alcohol. Willis' (1993) analysis of the situation of British working-class boys indicated that participation in such a counterculture had a degree of rationality for these boys by preparing them for a life on the factory floor, a life in which toughness, hardness, a certain type of language etc. could actually be an asset. When these factory jobs disappear, what rationality there is in the process is undermined.

Heitmeyer (1993) puts forward the thesis that the stronger the processes of dissolution — social, political, and in the labour market — that are at work in a society that immigrants seek to join, the harder it will be for them to integrate. Heitmeyer argues that a process of individualisation has taken place in the modern social and economic system, manifesting itself as a tendency to dissolve family ties, class membership and traditions. This means greater freedom for the individual. However, now that social status and identity are no longer "given" to the extent they used to be, they must be shaped and achieved by the individual through personal effort and achievement. Young people growing up today are faced with complicated demands and hard choices as they shape their destiny in a keenly competitive climate. There is a great risk of failure, especially in times of economic or social crisis and unemployment. The process of modernisation can lead to uncertainty about what choices to make, a sense of powerlessness based on the perception that "the strongest always wins anyway," and isolation due to a lack of environments offering a natural community with social groups that provide stability. The trend among many young people to define their identity in terms of such "natural characteristics" as race and nationality — which are ascribed rather

than achieved statuses — may be seen as an attempt to solve this dilemma.

A number of studies confirm that those who are most vulnerable economically and socially and are least in control of their lives are the most prone to develop negative attitudes towards other identifiable groups on the same level. Westin (1984) studied attitudes to immigration among the population from various perspectives. He writes in the concluding discussion of his results that “People who have the ability to shape their existence according to their own plans, within the rules laid down by society, have greater tolerance for the unusual, the deviant, the different, as previous chapters have shown” (ibid. p. 324f). The study found that opponents of further immigration were overrepresented among those living in small country towns, among blue-collar workers, labourers, low-income earners, and the low-qualified (ibid. p. 84). Lange and Westin (1993) found in a questionnaire survey of young people that youths from working-class homes were markedly more negative in their attitudes to immigrants and immigration than those from other socioeconomic categories.

In the aforementioned study by Lange et al. (1997; see also Lööw, 1998, p. 249ff) a contrastive comparison was conducted between the fraction of youths who scored lowest on two attitude scales (the “positive group”) and the fraction that scored highest (the “negative group”), with reference to background characteristics and a number of other factors. The scales were based on questions about attitudes to immigrants and cultural blending and about attitudes to Jews (cultural separatism and antisemitism). The analysis showed that girls were clearly overrepresented in the positive group, as were students from socioeconomic group I (parents in category high-level white-collar worker or equivalent). Upper secondary students in the positive group were considerably more likely than average to be taking theoretical rather than practical programmes. In the negative group, by contrast, boys were numerically dominant, and students taking practical programmes were clearly overrepresented among the upper secondary students in this group. It was somewhat more common than average, though not markedly so, for the parents of the negative group to come from the lower socioeconomic categories. A weak tendency was found for the fathers of youths in the negative group to be unemployed. A comparison of party preference showed that the fraction of young people who in response to the question “What party would you vote for?” ticked the Greens or the Left Party was overrepresented in the positive group. Students in the negative group ticked extreme right or populist parties with above-average frequency. However, the study found no differences between the groups with regard to the proportion of young people from immigrant backgrounds or from broken homes (parents divorced or separated).

A similar analysis may be conducted using the present sample, but with a wider selection of variables available.

PARAMETERS TO INVESTIGATE

The assumption is made, based on the literature reviewed above, that levels of intolerance are not randomly distributed among young people. It is true that the studies by Bjørge (1997) and Almgren (1999) mainly base their analyses on investigations of more or less well-defined groups of youths, many of whom are intolerant — some extremely so — in their attitudes towards immigrants and other minorities. The studies lack quantitative comparisons of the distinctive characteristics and circumstances of these youths with those of a normal population of young people. However, this does not prevent us from assuming that many of the social and psychosocial factors which they consider in their discussions covary with tolerance among young people in general.

To judge from the literature reviewed, a significant proportion of intolerant youth have in common problematic family circumstances as well as difficulty in adjusting to and succeeding at school. Feelings of powerlessness, lack of faith in the future, and social alienation⁵⁴ are other factors mentioned. Certain psychological characteristics (restlessness, impulsiveness, sensation-seeking, lack of empathy) seem also to be relatively common. Leisure time is described as being spent mostly with friends, with alcohol often figuring in the picture. A recurrent theme in descriptions of intolerant youth is that they are generally found in contexts where peer-group dynamics and norms have a deep influence on their behaviour. As well as a negative attitude towards certain minorities in the community, a certain type of gender norms seems to be a common denominator.⁵⁵ Their values are based on a principle of male dominance which forbids a man to appear to be easily swayed and weak, demanding on the contrary that he be prepared to defend his honour with violence if necessary. Women, on the other hand, are permitted and expected to display qualities such as sensitivity and weakness. Their status depends rather

⁵⁴ Seeman (1961) argues that the psychological experience of alienation can be defined by five dimensions: powerlessness, meaninglessness, social isolation, normlessness and self-estrangement (see Israel, 1968, for an account and critical discussion). For another account and a definition of the term alienation see e.g. Hamm (1994, p. 162ff).

⁵⁵ A definition of the term gender norms is given by Karlsson (2003, p. 50): "By gender norms I mean ideas about and significances of what is regarded as 'correct/incorrect', 'normal/abnormal' behaviour for men and women respectively. What is 'normal/abnormal' behaviour, for example, varies between societies and also between milieus or subcultures within a society." See also Karlsson and Petterson (2003, p. 5), who review gender theorists on the connection between masculinities and violence. Some argue that violence, or especially the willingness and desire to fight, is the most palpable definer of masculinity. It is first and foremost about defining what one is not: a coward, weak, feminine or homosexual.

on being attractive, but also on keeping within certain bounds with regard to e.g. sexuality.

In the following analysis scales are constructed for a number of the parameters mentioned in order to investigate whether they vary across youths reporting different levels of intolerance. The objective is to study a fairly broad range of variables in order to provide a descriptive account of how common or uncommon certain types of conditions are in the various tolerance groups and to establish whether any relationships exist. Based on the findings of previous research, the analysis proceeds on the basis of a preliminary assumption that some factors tend to enhance receptiveness to intolerant attitudes, while others result in heightened levels of exposure to milieus where such attitudes are advocated. It is not possible to say on the basis of correlational analyses alone whether the relations are causal. However, the failure to find any correlation would suggest that the factors in question are of little relevance to an understanding of the problem.

Another issue which will be investigated is the relationships between intolerance and participation in various types of antisocial behaviour, including certain types of crime and antisocial behaviour of a general character, as well as various types of abuse that are evidently motivated by the victims' foreign or religious background or presumed sexuality, as inferred from the youths' questionnaire responses.⁵⁶ What we would expect on the basis of theories which emphasise the importance of attitude for criminal behaviour (e.g. Akers, 1998; see also Chinapah, 2000) is a relatively strong relationship between degree of intolerance and participation in hostile behaviour towards groups of which one is intolerant.

The reader is referred to the Appendix for a description of the items underlying the variables, which are constructed as indices. The following sections present the relationships that are found in the total sample of young people between social/psychosocial factors and the general intolerance scale (consisting of the combined attitude scales to Muslims, Jews and homosexuals). In the tables the intolerance scale is divided into six levels, with categories ranging from very low to very high intolerance towards the minorities mentioned.

Table 18 shows the numbers of students in each intolerance group according to this classification. Two differences by comparison with the earlier sections of the report are that the most highly intolerant group is now smaller because the qualifying index score is higher (>3), and the most tolerant category is somewhat larger because of the method of classification.

⁵⁶ The motivation is included in the questions, e.g. "Have you teased someone because of their foreign origins any time in the last twelve months?"

Table 18. Number of students in each intolerance group according to a six-fold categorisation of the combined intolerance index

Intolerance group	n	%
1 (0-0.5) (Low intolerance)	3,558	33.6
2 (0.51-1.5)	4,201	39.7
3 (1.51-2)	1,571	14.9
4 (2.01-2.5)	762	7.2
5 (2.51-3)	300	2.8
6 (>3) (High intolerance)	183	1.7
Total	10,575	100.0

Those variables relating to social and psychosocial factors that were not originally dichotomous, have been dichotomised for convenience, e.g. low vs. medium/high school grades. The tables below show the percentages of each intolerance group which possess the characteristics in question — in this case, low school grades. To facilitate reading, the percentage with medium/high school grades is not shown.

Appendix 4 reports the relations between the factors studied and the constituent scales of the general intolerance scale, and their correlations with another index relating to xenophobia (see Appendix 3 for a description). Appendix 4 also reports the results by sex, background (completely Swedish vs. foreign/partly foreign), and school type for most of the relationships.⁵⁷

Results

There follows a review of the relationships between intolerance and various factors classified by type, concluding with an account of the relationships between intolerance and participation in various antisocial behaviours. For reports by sex, background, school type and constituent scales, see Appendices.

BACKGROUND FACTORS

Age presents some level of correlation with the degree of intolerance among young people. The proportion of older youths (>15 years) declines progressively in high-intolerance groups (see table below). This pattern breaks down in the most intolerant group, however, which includes a slightly higher proportion of older youths than the second most intolerant group. Overall the relationship is negative, i.e. higher age tends to be associated with lower levels of intolerance. The relationship is very weak, however, as the age differences are small.

⁵⁷ The correlations are shown in the form of the gamma index of association (see e.g. Hellevik, 1996). The scales for intolerant attitudes were categorised prior to analysis (the two most intolerant categories in Table 18 were combined in the separate presentation for the general intolerance scale).

Looking at the relationships between age and the constituent scales, we find that with this measurement method no significant association exists in the case of the scales for xenophobia and intolerance towards Muslims. These attitudes seem not to become either more or less common with age among the youths studied. A similar result is reported by Lange and Westin (1993, pp. 53f), who found no clear differences by age in their study of young people's attitudes to immigration. In the case of the constituent scales for intolerance towards Jews and of homosexuals the pattern is that older youths tend to be more tolerant than younger, but the relationship is again extremely weak. Comparing boys and girls reveals that the relationships are slightly clearer for girls. Likewise for youths from completely Swedish background compared with those from immigrant backgrounds, among whom age relationships are practically non-existent.

Table 19. Relationships between background factors and categorised intolerance index

		Intolerance level (intolerance group)						Total sample	n	gamma
		1	2	3	4	5	6			
		Low intolerance					High intolerance			
Background factor		Column %					Column %	Column %		
Age:	Over 15	53.5	50.9	47.1	46.7	46.8	48.6	50.8	10,478	-0.08
Sex:	Boy	36.8	47.4	63.4	72.7	79.3	85.8	49.6	10,575	0.38
Family structure:	Broken	29.1	31.0	33.8	32.7	36.8	38.9	31.2	10,230	0.07
Swedish or foreign background:	Completely Swedish	76.4	74.0	74.5	79.6	81.5	87.4	75.7	10,559	0.02 (NS)
Socioeconomic division 1:	No non-blue-collar parent	23.5	35.4	46.0	46.2	50.6	48.7	34.1	9,761	0.30
Socioeconomic division 2:	At least one blue-collar parent	45.0	58.8	67.5	66.6	70.2	72.2	56.3	9,761	0.28
Father has university qualification:	Yes	47.3	37.6	31.6	31.2	33.4	29.0	39.3	10,379	-0.20
Mother or father unemployed:	Yes	4.9	6.8	8.9	8.2	7.7	5.5	6.6	10,498	0.16

(NS) Not significant, $p > 0.01$

As has been mentioned in earlier sections, a much clearer structure is found in the differences between the groups in terms of relative numbers of boys and girls. Girl are clearly in the majority among the more tolerant youths, while the reverse is the case among intolerant youths. These results agree with the findings presented in other similar studies. Sex is the background factor showing the strongest relationship with intolerance level. It is worth noting, however, that the fact that most of the intolerant youths are boys is not equivalent

to saying that the majority of boys are intolerant. The overwhelming majority of boys, as of girls, are quite benevolent in their attitudes to the minorities under consideration, and it should also be noted that there are girls who are highly intolerant.

The clearest differences in opinion between the sexes are found in their views on homosexuals, as has been noted. Boys tend to be more negative than girls. Intolerance towards homosexuals is the constituent scale showing the clearest relationship with sex.

The focus now shifts to the combined measure of intolerance and the xenophobia scale. The weakest relationship with sex is seen in the constituent scales relating to attitudes to Muslims and to Jews. This pattern is independent of origin (completely Swedish vs. immigrant) and school type (compulsory vs. upper secondary). Sex differences in attitudes seem to be generally somewhat greater among youths from completely Swedish backgrounds than those from immigrant backgrounds.

Some authors believe that it is part of the identity development of boys of this age to define themselves as young men by rejecting anything that might be deemed feminine or homosexual, i.e. elements that are not part of the concept of traditional masculinity. Girls do not have the same need as boys to indicate rejection of homosexuality, as this does not serve the same identity-creating function for them that it does for boys (Osbeck, Holm and Wernersson, 2003). A study of attitudes to homosexuality in the general population found that men who rated themselves very masculine on a self-assessment scale tended to be more negative than average in their attitudes to homosexuality (Österman, 2002).⁵⁸

The proportion of youths of completely Swedish origin is highest in the most intolerant group, where almost nine out of ten are from this background (i.e. the youth and both parents Swedish-born). Moreover, almost all youths in this group are Swedish-born (99.5 percent, compared with around 91 percent in the total sample). Those youths in this group who do have some foreign background usually have one or both parents born in another Nordic country or other European country. Similar observations can be made of the next most intolerant group. That the correlation coefficient is negligibly low despite this is due to the fact that the relationship tends to be very slightly curvilinear. The proportion of youths from completely Swedish backgrounds is also slightly higher in the most tolerant group than in groups 2 and 3 in the table.

The same presentation separated by sex shows that the relationship for boys is weakly positive (i.e. higher degrees of intolerance are associated with a higher proportion of completely Swedish origins),

⁵⁸ It is not stated whether a similar analysis was done for women.

while for girls it is weakly negative.⁵⁹ An examination of the results for the constituent scales reveals that this finding seems to be related to a not insignificant association among the girls between immigrant (as opposed to Swedish) background and a cooler attitude towards homosexuals. The clearest correlation among the boys is that boys from completely Swedish backgrounds are rather more often unsympathetic towards Muslims than boys from foreign or partly foreign backgrounds.

With regard to attitudes towards immigrants (measured by the constituent scale for xenophobia), it is more common for both girls and boys to express a rejecting attitude if they are from a completely Swedish background than otherwise. The proportion of youths from completely Swedish backgrounds increases with higher scores on the scale.

As has already been shown, the more intolerant youths seem more often to have parents in blue-collar jobs than the less intolerant. Two modes of socioeconomic classification are employed in this section. The first (socioeconomic classification 1) is defined as having at least one parent with an occupational code corresponding to blue-collar worker (skilled or unskilled) and not having a parent with a different occupational code (white-collar worker, professional or business owner). The second mode of classification (socioeconomic classification 2) is defined as having at least one parent with an occupational code corresponding to blue-collar worker, irrespective of the other parent's code. Irrespective of the mode of classification, a comparatively clear relationship is noted between socioeconomic status and the degree of intolerance. The relationship is not of the very strongest variety, but there is still a notable, gradual shift towards an increasing proportion of youths from working-class homes with rising levels of intolerance. It could be claimed that the difference between intolerance groups 1 and 2 is as interesting as the difference between the most tolerant and the most intolerant group, as indeed is true of all the factors discussed.

The relationships between socioeconomic classification and intolerance level recur in each of the sample subgroups that are presented separately (see tables in Appendix), and similar patterns are seen for all the constituent scales.

This finding indicates a trend similar to that noted in the aforementioned study by Lange et al. (1997), who found certain differences in socioeconomic classification between the most intolerant and the most tolerant groups of youths. It is also in line with the results of the study by Lange and Westin (1993), who investigated attitudes towards immigrants. They mention as one of

⁵⁹ One factor that complicates this interpretation is that in some cases there are tendencies for the relationships to be curvilinear for both sexes, slightly more so for girls.

several possible explanations of the overrepresentation of lower socioeconomic groups among the more intolerant youths that competition for jobs and resources is harder among these particular socioeconomic groupings. This makes it easier to embrace opinions of the type “immigrants take our jobs.” This type of explanation may be less relevant in the present case, since the relationships are found equally for attitudes towards homosexuals and Jews, groups which are hardly regarded primarily as competitors for employment and resources.

Another explanation focuses on the role of higher education in promoting a broad-minded, understanding attitude towards minorities. As has been noted, youths in the higher intolerance groups are less likely to have fathers with university qualifications.⁶⁰ The relationship is similar for all of the subgroups within the sample and applies to all the constituent scales (see Appendix).

Youths with higher degrees of intolerance tend more often to be children of divorced or separated parents than those with lower degrees of intolerance. There is also a certain correlation between intolerance and one or both parents being unemployed. The relationships are weak, however, and when the constituent scales and the sample subgroups are examined, the picture is more fragmented and inconsistent than it is for the variables relating to parental occupation and level of education.

INDIVIDUAL AND EMOTIONAL FACTORS

Some researchers claim that highly intolerant youths rather often tend to display a restless, sensation-seeking personality and an impaired ability to empathise with others, as well as recurrent feelings of anger and frustration. A number of variables and indices relating to these characteristics have been constructed from the questions asked (see Appendix for description of indices). A scale has also been constructed for the frequency of certain nervous symptoms.⁶¹

Table 20. Relationships between individual and emotional factors and the categorised intolerance index

	Intolerance level (intolerance group)						Total sample Column %	n	Gamma	
	1	2	3	4	5	6				
Individual/emotional factors	Low intolerance						High intolerance	Column %		
Restlessness, impulsiveness (index): High	20.4	30.5	34.4	37.1	45.7	42.3	28.7	10,404	0.25	

⁶⁰ The same relationship is found if mothers’ qualifications are examined instead. It should be noted that the classification is based on the students’ reports of their parents’ educational attainments.

⁶¹ The questions ask how often recently the respondent has felt “down and depressed”, felt anxious, and had difficulty sleeping.

Aggressiveness (index):	High	12.6	16.9	21.5	25.0	32.1	33.7	17.4	10,376	0.24
Risk-taking (index):	High	24.6	26.0	25.5	28.7	31.8	35.4	26.0	10,373	0.05
Lack of guilt (could "easily keep" a found mobile phone without qualms of conscience)	Yes	11.5	20.4	29.3	39.6	50.5	52.6	21.4	10,331	0.42
Nervous symptoms (depressed/worried/trouble sleeping) (index):	High	27.7	25.4	20.8	19.7	21.8	18.4	24.9	10,522	-0.11

Some relationships do emerge between levels of intolerance and these factors, in that youths with high levels of intolerance are more likely than average to score high on the restlessness/impulsiveness scale and the aggressiveness scale (Table 20). The relationships are only moderately strong but still clearly distinguishable. For example, high scores on the restlessness/impulsiveness scale are found more than twice as often in the most intolerant group than in the least intolerant group. These relationships are similar in form and about equally strong for boys and girls, and for year eight and nine students and upper secondary students. Further, they are found among both youths of completely Swedish origin and those of partly or completely foreign origins, albeit with a slight tendency for the correlations to be stronger within the former group (see Appendix 4, Table D 6). The pattern is similar for all the constituent scales, though it is less marked in the case of attitudes towards homosexuals.

On the other hand, the differences between the groups are less marked with regard to expressing a preference for risky activities. This relationship is very weak and does not persist when the sample is broken down by subgroups and constituent scales.⁶²

A much clearer relationship emerges between levels of intolerance and the scale relating to a lack of guilt. This variable is based on a single questionnaire item, the statement "If I found a mobile I could easily keep it without feeling any qualms of conscience." Table 20 presents the proportion of each intolerance group that responded "that's exactly right" or "that's somewhat right." One out of ten youths in the least intolerant group agrees with the statement, compared with over half of the most intolerant group. The relationship is quite similar for all subgroups and constituent scales.

Given that the last factor (lack of guilt) was measured in terms of an untroubled attitude towards picking up and keeping an item of personal property belonging to someone else, the results relating to

⁶² A closer analysis reveals that this is because two of the items on which the scale is based (willingness to "try mountaineering even though it might be dangerous" and willingness to try bungee jumping) show no significant positive correlation with intolerance, while the item "sometimes it's fun to take a bit of a risk just for thrills" does show a weak relationship (gamma = 0.15). It may be noted as a parentheses here that all the items in this scale covary with a scale of total levels of criminal involvement. But here again the clearest relationship is with the item "it's sometimes fun to take a bit of a risk just for the thrill of it" (gamma = 0.41).

nervous symptoms are in a way logical (Table 20). The proportion who state that they have recently experienced such symptoms is somewhat smaller in the intolerant than in the tolerant groups. The relationship is weak, however, and falls to zero when controls are included for sex. The original relationship was due to girls reporting such symptoms more often than boys, combined with the fact that girls constitute a minority of the intolerant groups. The conclusion is that for the sexes considered separately, nervous problems are neither more nor less usual among tolerant or among intolerant youth.

SCHOOL-RELATED FACTORS

Clear associations are found between the responses relating to performance in school, as well as other school-related factors, and levels of intolerance (Table 21). A clear majority of the highly intolerant group have received low school grades, and a majority of the members of this group do not enjoy school, while the reverse is the case within the very tolerant group. A minority of students in the most intolerant group are quite certain that they will continue studying (at upper secondary school or in higher education). It is exceptional for the most intolerant group of upper secondary students to be taking an academically oriented school programme, while the vast majority of the most tolerant upper secondary students do so.

Table 21. Relationships between school factors and categorised intolerance index

School factors		Intolerance level (intolerance group)						Total sample	n	Gamma
		1	2	3	4	5	6			
		Low intolerance					High intolerance	Column %		
		Column %					Column %	Column %		
Average compulsory school grade (index):	Low	12.0	25.0	40.4	47.9	51.6	60.1	25.9	9,904	0.49
School enjoyment (index):	Low	15.4	20.2	27.8	40.2	51.0	59.9	22.7	10,485	0.34
Intend to continue studying:	Absolutely	80.6	68.1	58.1	56.5	51.4	42.4	69.1	10,432	-0.34
In academic programme (upper secondary students only):	Yes	67.5	49.9	34.9	29.3	18.1	11.2	51.3	5,391	-0.45

A fact that is not apparent from the table but which may be mentioned parenthetically is that truancy also covaries with intolerance — the higher the degree of intolerance, the higher the frequency of truancy tends to be.

The relationships are similar for boys and girls as well as for the other sample subgroups. The correlations also appear for all of the constituent scales. Possibly the associations between average grades and levels of intolerance tend to be slightly stronger for boys than for girls in relation to the constituent scales, and to be slightly stronger for students of completely Swedish origin than for those of foreign or

partly foreign origins. Overall the relationships tend to be slightly weaker for the xenophobia scale. However, the general pattern is similar for all of the constituent scales and groupings.

FAMILY FACTORS

The study includes indicators of several types of problematic family circumstances.

“Open communication with parents” (Table 22) is about feeling able to talk about most things, including problems, with one’s parents. It is almost twice as frequent among youths in the most intolerant group to respond that this does not characterise their situation compared with those in the most tolerant group. It is also more than twice as common among the most intolerant youths that their parents do not usually know what friends they meet or where they are when they go out at night. Further, more than twice as many of the most intolerant group than of the most tolerant group state that their parents — in the young person’s opinion — would not react very strongly if they played truant from school or if they came home drunk on a Friday night.⁶³

Table 22. Relationships between family factors and categorised intolerance index

Family factors		Intolerance level (intolerance group)						Total sample	n	Gamma
		1	2	3	4	5	6			
		Low intolerance					High intolerance	Column %		
		Column %					Column %	Column %		
Open communication with parents (index):	Low	17.8	18.0	18.7	20.0	25.1	31.3	18.6	10,451	0.06
Parental knowledge of leisure habits (index):	Low	16.6	20.2	27.8	31.0	37.4	38.2	21.7	10,487	0.24
Expected parental reaction to problem behaviour (truancy, drunkenness) (index):	Weak	18.5	21.1	26.8	25.9	31.3	41.6	22.0	10,487	0.16
Respect for parents’ opinions:	Low	14.1	18.2	24.9	28.5	37.9	41.8	19.5	10,440	0.27

“Respect for parents’ opinions” is based on the item “I really respect my parents’ opinions.” Nearly three times as many of the youths in the most intolerant group state that this does not reflect their view compared with those in the most tolerant group.

Compared with school-related factors, the family factors show rather weaker correlations with intolerance level. However, the results

⁶³ This does not mean that the respondent’s opinion necessarily corresponds with the view held by his or her parents. However, it is the young person’s own point of view, perceptions and expectations that are the focus of these questionnaire items.

still support the assumption that a not inconsiderable proportion of the most intolerant youths have a fairly problematic family situation in certain respects, and one that is more problematic than average for young people. Nothing can be said about causality. One cannot discount the possibility that the situation is due to the young person himself or herself rather than the parents. The relationship holds for both boys and girls⁶⁴ and for most other groupings of the sample.

GENDER RELATIONS

The term gender refers to the socially defined aspect of sex. A definition of gender norms involves ideas about and significances of what is regarded as 'correct/incorrect', 'normal/abnormal' behaviour for men and women respectively (Karlsson, 2003, p. 50). Important aspects of the construction of gender include the separation of what is regarded as masculine and feminine and the subordination of the feminine (Karlsson and Pettersson, 2003, pp. 3ff). Previous research indicates that youths with a strongly intolerant attitude towards immigrants and other minorities often embrace a particular ideal of masculinity.

The questionnaire included a number of items about relations between the sexes. Among other things, respondents were asked to rate a number of statements about the appropriateness or otherwise of guys and girls displaying certain types of feelings, behaviours and traits. The responses were summarised in an attitude scale which has been labelled "stereotyped gender norms". High scores on this scale imply fairly stereotyped ideas about the way a "real guy" or "real girl" should be and act. A real guy should be "cool and strong", should not be prone to cry, should be able to fight for his honour (otherwise he deserves no respect), and should not act like a "wimp" by showing he is afraid. A girl is expected to be "nice-looking" and to take care of her appearance, and unlike a guy it is not considered inappropriate for her to cry easily. However, a girl who has "been with a lot of guys" does not deserve respect.

There is a comparatively strong correlation between this attitude scale and levels of intolerance (Table 23). A clear majority of the highly intolerant category have high scores, while this is very rarely the case among youths reporting low levels of intolerance.

One question which suggests itself in this context is that of whether this is due to the sex distribution across the tolerance groups, and whether the relationship persists when this variable is controlled for. In fact the relationship holds for both sexes as well as for the other subgroups within the sample (Table D 21). Comparing the relationships between the "stereotyped gender norms" index and the

⁶⁴ The weak relationship noted in connection with communication with parents becomes slightly stronger when a control is included for sex.

constituent scales shows that the relationship seems to be general, and also that the strongest correlations with the index are noted in connection with the scale relating to intolerance towards homosexuals (Table D 25). This is possibly connected with the fact that the idea of “heterosexuality as the norm” may constitute an underlying dimension of the “stereotyped gender norms” attitude scale.

Table 23. Relationships between categorised intolerance index and factors concerning relations between the sexes

Relations between sexes		Intolerance level (intolerance group)						Total sample Column %	n	Gamma
		1	2	3	4	5	6			
		Low intolerance Column %					High intolerance Column %			
Embrace stereotyped gender norms (index):	Yes	3.7	12.2	27.2	40.8	51.0	59.3	15.5	10,523	0.65
Think it is best as a rule for the man to make the decisions in the family:	Yes	1.8	6.0	14.2	19.1	24.9	32.0	7.7	10,447	0.60
Think a guy should generally be more dominant than a girl:	Yes	3.4	9.2	16.4	19.4	25.3	39.0	10.0	10,484	0.51
Think it is important to improve equality between the sexes:	No	3.2	8.1	15.4	22.5	29.4	33.3	9.6	10,487	0.54

Another clear tendency is for higher levels of intolerance to be associated with a greater inclination to embrace opinions implying approval for a structural dominance of men over women. This is the conclusion of studying the remaining results in Table 23, which are based on three separate items. The first two relate to whether the respondent thinks “it is best as a rule if the man makes the decisions in the family” and “a guy should generally be more dominant than a girl.” Here the table presents the proportion who answered yes. For the third item, about how important the respondent thinks it is to increase equality between the sexes, the table presents the proportion that answered “not important at all” or “not very important”. Expressing these opinions is fairly unusual overall, but not that unusual among the members of the most intolerant group. Here too the general pattern is the same irrespective of sex, completely Swedish vs. foreign background, school type, and in relation to most of the constituent scales.

CERTAIN OTHER ISSUES

The study by Lange et al. (1997) shows that young people who rejected racist statements were more likely than those who did not reject such statements to attach importance to “soft” social issues (the authors’ description) such as environmental problems, peace, and

international cooperation. The following table presents results for a few items relating to social issues in the present study.

The proportions of those who express a lack of interest in helping poor countries, and who think it is important to strengthen the military protection of Swedish borders, increase with levels of intolerance.

Table 24. Relationships between categorised intolerance index and attitudes towards certain other issues

Other issues		Intolerance level (intolerance group)						Total sample Column %	n	Gamma
		1	2	3	4	5	6			
		Low intolerance Column %					High intolerance Column %			
Think it is important to give aid to poor countries:	No	2.7	10.0	23.4	38.8	54.5	79.9	14.0	10,474	0.71
Think it is important to strengthen Sweden's military defence:	Yes	11.3	23.0	32.4	45.3	54.4	66.5	23.7	10,453	0.47

SENSE OF SOCIAL ALIENATION

Certain findings from research into xenophobia suggest that tolerance towards immigrants sometimes appears to covary with the inclination to trust others (how far one perceives people in general as trustworthy and well-intentioned rather than untrustworthy and ill-intentioned) and with political alienation (the view that politicians of the established parties are not interested in the problems of "ordinary people" and that there is not much one can do to have an influence) (Gaasholt and Togeby, 1995, pp. 84ff).⁶⁵

The present study included a number of items that addressed these issues in order to measure the "sense of social alienation". At the general level, this parameter relates to the degree to which one feels a sense of belonging in relation to the community at large.⁶⁶ Alienation has a number of dimensions which to some extent shade into one

⁶⁵ The results of Gaasholt and Togeby (1995) are based on an attitude survey of a sample of the adult (over 18) population of Denmark.

⁶⁶ The items were in part inspired by an attitude scale developed by Srole (1956), which is intended to measure subjective anomie. The Srole scale comprises the following statements: "There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man;" "Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself;" "In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better;" "It's hardly fair to bring a child into the world with the way things look for the future;" "These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on." Hamm (1993, pp. 162ff) found that the results of a study of neo-Nazi skinheads in the US did not support the claim that they were more alienated than other people (alienation was measured by the Srole scale). Since Srole (1956) and Seeman (1961) constructed their scales, other researchers have developed numerous more psychosocially focused scales of subjective "alienation" and "anomie" with highly diverse content.

other: distrust of established politicians, a pessimistic view of the future, a lack of trust in other people, feelings of uncertainty resulting from a perception that modern society is complex and hard to navigate, an element of normlessness, and a lack of confidence that one can ever succeed in society by conforming to socially accepted rules. A set of statements addressing these phenomena was presented and a mean index was constructed on the basis of the responses.⁶⁷ Table 25 shows the proportion of each intolerance group with high scores on this alienation scale.⁶⁸

Table 25. Relationships between categorised intolerance index and sense of social alienation

Alienation		Intolerance level (intolerance group)						Total sample Column %	n	Gamma
		1	2	3	4	5	6			
		Low intolerance			High intolerance					
		Column %			Column %					
Sense of social alienation (index):	High	12.7	18.8	24.5	28.2	36.6	43.8	19.2	10,471	0.29
Often feel unfairly treated:	Yes	14.0	17.0	15.9	18.5	19.6	24.1	16.1	10,314	0.09

A clear relationship may be noted, in that high scores on the social alienation scale are over three times as frequent in the most intolerant group as in the least intolerant group. The proportion increases stepwise from low to high intolerance. The relationship is similar in direction and strength for both sexes (see Appendix), and also for most of the constituent scales (the correlation between social alienation and intolerance towards homosexuals is somewhat weaker among girls than among boys). The relationship is also independent of origins (completely Swedish vs. foreign/partly foreign) and school type, but is strongest for students of completely Swedish origin and for upper secondary students. The tendencies are similar for all the constituent scales and for the xenophobia scale.

The above results raise the question of whether intolerance also covaries with a sense of being wronged. It is possible that those who often feel unfairly treated tend to be more intolerant. To test this hypothesis an analysis was conducted to determine how large a proportion of each intolerance group agreed with the statement “I often feel unfairly treated.” The proportion is ten percentage points greater in the most than in the least intolerant group. The relationship points in the expected direction but is very weak.

⁶⁷ A factor analysis shows that the items making up the scale all load on a single underlying factor.

⁶⁸ i.e. a score of at least 3 on the scale, which ranges between 0 and 4.

By comparison with their tolerant peers, it is unusual for intolerant youths to spend their leisure time visiting libraries, taking music lessons, visiting museums, viewing art exhibitions etc. Such activities constitute part of a cultural pattern which appears in part to be linked to class membership. Going to hamburger bars or sausage stalls, youth clubs, or partying constitute much more common activities among the intolerant youths (see Appendix, Table D 32).

A clear majority of the intolerant youths ticked the partying option, by comparison with a minority of the most tolerant group. Consistent with this, there is also a covariation between intolerance and a variable measuring the frequency of drinking to intoxication. Half of the most intolerant youths have drunk to intoxication more than ten times in the last twelve months, compared with sixteen percent of the most tolerant group.

The literature often emphasises the role of white-power music in the dissemination of racist messages, as well as its bonding function within xenophobic groups. The questionnaire included two items on musical tastes. One asked whether respondents were in the habit of listening to White Noise music/white-power music. The other item asked them to tick the style or styles of music they liked best of all, from a wide range of different options. These options included "racist rock". The items thus measure whether respondents have a preference for this type of music in slightly different ways. It must be noted that it is possible to come in contact with and listen to this music more or less unintentionally or without much enthusiasm, and that young people may not always regard white-power music and racist rock as the same thing. Together, however, these items provide an indication of differences between the tolerance groups as to how frequently people adopt this style of music as their own.

Table 26. Relationship between categorised intolerance index and listening to white-power music

		Intolerance level (intolerance group)						Total sample Column %	n	Gamma
		1	2	3	4	5	6			
Musical preference		Low intolerance					High intolerance			
		Column %					Column %			
Listen to...										
White Noise/white-power music:	Yes (sometimes/often)	3.6	12.2	25.0	39.5	54.8	77.7	15.4	10,319	0.67
Enjoy "racist rock":	Yes	0.1	1.2	6.0	11.8	24.2	50.0	3.8	10,459	0.84

Both of the music variables covary strongly with degree of intolerance. The more intolerant young people are, the more frequently they listen to and like this type of music. The relationship is found for all the subgroups examined in the study.

Group dynamics and peer group norms are commonly emphasised in descriptions of intolerant youth and their conditions. The questionnaire included a number of items whose purpose was to investigate whether certain aspects of these phenomena are distinguishable in a study of the group as a whole.

More intolerant youths meet friends in the evenings frequently compared with young people in general (Table 27). They also have more contact with friends who are a few years older. It is also more common than the average for their pattern of socialising to involve groups of friends meeting together, rather than meeting others on a one-to-one basis.

The questionnaire included a number of items intended to capture respondents' own valuation of their peer relations. The items focus on whether they think their friends are there for them if they need help with something, whether they can talk to their friends about problems, whether their friends "mean a great deal" to them, whether they respect their friends' opinions, and whether they often feel disappointed with their friends. The table below shows the proportion of youths in each intolerance group who scored low values on this scale.

Table 27. Relationships between categorised intolerance index and peer factors

Peer factors		Intolerance level (intolerance group)						Total sample Column %	n	Gamma
		1	2	3	4	5	6			
		Low intolerance					High intolerance			
		Column %					Column %			
Meeting friends in evenings:	Frequently (three or more evenings a week)	41.4	48.1	52.4	58.0	64.5	67.2	48.0	10,324	0.18
Spend time with friends a few years older:	Often/fairly often	27.5	31.9	35.3	39.8	42.9	55.7	32.2	10,390	0.16
Usually socialising in groups:	Yes	26.8	27.4	31.7	35.8	40.8	45.1	29.1	10,348	0.11
Peer relations (index):	Not good	17.0	24.3	34.6	37.8	33.1	29.4	24.7	10,428	0.28
Peers' delinquency (index):	High (ticked at least 2 of vandalism/ breaking and entering/ assault/ been caught by police)	20.0	26.7	36.1	40.8	54.8	64.0	28.2	10,246	0.31
Peers' perceived tolerance of xenophobia (index):	High	2.4	11.1	26.9	40.5	58.7	75.9	15.0	10,390	0.72
Tolerance of peers' xenophobia (index):	High	1.3	8.2	20.7	34.2	50.5	69.4	11.8	10,347	0.74

The pattern is such that the proportion expressing poorer peer relations is lowest in the group with the lowest intolerance level. From there it increases with the degree of intolerance up to category 4, after which it declines somewhat in the two groups containing the most intolerant youths. Thus while higher proportions of the most intolerant groups have low scores on this scale than in the most tolerant groups, the relationship tends to be curvilinear. This may possibly indicate that more of the most intolerant than of the "moderately intolerant" youths belong to groups that possess a degree of cohesion and community, based partly on a shared hostile attitude towards certain minorities and other outsiders.

It is considerably more common among the most intolerant youths than among those with low intolerance to report having delinquent friends. The relationship is not remarkably strong, however. This is because intolerant youths are far from alone in having friends who have committed offences. The teenage years appear generally to be the age range in which the greatest proportion of a given cohort will commit some form of criminal offence.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ In terms of so-called traditional criminality (Statistiska centralbyrån, 1992; Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990).

A strong correlation may be noted between the level of intolerance and how tolerant one would expect one's friends to be if one expressed a hostile attitude towards immigrants. This form of perceived peer tolerance of anti-immigrantism is measured by means of a (dichotomous) scale. The scale is constructed from items which investigate whether young people perceive that their friends would think it was "okay" if they displayed various forms of hostility towards immigrants (saying they disliked immigrants, writing "stop immigration" graffiti, or picking a fight with an immigrant — see Appendix 3, Table C 1). The direction of the relationship is the same for all the groupings within the sample. Another factor is whether the respondent is tolerant of friends showing hostility towards immigrants. A set of items was therefore included which reflected the previous set but reversed so as to read "Would you think it was okay if your friends picked a fight with an immigrant,"⁷⁰ etc. This variable was also found to be strongly correlated with intolerance.

These two variables are also strongly correlated with each other. This may to some extent be due to a tendency to ascribe to one's friends the attitudes one holds oneself. But the result can also be interpreted as expressing the mutual influence that often seems to occur between youths in such peer groups, who have a tendency to sustain and reinforce each other's (in some cases criminal) behaviour.

PARTICIPATION IN CRIMINAL AND ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

One issue to be investigated is the association between intolerance and participation in various forms of antisocial and criminal behaviour. Table 28 below presents the proportion of youths in each intolerance group who state that they have committed a number of specific acts at least once during the past twelve months. The presentation begins by focusing on the proportions who state that they have teased someone, committed certain theft-related offences⁷¹, and threatened or hit someone. The focus here is directed at the commission of these acts in general. It is not directly apparent either from the questions or the answers what the youths who have committed the acts see as the actual motive (or motives) for these acts. The table then presents the

⁷⁰ Through an error made when editing the questionnaire, one of the questions came to read "Would you think it was okay if your friends said you disliked immigrants?" The second "you" was intended to be "they". The result is that this particular question actually measures acceptance of being defined as anti-immigrant. The original wording appears in Table C 1 in Appendix 3. The variable shows clear covariation with the other two questions in the scale and was therefore included with them in the analysis. The trends of the results are similar if the scale is constructed from the other two questions alone.

⁷¹ The category of theft-related offences is defined as the commission of at least one of the following acts: shoplifting, stealing a bicycle, breaking and entering, knowingly buying stolen goods. While the scale also includes having smoked hash or marijuana, it is dominated by the considerably more frequent theft-related offences and is therefore referred to by the latter term for simplicity.

proportions of each intolerance group who state that they have teased, threatened or hit someone as a result of their foreign origins, their religion, or their homosexuality.

Teasing someone so they became “angry or unhappy” is the behaviour reported by the highest proportion of respondents, one out of three. Participation in violence (a category based on two questions about whether one has threatened or hit someone), while slightly less common, still appears to be fairly prevalent. It should be noted that the violence in question was not necessarily very severe.⁷² More than two in ten have committed one of the acts included in the category theft-related offences.

One prominent trend is that participation in criminal and antisocial behaviour becomes progressively more common as we progress through the intolerance groups. While an overwhelming majority of the most intolerant youths have a history of the various forms of criminal and antisocial behaviour, only a minority of the low-intolerance groups have a similar history. The relationships are clear, but fairly moderate in strength. Because of the large differences in size between the groups categorised by levels of intolerance, in terms of absolute numbers most of the youths who have committed the acts in question are found in groups with low levels of intolerance. In other words, it appears that it is not particularly unusual to have committed some offence or misdemeanour within the group as a whole, although it is considerably more common to have done so among the more intolerant youths.

There are strong correlations between levels of intolerance and various types of antisocial acts committed against people because of their foreign origins, religion or sexuality, particularly in the case of threats and violence. In the most intolerant group, for example, having hit someone on the grounds of their foreign origins is about eighteen times more frequent than the average for the group as a whole. Similar relationships are found in relation to having hit someone as a result of their religion or their sexuality.

⁷² The question about physical violence refers to having hit someone “so you think/know that it hurt them”.

Table 28. Relationship between categorised intolerance index and participation in criminal and antisocial behaviour

Participation in criminal and antisocial behaviour		Intolerance level (intolerance group)						Total sample Column %	n	Gamma
		1	2	3	4	5	6			
		Low intolerance Column %					High intolerance Column %			
Teasing someone so they became angry or unhappy:	Yes	25.7	32.9	39.1	46.4	55.0	56.3	33.4	10,510	0.25
Theft-related offences:	Yes	14.7	20.7	28.0	34.1	48.5	52.7	22.0	10,542	0.33
Threatening or hitting someone:	Yes	22.1	27.9	35.7	45.1	56.2	59.6	29.7	10,538	0.29
Teasing someone due to their foreign origins:	Yes	3.1	5.8	11.1	18.3	31.3	53.0	8.1	10,526	0.56
Threatening someone due to their foreign origins:	Yes	0.1	0.6	1.5	5.5	14.1	26.4	1.7	10,533	0.85
Hitting someone due to their foreign origins:	Yes	0.1	0.4	1.5	3.8	12.2	26.6	1.5	10,530	0.85
Teasing someone due to their religion:	Yes	1.5	2.2	4.6	8.9	21.4	33.3	3.9	10,505	0.59
Threatening someone due to their religion:	Yes	0.0	0.1	0.4	2.1	8.1	15.3	0.8	10,516	0.88
Hitting someone due to their religion:	Yes	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.9	6.1	11.3	0.6	10,522	0.91
Teasing someone due to their homosexuality:	Yes	1.3	3.4	6.9	13.5	21.3	41.0	5.1	10,510	0.63
Threatening someone due to their homosexuality:	Yes	0.1	0.7	1.3	2.8	7.7	21.2	1.3	10,503	0.77
Hitting someone due to their homosexuality:	Yes	0.0	0.3	0.9	1.7	4.7	15.5	0.8	10,518	0.84
Teasing someone due to their foreign origins or religion:	Yes	4.1	6.8	12.4	20.6	34.9	55.5	9.4	10,538	0.53
Threatening or hitting someone due to their foreign origins or religion:	Yes	0.1	0.9	2.9	8.0	18.5	36.8	2.6	10,541	0.84
Threatening or hitting someone due to their foreign origins, religion or homosexuality:	Yes	0.3	1.4	4.0	10.3	21.2	41.2	3.3	10,542	0.80

One consistent finding is that the proportions of youths reporting that they have committed such acts on at least one occasion are

practically zero in the most tolerant group and increase almost exponentially with higher levels of intolerance. These relationships hold for both boys and girls, for those of completely Swedish and of foreign/partly foreign origin, and for compulsory school and upper secondary students.

It is possible to make a cautious estimate, based on the categorised responses to the questionnaire items⁷³, of the total numbers of acts of violence and threats associated with the victims' origins, religion or sexuality. An examination of the distribution of these incidents across the intolerance groups yields the following results: individuals in the two most intolerant groups, together constituting 4.5 percent of young people, account for well over half of these incidents (58 percent). Adding the individuals in intolerance group 4 (who score over two on the intolerance scale and thus have a leaning towards intolerance) gives a total of 11.7 percent of young people, who are responsible for nearly three quarters (73 percent) of the total number of incidents.

Another item asked whether respondents had committed any of a range of antisocial acts against a person "because of their foreign origins/colour/religion". The possible response categories were either none, one or more than one of the following acts: "freezing out", "badmouthing", "spreading lies", "starting a row", "shoving", "destroying someone's property". This enables us to further test the hypothesis that intolerance is related to various forms of antisocial behaviour.

Table 29. Relations between categorised intolerance index and various antisocial behaviours connected with foreign origins/colour/religion

Antisocial behaviour		Intolerance level (intolerance group)						Total sample Column %	n	Gamma
		1	2	3	4	5	6			
		Low intolerance Column %					High intolerance Column %			
Freezing out:	Yes	0.3	0.8	3.4	5.2	11.5	19.0	2.0	10,378	0.73
Badmouthing:	Yes	2.9	9.1	14.3	18.9	28.5	41.9	9.6	10,378	0.53
Spreading lies:	Yes	0.2	0.7	1.4	0.9	2.0	8.4	0.8	10,378	0.54
Starting a row:	Yes	1.3	3.6	7.9	12.3	23.1	35.2	5.2	10,378	0.63
Shoving:	Yes	0.6	1.9	5.8	7.8	13.6	24.6	3.2	10,378	0.67
Destroying property:	Yes	0.2	0.5	1.0	1.5	6.1	12.3	0.9	10,378	0.67

⁷³ The estimate was arrived at by summing across the frequencies of reported participation in the various types of behaviour. The fixed response category "never" was assigned the value 0, "once" the value 1, and "more than once" the value 3 (since a value of 2 would be likely to give an underestimate of the actual number of incidents). The structure of the results is changed only marginally by assigning a value of 2 to the last response category.

Discounting the response “none”, ticked by 87 percent of respondents, the most frequent choice is badmouthing, and the least frequent spreading lies and destroying property (Table 29). All these behaviours are clearly correlated with the degree of intolerance. The direction of the slope of these relationships, is the same for both boys and girls, as is their approximate strength.

In summary, levels of intolerance appear to be linked to a broad range of more or less hostile types of behaviour. There is a tendency for the relationships to be strongest for acts involving physical violence or threats. But acts of other types, such as “freezing someone out” because of their foreign background, colour or religion, are also fairly strongly related to levels of intolerance.

Concluding remarks

One of the initial assumptions of this study was that intolerance is not randomly distributed among young people. The results support this assumption. Systematic differences between young people with low and high levels of intolerance appear in numerous areas.

High levels of intolerance tend to be associated with:

- low levels of educational achievement and social class among parents
- certain individual and emotional factors such as restlessness, aggressiveness and a lack of empathy (but not nervous problems)
- poor school performance and adjustment to school
- certain types of problematic family situation, such as low levels of parental knowledge as to the youths’ socialisation patterns
- stereotypical gender norms (male chauvinist attitudes)
- feelings of social alienation
- frequently associating with friends during the evening, often in a group, and also associating with a couple of older friends more often than the average.

Drinking alcohol and partying are more common among intolerant youths than among young people in general. There is a strong association between intolerance and the perceived attitude of one’s peers to hostility towards immigrants. Another strong relationship is that between listening to white-power music and expressing intolerant attitudes. These findings hold for both boys and girls and for both upper secondary and compulsory school students (years 8 and 9).

These results correspond quite well with the picture presented of intolerant and xenophobic youths in studies that have investigated associated characteristics and conditions using other methods (Bjørger, 1997; Almgren, 1999). Further, they do not contradict the idea that

certain circumstances, among which failure in school perhaps occupies a central position, are part of a process whereby young people tend to become more receptive to extreme nationalist and xenophobic opinions. For some youths, who have difficulties in school or problems in other areas, adopting the style and the opinions current in xenophobic groups may constitute an alternative way of achieving status and forming an identity. This does not exclude the possibility that other youths without significant school adjustment problems or other problems may find the racist underground culture alluring enough to be drawn to it.

A number of the factors which were found to be associated with high levels of intolerance in this study are frequently mentioned in the criminological literature as risk factors for criminal behaviour (see e.g. Loeber and Farrington, 1998). Boehnke et al. (1998; see also Hagan et al., 1995) have developed a theoretical model to account for adolescents' orientation towards right-wing extremism. Briefly, they argue that it is possible to identify certain common risk factors and protective factors both for right-wing extremism among adolescents and for juvenile crime. The authors make the assumptions that right-wing extremism in fact constitutes one facet of juvenile crime and that the extent to which young people participate in this form of juvenile crime is strongly influenced by the extent of their involvement in a "deviant peer culture". They further assume that involvement in a deviant peer culture is in turn influenced by (a) individually perceived anomie deriving from situations of social crisis, (b) variations in positive experiences of school, and (c) parental supervision and control of young people.

The authors argue that involvement in deviant peer cultures is the primary risk factor for juvenile crime and right-wing extremism among adolescents. Anomie in social crisis situations (e.g. mass unemployment) is regarded as a secondary risk factor. Success at school and parental control are considered protective against juvenile crime and right-wing extremism in that these factors tend to reduce young people's involvement in peer groups that encourage crime. Involvement in cohesive networks built around social institutions such as school or the family equip individuals with resources that help them to cope with and manage various life situations. Informal social control processes constitute sources of social capital, which protects young people from incorporating traditions of violence and right-wing extremism into their personal lifestyle.

It is not the intention here to problematise this explanatory model. Nor has it been the purpose of this study to test any particular theoretical model.⁷⁴ It is clear, however, that there are a number of circumstances, including school adjustment, which covary with

⁷⁴ This would require a different analytical framework and the use of multivariate analysis.

intolerance. It is not unthinkable that some of these factors constitute protective or risk factors in relation to criminality and to intolerance. In turn, intolerance on the one hand covaries with juvenile crime generally, and on the other hand covaries strongly with participation in various forms of antisocial behaviour which according to the respondent are associated with aspects of the victim's background (foreign origins, religion, and sexual preferences).

The results also indicate that even if it were possible to reduce the numbers of youths that are highly intolerant (in the respects discussed in this report), then this would probably only have a very limited impact on total levels of participation in criminal and antisocial behaviour among young people. Juvenile crime in general is a larger and broader phenomenon and is far from being confined to youths with xenophobic and highly intolerant opinions. Moreover, while considerably higher proportions of the most intolerant youths than of young people overall seem to have committed various types of crime, far from all of the members of this group have done so.

On the other hand, if we specifically wish to reduce participation in types of violence which the offender explicitly connects with the victim's background (the aspects thereof discussed in this report), it may be of interest to attempt to reduce the prevalence of intolerance among young people. While the level of intolerance overall seems to be relatively low, if this strategy is selected one would be attempting to reduce it further. It would be important, then, to reduce the recruitment of young people to the group holding highly intolerant attitudes. This is made easier, in one sense, by the fact that these people tend to be conspicuous in various ways, which often makes them relatively easy to identify. At the same time, the results indicate that the characteristics and conditions that many of these youths share, and which make them conspicuous, are also factors that are either impossible to influence or are of a kind that serve to obstruct changes in attitude. It might be easier to attempt to persuade young people in the grey area between tolerance and intolerance to move towards more tolerant attitudes. These youths appear to be responsible for a significant proportion of the incidents at issue, and it may be the case that the individuals in this group are more easily influenced than highly intolerant youths.

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Appendix 1. Tables

Table B 1. Sample, non-response etc.

	Upper secondary	Percent	Compulsory	Percent	Total	Percent
No. schools sampled	142		89		230	
No. schools responding	131	92.3	85	94.4	216	93.9
No. classes sampled	388		284		672	
No. classes responding	339	87.4	267	94.0	606	90.2
No. students in sampled classes	7,415		6,483		13,898	
No. students in responding classes	6,718	80.4	6,204	83.7	12,922	82.0
No. responses	5,403	72.9	5,196	80.1	10,599	76.2
Total questionnaires returned	5,581	75.3	5,364	82.7	10,945	78.7
No. frivolous or incomplete questionnaires	150	2.7	164	3.06	314	2.9
No. blank questionnaires in envelopes	28	0.5	4	0.07	32	0.3
Total discarded questionnaires	178	3.2	168	3.1	346	3.2

Table B 2. Compulsory school. Non-response by school district type

District type	Total No. sampled students	No. students in responding classes	Percent	Final no. responses	Percent
Cities	847	741	12.0	571	11
Suburbs	1,129	1,081	17.4	897	17.3
Large towns	1,231	1,204	19.4	1,030	19.8
Medium-sized towns	850	824	13.2	697	13.4
Industrial districts	1,045	1,019	16.4	878	16.9
Rural districts	198	198	3.1	172	3.3
Sparsely populated districts	346	344	5.5	291	5.6
Other districts, large	543	499	8.0	421	8.1
Other districts, small	294	294	5.0	239	4.6
Total	6,483	6,204	100	5,196	100

Table B 3. Compulsory school. Non-response by school year

School year	No. students in sampled classes	Column percent	No. students in responding classes	Column percent	No. responses	Column percent	Response frequency
8	3,060	47.2	2,912	46.9	2,468	47.5	80.6
9	3,290	50.8	3,161	51.0	2,615	50.3	79.5
8-9	133	2.0	131	2.1	113	2.2	84.9
Total	6,483	100	6,204	100	5,196	100	80.1

Table B 4. Upper secondary school. Non-response by school district type

District type	Total no. sampled students (corr.)	No. students in responding classes		Final no. responses	
		Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Cities	1,295	1,025	15.2	718	13.3
Suburbs	995	847	12.6	664	12.3
Large towns	2,491	2,370	35.3	1,977	36.6
Medium-sized towns	1,199	1,161	17.3	983	18.2
Industrial districts	374	342	5.1	280	5.2
Rural districts	170	131	1.9	101	1.9
Sparsely populated districts	95	91	1.4	72	1.3
Other districts, large	584	557	8.3	461	8.5
Other districts, small	212	194	2.9	147	2.7
Total	7,415	6,718	100	5,403	100

Table B 5. Upper secondary school. Non-response by school year

School year	No. students in sampled classes	Column percent	No. students in responding classes		No. responses	Column percent	Response frequency
			Column percent	Column percent			
1	3,120	42.1	2,915	43.4	2,433	45.0	78.0
2	2,307	31.1	2,059	30.6	1,592	29.5	69.0
3	1,988	26.8	1,744	26.0	1,378	25.5	69.3
Total	7,415	100	6,718	100	5,403	100	72.9

Table B 6. Upper secondary school. Non-response by programme

Programme	No. sampled students	No. sampled classes	No. students in responding classes		No. responses
			No. responding classes	No. responding classes	
Academic	3,564	141	3,397	133	2,769
Vocational, individual, specially tailored	3,851	247	3,321	206	2,634
Total	7,415	388	6,718	339	5,403

Table B 7. Distribution by school year, classified by sex

School year	Sex								
	Girls			Boys			Total		
	N	Row %	Column %	N	Row %	Column %	N	Row %	Column %
Comp. school 8	1,260	49.8	23.6	1,269	50.2	24.1	2,529	100	23.9
Comp. school 9	1,368	51.3	25.6	1,299	48.7	24.7	2,667	100	25.2
Upper sec. 1	1,256	51.5	23.5	1,184	48.5	22.5	2,440	100	23.0
Upper sec. 2	812	51.6	15.2	762	48.4	14.5	1,574	100	14.9
Upper sec. 3	645	46.4	12.1	744	53.6	14.1	1,389	100	13.1
Total	5,341	50.4	100	5,258	49.6	100	10,599	100	100

Table B 8. Upper secondary school. Distribution by programme, classified by sex

Programme	Sex				Total	
	Girls		Boys			
	N	Column %	N	Column %	N	Column %
Academic (IB, Natural Science, Social Science)						
Academic/Vocational (Technology, Arts)						
Vocational	1,530	56.4	1,239	46.1	2,769	51.2
Individual	152	5.6	384	14.3	536	9.9
	960	35.4	916	34.1	1,876	34.7
	71	2.6	151	5.6	222	4.1
Total	2,713	100	2,690	100	5,403	100

Table B 9. Mean age by school year and sex

School year	Sex		Total
	Girls	Boys	
Comp. yr 8	14	14	14
Comp. yr 9	15	15	15
Upper sec. yr 1	16	16	16
Upper sec. yr 2	17	17	17
Upper sec. yr 3	18	18	18
Total	16	16	16

Table B 10. Distribution by socioeconomic division, classified by school year

SEI division	School year					Total
	Comp. yr 8	Comp. yr 9	Upper sec. yr 1	Upper sec. yr 2	Upper sec. yr 3	
	Column %	Column %	Column %	Column %	Column %	Column %
Unskilled blue-collar worker	23.7	20.5	17.5	17.9	17.3	19.8
Skilled blue-collar worker	15.4	14.7	13.9	13.8	13.4	14.4
Low-level white-collar worker	12.7	12.2	11.5	10.7	11.9	11.9
Mid-level white-collar worker	24.8	20.5	29.2	28.1	27.8	27.1
High-level white-collar worker	7.7	9.4	9.4	10.4	9.2	9.2
Self-employed professional	6.0	6.7	7.2	8.0	6.9	6.9
Business owner	8.5	8.7	10.1	10.0	10.8	9.4
Farmer	1.0	1.3	1.2	1.0	2.6	1.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table B 11. Distribution by parental socioeconomic division

SEI division	Column %	N
Unskilled blue-collar worker	19.8	1,933
Skilled blue-collar worker	14.4	1,406
Low-level white-collar worker	11.9	1,164
Mid-level white-collar worker	27.1	2,653
High-level white-collar worker	9.2	895
Self-employed professional	6.9	671
Business owner	9.4	923
Farmer	1.4	134
Totalt	100	9,779

Table B 12. Religious affiliation

Religion	Column %	n
Non-religious	42.7	4,379
Christian	51.1	5,240
Muslim	5.6	571
Jew	0.2	17
Hindu	0.1	7
Buddhist	0.5	50
Total	100	10,264

Table B 13. Parental Socioeconomic division, by school year

SEI classification	School year								
	Upper secondary year 1			Upper secondary year 2			Upper secondary year 3		
	Programme, dichotomous		Total	Programme, dichotomous		Total	Programme, dichotomous		Total
	Academic only Column %	Other Column %	Column %	Academic only Column %	Other Column %	Column %	Academic only Column %	Other Column %	Column %
Unskilled blue-collar worker	10.9	25.6	17.5	9.5	25.4	17.9	9.4	26.3	
Skilled blue-collar worker	11.9	16.4	13.9	9.8	17.3	13.8	8.9	18.6	
Low-level white-collar worker	11.6	11.3	11.5	9.2	12.0	10.7	12.0	11.7	
Mid-level white-collar worker	32.3	25.4	29.2	33.1	23.6	28.1	32.1	23.0	
High-level white-collar worker	12.3	5.9	9.4	14.2	7.1	10.4	12.6	5.4	
Self-employed professional	9.0	4.9	7.2	12.5	4.1	8.0	10.9	2.5	
Business owner	10.9	9.0	10.1	10.3	9.8	10.0	12.2	9.2	
Farmer	1.1	1.4	1.2	1.3	0.8	1.0	1.9	3.4	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table B 14. Regional distribution

Region	Column %	n
Södra Götaland*	23.0	2,442
Västra Götaland	13.8	1,462
Östra Götaland	15.1	1,605
Svealand	32.8	3,475
Norrland	15.2	1,615
Total	100	10,599

*Skåne, Halland and Blekinge.

Table B 15. National background

National background	n	%	Valid %
Completely Swedish	7,923	74.8	76.0
Partly foreign	1,792	16.9	17.2
Foreign	715	6.7	6.9
Total	10,430	98.4	100.0
Non-response	169	1.6	
Total	10,599	100	

Table B 16. Region of origin

Region of origin	n	Column %
Sweden	8,053	76.5
Northern/Western/Eastern Europe*	950	9.0
Southern Europe	396	3.8
Outside Europe	1,125	10.7
Total	10,524	100.0

*Plus North America, Australia and New Zealand

Table B 17. Attitude items about Muslims

Statement	no, strongly disagree	disagree somewhat	uncertain/ don't know	agree somewhat	yes, strongly agree	Total	
	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	Row %
Most Muslims are no doubt decent people...	4.0	5.7	22.6	34.9	32.9	10,504	100.0
It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible Muslim...	3.4	2.1	8.4	19.4	66.8	10,539	100.0
Muslims in Sweden should have the right to build mosques (places of worship)...	15.7	7.7	23.7	19.5	33.4	10,476	100.0
There are far too many Muslims in Sweden...	29.0	15.6	31.0	12.3	12.2	10,485	100.0
Muslims can't be trusted...	42.9	18.7	27.6	6.3	4.5	10,475	100.0
Muslims shouldn't be allowed to vote in elections...	63.7	11.4	16.9	3.1	5.0	10,496	100.0

Table B 18. Attitude items about Jews

Statement	no, strongly disagree	disagree somewhat	uncertain/ don't know	agree somewhat	yes, strongly agree	Total	
	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	Row %
Most Jews are no doubt decent people...	3.8	2.7	21.6	30.4	41.4	10,480	100.0
It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible Jew...	4.0	2.4	11.1	19.0	63.6	10,521	100.0
Jews in Sweden should have the right to build synagogues (places of worship)...	14.5	7.2	26.8	19.3	32.3	10,477	100.0
There are far too many Jews in Sweden...	37.9	14.6	35.2	6.1	6.2	10,488	100.0
Jews can't be trusted...	45.8	15.9	29.8	4.1	4.3	10,475	100.0
Jews shouldn't be allowed to vote in elections...	61.7	10.8	19.5	2.9	5.1	10,480	100.0

Table B 19. Attitude items about homosexuals

Statement	no, strongly disagree	disagree somewhat	uncertain/ don't know	agree somewhat	yes, strongly agree	Total	
	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	Row %
Most homosexuals are no doubt decent people...	5.5	2.3	14.0	23.4	54.8	10,486	100.0
It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible homosexual...	8.9	3.7	11.2	15.6	60.6	10,535	100.0
Homosexuals should have the right to build their own club rooms...	12.2	5.4	21.2	18.9	42.4	10,501	100.0
There are far too many homosexuals in Sweden...	45.0	12.2	29.6	4.7	8.6	10,483	100.0
Homosexuals can't be trusted...	58.8	12.8	18.7	3.5	6.3	10,505	100.0
Homosexuals shouldn't be allowed to vote in elections...	77.6	6.2	9.9	1.2	5.0	10,529	100.0

Table B 20. Attitude items about Muslims, by school type

School type	Statement	no, strongly disagree	disagree somewhat	uncertain/ don't know	agree somewhat	yes, strongly agree	Total	
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	Row %
Compulsory (yr 8, 9)	Most Muslims are no doubt decent people...	4.2	5.6	23.2	34.6	32.4	5,149	100.0
	It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible Muslim...	3.7	2.2	9.5	19.9	64.7	5,168	100.0
	Muslims in Sweden should have the right to build mosques (places of worship)...	15.7	7.3	23.9	19.2	33.9	5,124	100.0
	There are far too many Muslims in Sweden...	29.6	15.4	30.8	11.7	12.5	5,144	100.0
	Muslims can't be trusted...	42.5	17.5	28.8	6.4	4.7	5,129	100.0
	Muslims shouldn't be allowed to vote in elections...	61.6	11.2	18.2	3.3	5.7	5,142	100.0
Upper secondary	Most Muslims are no doubt decent people...	3.8	5.8	22.0	35.1	33.4	5,355	100.0
	It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible Muslim...	3.0	2.0	7.3	19.0	68.8	5,371	100.0
	Muslims in Sweden should have the right to build mosques (places of worship)...	15.8	8.0	23.4	19.9	32.9	5,352	100.0
	There are far too many Muslims in Sweden...	28.3	15.7	31.1	12.8	12.0	5,341	100.0
	Muslims can't be trusted...	43.2	19.9	26.4	6.2	4.3	5,346	100.0
	Muslims shouldn't be allowed to vote in elections...	65.7	11.6	15.6	2.8	4.3	5,354	100.0

Table B 21. Attitude items about Jews, by school type

School type	Statement	no, strongly disagree	disagree somewhat	uncertain/ don't know	agree somewhat	yes, strongly agree	Total	
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	Row %
Compulsory (Yr 8, 9)	Most Jews are no doubt decent people...	4.4	2.9	23.1	30.7	38.9	5,146	100.0
	It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible Jew...	4.8	2.5	12.6	19.3	60.8	5,160	100.0
	Jews in Sweden should have the right to build synagogues (places of worship)...	14.5	7.4	26.7	18.9	32.4	5,131	100.0
	There are far too many Jews in Sweden...	36.5	14.2	35.7	6.5	7.0	5,133	100.0
	Jews can't be trusted...	44.1	14.9	32.0	4.5	4.6	5,125	100.0
	Jews shouldn't be allowed to vote in elections...	58.7	10.5	21.5	3.5	5.8	5,139	100.0
Upper secondary	Most Jews are no doubt decent people...	3.4	2.5	20.1	30.2	43.9	5,334	100.0
	It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible Jew...	3.2	2.2	9.6	18.6	66.4	5,361	100.0
	Jews in Sweden should have the right to build synagogues (places of worship)...	14.4	7.0	26.9	19.6	32.2	5,346	100.0
	There are far too many Jews in Sweden...	39.2	15.0	34.7	5.6	5.5	5,355	100.0
	Jews can't be trusted...	47.5	16.9	27.8	3.7	4.1	5,350	100.0
	Jews shouldn't be allowed to vote in elections...	64.7	11.1	17.5	2.3	4.5	5,341	100.0

Table B 22. Attitude items about homosexuals, by school type

School type	Statement	no, strongly disagree	disagree somewhat	uncertain/ don't know	agree somewhat	yes, strongly agree	Total	
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	Row %
Compulsory (yr 8, 9)	Most homosexuals are no doubt decent people...	5.8	2.5	15.9	23.5	52.3	5,135	100.0
	It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible homosexual...	10.2	4.3	12.5	16.6	56.4	5,163	100.0
	Homosexuals should have the right to build their own club rooms...	13.0	6.1	22.9	18.7	39.3	5,138	100.0
	There are far too many homosexuals in Sweden...	43.2	12.4	30.8	4.9	8.7	5,131	100.0
	Homosexuals can't be trusted...	55.7	13.2	20.3	4.2	6.6	5,148	100.0
	Homosexuals shouldn't be allowed to vote in elections...	75.5	6.9	11.3	1.3	5.0	5,161	100.0
Upper secondary	Most homosexuals are no doubt decent people...	5.1	2.2	12.2	23.3	57.1	5,351	100.0
	It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible homosexual...	7.7	3.1	9.9	14.7	64.6	5,372	100.0
	Homosexuals should have the right to build their own club rooms...	11.4	4.7	19.5	19.0	45.4	5,363	100.0
	There are far too many homosexuals in Sweden...	46.7	11.9	28.4	4.5	8.5	5,352	100.0
	Homosexuals can't be trusted...	61.8	12.3	17.1	2.8	6.0	5,357	100.0
	Homosexuals shouldn't be allowed to vote in elections...	79.6	5.6	8.6	1.1	5.0	5,368	100.0

Table B 23. Alternative battery

Statement	no, absolutely not	no, hardly	uncertain	yes, perhaps	yes, absolutely	Total n
	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	
All individuals are of equal human worth	4.7	3.3	7.0	14.1	71.0	10,521
You can be friends with anybody no matter where they come from	2.5	2.3	5.4	12.8	77.0	10,559
Sweden should continue accepting refugees	11.9	8.0	19.7	23.8	36.6	10,507
Most Muslim immigrants are probably law-abiding people	7.2	9.5	24.8	31.0	27.5	10,486
A television anchor should be allowed to wear a headscarf	23.9	11.5	20.9	15.3	28.4	10,511
Homosexuals should be allowed to adopt children	22.3	8.1	21.5	18.8	29.3	10,509
There's a lot of truth in the claim "Jews are miserly"	24.7	18.1	45.4	7.1	4.7	10,448
Most Muslims only want to live on welfare	22.2	18.5	33.3	15.7	10.3	10,471
Homosexuality is a disease	62.4	13.9	10.3	5.4	8.0	10,532

Table B 24. Alternative battery, by school type

School type	Statement	no, absolutely not	no, hardly	uncertain	yes, perhaps	yes, absolutely	Total n
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	
Compulsory (yr 8, 9)	All individuals are of equal human worth	4.8	3.2	7.8	14.0	70.3	5,145
	You can be friends with anybody no matter where they come from	2.4	2.3	5.5	12.9	76.9	5,172
	Sweden should continue accepting refugees	12.1	8.0	18.3	24.3	37.3	5,144
	Most Muslim immigrants are probably law-abiding people	7.6	9.5	25.4	30.5	27.0	5,132
	A television anchor should be allowed to wear a headscarf	23.0	11.0	21.1	14.6	30.3	5,147
	Homosexuals should be allowed to adopt children	21.3	8.2	22.2	19.2	29.1	5,138
	There's a lot of truth in the claim "Jews are miserly"	22.2	16.9	47.6	8.0	5.3	5,116
	Most Muslims only want to live on welfare	20.6	16.1	36.4	15.8	11.2	5,119
	Homosexuality is a disease	60.9	15.2	10.6	5.6	7.6	5,151
	Upper secondary	All individuals are of equal human worth	4.6	3.3	6.2	14.2	71.7
You can be friends with anybody no matter where they come from		2.5	2.4	5.3	12.7	77.1	5,387
Sweden should continue accepting refugees		11.8	8.1	20.9	23.3	36.0	5,363
Most Muslim immigrants are probably law-abiding people		6.8	9.6	24.2	31.4	27.9	5,354
A television anchor should be allowed to wear a headscarf		24.7	12.0	20.6	16.1	26.7	5,364
Homosexuals should be allowed to adopt children		23.3	8.0	20.8	18.5	29.5	5,371
There's a lot of truth in the claim "Jews are miserly"		27.0	19.2	43.3	6.3	4.2	5,332
Most Muslims only want to live on welfare		23.7	20.8	30.4	15.6	9.5	5,352
Homosexuality is a disease		63.7	12.6	10.0	5.2	8.4	5,381

Table B 25. Certain attitude items used in a previous study (Lange et al., 1997)

Statement	disagree	partly agree	completely agree	don't know	Total	
	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	Row %
"The Jews have too much influence in the world today."	43.7	12.3	4.2	39.9	10,504	100.0
"There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews."	37.2	21.7	12.2	29.0	10,478	100.0
"I think the fact that so many homosexual men get HIV and AIDS is nature's punishment for a perverse lifestyle."	59.4	9.4	8.2	23.0	10,491	100.0
"Immigrants to Sweden from countries outside Europe should go back to their home countries."	55.0	20.5	9.7	14.9	10,501	100.0
"It is against the laws of nature for people of different races to have children together."	76.7	5.0	5.1	13.2	10,506	100.0

Table B 26. Certain attitude items used in a previous study (Lange et al., 1997) by school type

School type	Statement	disagree	partly agree	completely agree	don't know	Total	
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	Row %
Compulsory (yr 8, 9)	"The Jews have too much influence in the world today."	38.0	13.3	3.9	44.7	5,146	100.0
	"There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews."	28.8	22.6	14.5	34.1	5,135	100.0
	"I think the fact that so many homosexual men get HIV and AIDS is nature's punishment for a perverse lifestyle."	53.7	9.4	8.6	28.2	5,137	100.0
	"Immigrants to Sweden from countries outside Europe should go back to their home countries."	52.6	19.6	10.5	17.3	5,144	100.0
	"It is against the laws of nature for people of different races to have children together."	72.7	5.7	5.4	16.2	5,145	100.0
Upper secondary	"The Jews have too much influence in the world today."	49.1	11.3	4.4	35.2	5,358	100.0
	"There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews."	45.2	20.8	10.0	24.1	5,343	100.0
	"I think the fact that so many homosexual men get HIV and AIDS is nature's punishment for a perverse lifestyle."	65.0	9.3	7.8	17.9	5,354	100.0
	"Immigrants to Sweden from countries outside Europe should go back to their home countries."	57.3	21.3	8.8	12.5	5,357	100.0
	"It is against the laws of nature for people of different races to have children together."	80.5	4.4	4.8	10.4	5,361	100.0

Table B 27. Certain attitude items used in a previous study (Lange et al., 1997). Girls, by school type

School type	Statement	disagree	partly agree	completely agree	don't know	Total	
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	Row %
Compulsory (yr 8, 9)	"The Jews have too much influence in the world today."	40.1	9.9	2.3	47.7	2,606	100.0
	"There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews."	29.7	21.4	13.0	35.9	2,602	100.0
	"I think the fact that so many homosexual men get HIV and AIDS is nature's punishment for a perverse lifestyle."	65.9	5.7	3.2	25.3	2,607	100.0
	"Immigrants to Sweden from countries outside Europe should go back to their home countries."	61.2	16.3	6.1	16.4	2,605	100.0
	"It is against the laws of nature for people of different races to have children together."	78.9	4.8	3.7	12.6	2,601	100.0
Upper secondary	"The Jews have too much influence in the world today."	53.8	7.9	2.6	35.7	2,699	100.0
	"There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews."	50.1	16.7	8.2	25.0	2,682	100.0
	"I think the fact that so many homosexual men get HIV and AIDS is nature's punishment for a perverse lifestyle."	77.2	5.4	2.7	14.6	2,691	100.0
	"Immigrants to Sweden from countries outside Europe should go back to their home countries."	65.4	18.2	4.9	11.4	2,696	100.0
	"It is against the laws of nature for people of different races to have children together."	85.6	3.1	3.4	7.9	2,697	100.0

Table B 28. Certain attitude items used in a previous study (Lange et al., 1997). Boys, by school type

School type	Statement	disagree	partly agree	completely agree	don't know	Total	
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	Row %
Compulsory (yr 8, 9)	"The Jews have too much influence in the world today."	35.9	16.9	5.6	41.7	2540	100.0
	"There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews."	27.9	23.8	16.0	32.3	2533	100.0
	"I think the fact that so many homosexual men get HIV and AIDS is nature's punishment for a perverse lifestyle."	41.1	13.3	14.3	31.3	2530	100.0
	"Immigrants to Sweden from countries outside Europe should go back to their home countries."	43.7	23.0	15.1	18.1	2539	100.0
	"It is against the laws of nature for people of different races to have children together."	66.3	6.6	7.3	19.8	2544	100.0
Upper secondary	"The Jews have too much influence in the world today."	44.2	14.7	6.4	34.7	2659	100.0
	"There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews."	40.2	24.9	11.8	23.1	2661	100.0
	"I think the fact that so many homosexual men get HIV and AIDS is nature's punishment for a perverse lifestyle."	52.6	13.3	12.9	21.3	2663	100.0
	"Immigrants to Sweden from countries outside Europe should go back to their home countries."	49.1	24.5	12.7	13.7	2661	100.0
	"It is against the laws of nature for people of different races to have children together."	75.3	5.7	6.2	12.8	2664	100.0

Table B 29. Tolerance of peers' xenophobic behaviour

Would you think it was OK if your friends...	not OK	hardly OK	uncertain/ don't know	somewhat OK	totally OK	Total	
	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	Row %
...said you disliked immigrants?	58.3	11.6	14.2	8.1	7.8	10,326	100.0
...wrote "stop immigration" graffiti on a wall in town?	63.8	11.2	14.5	5.0	5.5	10,321	100.0
...picked a fight with an immigrant for no real reason?	67.2	10.2	14.0	3.8	4.7	10,313	100.0

Table B 30. Attitude to democracy

Do you agree with this statement:	disagree	partly agree	completely agree	don't know	Total	
	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	Row %
"Democracy is the best way of governing Sweden"?	3.8	22.9	49.2	24.1	10,510	100.0

Table B 31. Attitude to democracy, by sex and school year

School type	Sex	Do you agree with this statement:	disagree	partly agree	completely agree	don't know	Total	
			Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	Row %
Compulsory (yr 8, 9)	Girls	"Democracy is the best way of governing Sweden"?	3.8	22.4	41.5	32.3	2,602	100.0
	Boys	"Democracy is the best way of governing Sweden"?	5.0	24.9	46.6	23.6	2,543	100.0
Upper secondary	Girls	"Democracy is the best way of governing Sweden"?	2.7	21.7	53.0	22.7	2,692	100.0
	Boys	"Democracy is the best way of governing Sweden"?	3.9	23.0	55.3	17.9	2,673	100.0

Table B 32. Girls. Attitude towards Muslims (index), by background factors

		Very tolerant (score 0)	Tolerant (0.1-1.49)	Uncertain (1.5-2.5)	Intolerant (>2.5)	n	Relationship (categorised scale) C	Mean (non- categorised scale, 0-4) m	Relationship (non- categorised scale) Eta
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %				
All girls		16.3	55.9	23.0	4.8	5,326		0.96	
School year	Compuls. school yr 8	15.4	54.2	24.5	6.0	1,257	0.10***	1.03	0.10***
	Compuls. school yr 9	16.7	55.1	23.2	5.1	1,364		0.96	
	Upper sec. yr 1	13.9	55.0	25.7	5.4	1,252		1.04	
	Upper sec. yr 2	18.5	56.8	21.0	3.7	811		0.89	
	Upper sec. yr 3	19.5	61.5	16.8	2.2	642		0.78	
						5,326			
School type, programme	Compuls. school yr 8–9	16.1	54.6	23.8	5.5	2,621	0.14***	0.99	0.15***
	Upper secondary, academic	20.8	59.3	17.4	2.6	1,526		0.78	
	Upper secondary, others	11.2	54.3	28.4	6.1	1,179		1.13	
						5,326			
Upper secondary programme	Academic	20.8	59.3	17.4	2.6	1,526	0.25***	0.78	0.28***
	Academic/Vocational	16.7	61.3	18.7	3.3	150		0.84	
	Vocational	11.0	55.3	28.4	5.3	958		1.12	
	Individual	2.8	25.4	49.3	22.5	71		1.92	
						2,705			
Region	Södra Götaland	12.1	54.0	27.8	6.1	1,160	0.10***	1.10	0.10***
	Västra Götaland	16.7	54.6	22.9	5.8	796		0.98	
	Östra Götaland	17.4	55.4	22.2	5.0	801		0.97	
	Svealand	17.7	58.4	20.2	3.7	1,790		0.88	
	Norrland	18.1	54.8	23.1	4.0	779		0.92	
						5,326			
School district type	City/suburban	17.2	58.2	20.0	4.7	1,478	0.07***	0.91	0.08***
	Large/medium town	16.9	56.0	23.2	4.0	2,443		0.93	
	Other	14.5	53.4	25.8	6.3	1,405		1.07	
						5,326			
Parental socioeconomic division	Unskilled blue-collar	11.0	52.7	29.5	6.8	962	0.21***	1.18	0.22***
	Skilled blue-collar	11.8	52.6	29.8	5.8	739		1.12	
	Low-level white-collar	10.9	57.9	25.5	5.7	580		1.04	
	Mid-level white-collar	20.9	57.9	17.7	3.4	1,366		0.81	
	High-level white-collar	22.2	59.0	17.0	1.8	441		0.74	
	Self-employed professional	30.6	57.4	10.5	1.5	333		0.56	
	Business owner	16.2	56.2	22.2	5.4	500		0.96	
	Farmer	15.0	65.0	16.7	3.3	60		0.91	
						4,981			
National background	Completely Swedish	16.3	54.7	23.7	5.3	3,931	0.08***	0.99	0.08***
	Partly foreign	15.5	58.1	22.4	4.1	944		0.93	
	Foreign	19.8	63.8	15.4	1.0	384		0.73	
						5,259			
Region of origin	Sweden	16.2	54.7	23.7	5.3	3,983	0.10***	0.99	0.09***
	Northern/Western/ Eastern Europe	15.6	52.3	27.9	4.3	488		1.02	
	Southern Europe	16.7	63.7	17.6	2.0	204		0.80	
	Outside Europe	17.3	65.0	15.1	2.6	617		0.79	
						5,292			
Religion	Non-religious	15.4	51.3	26.5	6.7	2,031	0.16***	1.07	0.17***
	Christian	15.9	58.0	22.2	3.8	2,784		0.93	
	Muslim	27.6	67.6	4.8	0.0	315		0.48	
	Other (Jew/Buddhist/Hindu)	11.8	55.9	32.4	0.0	34		0.99	
						5,164			

***p<0.001 **p<0.01

Table B 33. Boys. Attitude towards Muslims (index), by background factors

		Very tolerant (score 0)	Tolerant (0.1-1.49)	Uncertain (1.5-2.5)	Intolerant (>2.5)		Relationship (categorised scale) C	Mean (non- categorised scale, 0-4) m	Relationship (non- categorised scale) Eta
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n			
All boys		11.5	48.4	29.6	10.6	5,246		1.27	
School year							0.05 (not sig.)		0.03 (not sig.)
	Compuls. school yr 8	11.3	49.1	29.9	9.6	1,266		1.27	
	Compuls. school yr 9	10.8	46.2	32.3	10.7	1,296		1.30	
	Upper sec. yr 1	10.6	49.0	29.6	10.8	1,181		1.29	
	Upper sec. yr 2	12.5	49.3	26.7	11.4	760		1.25	
	Upper sec. yr 3	13.3	48.7	27.1	10.9	743		1.23	
						5,246			
School type, programme							0.20***		0.22***
	Compuls. school yr 8-9	11.0	47.7	31.1	10.2	2,562		1.28	
	Upper secondary, academic	17.9	56.1	20.8	5.2	1,238		0.95	
	Upper secondary, others	6.7	42.9	34.4	16.0	1,446		1.53	
						5,246			
Upper secondary programme							0.31***		0.34***
	Academic	17.9	56.1	20.8	5.2	1,238		0.95	
	Academic/Vocational	8.6	54.7	28.1	8.6	384		1.22	
	Vocational	6.5	40.6	35.6	17.3	913		1.59	
	Individual	3.4	26.8	43.0	26.8	149		1.99	
						2,684			
Region							0.10***		0.10***
	Södra Götaland	7.7	47.1	31.9	13.3	1,277		1.43	
	Västra Götaland	15.6	48.5	25.7	10.3	662		1.18	
	Östra Götaland	10.5	47.1	32.2	10.3	799		1.32	
	Svealand	13.4	49.6	27.4	9.5	1,676		1.18	
	Norrland	11.2	48.9	30.8	9.1	832		1.25	
						5,246			
School district type							0.10***		0.11***
	City/suburban	14.5	51.4	25.7	8.5	1,363		1.13	
	Large/medium town	11.4	49.4	29.0	10.2	2,235		1.26	
	Other	9.2	44.5	33.6	12.8	1,648		1.41	
						5,246			
Parental socioeconomic division							0.19***		0.19***
	Unskilled blue-collar	9.3	40.5	35.7	14.6	969		1.48	
	Skilled blue-collar	8.2	43.7	35.1	13.0	661		1.45	
	Low-level white-collar	9.6	48.7	32.9	8.7	583		1.32	
	Mid-level white-collar	12.2	53.6	25.8	8.4	1,279		1.15	
	High-level white-collar	15.3	57.3	21.7	5.8	452		0.98	
	Self-employed professional	19.0	57.0	15.7	8.3	337		0.95	
	Business owner	10.4	51.7	26.5	11.4	422		1.28	
	Farmer	9.5	43.2	33.8	13.5	74		1.37	
						4,777			
National background							0.18***		0.18***
	Completely Swedish	9.5	47.1	31.6	11.8	3,973		1.35	
	Partly foreign	14.8	53.3	23.1	8.8	844		1.09	
	Foreign	28.7	52.4	16.8	2.1	328		0.72	
						5,145			
Region of origin							0.19***		0.18***
	Sweden	9.4	47.1	31.8	11.7	4,050		1.35	
	Northern/Western/Eastern Europe	11.7	52.1	27.3	8.9	461		1.19	
	Southern Europe	30.7	48.4	16.7	4.2	192		0.75	
	Outside Europe	20.7	55.6	18.3	5.4	502		0.89	
						5,205			
Religion							0.25***		0.21***
	Non-religious	10.9	45.1	30.8	13.2	2,338		1.37	
	Christian	8.9	51.1	30.9	9.2	2,444		1.27	
	Muslim	41.9	53.2	4.0	0.8	248		0.39	
	Other (Jew/Buddhist/Hindu)	28.0	36.0	24.0	12.0	25		0.95	
						5,055			

***p<0,001 **p<0,01

Table B 34. Girls. Attitude towards Jews (index), by background factors

		Very tolerant (score 0)	Tolerant (0.1-1.49)	Uncertain (1.5-2.5)	Intolerant (>2.5)		Relationship (categorised scale)	Mean (non- categorised scale, 0-4)	Relationship (non- categorised scale)
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	C	m	Eta
All girls		20.4	53.2	23.1	3.3	5,317		0.89	
School year	Compuls. school yr 8	17.4	51.4	27.0	4.2	1,256	0.12***	1.00	0.13***
	Compuls. school yr 9	19.2	52.7	24.3	3.8	1,360		0.93	
	Upper sec. yr 1	19.5	53.6	23.5	3.4	1,249		0.91	
	Upper sec. yr 2	22.2	53.5	21.7	2.6	810		0.84	
	Upper sec. yr 3	28.2	57.2	13.6	1.1	642		0.64	
						5,317			
School type, programme	Compuls. school yr 8-9	18.3	52.1	25.6	4.0	2,616	0.17***	0.96	0.19***
	Upper secondary, academic	28.0	55.9	14.9	1.2	1,525		0.66	
	Upper secondary, others	15.1	52.4	28.1	4.4	1,176		1.04	
						5,317			
Upper secondary programme	Academic	28.0	55.9	14.9	1.2	1,525	0.31***	0.66	0.32***
	Academic/Vocational	23.3	58.0	16.7	2.0	150		0.72	
	Vocational	14.7	54.0	27.7	3.6	955		1.03	
	Individual	4.2	18.3	56.3	21.1	71		1.91	
						2,701			
Region	Södra Götaland	16.5	53.5	26.2	3.8	1,158	0.09***	0.98	0.08***
	Västra Götaland	21.3	49.7	24.8	4.3	795		0.93	
	Östra Götaland	20.4	52.1	23.6	3.9	800		0.92	
	Svealand	21.7	56.1	19.7	2.5	1,786		0.81	
	Norrland	22.5	51.0	23.8	2.7	778		0.87	
						5,317			
School district type	City/suburban	20.5	55.3	21.0	3.2	1,475	0.09***	0.85	0.08***
	Large/medium town	22.1	53.5	21.8	2.6	2,441		0.85	
	Other	17.3	50.7	27.5	4.6	1,401		1.00	
						5,317			
Parental socioeconomic division	Unskilled blue-collar	12.6	50.1	32.2	5.1	958	0.24***	1.15	0.26***
	Skilled blue-collar	13.2	54.4	28.5	3.9	737		1.05	
	Low-level white-collar	15.7	55.4	25.6	3.3	579		0.96	
	Mid-level white-collar	27.1	54.7	15.9	2.3	1,365		0.72	
	High-level white-collar	29.0	55.6	14.7	0.7	441		0.60	
	Self-employed professional	38.7	52.3	8.4	0.6	333		0.46	
	Business owner	19.2	54.9	22.8	3.0	499		0.87	
	Farmer	23.3	51.7	25.0	0.0	60		0.84	
						4,972			
National background	Completely Swedish	21.3	52.8	22.3	3.5	3,925	0.05 (ej sig.)	0.88	0.03 (ej sig.)
	Partly foreign	19.1	55.1	23.6	2.2	942		0.87	
	Foreign	15.1	55.6	26.1	3.1	383		0.98	
						5,250			
Region of origin	Sweden	21.2	52.7	22.5	3.5	3,977	0.06 (ej sig.)	0.89	0.02 (ej sig.)
	Northern/Western/Eastern Europe	21.1	52.0	25.1	1.8	487		0.86	
	Southern Europe	17.2	57.1	23.2	2.5	203		0.91	
	Outside Europe	15.6	57.3	23.7	3.4	616		0.93	
						5,283			
Religion	Non-religious	19.7	48.6	26.7	5.0	2,028	0.12***	0.99	0.12***
	Christian	21.7	56.2	20.3	1.8	2,778		0.80	
	Muslim	16.5	54.0	24.8	4.8	315		0.99	
	Other (Jew/Buddhist/Hindu)	23.5	52.9	23.5	0.0	34		0.74	
						5,155			

***p<0,001 **p<0,01

Tabell B 35. Boys. Attitude towards Jews (index), by background factors

		Very tolerant (score 0)	Tolerant (0.1-1.49)	Uncertain (1.5-2.5)	Intolerant (>2.5)		Relationship (categorised scale)	Mean (non- categorised scale, 0-4)	Relationship (non- categorised scale)
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	C	m	Eta
All boys		14.5	47.1	30.2	8.2	5,238		1.20	
School year	Compuls. school yr 8	13.4	45.9	32.2	8.5	1,265	0.07 (not sig.)	1.24	0.05**
	Compuls. school yr 9	13.9	45.6	31.2	9.3	1,295		1.24	
	Upper sec. yr 1	13.6	48.7	30.4	7.3	1,178		1.18	
	Upper sec. yr 2	16.0	48.0	26.6	9.4	758		1.19	
	Upper sec. yr 3	17.3	48.1	28.3	6.3	742		1.09	
						5,238			
School type, programme	Compuls. school yr 8-9	13.6	45.8	31.7	8.9	2,560	0.22***	1.24	0.23***
	Upper secondary, academic	23.3	55.4	17.6	3.7	1,235		0.83	
	Upper secondary, others	8.4	42.3	38.3	10.9	1,443		1.44	
						5,238			
Upper secondary programme	Academic	23.3	55.4	17.6	3.7	1,235	0.35***	0.83	0.38***
	Academic/Vocational	13.3	56.4	25.6	4.7	383		1.05	
	Vocational	7.2	39.8	40.8	12.2	912		1.52	
	Individual	2.7	21.6	56.1	19.6	148		1.97	
						2,678			
Region	Södra Götaland	10.7	47.8	32.3	9.2	1,277	0.09***	1.29	0.06***
	Västra Götaland	15.9	44.6	28.9	10.7	662		1.24	
	Östra Götaland	13.6	47.3	31.9	7.3	797		1.21	
	Svealand	17.1	46.6	28.4	8.0	1,671		1.13	
	Norrland	14.8	48.9	30.1	6.3	831		1.16	
						5,238			
School district type	City/suburban	16.8	47.8	27.5	7.9	1,359	0.08***	1.13	0.08***
	Large/medium town	15.0	48.4	28.9	7.7	2,234		1.16	
	Other	11.9	44.7	34.1	9.3	1,645		1.31	
						5,238			
Parental socioeconomic division	Unskilled blue-collar	10.2	40.6	38.3	10.9	969	0.20***	1.42	0.21***
	Skilled blue-collar	10.4	44.6	35.1	9.8	661		1.35	
	Low-level white-collar	12.5	47.3	33.3	6.9	583		1.24	
	Mid-level white-collar	17.8	50.0	25.6	6.6	1,277		1.05	
	High-level white-collar	20.6	56.4	19.2	3.8	452		0.87	
	Self-employed professional	23.2	56.5	15.8	4.5	336		0.81	
	Business owner	13.0	48.8	29.4	8.8	422		1.23	
	Farmer	16.2	43.2	29.7	10.8	74		1.20	
						4,774			
National background	Completely Swedish	13.9	46.8	31.1	8.3	3,969	0.06 (not sig.)	1.21	0.04 (not sig.)
	Partly foreign	17.5	47.5	27.2	7.8	842		1.11	
	Foreign	13.8	53.1	24.2	8.9	326		1.16	
						5,137			
Region of origin	Sweden	13.8	46.6	31.2	8.3	4,045	0.06 (not sig.)	1.22	0.05**
	Northern/Western/Eastern								
	Europe	18.3	49.8	25.0	7.0	460		1.07	
	Southern Europe	15.1	49.5	23.4	12.0	192		1.19	
	Outside Europe	16.0	47.1	29.3	7.6	501		1.16	
						5,198			
Religion	Non-religious	14.6	43.3	32.1	9.9	2,336	0.11***	1.27	0.09***
	Christian	14.3	51.3	28.5	5.9	2,441		1.11	
	Muslim	16.1	43.5	27.4	12.9	248		1.29	
	Other (Jew/Buddhist/Hindu)	37.5	41.7	20.8	0.0	24		0.65	
						5,049			

***p<0.001 **p<0.01

Tabell B 36. Girls. Attitude towards homosexuals (index), by background factors

		Very tolerant (score 0)	Tolerant (0.1-1.49)	Uncertain (1.5-2.5)	Intolerant (>2.5)		Relationship (categorised scale) C	Mean (non- categorised scale, 0-4) m	Relationship (non- categorised scale) Eta
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n			
All girls		37.7	49.4	11.1	1.8	5,321		0.57	
School year	Compuls. school yr 8	28.8	52.6	16.2	2.3	1,256	0.15***	0.72	0.14***
	Compuls. school yr 9	38.1	47.9	12.0	2.0	1,362			
	Upper sec. yr 1	39.1	50.3	8.9	1.8	1,251			
	Upper sec. yr 2	39.9	49.4	9.6	1.1	810			
	Upper sec. yr 3	48.8	44.7	5.5	1.1	642			
						5,321			
School type, programme	Compuls. school yr 8-9	33.7	50.2	14.0	2.1	2,618	0.15***	0.64	0.14***
	Upper secondary, academic	46.6	46.6	5.6	1.2	1,525			
	Upper secondary, others	35.1	51.4	11.8	1.7	1,178			
						5,321			
Upper secondary programme	Academic	46.6	46.6	5.6	1.2	1,525	0.27***	0.41	0.28***
	Academic/Vocational	48.7	46.7	4.0	0.7	150			
	Vocational	35.1	52.9	10.8	1.3	957			
	Individual	7.0	40.8	42.3	9.9	71			
						2,703			
Region	Södra Götaland	34.2	51.9	12.4	1.5	1,158	0.09***	0.61	0.08***
	Västra Götaland	39.1	47.4	11.3	2.1	795			
	Östra Götaland	31.5	52.7	14.0	1.9	801			
	Svealand	40.6	48.6	9.0	1.7	1,789			
	Norrland	41.1	46.3	10.8	1.8	778			
						5,321			
School district type	City/suburban	39.4	47.6	10.8	2.2	1,476	0.09***	0.57	0.07***
	Large/medium town	39.6	49.8	9.1	1.5	2,441			
	Other	32.7	50.7	14.9	1.7	1,404			
						5,321			
Parental socioeconomic division	Unskilled blue-collar	27.2	52.6	17.4	2.8	962	0.22***	0.78	0.22***
	Skilled blue-collar	30.5	53.7	13.6	2.3	738			
	Low-level white-collar	34.3	54.3	9.9	1.6	578			
	Mid-level white-collar	44.4	47.7	7.2	0.7	1,366			
	High-level white-collar	49.9	45.4	4.5	0.2	441			
	Self-employed professional	57.7	36.6	4.2	1.5	333			
	Business owner	40.3	49.5	8.2	2.0	499			
	Farmer	41.7	50.0	8.3	0.0	60			
						4,977			
National background	Completely Swedish	40.3	49.1	9.4	1.1	3,929	0.18***	0.50	0.19***
	Partly foreign	34.1	51.5	11.9	2.4	943			
	Foreign	19.8	49.6	24.8	5.7	383			
						5,255			
Region of origin	Sweden	40.2	49.0	9.6	1.2	3,981	0.16***	0.51	0.18***
	Northern/Western/ Eastern								
	Europe	40.9	48.0	9.2	1.8	487			
	Southern Europe	24.1	53.2	19.7	3.0	203			
	Outside Europe	24.0	52.4	18.8	4.7	616			
						5,287			
Religion	Non-religious	40.3	46.3	11.5	1.9	2,029	0.19***	0.56	0.20***
	Christian	38.0	51.9	9.1	1.0	2,782			
	Muslim	17.5	49.4	25.8	7.3	314			
	Other (Jew/Buddhist/Hindu)	44.1	38.2	17.6	0.0	34			
						5,159			

***p<0.001 **p<0.01

Table B 37. Boys. Attitude towards homosexuals (index), by background factors

		Very tolerant (score 0)	Tolerant (0.1-1.49)	Uncertain (1.5-2.5)	Intolerant (>2.5)		Relationship (categorised scale)	Mean (non- categorised scale, 0-4)	Relationship (non- categorised scale)
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n	C	m	Eta
All boys		16.3	44.0	28.2	11.5	5,236		1.26	
School year	Compuls. school yr 8	13.5	42.9	32.3	11.2	1,263	0.09***	1.34	0.07***
	Compuls. school yr 9	15.6	43.6	29.1	11.7	1,294		1.30	
	Upper sec. yr 1	16.1	44.3	27.8	11.7	1,178		1.26	
	Upper sec. yr 2	16.9	44.1	26.7	12.3	759		1.25	
	Upper sec. yr 3	22.2	45.8	21.7	10.2	742		1.09	
						5,236			
School type, programme	Compuls. school yr 8-9	14.6	43.3	30.7	11.5	2,557	0.20***	1.32	0.20***
	Upper secondary, academic	25.7	50.0	18.3	6.1	1,235		0.89	
	Upper secondary, others	11.5	40.2	32.3	16.1	1,444		1.48	
						5,236			
Upper secondary programme	Academic	25.7	50.0	18.3	6.1	1,235	0.31***	.89	0.33***
	Academic/Vocational	17.0	48.8	26.4	7.8	383		1.10	
	Vocational	10.5	38.8	32.9	17.8	912		1.55	
	Individual	3.4	26.2	43.6	26.8	149		2.03	
						2,679			
Region	Södra Götaland	13.7	46.0	29.4	10.9	1,275	0.09***	1.27	0.04 (not sig.)
	Västra Götaland	16.9	45.0	24.2	13.9	662		1.29	
	Östra Götaland	15.1	42.4	30.1	12.4	797		1.34	
	Svealand	19.5	41.9	26.9	11.7	1,671		1.22	
	Norrand	14.8	45.8	30.3	9.0	831		1.24	
						5,236			
School district type	City/suburban	18.5	44.3	26.1	11.1	1,360	0.07***	1.20	0.07***
	Large/medium town	16.7	45.3	27.4	10.6	2,233		1.22	
	Other	14.1	41.9	31.0	13.0	1,643		1.37	
						5,236			
Parental socioeconomic division	Unskilled blue-collar	11.8	40.2	32.7	15.3	969	0.19***	1.48	0.19***
	Skilled blue-collar	10.3	43.2	33.0	13.5	660		1.46	
	Low-level white-collar	14.2	44.6	31.6	9.6	583		1.26	
	Mid-level white-collar	20.0	46.6	23.5	10.0	1,276		1.12	
	High-level white-collar	24.2	52.4	17.8	5.6	450		0.91	
	Self-employed professional	27.7	45.5	19.6	7.1	336		0.90	
	Business owner	17.0	43.3	30.0	9.7	423		1.21	
	Farmer	17.6	39.2	33.8	9.5	74		1.28	
						4,771			
National background	Completely Swedish	17.0	44.6	27.8	10.6	3,969	0.09***	1.23	0.09***
	Partly foreign	16.6	44.8	25.9	12.6	841		1.27	
	Foreign	8.9	36.8	35.6	18.7	326		1.62	
						5,136			
Region of origin	Sweden	16.9	44.4	27.9	10.8	4,045	0.09***	1.23	0.08***
	Northern/Western/ Eastern Europe	18.3	46.1	23.7	12.0	460		1.22	
	Southern Europe	10.0	40.5	28.4	21.1	190		1.54	
	Outside Europe	12.8	39.8	34.2	13.2	500		1.43	
								5,195	
Religion	Non-religious	17.8	41.7	28.4	12.1	2,337	0.12***	1.28	0.11***
	Christian	16.1	47.5	26.7	9.7	2,440		1.19	
	Muslim	6.9	34.6	38.2	20.3	246		1.73	
	Other (Jew/Buddhist/Hindu)	37.5	29.2	25.0	8.3	24		0.95	
								5,047	

***p<0.001 **p<0.01

Table B 38. Girls. Total intolerance (index), by background factors

		Very tolerant (score 0)	Tolerant (0.1-0.67)	Somewhat tolerant (0.68- 1.49)	Uncertain (1.5-2.5)	Intolerant (>2.5)	n	Relationship (categorised scale) C	Mean (non- categorised scale, 0-4) m	Relationship (non- categorised scale) Eta
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %				
All girls		13.7	37.3	31.3	16.1	1.7	5,327		0.81	
School year	Compuls. school yr 8	12.1	32.0	32.3	21.3	2.3	1,257	0.14***	0.92	0.13***
	Compuls. school yr 9	13.1	38.8	29.8	16.3	2.0	1,364		0.82	
	Upper sec. yr 1	12.8	36.6	33.0	16.0	1.8	1,253		0.83	
	Upper sec. yr 2	15.5	37.6	31.9	14.4	0.5	811		0.75	
	Upper sec. yr 3	17.4	45.8	28.5	7.3	0.9	642		0.60	
							5,327			
School type, programme	Compuls. school yr 8–9	12.6	35.5	31.0	18.7	2.1	2,621	0.17***	0.87	0.18***
	Upper secondary, academic	18.5	43.7	28.2	9.4	0.1	1,527		0.61	
	Upper secondary, others	9.8	33.0	36.0	18.7	2.5	1,179		0.92	
							5,327			
Upper secondary programme	Academic	18.5	43.7	28.2	9.4	0.1	1,527	0.34***	0.61	0.33***
	Academic/Vocational	15.3	43.3	32.0	8.7	0.7	150		0.63	
	Vocational	9.6	33.3	37.3	18.1	1.8	958		0.91	
	Individual	1.4	7.0	26.8	47.9	16.9	71		1.77	
							2,706			
Region	Södra Götaland	10.0	34.7	34.5	19.1	1.6	1,161	0.11***	0.90	0.09***
	Västra Götaland	13.7	35.7	31.4	18.0	1.3	796		0.83	
	Östra Götaland	14.1	35.2	30.8	16.9	3.0	801		0.85	
	Svealand	14.6	40.7	30.6	12.8	1.2	1,790		0.74	
	Norrland	16.6	37.2	28.4	16.2	1.7	779		0.77	
							5,327			
School district type	City/suburban	13.3	39.0	31.9	15.0	0.9	1,478	0.09***	0.78	0.08***
	Large/medium town	14.6	38.3	31.1	14.6	1.3	2,444		0.77	
	Other	12.5	33.8	31.0	19.6	3.0	1,405		0.90	
							5,327			
Parental socioeconomic division	Unskilled blue-collar	8.0	29.4	35.1	23.4	4.1	962	0.27***	1.04	0.27***
	Skilled blue-collar	9.2	32.7	35.5	21.0	1.6	739		0.95	
	Low-level white-collar	9.7	37.1	35.5	16.4	1.4	580		0.85	
	Mid-level white-collar	18.7	41.9	28.5	10.2	0.7	1,367		0.66	
	High-level white-collar	18.8	47.2	25.2	8.6	0.2	441		0.56	
	Self-employed professional	27.3	50.2	15.9	6.3	0.3	333		0.45	
	Business owner	13.4	38.8	32.0	14.8	1.0	500		0.78	
	Farmer	13.3	36.7	33.3	15.0	1.7	60		0.75	
							4,982			
National background	Completely Swedish	14.7	37.4	30.8	15.3	1.8	3,932	0.07***	0.79	0.04**
	Partly foreign	11.7	39.3	31.3	16.4	1.4	944		0.81	
	Foreign	9.6	32.8	38.0	19.0	0.5	384		0.91	
							5,260			
Region of origin	Sweden	14.6	37.3	30.8	15.5	1.8	3,984	0.07**	0.79	0.03 (not sig.)
	Northern/Western/ Eastern									
	Europe	13.5	38.9	27.7	18.2	1.6	488		0.80	
	Southern Europe	11.3	36.3	33.8	17.6	1.0	204		0.84	
	Outside Europe	8.9	37.9	35.7	16.7	0.8	617		0.86	
							5,293			
Religion	Non-religious	13.9	34.8	29.7	18.7	3.0	2,031	0.12***	0.87	0.09***
	Christian	13.9	39.5	31.8	13.9	0.8	2,785		0.75	
	Muslim	11.1	34.0	38.4	16.2	0.3	315		0.86	
	Other									
	(Jew/Buddhist/Hindu)	11.8	44.1	20.6	23.5	0.0	34		0.77	
							5,165			

***p<0.001 **p<0.01

Tabell B 39. Boys. Total intolerance (index), by background factors

		Very tolerant (score 0)	Tolerant (0.1-0.67)	Somewhat tolerant (0.68-1.49)	Uncertain (1.5-2.5)	Intolerant (>2.5)		Relationship (categorised scale) C	Mean (non- categorised scale, 0-4) m	Relationship (non- categorised scale) Eta
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	n			
All boys		7.1	24.7	29.0	31.7	7.5	5,248		1.25	
School year	Compuls. school yr 8	5.9	23.9	28.9	33.7	7.6	1,267	0.07 (not sig.)	1.28	0.05**
	Compuls. school yr 9	6.8	22.9	29.5	32.8	8.0	1,296		1.28	
	Upper sec. yr 1	6.5	25.3	28.9	32.1	7.2	1,181		1.25	
	Upper sec. yr 2	8.0	24.0	30.5	29.3	8.1	761		1.23	
	Upper sec. yr 3	9.7	28.7	27.3	27.9	6.5	743		1.14	
							5,248			
School type, programme	Compuls. school yr 8–9	6.4	23.4	29.2	33.2	7.8	2,563	0.23***	1.28	0.25***
	Upper secondary, academic	12.7	35.1	29.2	20.4	2.7	1,238		0.89	
	Upper secondary, others	3.7	18.0	28.6	38.5	11.2	1,447		1.49	
							5,248			
Upper secondary programme	Academic	12.7	35.1	29.2	20.4	2.7	1,238	0.36***	0.89	0.40***
	Academic/Vocational	6.3	26.8	34.9	27.9	4.2	384		1.12	
	Vocational	3.1	15.5	27.9	41.2	12.3	914		1.56	
	Individual	0.7	10.7	16.8	49.0	22.8	149		1.99	
							2,685			
Region	Södra Götaland	4.7	21.1	31.1	35.6	7.5	1,277	0.10***	1.33	0.07***
	Västra Götaland	7.7	25.0	29.7	28.5	9.0	663		1.24	
	Östra Götaland	6.4	23.9	28.3	33.6	7.9	800		1.29	
	Svealand	8.8	27.3	27.5	29.2	7.3	1,676		1.18	
	Norrland	7.7	25.4	29.2	31.3	6.5	832		1.22	
							5,248			
School district type	City/suburban	8.1	26.9	30.4	28.4	6.2	1,364	0.09***	1.15	0.10***
	Large/medium town	7.2	26.1	28.9	31.0	6.8	2,235		1.21	
	Other	6.1	20.9	28.1	35.2	9.6	1,649		1.37	
							5,248			
Parental socioeconomic division	Unskilled blue-collar	5.2	18.0	27.1	39.6	10.1	969	0.23***	1.46	0.22***
	Skilled blue-collar	3.3	18.4	29.5	39.4	9.4	662		1.42	
	Low-level white-collar	5.8	22.1	32.4	33.8	5.8	583		1.27	
	Mid-level white-collar	8.6	29.9	29.0	26.7	5.8	1,279		1.11	
	High-level white-collar	11.3	35.4	30.5	18.8	4.0	452		0.92	
	Self-employed professional	13.4	37.1	27.6	17.2	4.7	337		0.89	
	Business owner	7.3	25.1	30.5	28.1	9.0	423		1.24	
	Farmer	9.5	23.0	23.0	36.5	8.1	74		1.28	
							4,779			
National background	Completely Swedish	7.2	24.6	27.9	32.2	8.1	3,975	0.07***	1.27	0.05**
	Partly foreign	7.7	24.9	33.3	27.8	6.3	844		1.16	
	Foreign	5.5	27.4	31.4	32.6	3.0	328		1.16	
							5,147			
Region of origin	Sweden	7.1	24.6	27.8	32.3	8.2	4,052	0.09***	1.27	0.05**
	Northern/Western/ Eastern Europe	8.2	24.9	32.3	28.2	6.3	461		1.16	
	Southern Europe	6.3	29.7	31.3	25.0	7.8	192		1.15	
	Outside Europe	6.4	23.7	35.3	31.9	2.8	502		1.16	
							5,207			
Religion	Non-religious	8.5	23.3	26.0	32.1	10.2	2,339	0.14***	1.31	0.08***
	Christian	6.0	26.1	31.1	31.5	5.3	2,445		1.19	
	Muslim	5.2	27.4	37.1	27.0	3.2	248		1.13	
	Other (Jew/Buddhist/Hindu)	28.0	20.0	20.0	32.0	0.0	25		0.87	
							5,057			

***p<0.001 **p<0.01

Table B 40. Contact with revisionism

Some people claim that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened. Have you ever heard this claim, or not?		
	n	%
No	3,084	29.4
Yes	6,013	57.3
Don't know	1,394	13.3
Total	10,491	100

Table B 41. Contact with revisionism, by sex and school type

School type	Sex	Some people claim that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened. Have you ever heard this claim, or not?	No			Yes		Don't know		Total	
			Row %	n	Row %						
Compulsory school, yr 8, 9	Girls	Some people claim that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened. Have you ever heard this claim, or not?	40.2	38.2	21.6	2,599	100				
	Boys	Some people claim that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened. Have you ever heard this claim, or not?	38.9	45.5	15.5	2,528	100				
Upper secondary school	Girls	Some people claim that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened. Have you ever heard this claim, or not?	21.6	69.1	9.3	2,698	100				
	Boys	Some people claim that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened. Have you ever heard this claim, or not?	17.7	75.2	7.1	2,666	100				

Table B 42. Contact with xenophobic/extreme nationalist organisation

	No		Yes		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Have come in contact with material from xenophobic organisation	9,763	93.1	721	6.9	10,484	100

Tabell B 43. Reading xenophobic/extreme nationalist publication

	No		Yes		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Have read xenophobic publication	10,143	96.9	329	3.1	10,472	100

Table B 44. Visiting xenophobic/extreme nationalist web site

	No		Yes		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Have visited xenophobic web site	9,752	93.0	735	7.0	10,487	100

Table B 45. Listening to white-power music, liking racist rock

		School type				Total	
		Compulsory (yr 8, 9)		Upper secondary		n	Column %
		n	Column %	n	Column %		
Do you listen to White Noise/ white-power music?	No	4,191	83.2	4,557	86.0	8,748	84.6
	Yes, sometimes	679	13.5	624	11.8	1,303	12.6
	Yes, often	168	3.3	119	2.2	287	2.8
Total		5,038	100.0	5,300	100.0	10,338	100.0
Enjoy "racist rock"	No	4,969	95.7	5,224	96.8	10,193	96.3
	Yes	222	4.3	175	3.2	397	3.7
Total		5,191	100.0	5,399	100.0	10,590	100.0

Table B 46. Listening to white-power music, by sex and school type

Do you listen to White Noise/ white-power music?	Sex											
	Girls						Boys					
	School type				Total		School type				Total	
	Compulsory (yr 8, 9)		Upper secondary		n	%	Compulsory (yr 8, 9)		Upper secondary		n	%
	n	Column %	n	Column %			n	Column %	n	Column %		
No	2,177	85.4	2,395	89.8	4,572	87.7	2,014	80.9	2,162	82.1	4,176	81.5
Yes, sometimes	308	12.1	231	8.7	539	10.3	371	14.9	393	14.9	764	14.9
Yes, often	63	2.5	40	1.5	103	2.0	105	4.2	79	3.0	184	3.6
Total	2,548	100	2,666	100	5,214	100	2,490	100	2,634	100	5,124	100

Table B 47. Listening to white-power music, by sex and upper secondary school programme

Sex	Programme, tetrachotomous	Do you listen to White Noise/white-power music?				Total	
		No		Yes, sometimes/ Yes, often		n	%
		n	%	n	%		
Girls	Academic (IB, Nat. Sci., Soc. Sci.)	1,420	94.5	83	5.5	1,503	100.0
	Academic/Vocational (Technology, Arts)	131	86.2	21	13.8	152	100.0
	Vocational	805	85.5	136	14.5	941	100.0
	Individual	39	55.7	31	44.3	70	100.0
Total		2,395	89.8	271	10.2	2,666	100.0
Boys	Academic (IB, Nat. Sci., Soc. Sci.)	1,108	90.7	114	9.3	1,222	100.0
	Academic/Vocational (Technology, Arts)	307	80.2	76	19.8	383	100.0
	Vocational	663	74.7	224	25.3	887	100.0
	Individual	84	59.2	58	40.8	142	100.0
Total		2,162	82.1	472	17.9	2,634	100.0

Table B 48. Listening to white-power music, by sex, school type and programme

Sex, school type, programme	Do you listen to White Noise/white-power music?			
	No		Yes, sometimes/ Yes, often	
	n	%	n	%
Girls, comp. school yr 8–9	2,177	85.4	371	14.6
Boys, comp. school yr 8–9	2,014	80.9	476	19.1
Girls, upper sec. academic	1,420	94.5	83	5.5
Boys, upper sec. academic	1,108	90.7	114	9.3
Girls, upper sec. other	975	83.8	188	16.2
Boys, upper sec. other	1,054	74.6	358	25.4
Total	8,748	84.6	1,590	15.4

Table B 49. Being teased because of origin

	Teased at/in school?		Teased on bus/train/tram/ at station/stop?		Teased at someone's home?		Teased elsewhere (e.g. in street, disco, youth club)?	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
	No, never	9,545	91.6	9,997	96.3	10,143	97.7	9,590
Yes, once	316	3.0	179	1.7	127	1.2	371	3.6
Yes, a few times	418	4.0	160	1.5	91	0.9	325	3.1
Yes, many times	142	1.4	47	0.5	16	0.2	106	1.0
Total	10,421	100	10,383	100	10,377	100	10,392	100

Table B 50. Being threatened because of origin

	Threatened at/in school?		Threatened on bus/train/tram/ at station/stop?		Threatened at someone's home?		Threatened elsewhere (e.g. in street, disco, youth club)?	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
	No, never	10,149	97.4	10,188	98.0	10,304	99.1	9,939
Yes, once	142	1.4	120	1.2	58	0.6	245	2.4
Yes, a few times	94	0.9	56	0.5	25	0.2	157	1.5
Yes, many times	36	0.3	29	0.3	6	0.1	58	0.6
Total	10,421	100	10,393	100	10,393	100	10,399	100

Table B 51. Being threatened because of origin, by sex and region of origin

Sex	Have you been threatened because of origin?	Region of origin									
		Sweden		N/W/E Europe		Southern Europe		Outside Europe		Total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Girls	No	3,785	96.3	455	94.2	185	92.5	570	92.1	4,995	95.5
	Yes	145	3.7	28	5.8	15	7.5	49	7.9	237	4.5
Total		3,930	100.0	483	100.0	200	100.0	619	100.0	5,232	100.0
Boys	No	3,722	93.0	423	92.0	158	82.3	413	83.4	4,716	91.6
	Yes	279	7.0	37	8.0	34	17.7	82	16.6	432	8.4
Total		4,001	100.0	460	100.0	192	100.0	495	100.0	5,148	100.0

Table B 52. Being assaulted because of origin, by place

	Assaulted at/in school?		Assaulted on bus/train/tram/ at station/stop?		Assaulted at someone's home?		Assaulted elsewhere (e.g. in street, disco, youth club)?	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
	No, never	10,354	99.2	10,350	99.4	10,352	99.5	10,229
Yes, once	61	0.6	50	0.5	42	0.4	119	1.1
Yes, a few times	16	0.2	11	0.1	9	0.1	47	0.5
Yes, many times	9	0.1	4	0.0	5	0.0	12	0.1
Total	10,440	100	10,415	100	10,408	100	10,407	100

Table B 53. Being teased, threatened or assaulted because of origin

	Been teased because of origin		Been threatened because of origin		Been assaulted because of origin	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
	No	9,000	86.2	9,769	93.5	10,185
Yes	1,442	13.8	684	6.5	275	2.6
Total	10,442	100	10,453	100	10,460	100

Table B 54. Being teased, frozen-out, threatened or hit because of religion

	Teased because of religion?		Frozen out because of religion?		Threatened because of religion?		Hit because of religion?		Total: Victimised because of religion	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
	No	9,964	95.8	10,233	98.3	10,310	99.1	10,351	99.5	9,814
Yes	441	4.2	172	1.7	95	0.9	54	0.5	591	5.7
Total	10,405	100	10,405	100	10,405	100	10,405	100	10,405	100

Table B 55. Being teased, frozen-out, threatened or hit because perceived as homosexual

	Teased because of homosexuality?		Frozen out because of homosexuality?		Threatened because of homosexuality?		Hit because of homosexuality?		Total: Victimised because of homosexuality	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
	No	5,225	98.1	5,309	99.7	5,313	99.8	5,308	99.7	5,211
Yes	99	1.9	15	0.3	11	0.2	16	0.3	113	2.1
Total	5,324	100	5,324	100	5,324	100	5,324	100	5,324	100

Table B 56. Being called names ("Has anyone called you these names in the last 12 months?")

	No	Yes	Total	
	%	%	n	%
<i>jävla svartskalle/turk/blatte</i> (Mediterranean/Turk)	93.8	6.2	10,255	100
<i>finnjävel/jävla finne</i> (Finn)	97.7	2.3	10,255	100
<i>svenskjävel/jävla svenne</i> (Swede)	87.4	12.6	10,255	100
<i>jävla kines/guling</i> (Chinese)	98.8	1.2	10,255	100
<i>jävla neger/svarting</i> (black)	97.3	2.7	10,255	100
<i>jävla jude/judesvin</i> (Jew)	98.4	1.6	10,255	100
<i>jävla muslim</i> (Muslim)	98.4	1.6	10,255	100
<i>nazistsvin/nasse/rasistjävel</i> (Nazi, racist)	94.5	5.5	10,255	100
<i>jävla bög/homo/fikus</i> (gay)	89.2	10.8	10,255	100
<i>jävla lebb/flata</i> (lesbian)	96.3	3.7	10,255	100
<i>jävla hora</i> (slut)	83.6	16.4	10,255	100
other insult	82.9	17.1	10,255	100

Table B 57. Being insulted, being insulted over origin or sexuality, being insulted over foreign ethnicity

	No		Yes		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Total name-calling (incl. "other insult")	6,243	60.9	4,012	39.1	10,255	100
Been insulted over origin or sexuality	6,832	66.6	3,423	33.4	10,255	100
Been called <i>svartskalle/neger/guling/jude/muslim</i>	9,358	91.3	897	8.7	10,255	100

Table B 58. Have you ever in the last 12 months felt you were unfairly treated because of your (foreign or Swedish) background, and by whom?

	Unfairly treated by a person in authority, e.g. police, social welfare officer?		Unfairly treated by teacher?		Unfairly treated by other school staff?		Unfairly treated by fellow-student?		Unfairly treated by other person?	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
No, never	10,046	96.4	9,784	93.8	10,113	97.4	9,696	93.0	9,719	93.4
Yes, once	181	1.7	310	3.0	135	1.3	342	3.3	322	3.1
Yes, a few times	110	1.1	234	2.2	98	0.9	262	2.5	270	2.6
Yes, many times	81	0.8	106	1.0	41	0.4	122	1.2	90	0.9
Total	10,418	100	10,434	100	10,387	100	10,422	100	10,401	100

Table B 59. Feeling unfairly treated because of origin

	Have felt unfairly treated because of origin	
	n	%
No	8,934	85.1
Yes	1,561	14.9
Total	10,495	100

Table B 60. Receiving threatening e-mails, SMS messages or chat messages because of origin/religion/other reason

	Have received threatening e-mails, SMS or chat messages because of origin		Have received threatening e-mails, SMS or chat messages because of religion		Have received threatening e-mails, SMS or chat messages because of origin or religion		Have received threatening e-mails, SMS or chat messages for other/unknown reason	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
No	10,058	98.3	10,085	99.0	10,021	97.8	9,234	91.0
Yes	177	1.7	107	1.0	225	2.2	913	9.0
Total	10,235	100	10,192	100	10,246	100	10,147	100

Table B 61. Summary of victimisation because of origin

		Teased		Threatened		Hit*		Total (one or more)	
		yes	n	yes	n	yes	n	yes	n
		Row %		Row %		Row %		Row %	
Total sample		13.8	10,442	6.5	10,453	2.6	10,460	16.6	10,480
Sex	Girls	12.6	5,261	4.5	5,266	1.9	5,272	14.6	5,280
	Boys	15.0	5,181	8.6	5,187	3.4	5,188	18.7	5,200
Sex, school type, programme	Girls, comp. school yr 8-9	14.0	2,589	4.7	2,594	2.6	2,600	16.0	2,602
	Boys, comp. school yr 8-9	16.7	2,537	7.9	2,534	3.2	2,536	19.9	2,541
	Girls, upper sec., academic	10.4	1,507	3.5	1,509	0.6	1,509	11.9	1,511
	Boys, upper sec., academic	12.9	1,221	8.1	1,225	2.2	1,226	16.0	1,228
	Girls, upper sec., other	12.4	1,165	5.5	1,163	2.0	1,163	15.0	1,167
	Boys, upper sec., other	13.9	1,423	10.2	1,428	4.8	1,426	18.8	1,431
National background	Completely Swedish	8.8	7,790	5.3	7,804	2.2	7,810	11.7	7,822
	Partly foreign	24.6	1,782	8.2	1,779	2.5	1,779	27.5	1,783
Region of origin	Foreign	40.2	706	15.0	707	6.6	708	42.5	711
	Sweden	8.9	7,917	5.3	7,931	2.3	7,937	11.8	7,949
	Northern/Western /Eastern Europe	22.2	944	6.9	943	2.3	942	24.9	945
	Southern Europe	35.8	391	12.5	392	4.6	393	38.4	393
	Outside Europe	32.3	1,117	11.8	1,114	4.5	1,114	35.3	1,119

*Hit = "assaulted"

Table B 62. Summary of victimisation because of religion

		Teased		Frozen out		Threatened		Hit		Total (one or more)	
		yes	n	yes	n	yes	n	yes	n	yes	n
		Row %		Row %		Row %		Row %		Row %	
Total sample		4.2	10,405	1.7	10,405	0.9	10,405	0.5	10,405	5.7	10,405
Sex	Girls	4.7	5,247	2.0	5,247	0.8	5,247	0.4	5,247	6.1	5,247
	Boys	3.8	5,158	1.3	5,158	1.0	5,158	0.6	5,158	5.2	5,158
Sex, school type, programme	Girls, comp. school yr 8-9	6.1	2,588	2.2	2,588	1.0	2,588	0.7	2,588	7.5	2,588
	Boys, comp. school yr 8-9	4.9	2,524	1.4	2,524	1.1	2,524	0.9	2,524	6.5	2,524
	Girls, upper sec., academic	3.5	1,499	1.7	1,499	0.4	1,499	0.0	1,499	4.8	1,499
	Boys, upper sec., academic	2.5	1,220	1.4	1,220	0.8	1,220	0.2	1,220	3.8	1,220
	Girls, upper sec., other	3.2	1,160	2.0	1,160	0.8	1,160	0.5	1,160	4.9	1,160
	Boys, upper sec., other	2.8	1,414	1.0	1,414	1.1	1,414	0.4	1,414	4.2	1,414
	National background	Completely Swedish	3.0	7,776	1.2	7,776	0.8	7,776	0.5	7,776	4.2
	Partly foreign	5.7	1,766	2.1	1,766	0.8	1,766	0.4	1,766	7.2	1,766
	Foreign	13.9	700	5.6	700	1.9	700	1.4	700	17.4	700
Region of origin	Sweden	3.0	7,903	1.2	7,903	0.8	7,903	0.5	7,903	4.2	7,903
	Northern/Western/ Eastern Europe	4.6	940	1.5	940	0.3	940	0.3	940	5.2	940
	Southern Europe	12.6	389	2.8	389	2.8	389	1.0	389	15.7	389
	Outside Europe	9.7	1,099	4.4	1,099	1.5	1,099	0.8	1,099	12.6	1,099

Table B 63. Summary of other types of victimisation

		Locker/desk defaced with racist slogans		Received threatening e-mails, SMS or chat messages because of origin or religion		Felt unfairly treated because of origin		Been threatened by skinheads		Been insulted over ethnicity *	
		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
		Row %	n	Row %	n	Row %	n	Row %	n	Row %	n
Total sample		3.9	10,494	2.2	10,246	14.9	10,495	5.5	10,329	20.0	10,255
Sex	Girls	3.4	5,290	2.1	5,114	14.2	5,289	3.7	5,244	14.8	5,194
	Boys	4.5	<u>5,204</u>	2.3	<u>5,132</u>	15.5	<u>5,206</u>	7.4	<u>5,085</u>	25.2	<u>5,061</u>
			10,494		10,246		10,495		10,329		10,255
Sex, school type, programme	Girls, compulsory, yr 8–9	4.6	2,609	2.6	2,505	15.2	2,601	3.2	2,559	16.9	2,543
	Boys, compulsory, yr 8–9	5.0	2,545	2.4	2,509	16.3	2,539	6.0	2,465	24.8	2,474
	Girls, upper sec., academic	2.4	1,512	1.3	1,485	14.1	1,517	4.2	1,515	11.9	1,491
	Boys, upper sec., academic	4.5	1,230	2.1	1,221	14.8	1,233	9.2	1,215	23.9	1,201
	Girls, upper sec., other	2.1	1,169	2.1	1,124	12.2	1,171	4.1	1,170	14.1	1,160
	Boys, upper sec., other	3.6	<u>1,429</u>	2.1	<u>1,402</u>	14.7	<u>1,434</u>	8.3	<u>1,405</u>	27.1	<u>1,386</u>
				10,494		10,246		10,495		10,329	
National background	Completely Swedish	3.4	7,845	1.3	7,669	9.2	7,842	4.1	7,745	16.1	7,657
	Partly foreign	5.0	1,777	3.8	1,727	26.6	1,777	8.4	1,742	30.3	1,741
	Foreign	7.5	<u>706</u>	8.4	<u>693</u>	46.4	<u>709</u>	13.0	<u>686</u>	36.4	<u>692</u>
			10,328		10,089		10,328		10,173		10,090
Region of origin	Sverige	3.4	7,973	1.3	7,793	9.3	7,970	4.1	7,869	16.1	7,783
	Northern/Western/ Eastern Europe	4.4	944	2.6	915	20.5	941	6.6	927	26.6	925
	Southern Europe	6.7	390	9.2	379	42.4	394	11.8	381	35.4	390
	Outside Europe	5.9	<u>1,113</u>	5.6	<u>1,090</u>	39.2	<u>1,116</u>	11.8	<u>1,082</u>	35.5	<u>1,083</u>
				10,420		10,177		10,421		10,259	

*Been called *svenskjävel/finnjävel/jävla svartskalle/jävla neger/jävla guling*

Table B 64. Violence (hitting) for specific motive

	Have hit someone because of their foreign origin?		Have hit someone because of their Swedish origin?		Have hit someone because of their religion?		Have hit someone because of their homosexuality?	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
No	10,395	98.5	10,481	99.4	10,484	99.4	10,459	99.2
Yes, once	103	1.0	49	0.5	41	0.4	47	0.4
Yes, more than once	54	0.5	11	0.1	19	0.2	34	0.3
Total	10,552	100	10,541	100	10,544	100	10,540	100

Table B 65. Hitting someone for specific motive

	Have hit someone because of their foreign origin/religion/homosexuality	
	n	%
No	10,352	98.1
Yes	204	1.9
Total	10,556	100

Table B 66. Threatening for specific motive

	Have threatened someone because of their foreign origin?		Have threatened someone because of their Swedish origin?		Have threatened someone because of their religion?		Have threatened someone because of their homosexuality?	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
No	10,371	98.3	10,470	99.3	10,454	99.2	10,389	98.7
Yes, once	120	1.1	54	0.5	53	0.5	80	0.8
Yes, more than once	64	0.6	20	0.2	30	0.3	56	0.5
Total	10,555	100	10,544	100	10,537	100	10,525	100

Table B 67. Threatening for specific motive

	Threatened someone because of their foreign origin/religion/homosexuality*	
	n	%
No	10,296	97,5
Yes	263	2,5
Total	10,559	100

* excluding motive of Swedish origin.

Table B 68. Verbal abuse for specific motive

	Teased someone for their foreign origin?		Teased someone for their Swedish origin?		Teased someone for their religion?		Teased someone for their homosexuality?	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
No	9,695	91.9	10,250	97.4	10,120	96.1	9,995	94.9
Yes, once	503	4.8	192	1.8	260	2.5	335	3.2
Yes, more than once	351	3.3	87	0.8	148	1.4	202	1.9
Total	10,549	100	10,529	100	10,528	100	10,532	100

Table B 69. Teasing someone for specific motive

Have teased someone for their foreign origin/ religion/homosexuality		
	n	%
No	9,327	88.3
Yes	1,237	11.7
Total	10,564	100

Table B 70. Have you called someone any of the following names any time in the last 12 months?

	No		Yes		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
<i>jävla svartskalle/turk/blatte</i> (Mediterranean/Turk)	88.9	11.1	10,333	100		
<i>finnjävel/jävla finne</i> (Finn)	96.3	3.7	10,333	100		
<i>svenskjävel/jävla svenne</i> (Swede)	95.0	5.0	10,333	100		
<i>jävla kines/guling</i> (Chinese)	96.1	3.9	10,333	100		
<i>jävla neger/svarting</i> (black)	92.0	8.0	10,333	100		
<i>jävla jude/judesvin</i> (Jew)	96.5	3.5	10,333	100		
<i>jävla muslim</i> (Muslim)	98.0	2.0	10,333	100		
<i>nazistsvin/nasse/rasistjävel</i> (Nazi, racist)	92.5	7.5	10,333	100		
<i>jävla bög/homo/fikus</i> (gay)	80.6	19.4	10,333	100		
<i>jävla lebb/flata</i> (lesbian)	96.7	3.3	10,333	100		
<i>jävla hora</i> (slut)	85.8	14.2	10,333	100		
other insult	84.3	15.7	10,333	100		

Table B 71. Insulting others

	No		Yes		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Have insulted others (incl. "other insult")	6,573	63.6	3,760	36.4	10,333	100
Have insulted others (excl. "other insult")	7,080	68.5	3,253	31.5	10,333	100
Have insulted others, excl. Nazi and "other insult"	7,300	70.6	3,033	29.4	10,333	100
Have called someone <i>svartskalle/guling/neger/jude/muslim</i>	8,833	85.5	1,500	14.5	10,333	100

Table B 72. Have you done any of these things to someone because of their foreign origin/colour/religion any time in the last 12 months?

	No		Yes		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Frozen out	10,205	98.0	204	2.0	10,409	100
Spread lies	10,324	99.2	85	0.8	10,409	100
Shoved	10,081	96.8	328	3.2	10,409	100
Badmouthed	9,411	90.4	998	9.6	10,409	100
Started a row	9,873	94.9	536	5.1	10,409	100
Destroyed their property	10,312	99.1	97	0.9	10,409	100

Table B 73. Freezing out/spreading lies/shoving/starting a row/destroyed someone's property because of their foreign origin/colour/religion

	Victimised someone for their foreign origin/colour/religion	
	n	%
No	9,053	87.0
Yes	1,356	13.0
Total	10,409	100

Table B 74. Have you done any of these things to someone because of their racist opinions any time in the last 12 months?

	No		Yes		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Frozen out	10,051	97.7	239	2.3	10,290	100
Spread lies	10,213	99.3	77	0.7	10,290	100
Shoved	9,980	97.0	310	3.0	10,290	100
Badmouthed	8,859	86.1	1431	13.9	10,290	100
Started a row	9,405	91.4	885	8.6	10,290	100
Destroyed their property	10,196	99.1	94	0.9	10,290	100

Table B 75. Freezing out/spreading lies/shoving/starting an row/destroyed someone's property because of their racist opinions

	Victimised someone for their racist opinions	
	n	%
No	8,269	80.4
Yes	2,021	19.6
Total	10,290	100

Table B 76. Victimising someone for their foreign origin or religion

	Victimised someone for their origin/ religion	
	n	%
No	8,127	76.7
Yes	2,468	23.3
Total	10,595	100

Table B 77. Summary of participation, by sex and school type

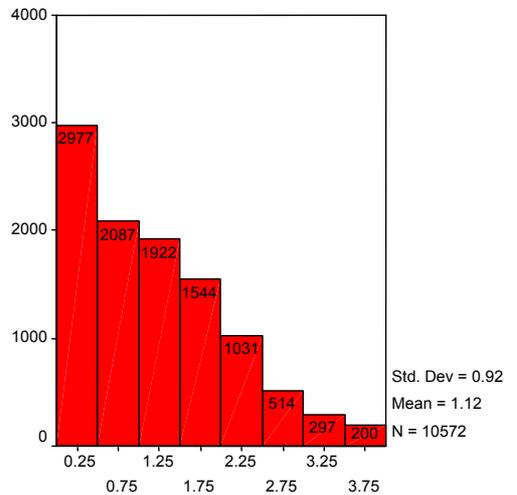
		Teasing for foreign origin/ religion		Threatening for foreign origin/ religion		Hitting for foreign origin/ religion		Total: Threatening, hitting for foreign origin/ religion		Total: Teasing, threatening, hitting for foreign origin/ religion		Freezing out, spreading lies, badmouthing for foreign origin/ religion		Shoving, rowing, destroying someone's property for foreign origin/colour/ religion	
		Yes	n	Yes	n	Yes	n	Yes	n	Yes	n	Yes	n	Yes	n
		Row %		Row %		Row %		Row %		Row %		Row %		Row %	
Total sample		9.3	10,561	1.9	10,558	1.6	10,556	2.6	10,563	9.8	10,585	10.3	10,409	6.3	10,409
Sex	Girls	5.3	5,326	0.9	5,327	0.7	5,325	1.2	5,328	5.5	5,336	9.4	5,262	4.1	5,262
	Boys	13.5	5,235	2.8	5,231	2.6	5,231	3.9	5,235	14.3	5,249	11.2	5,147	8.5	5,147
Sex, school type, programme	Girls, comp., yr 8-9	7.3	2,618	1.0	2,620	1.0	2,619	1.6	2,621	7.5	2,624	10.1	2,586	5.5	2,586
	Boys, comp., yr 8-9	13.4	2,554	3.1	2,547	2.8	2,549	4.3	2,550	14.3	2,561	11.3	2,504	10.6	2,504
	Girls, upper sec., academic	2.5	1,527	0.2	1,526	0.1	1,526	0.3	1,526	2.6	1,529	8.1	1,509	1.7	1,509
	Boys, upper sec., academic	12.4	1,237	1.5	1,238	1.1	1,239	1.8	1,239	12.6	1,239	8.1	1,224	4.0	1,224
	Girls, upper sec., other	4.3	1,181	1.5	1,181	0.7	1,180	1.7	1,181	4.6	1,183	9.3	1,167	4.3	1,167
	Boys, upper sec., other	14.5	1,444	3.7	1,446	3.5	1,443	5.2	1,446	15.7	1,449	13.7	1,419	8.7	1,419

Table B 78. Participation in abuse of someone for their “homosexuality”

		Victimising someone for their homosexuality			
		Teasing	Threatening	Hitting	Threatening or hitting
		%	%	%	%
Total sample		5.1	1.3	0.8	1.6
Sex	Girls	2.2	0.5	0.1	0.5
	Boys	8.0	2.1	1.5	2.7
Sex, school	Girls, comp., yr 8-9	3.3	0.7	0.2	0.8
type,	Boys, comp., yr 8-9	8.3	2.3	1.7	3.0
programme	Girls, upper sec., academic	1.1	0.2	0.1	0.3
	Boys, upper sec., academic	6.6	1.1	0.6	1.4
	Girls, upper sec., other	1.2	0.3	0.0	0.3
	Boys, upper sec., other	8.8	2.6	1.8	3.3

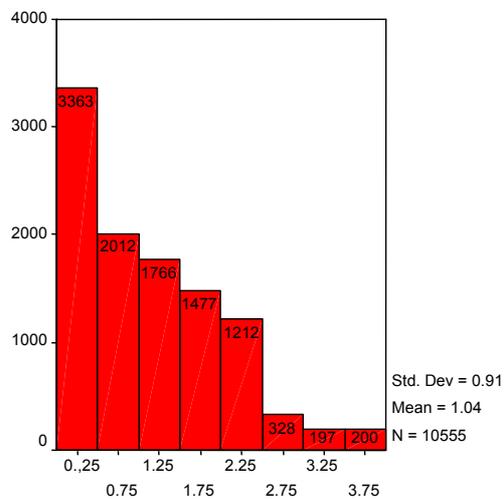
Appendix 2. SPSS print-outs of selected results

Figure B 1. Distribution, index of intolerance towards Muslims



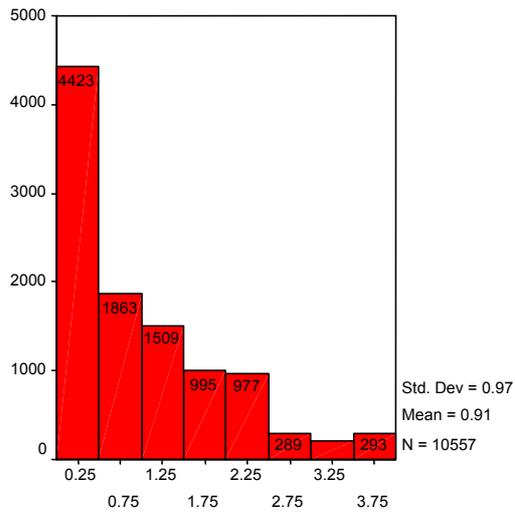
Intolerance towards Muslims (Cronbach =0.86. One factor ULS.)

Figure B 2. Distribution, index of intolerance towards Jews



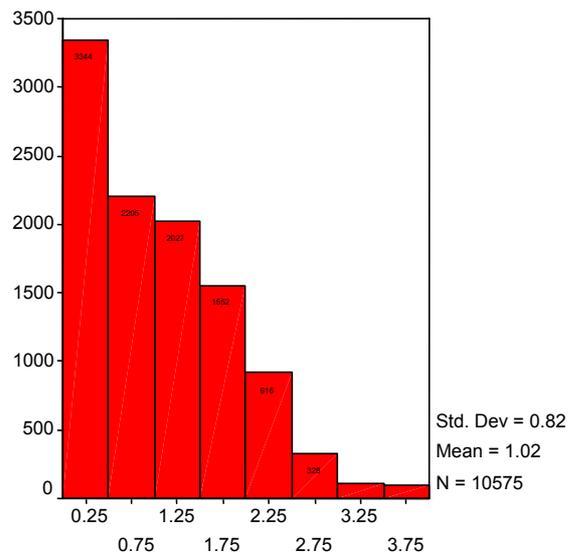
Intolerance towards Jews (Cronbach=0.87. One factor ULS.)

Figure B 3. Distribution, index of intolerance towards homosexuals



Intolerance towards homosexuals (Cronbach=0.88. One factor ULS.)

Figure B 4. Distribution, total intolerance index



Intolerance index 1 (Cronbach a=0.93)

Relationships (Pearson correlations) between indices (see overview in Appendix 3)

Correlation Matrix

	Islamophobia scale 1	Antisemitism scale 1	Homophobia scale 1	Alternate homophobia scale	Alternate islamophobia scale	Alternate antisemitism scale	Xenophobia index	Anti-immigrantism index
Correlation	1.000	.818	.539	.403	.794	.449	.759	.571
Islamophobia scale 1		1.000	.612	.436	.662	.564	.669	.508
Antisemitism scale 1			1.000	.712	.461	.419	.455	.365
Homophobia scale 1				1.000	.400	.347	.398	.298
Alternate homophobia scale					1.000	.432	.715	.524
Alternate islamophobia scale						1.000	.406	.329
Alternate antisemitism scale							1.000	.599
Xenophobia index								1.000
Anti-immigrantism index								

Relationships (Pearson correlations) between indices (see overview in Appendix 3). All except students who stated they were Muslims

Correlation Matrix

	Islamophobia scale 1	Antisemitism scale 1	Homophobia scale 1	Alternate homophobia scale	Alternate islamophobia scale	Alternate antisemitism scale	Xenophobia index	Anti-immigrantism index
Correlation	1.000	.864	.593	.448	.793	.510	.762	.573
Islamophobia scale 1		1.000	.617	.439	.709	.572	.698	.530
Antisemitism scale 1			1.000	.712	.517	.420	.492	.395
Homophobia scale 1				1.000	.448	.339	.427	.324
Alternate homophobia scale					1.000	.496	.718	.526
Alternate islamophobia scale						1.000	.445	.358
Alternate antisemitism scale							1.000	.602
Xenophobia index								1.000
Anti-immigrantism index								

Appendix 3. Overview of items included in indices

Table C 1. Overview of items included in variables constructed as indices relating to psychosocial and social factors

Index	Items	Response categories	Cronbach alpha (α)
Restlessness, impulsiveness:	<p><i>Finally some questions about yourself. Tick the option that best describes how true these statements are of yourself.</i></p> <p>I have always found it hard to sit still for long, like in class.</p> <p>If I have to wait a while, like for a bus, I easily get extremely restless.</p> <p>I want something new to be happening all the time, otherwise I lose interest.</p> <p>I often do things impulsively without thinking it over very carefully.</p> <p>Sometimes I can do something unexpected and crazy without planning it.</p>	5 response categories ranging from "no, that's totally wrong" to "yes, that's exactly right"	$\alpha=0.82$
Aggressiveness:	<p>I get angry pretty easily.</p> <p>I often feel anger inside me.</p>	5 response categories ranging from "no, that's totally wrong" to "yes, that's exactly right"	$\alpha=0.70$ ($r=0.54$)
Risk-taking:	<p>It's sometimes fun to take a bit of a risk just for thrills.</p> <p>I'd like to try mountaineering, even though it might be dangerous.</p> <p>I'd really like to try bungee jumping.</p>	5 response categories ranging from "no, that's totally wrong" to "yes, that's exactly right"	$\alpha=0.69$

Nervous symptoms:	<p><i>Here are some statements about the way you have been feeling lately. Tick the option that best describes yourself.</i></p> <p>I have been feeling down and depressed.</p> <p>I have felt worried.</p> <p>I have had trouble sleeping.</p>	<p>4 response categories ranging from "no, not at all" to "often"</p>	$\alpha=0.77$
Average compulsory school grade:	<p><i>What was your mark in the following subjects last term/at the end of year 9? (different questions for compulsory and upper secondary school)</i></p> <p>Mathematics</p> <p>Swedish</p> <p>English</p> <p>Chemistry/Science subjects</p>	<p>4 response categories ranging from "Fail" to "Pass with distinction"</p>	$\alpha=0.85$
Enjoyment of school:	<p><i>Tick the option that best describes how true these statements are of yourself.</i></p> <p>I generally enjoy school a lot.</p> <p>I like to try to do my homework properly.</p> <p>I like most of the teachers.</p>	<p>5 response categories ranging from "no, that's totally wrong" to "yes, that's exactly right"</p>	$\alpha=0.67$
Open communication with parents:	<p><i>Tick the option that best describes how true these statements are of yourself.</i></p> <p>I can usually talk with mum about anything at all (like problems).</p> <p>I can usually talk with dad about anything at all (like problems).</p>	<p>5 response categories ranging from "no, that's totally wrong" to "yes, that's exactly right"</p>	<p>$\alpha=0.75$ ($r=0.61$)</p>
Parents' knowledge of leisure habits:	<p>My parents generally know where I am if I go out at night.</p>	<p>5 response categories ranging from "no, that's totally wrong" to "yes, that's exactly right"</p>	<p>$\alpha=0.80$ ($r=0.67$)</p>

	My parents generally know who I am seeing if I go out at night.	"yes, that's exactly right"	
Expected parental reaction to problem behaviour:	If I played truant and my parents saw me, I think they would be angry and disappointed. If I came home drunk on a Friday night my parents would disapprove.	5 response categories ranging from "no, that's totally wrong" to "yes, that's exactly right"	$\alpha=0.58$ ($r=0.42$)
Stereotyped gender norms:	<i>Do you think it is appropriate or not for guys/girls to display these kinds of feelings, behaviour and characteristics?</i> A real guy should be cool and strong, and a real girl should be nice-looking. A girl who doesn't wear makeup is pretty grungy actually. It's more appropriate for a girl to cry easily than for a guy. A real guy should be able to fight for his honour or he doesn't deserve respect. A girl who has been been with a lot of guys doesn't deserve respect. A guy that's scared of mice and spiders is a real wimp actually.	5 response categories ranging from "no, that's totally wrong" to "yes, that's exactly right"	$\alpha=0.82$
Sense of social alienation:	<i>Now some questions about your view of the future and some other things. Tick the option that best describes your opinions/feelings.</i> Most politicians probably couldn't care less about ordinary people's problems.	5 response categories ranging from "no, that's totally wrong" to "yes, that's exactly right"	$\alpha=0.79$

I think the powers that be put their own interests first.

I think the future looks so uncertain that I prefer not to think about it.

These days it's hard to know who you can really count on.

Many things are so complicated in today's society that it's easy to get confused.

To succeed in society you just about have to do some things that are not right.

Peer relations:

Tick the option that says how true these statements about your friends are in your case.

$\alpha=0.77$

I can usually talk with about anything at all (like problems) with the friends I most like seeing... 5 response categories ranging from "no, that's totally wrong" to "yes, that's exactly right"

My friends are happy to be there for me if I need help with something...

My friends really mean a great deal to me...

I really respect my friends' opinions...

I often feel disappointed in my friends... (Scores of response categories reversed)

Friends' delinquency:

Have any of your friends (those you most often see) done any of these things as far as you know? Tick the things they have done.

$\alpha=0.79$

Destroyed property
Broken into a building

	Knocked somebody down		
	Been caught by the police		
Peers' perceived tolerance of anti-immigrantism:	<i>Do you think your friends would think it was OK if you...</i>		$\alpha=0.86$
	...said you disliked immigrants?	5 response categories ranging from "not OK" to "totally OK"	
	...wrote "Stop immigration" graffiti on a wall in town?		
	...picked a fight with an immigrant for no real reason?		
Tolerance of peers' anti-immigrantism:	<i>Would you think it was OK if your friends did any of these things...</i>		$\alpha=0.89$
	...said they disliked immigrants?	5 response categories ranging from "not OK" to "totally OK"	
	...wrote "Stop immigration" graffiti on a wall in town?		
	...picked a fight with an immigrant for no real reason?		

Table C 2. Overview of items included in variables constructed as indices relating to intolerance towards minorities

Index	Items	Response categories	Cronbach alpha (α)
Attitude towards Muslims	<i>Tick the option that says how true these statements are in your opinion.</i>		$\alpha=0.86$
	Most Muslims are no doubt decent people...	5 response categories ranging from "no, strongly disagree" to "yes, strongly agree"	
	It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible Muslim...		
	Muslims in Sweden should have the right to build mosques (places of worship)...		
	There are far too many Muslims in Sweden...		

	Muslims can't be trusted...		
	Muslims shouldn't be allowed to vote in elections...		
Attitude towards Jews	Most Jews are no doubt decent people...		$\alpha=0.87$
	It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible Jew...		
	Jews in Sweden should have the right to build synagogues (places of worship)...		
	There are far too many Jews in Sweden...		
	Jews can't be trusted...		
	Jews shouldn't be allowed to vote in elections...		
Attitude towards homosexuals	Most homosexuals are no doubt decent people...		$\alpha=0.88$
	It would be completely OK to live next door to a responsible homosexual...		
	Homosexuals should have the right to build their own club rooms...		
	There are far too many homosexuals in Sweden...		
	Homosexuals can't be trusted...		
	Homosexuals shouldn't be allowed to vote in elections...		
Total intolerance	All the above items	5 response categories ranging from "no, strongly disagree" to "yes, strongly agree"	$\alpha=0.93$
Xenophobia	<i>Do you agree with these statements?</i>		$\alpha=0.74$
	You can be friends with anybody no matter where they come from.	5 response categories ranging from "no, absolutely not" to "yes"	

	Sweden should continue accepting refugees.	not" to "yes, absolutely"	
	Immigrants to Sweden from countries outside Europe should go back to their home countries.	3 response categories ranging from "disagree" to "completely agree"	
Attitude towards Muslims (altentate index)	Most Muslim immigrants are probably law-abiding people. A television anchor should be allowed to wear a headscarf. Most Muslims only want to live on welfare.	5 response categories ranging from " no, absolutely not" to " yes, absolutely"	$\alpha=0.77$
Attitude towards homosexuals (alternate index)	Homosexuals should be allowed to adopt children. Homosexuality is a disease. I think the fact that so many homosexual men get HIV and AIDS is nature's punishment for a perverse lifestyle.	5 response categories ranging from " no, absolutely not" to " yes, absolutely" 3 response categories ranging from "disagree" to "completely agree"	$\alpha=0.73$
Attitude towards Jews (alternate index)	Jews have too much influence in the world today. There is too much talk about Nazism and the extermination of the Jews. There's a lot of truth in the claim "Jews are miserly".	3 response categories ranging from "disagree" to "completely agree" 5 response categories ranging from " no, absolutely not" to " yes, absolutely"	$\alpha=0.55$
Anti-immigrationism	<i>Would you think it was OK if your friends did any of these things...</i> ...said they disliked immigrants? ...wrote "Stop immigration" graffiti on a wall in town?	5 response categories ranging from "not OK" to "totally OK"	$\alpha=0.89$

..picked a fight with an
immigrant for no real
reason?

The response categories were assigned increasing numeric values, so that in the case of positively worded statements (such as "Most Muslims are no doubt decent people") the response "yes, absolutely" is scored as a 0 and "no, absolutely not" as a 4. In the case of negatively worded statements (such as "There are far too many Muslims in Sweden") the order of the values is reversed.

Appendix 4. Separately reported relationships

Table D 1. Relationships (gamma index of association) between total intolerance (categorised index) and background factors (dichotomous variables), by sex, background, and school type

Background factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Age:	Over 15	-0.10	-0.06	-0.10	0.03 (NS)		
Sex:	Boy			0.41	0.30	0.37	0.40
Family structure:	Broken	0.09	0.07	0.08	0.03 (NS)	0.09	0.05 (NS)
Swedish or foreign background:	Completely Swedish	-0.07	0.09			0.09	-0.04 (NS)
Socioeconomic division 1:	No non-blue-collar parent	0.35	0.29	0.33	0.23	0.30	0.30
Socioeconomic division 2:	At least one blue-collar parent	0.33	0.28	0.31	0.18	0.30	0.26
Father has university qualification:	Yes	-0.20	-0.24	-0.21	-0.18	-0.20	-0.21
Mother or father unemployed:	Yes	0.25	0.11	0.15	0.22	0.18	0.14

(NS) not significant ($p > 0.01$)

Table D 2. Relationships (gamma index of association) between xenophobia (categorised index) and background factors (dichotomous variables), by sex, background, and school type

Background factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Age:	Over 15	0.02 (NS)	0.00 (NS)	-0.01 (NS)	0.06 (NS)		
Sex:	Boy			0.36	0.23	0.34	0.33
Family structure:	Broken	0.09	0.08	0.08	0.12	0.08	0.07
Swedish or foreign background:	Completely Swedish	0.14	0.27			0.25	0.18
Socioeconomic division 1:	No non-blue-collar parent	0.20	0.17	0.23	0.08 (NS)	0.19	0.17
Socioeconomic division 2:	At least one blue-collar parent	0.20	0.17	0.21	0.07 (NS)	0.20	0.15
Father has university qualification:	Yes	-0.13	-0.15	-0.12	-0.08	-0.12	-0.13
Mother or father unemployed:	Yes	0.11	0.05 (NS)	0.08 (NS)	0.04 (NS)	0.04 (NS)	-0.01 (NS)

(NS) not significant ($p > 0.01$)

Table D 3. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards Muslims (categorised index) and background factors (dichotomous variables), by sex, background, and school type

Background factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Age:	Over 15	-0.04 (NS)	-0.03 (NS)	-0.06	0.07 (NS)		
Sex:	Boy			0.28	0.06 (NS)	0.22	0.24
Family structure:	Broken	0.10	0.12	0.10	0.13	0.12	0.08
Swedish or foreign background:	Completely Swedish	0.09	0.29			0.26	0.14
Socioeconomic division 1:	No non-blue-collar parent	0.28	0.24	0.31	0.12	0.26	0.25
Socioeconomic division 2:	At least one blue-collar parent	0.28	0.26	0.30	0.12	0.28	0.25
Father has university qualification:	Yes	-0.18	-0.23	-0.19	-0.19	-0.22	-0.18
Mother or father unemployed:	Yes	0.12 (NS)	-0.03 (NS)	0.10 (NS)	0.03 (NS)	0.11 (NS)	-0.04 (NS)

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 4. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards Jews (categorised index) and background factors (dichotomous variables), by sex, background, and school type

Background factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Age:	Over 15	-0.11	-0.07	-0.12	0.05 (NS)		
Sex:	Boy			0.26	0.14	0.20	0.26
Family structure:	Broken	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.06 (NS)	0.09	0.09
Swedish or foreign background:	Completely Swedish	-0.05 (NS)	0.08			0.11	-0.06 (NS)
Socioeconomic division 1:	No non-blue-collar parent	0.34	0.27	0.34	0.18	0.28	0.31
Socioeconomic division 2:	At least one blue-collar parent	0.32	0.29	0.33	0.16	0.30	0.27
Father has university qualification:	Yes	-0.20	-0.25	-0.22	-0.21	-0.22	-0.22
Mother or father unemployed:	Yes	0.18	0.13	0.12 (NS)	0.22	0.20	0.08 (NS)

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 5. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards homosexuals (categorised index) and background factors (dichotomous variables), by sex, background, and school type

Background factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Age:	Over 15	-0.15	-0.07	-0.13	0.00 (NS)		
Sex:	Boy			0.56	0.44	0.50	0.56
Family structure:	Broken	(NS)	(NS)	-0.02 (NS)	-0.09	-0.02 (NS)	-0.04 (NS)
Swedish or foreign background:	Completely Swedish	-0.24	-0.09			-0.08	-0.18
Socioeconomic division 1:	No non-blue-collar parent	0.32	0.25	0.27	0.21	0.26	0.26
Socioeconomic division 2:	At least one blue-collar parent	0.30	0.27	0.27	0.17	0.27	0.22
Father has university qualification:	Yes	-0.14	-0.21	-0.17	-0.12	-0.13	-0.18
Mother or father unemployed:	Yes	0.27	0.13	0.11 (NS)	0.22	0.21	0.13

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 6. Relationships (gamma index of association) between total intolerance (categorised index) and individual/emotional factors (dichotomous variables), by sex, background, and school type

Individual/emotional factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Restlessness, impulsiveness (index):	High	0.31	0.27	0.26	0.19	0.23	0.27
Aggressiveness (index):	High	0.26	0.34	0.25	0.22	0.20	0.29
Risk-taking (index):	High	-0.02 (NS)	0.03 (NS)	0.08	-0.03 (NS)	0.06 (NS)	0.05 (NS)
Lack of guilt (could "easily keep" a found mobile without qualms):	Yes	0.38	0.35	0.48	0.26	0.42	0.43
Nervous symptoms (depressed/worried/trouble sleeping) (index):	High	0.02 (NS)	-0.02 (NS)	-0.13	-0.08 (NS)	-0.09	-0.13

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 7. Relationships (gamma index of association) between xenophobia (categorised index) and individual/emotional factors (dichotomous variables), by sex, background, and school type

Individual/ emotional factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely / partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Restlessness, impulsiveness (index):	High	0.27	0.21	0.23	0.15	0.23	0.18
Aggressiveness (index):	High	0.23	0.29	0.23	0.17	0.18	0.24
Risk-taking (index):	High	0.02 (NS)	0.10	0.10	0.12	0.11	0.10
Lack of guilt (could "easily keep" a found mobile without qualms):	Yes	0.35	0.34	0.47	0.28	0.42	0.39
Nervous symptoms (depressed/worried/ trouble sleeping) (index):	High	0.07	0.00	-0.06	-0.02 (NS)	-0.06 (NS)	-0.06

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 8. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards Muslims (categorised index) and individual/emotional factors (dichotomous variables), by sex, background, and school type

Individual/ emotional factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Restlessness, impulsiveness (index):	High	0.31	0.25	0.27	0.23	0.24	0.27
Aggressiveness (index):	High	0.25	0.30	0.27	0.18	0.20	0.29
Risk-taking (index):	High	0.00	0.08	0.07	0.07 (NS)	0.08	0.07
Lack of guilt (could "easily keep" a found mobile without qualms):	Yes	0.34	0.32	0.45	0.17	0.37	0.36
Nervous symptoms (depressed/worried/ trouble sleeping) (index):	High	0.05 (NS)	0.02 (NS)	-0.04 (NS)	0.02 (NS)	-0.01 (NS)	-0.04 (NS)

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 9. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards Jews (categorised index) and individual/emotional factors (dichotomous variables), by sex, background, and school type

Individual/ emotional factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Restlessness, impulsiveness (index):	High	0.30	0.27	0.29	0.18	0.23	0.30
Aggressiveness (index):	High	0.23	0.31	0.26	0.19	0.20	0.27
Risk-taking (index): Lack of guilt (could "easily keep" a found mobile without qualms):	High	0.00 (NS)	0.04 (NS)	0.07	-0.03 (NS)	0.05 (NS)	0.05 (NS)
Nervous symptoms (depressed/worried/ trouble sleeping) (index):	Yes	0.34	0.34	0.44	0.22	0.37	0.39
	High	0.01 (NS)	-0.01 (NS)	-0.07	-0.04 (NS)	-0.04 (NS)	-0.07

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 10. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards homosexuals (categorised index) and individual/emotional factors (dichotomous variables), by sex, background, and school type

Individual/ emotional factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Restlessness, impulsiveness (index):	High	0.18	0.24	0.17	0.09 (NS)	0.12	0.18
Aggressiveness (index):	High	0.11	0.30	0.12	0.13 (NS)	0.07 (NS)	0.17
Risk-taking (index): Lack of guilt (could "easily keep" a found mobile without qualms):	High	-0.09 (NS)	0.00 (NS)	0.06	-0.07 (NS)	0.04 (NS)	0.02 (NS)
Nervous symptoms (depressed/worried/ trouble sleeping) (index):	Yes	0.18	0.29	0.39	0.22	0.34	0.37
	High	-0.06 (NS)	0.01 (NS)	-0.21	-0.19	-0.17	-0.20

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 11. Relationships (gamma index of association) between total intolerance (categorised index) and school factors (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

School factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Average compulsory school grade (index):	Low	0.57	0.41	0.51	0.41	0.39	0.58
Enjoyment of school (index):	Low	0.35	0.31	0.38	0.20	0.34	0.35
Intention to continue studying:	Absolutely	-0.34	-0.30	-0.35	-0.31	-0.42	-0.46
Academic programme (upper secondary students only):	Yes	-0.35	-0.49	-0.48	-0.34		-0.45

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 12. Relationships (gamma index of association) between xenophobia (categorised index) and school factors (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

School factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Average compulsory school grade (index):	Low	0.34	0.25	0.36	0.20	0.26	0.37
Enjoyment of school (index):	Low	0.34	0.30	0.36	0.24	0.36	0.31
Intention to continue studying:	Absolutely	-0.29	-0.22	-0.28	-0.24	-0.32	-0.34
Academic programme (upper secondary students only):	Yes	-0.25	-0.36	-0.33	-0.31		-0.33

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Tabell D 13. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards Muslims (categorised index) and school factors (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

School factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Average compulsory school grade (index):	Low	0.48	0.33	0.47	0.24	0.35	0.47
Enjoyment of school (index):	Low	0.36	0.31	0.38	0.23	0.35	0.34
Intention to continue studying:	Absolutely	-0.35	-0.29	-0.35	-0.27	-0.41	-0.42
Academic programme (upper secondary students only):	Yes	-0.32	-0.45	-0.45	-0.24		-0.40

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 14. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards Jews (categorised index) and school factors (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

School factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Average compulsory school grade (index):	Low	0.57	0.42	0.52	0.41	0.40	0.59
Enjoyment of school (index):	Low	0.35	0.29	0.38	0.17	0.33	-0.32
Intention to continue studying:	Absolutely	-0.33	-0.29	-0.34	-0.29	-0.39	-0.45
Academic programme (upper secondary students only):	Yes	-0.37	-0.50	-0.48	-0.38		-0.45

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 15. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards homosexuals (categorised index) and school factors (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

School factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Average compulsory school grade (index):	Low	0.53	0.38	0.46	0.40	0.37	0.52
Enjoyment of school (index):	Low	0.22	0.25	0.31	0.13	0.24	0.30
Intention to continue studying:	Absolutely	-0.23	-0.24	-0.29	-0.22	-0.37	-0.39
Academic programme (upper secondary students only):	Yes	-0.24	-0.42	-0.41	-0.27		-0.37

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 16. Relationships (gamma index of association) between total intolerance (categorised index) and family factors (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

School factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Open communication with parents (index):							
	Low	0.08	0.10	0.07	0.03 (NS)	0.09	0.03 (NS)
Parents' knowledge of leisure habits (index):	Low	0.21	0.19	0.25	0.17	0.27	0.20
Expected parental reaction to problem behaviours (truancy, drunkenness) (index):	Weak	0.16	0.14	0.16	0.16	0.30	0.16
Respect for parents' opinions:	Low	0.33	0.27	0.30	0.13	0.26	0.26

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 17. Relationships (gamma index of association) between xenophobia (categorised index) and family factors (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

Family factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Open communication with parents (index):	Low	0.07	0.13	0.09	0.09 (NS)	0.10	0.06 (NS)
Parents' knowledge of leisure habits (index):	Low	0.17	0.18	0.23	0.15	0.24	0.18
Expected parental reaction to problem behaviours (truancy, drunkenness) (index):	Weak	0.21	0.22	0.19	0.33	0.31	0.22
Respect for parents' opinions:	Low	0.26	0.25	0.24	0.21	0.22	0.25

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 18. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards Muslims (categorised index) and family factors (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

Family factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Open communication with parents (index):	Low	0.06 (NS)	0.06 (NS)	0.07	-0.01 (NS)	0.07	0.01 (NS)
Parents' knowledge of leisure habits (index):	Low	0.21	0.18	0.24	0.14	0.27	0.16
Expected parental reaction to problem behaviours (truancy, drunkenness) (index):	Weak	0.21	0.20	0.19	0.26	0.34	0.20
Respect for parents' opinions:	Low	0.32	0.27	0.29	0.21	0.27	0.30

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 19. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards Jews (categorised index) and family factors (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

Family factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Open communication with parents (index):	Low	0.05 (NS)	0.07 (NS)	0.07	-0.02 (NS)	0.07 (NS)	0.01 (NS)
Parents' knowledge of leisure habits (index):	Low	0.18	0.17	0.21	0.14	0.25	0.14
Expected parental reaction to problem behaviours (truancy, drunkenness) (index):	Weak	0.16	0.17	0.18	0.17	0.33	0.17
Respect for parents' opinions:	Low	0.30	0.25	0.30	0.12	0.26	0.26

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 20. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards homosexuals (categorised index) and family factors (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

Family factors		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Open communication with parents (index):	Low	0.03 (NS)	0.13	0.03 (NS)	0.04 (NS)	0.03 (NS)	0.05 (NS)
Parents' knowledge of leisure habits (index):	Low	0.14	0.19	0.24	0.16	0.23	0.22
Expected parental reaction to problem behaviours (truancy, drunkenness) (index):	Weak	0.01 (NS)	0.06 (NS)	0.09	0.03 (NS)	0.20	0.07
Respect for parents' opinions:	Low	0.20	0.26	0.24	0.03 (NS)	0.15	0.22

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 21. Relationships (gamma index of association) between total intolerance (categorised index) and gender-related factors (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

Relations between sexes		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Embrace stereotyped gender norms (index):	Yes	0.66	0.56	0.67	0.62	0.63	0.67
Think it is generally best for the man to make the decisions in the family:	Yes	0.51	0.49	0.62	0.60	0.58	0.62
Think a guy should generally be more dominant than a girl:	Yes	0.30	0.43	0.52	0.48	0.47	0.54
Think it is important to improve equality between the sexes:	No	0.54	0.41	0.53	0.56	0.52	0.56

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 22. Relationships (gamma index of association) between xenophobia (categorised index) and gender-related factors (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

Relations between sexes		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Embrace stereotyped gender norms (index):	Yes	0.41	0.42	0.56	0.37	0.52	0.49
Think it is generally best for the man to make the decisions in the family:	Yes	0.04 (NS)	0.32	0.54	0.19	0.43	0.37
Think a guy should generally be more dominant than a girl:	Yes	0.25	0.35	0.49	0.26	0.43	0.40
Think it is important to improve equality between the sexes:	No	0.42	0.43	0.55	0.45	0.49	0.53

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 23. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards Muslims (categorised index) and gender-related factors (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

Relations between sexes		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely /partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Embrace stereotyped gender norms (index):	Yes	0.49	0.45	0.59	0.27	0.48	0.52
Think it is generally best for the man to make the decisions in the family:	Yes	0.18 (NS)	0.35	0.55	0.17	0.38	0.42
Think a guy should generally be more dominant than a girl:	Yes	0.22	0.34	0.47	0.17	0.35	0.41
Think it is important to improve equality between the sexes:	No	0.44	0.37	0.50	0.30	0.42	0.47

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 24. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards Jews (categorised index) and gender-related factors (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

Relations between sexes		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely /partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Embrace stereotyped gender norms (index):	Yes	0.60	0.48	0.56	0.49	0.52	0.55
Think it is generally best for the man to make the decisions in the family:	Yes	0.37	0.44	0.50	0.48	0.48	0.50
Think a guy should generally be more dominant than a girl:	Yes	0.28	0.39	0.44	0.41	0.39	0.47
Think it is important to improve equality between the sexes:	No	0.47	0.39	0.45	0.49	0.44	0.49

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 25. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards homosexuals (categorised index) and gender-related factors (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

Relations between sexes		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely /partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Embrace stereotyped gender norms (index):	Yes	0.65	0.58	0.72	0.65	0.69	0.70
Think it is generally best for the man to make the decisions in the family:	Yes	0.65	0.50	0.63	0.69	0.64	0.68
Think a guy should generally be more dominant than a girl:	Yes	0.19	0.42	0.51	0.49	0.47	0.54
Think it is important to improve equality between the sexes:	No	0.51	0.38	0.56	0.55	0.53	0.58

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 26. Relationships (gamma index of association) between total intolerance (categorised index) and certain other opinions (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

Certain other opinions		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Think it is important to give aid to poor countries:	No	0.73	0.62	0.72	0.64	0.73	0.70
Think it is important to strengthen Sweden's military defence:	Yes	0.41	0.45	0.49	0.40	0.46	0.48

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 27. Relationships (gamma index of association) between total intolerance (categorised index) and sense of social alienation and often feeling unfairly treated (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

Alienation		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Sense of social alienation (index):	High	0.29	0.32	0.34	0.20	0.24	0.35
Often feel unfairly treated:	Yes	0.16	0.12	0.08	0.13	0.07 (NS)	0.10

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 28. Relationships (gamma index of association) between xenophobia (categorised index) and sense of social alienation (dichotomous variable) by sex, background, and school type

Alienation		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Sense of social alienation (index):	High	0.26	0.25	0.33	0.11	0.22	0.28

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 29. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards Muslims (categorised index) and sense of social alienation (dichotomous variable) by sex, background, and school type

Alienation		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Sense of social alienation (index):	High	0.28	0.27	0.36	0.10 (NS)	0.23	0.31

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 30. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards Jews (categorised index) and sense of social alienation (dichotomous variable) by sex, background, and school type

Alienation		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Sense of social alienation (index):	High	0.31	0.27	0.35	0.15	0.24	0.33
(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)							

Table D 31. Relationships (gamma index of association) between intolerance towards homosexuals (categorised index) and sense of social alienation (dichotomous variable) by sex, background, and school type

Alienation		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Sense of social alienation (index):	High	0.16	0.29	0.22	0.15	0.13	0.29
(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)							

Table D 32. Relationships between total intolerance (categorised index) and selected leisure activities (dichotomous variables)

Leisure factors (selected)		Intolerance level (intolerance group)						Total sample Column %	n	Gamma
		1	2	3	4	5	6			
		Low in-tolerance Column %					High in-tolerance Column %			
Regularly go to...										
Music lessons/choir:	Yes	14.2	7.0	3.9	2.7	3.7	1.7	8.5	10,447	-0.44
Library:	Yes	23.0	18.0	15.1	11.3	9.8	7.9	18.3	10,447	-0.21
Youth club:	Yes	11.8	16.2	22.0	24.8	31.5	25.4	16.8	10,447	0.26
Body building:	Yes	18.7	22.8	23.9	30.2	35.9	30.5	22.6	10,447	0.16
Hamburger bar/sausage stall:	Yes	17.3	25.0	29.4	30.5	34.2	35.6	23.9	10,447	0.22
Parties:	Yes	26.3	34.0	41.2	45.7	53.2	63.3	34.4	10,447	0.25

Table D 33. Relationships (gamma index of association) between total intolerance (categorised index) and selected leisure activities (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

Leisure factors (selected)		Girls	Boys	Completely	Completely/	Compulsory	Upper
				Swedish	partly		
				background	foreign	school	secondary
				background	background		school
Regularly go to...							
Music lessons/choir:	Yes	-0.41	-0.41	-0.47	-0.33	-0.43	-0.49
Library:	Yes	-0.10	-0.20	-0.26	-0.11	-0.20	-0.22
Youth club:	Yes	0.25	0.19	0.31	0.11	0.21	0.34
Body building:	Yes	0.00					
	(NS)		0.11	0.17	0.12	0.27	0.12
Hamburger bar/sausage stall:	Yes	0.21	0.15	0.28	0.08 (NS)	0.18	0.27
Parties:	Yes	0.29	0.27	0.28	0.18	0.27	0.28

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 34. Relationships (gamma index of association) between total intolerance (categorised index) and listening to white-power music (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

Music preference (selected)		Girls	Boys	Completely	Completely/	Compulsory	Upper
				Swedish	partly		
				background	foreign	school	secondary
				background	background		school
Listen to White Noise/white-power music:	Yes (sometimes /often)	0.65	0.67	0.69	0.57	0.64	0.69
Enjoy "racist rock":	Yes	0.86	0.82	0.86	0.74	0.82	0.89

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 35. Relationships (gamma index of association) between total intolerance (categorised index) and peer factors (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

Peer factors		Girls	Boys	Completely	Completely/	Compulsory	Upper
				Swedish	partly		
				background	foreign	school	secondary
				background	background		school
Meeting friends in evenings:	Frequently (three or more evenings a week)	0.12	0.18	0.21	0.09	0.16	0.21
Seeing friends a few years older:	Often/fairly often	0.20	0.20	0.17	0.12	0.19	0.15
Usually socialising in groups:	Yes	0.08	0.10	0.12	0.11	0.12	0.12
Peer relations (index):	Not good	0.22	0.19	0.28	0.28	0.26	0.28
Peers' delinquency (index):	High (ticked at least 2 of vandalism/ breaking and entering/ assault/ been caught)	0.26	0.26	0.37	0.15	0.32	0.32
Peers' perceived tolerance of xenophobia (index):	High	0.74	0.66	0.74	0.61	0.69	0.75
Tolerance of peers' xenophobia (index):	High	0.76	0.69	0.77	0.62	0.72	0.77

(NS) not significant (p > 0.01)

Table D 36. Relationships (gamma index of association) between total intolerance (categorised index) and participation in criminal and antisocial behaviour (dichotomous variables) by sex, background, and school type

Participation in criminal or antisocial behaviour		Girls	Boys	Completely Swedish background	Completely/ partly foreign background	Compulsory school	Upper secondary school
Teasing someone so they became angry or unhappy:	Yes	0.22	0.19	0.28	0.17	0.24	0.25
Theft-related offences or smoking hash:	Yes	0.28	0.30	0.37	0.22	0.31	0.34
Threatening or hitting someone:	Yes	0.24	0.20	0.33	0.16	0.26	0.31
Teasing for foreign origin:	Yes	0.59	0.47	0.62	0.39	0.53	0.59
Threatening for foreign origin:	Yes	0.88	0.81	0.89	0.72	0.84	0.86
Hitting for foreign origin:	Yes	0.90	0.80	0.87	0.80	0.86	0.85
Teasing for religion:	Yes	0.57	0.54	0.66	0.42	0.59	0.59
Threatening for religion:	Yes	0.93	0.85	0.96	0.72	0.83	0.95
Hitting for religion:	Yes	0.98	0.87	0.95	0.89	0.91	0.94
Teasing for homosexuality:	Yes	0.57	0.57	0.65	0.64	0.58	0.69
Threatening for homosexuality:	Yes	0.71	0.73	0.87	0.64	0.71	0.83
Hitting for homosexuality:	Yes	0.84	0.78	0.91	0.73	0.85	0.83
Teasing for foreign origin or religion:	Yes	0.51	0.45	0.59	0.38	0.50	0.56
Threatening or hitting for foreign origin or religion:	Yes	0.87	0.78	0.88	0.72	0.81	0.87
Threatening or hitting for foreign origin, religion or homosexuality:	Yes	0.84	0.74	0.86	0.68	0.77	0.84

(NS) not significant ($p > 0.01$)

Appendix 5. Questionnaire I

Appendix 6. Questionnaire II