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Attitudes towards immigrants

**- a quantitative study of Classical and Modern Racism and
Prejudice in a Swedish school**

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ABSTRACT

An experiment was conducted to examine the racial attitudes of Swedish and European/Western school youths and to examine whether there were differences in expressing racial prejudice between Swedish boys and girls, between European/Western and Non-Western boys and whether there was a correlation between Classical and Modern racism. The MRPS questionnaire was used to measure attitudes of Classical and Modern racism. The study found that there were no statistically significant differences between the Swedish boys and girls on Classical racism but that there was a statistically significant difference between the Swedish boys and girls on Modern racism. Differences were also found between European/Western and Non-Western boys on both Classical and Modern racism, where the Western boys showed high levels of racial prejudice. Classical and Modern racism is distinguishable according to this study and highly correlated. The racial attitudes expressed by the Swedish boys and girls were: refugee camps should be placed far out, immigrants are not honest people, immigrants hold negative attitudes towards women and immigrants do not have high morals. The investigated school should work more consciously and consistently with improving social relations and understanding between Swedish and multicultural youths. The study lacks generalisation due to procedural problems such as performing experiment in class.

INTRODUCTION

A European poll into the attitudes of young people in 2001, revealed that three out of ten young Europeans (29%) think that there are too many foreigners in their country. During an interview on Swedish Radio on 21 November 2003, the Head of State of Sweden, Göran Persson, said that Sweden “vill inte ha den så kallade sociala turismen som missbrukar våra sociala förmåner”, referring to the new membership of 10 East-European countries into the EU and whose citizens would have the right to work in the old EU-countries. This so-called “social tourism” which was feared and proclaimed on national air-waves never took place. Some 32 million Swedish crowns were allocated for this purpose, but only approximately one million crowns have been used and no citizen from the new EU-countries has claimed unemployment benefits to this date (Jonkute, 2005 in Invandrare & Minoriteter, 2005).

Direct and open expression of prejudice has declined in the West according to some scholars (in Akrami, Ekehammar & Araya, 2000). Modern society demands subtler forms of expression of prejudice and hostility towards minority groups and immigrants. The tolerance advocated in modern democratic Western societies often has laws against discrimination and hostile behaviour towards minorities. However, this does not stop such behaviours and researchers dealing with racial prejudice observe that so-called Classical racism where one could once write outside a restaurant “Only for whites”, has taken a new form. While blatant prejudice (*Classical racism*) is manifested as : defense of traditional values, exaggeration of

cultural differences, and denial of positive emotions (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995); *Modern racism* has the following components: denial of continued discrimination, antagonism toward minority group demands, and resentment about special favours (Akrami et.al., 2000). The statement of Göran Persson would be an example of “antagonism toward minority group demands”.

Other forms of subtle racism that have been discussed in the literature are (in Plous, 2003): *Symbolic racism* (e.g. Kinder & Sears, 1981), whereby the symbolic racists reject old-style racism but still express prejudice indirectly (e.g., as opposition to policies that help racial minorities). *Ambivalent racism* (Katz, 1981), whereby the ambivalent racists experience an emotional conflict between positive and negative feelings toward stigmatised racial groups. *Aversive racism* (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986), whereby the aversive racists believe in egalitarian principles such as racial equality but have personal aversions toward racial minorities.

By far the most common form of racism, practically and discursively, in Sweden is *Cultural racism*:

Wherein negative ethnic stereotyping leads to racist effects, to discrimination and segregation, to marginalization and exclusion; wherein skin pigment, hair color, and other bodily markers are unreflectedly translated into highly charged cultural markers; wherein outward biological difference and cultural difference become automatically (con)fused with each other and entire groups thereby racialized (Pred, 2000).

That Göran Persson might have been unaware of the prejudice in his statement does not make it less racist. That cultural racism in Sweden is often un-reflected, or without conscious intention, makes its practitioners no less racist. Cultural racism as an ideology of cultural homogeneity does not “allow culture to be understood as being in a constant state of becoming, as always being unfinished and subject to transformation, as always being (re)hybridized” (ibid:67).

Discrimination or racial prejudice as experienced by immigrants is a serious problem for various groups of immigrants.

Earlier research into the attitudes about immigrants and minority groups amongst youths and in education settings

A more recent survey into the attitudes of 10 600 Swedish youths about minority groups and intolerance reproduced the results that the European Commission found, that 30 % of young people between the ages 14-19 are not positive toward immigrants (Ring & Morgentau, 2004, BRÅ & The Living History Forum). Besides these figures, the amount of students who declined to answer the questionnaires, which were substantial - 31.6 %, contributing possibly to a certain underestimation of the proportion of young people with intolerant attitudes. The intolerant attitudes expressed towards Jews, Muslims, homosexuals and immigrants 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” (Ring & Morgentau, 2004). Individuals who expressed high levels of intolerance, as manifested in high scores (> 2.5), was five per cent.

The attitudes towards immigrants and immigration were measured by means of a number of attitude statements such as: “Sweden should continue to accept refugees”. Ten per cent of the youth answered that foreigners from outside Europe should go back to their countries and ten per cent thought it okay if a friend wrote “stop immigration” on a wall in town.

Dimakos and Tasiopoulou (2003) conducted a survey amongst 100 Greek students administering McConahay’s (1986) Modern Racism Scale (MRS) to measure racial attitudes. The results of the study suggested that students held negative opinions about immigration and their immigrant classmates and that the positive comments were limited to the cheap labour provided by immigrant workers. Greek students also faired the worst on the European Commission Poll into the attitudes of youths. Greek youths were the most hostile towards foreigners while the youth in the Nordic countries were the most positive.

A similar survey to the one conducted by Brottsförebyggande Rådet (BRÅ) and Living History (Ring & Morgentau, 2004), Osbeck, Holm and Wernersson (2003, in Ring & Morgentau, 2004) investigated racism, ethnic discrimination, sexual harassment, homophobia and gender related mobbing in school. The findings suggest that foreign pupils are more prone to abusive treatment, 25% said that they were victims of abuse. Pupils aged 14-15, in grade eight, were the most intolerant towards pupils with immigrant background. Another study

found that (Menckel & Witkowska, 2002 in Ring & Morgentau, 2004) more girls than boys see ethnic and sexual harassment as well as racial conflict as a problem in the school. Lange et. al. (1997 in Ring & Morgentau, 2004) found that almost 50% of pupils with non-European background had been victims of ethnic/racist or politically coloured abuse compared to 18% for those with Swedish ethnicity.

The positive attitudes towards immigrants have increased and are more common amongst those with a higher education and those who have at least one family member with a foreign background. However, the proportion of people who argue that minorities are the cause of unemployment, worsened social welfare and lower standards in education has increased. A study shows that there is a strong connection between those who are negative to cultural diversity and those who are afraid of socio-economical deterioration (EUMC, 2001, in Ring & Morgentau, 2004). An on-going study in Germany investigating different aspects of hostile racial attitudes amongst its population shows that negative attitudes are most common among men and low-educated people (Zick & Heitmeyer, 2004, in Ring & Morgentau, 2004).

In a study of teachers' view on the school difficulties amongst children of another ethnicity than Swedish, school psychologist and researcher Pirjo Lahdenperä (1997) shows that 75 % of Swedish teachers see the problems that immigrant children experience as residing in the children's traits and personality. This view is discriminatory as it overlooks the problems that the school and the teachers cause the children. If norms and values are learnt unconsciously then we have to approach these kinds of problems from a perspective that questions and problematizes people's world-views, in this case the teachers and others working in the schools. Self-reflection is necessary and painful if it is honest. The unconscious expectations and attitudes of teachers are projected onto the children, and with the addition of stereotype threat, it is probably no wonder children of other ethnicities do not perform as they should. If teachers holds these views, how are we to work with cultural diversity and multiculturalism in a more harmonious way? These teachers are hopefully highly educated and not from the lower classes and yet their views of other ethnicities is discriminatory.

There are three major approaches to the development of children's prejudice, including emotional maladjustment arising from a repressive and harshly disciplined upbringing (the Authoritarian personality, see below), social reflection – children's prejudice is considered to reflect the community's attitudes and values, which are typically by the child's parents

(Kinder & Sears, 1981 in Nesdale, 1999) and sociocognitive theory (Aboud, 1988, in Plous, 2003) which stresses that the child's attitude to other groups depends on his/her level of development in relation to two overlapping sequences of perceptual development, such as the affective-perceptual processes associated with fear of the unknown and attachment to the familiar and the second sequence, which is concerned with changes in the child's focus of attention from being, in the early years, on the self, to emphasise categories of people as older and later still, children would focus on individuals and thus would be less prejudice with age. Nesdale (1999) finds these approaches incomplete as they do not consider the social motivational factors and awareness of social structure in accounting for ethnic prejudice, but which Social Identity Theory (SIT, Tajfel and Turner, 1979 in Plous, 2003) does.

According to SIT, prejudice and discrimination towards members of ethnic groups is derived from the desire of individuals to identify with social groups which are considered to be positively distinctive or comparatively superior to other groups, in order to enhance their own self-esteem. The Swedish history books and other literature are replete with such stories of self-enhancement.

Social and Psycho-social factors affecting prejudice

In their book *The Authoritarian Personality*, Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford (1950 in Plous, 2003) concluded that the key to prejudice lay in what they called an "authoritarian personality". Authoritarians were described as being rigid thinkers who obeyed authority, saw the world in black and white, and enforced strict adherence to social rules and hierarchies; and these people are more likely to harbour prejudices against low-status groups. Adorno's theory has been criticised for lacking research support but yet the theory holds in at least three aspects according to Plous (ibid). Firstly, a politically conservative form of authoritarianism, known as 'right-wing authoritarianism' does correlate with prejudice; secondly, people who view the social world hierarchically are more likely to hold prejudices toward low-status groups. This is specifically true of those who want their own group to dominate and be superior to other groups – a characteristics known as 'social dominance orientation' (in Plous, 2003). And the third aspect, in which Adorno and associates were correct in, was that rigid categorical thinking is a central ingredient in prejudice. "The human mind must think with the aid of categories... Once formed, categories are the basis for normal pre-judgement. We cannot possibly avoid this process. Orderly living depends upon it "

(Allport, 1954 in Plous, 2003). Social categories form an indispensable part of human thought, but because attributes such as race, sex, and age lie along a continuum, social labels are never more than approximations. Besides these aspects, the need for self-esteem and uncharitable in-group attributions for out-group behaviours are other factors producing prejudice.

Other factors correlating with prejudice was found by Björger (1997, in Ring & Morgentau, 2004) who studied animosity towards immigrants in the Nordic countries among youths aged 13-18 and found that because these young people have lack of financial resources, the socio-economic background of the families are of less importance for their opinions and values. What is in focus for these youths is the search for status and identity to belong to a crowd of friends who will protect you from bullies, rival gangs or other hostile minds. Many of the youths have different kind of problems in relation to school, parents and friends. Despite the lack of systematic studies into the field, Björger argues that ADHD, Tourette's syndrome, deficiencies in the ability to express empathy, dyslexia and other psycho-social problems are common amongst these hostile groups of youths. A list of the reasons for joining gangs who are intolerant toward minority groups recounts the following: holding and believing in a racist ideology and politics; provocations from immigrants or anger because one explains the marginalization that they feel as an outcome of the strain that immigrants make on societal resources; the group protects the individual against mobbing; a novelty, something to try; seeking excitement due to a restless predisposition and a need to test boundaries; the search for an alternative family, friends and comradeship due to dysfunctional families, lack of friends and a sense of community; and the search for status and identity.

Most commonly the hostile youths come from working class families and few have parents who have been to higher education. Many were on the practical programs at college (gymnasiet) and not the theoretical programs and a majority were boys who held a pessimistic view of the future. Another study showed that ideals of masculinity and the propensity and willingness to show violence were common as well as there being a hierarchical structure among the youths (Almgren, 1999 in Ring & Morgentau, 2004). It is also common that those who do not feel at home in the world of school become a part of the subversive culture of their school. This subversive counterculture is the opposite of the middle class values that exist within school and Cohen (1995 in Ring & Morgentau, 2004) states that this is an important explanation to the over-representation of working-class boys committing crime.

Resistance to continued immigration is over-represented amongst people who live in smaller suburbs, amongst workers, physical workers, low-paid and low-educated (Westin, 1984 in Ring & Morgentau, 2004).

Ring and Morgentau (2004) found that a high level of intolerance tended 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 situations such as low levels of parental knowledge as to the youths' socialisation patterns
- stereotypical gender norms
- feelings of social exclusion
- 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.

However, despite the above-mentioned factors which all have to do with unfortunate circumstances, be they personal or social, racist attitudes reside also amongst those who have not had such experiences and therefore the explanation to racism and prejudice cannot be completely understood.

Research recognises the considerable influence exerted by historical, psychological and social factors on the acquisition of prejudice. In the Western world, especially in the biological, social and psychological sciences, there has been a prevailing view of looking at the populations of the world in a hierarchical manner, whereby ethnic group membership has been understood as immutable, something called ethnic constancy in research circles (e.g. Katz, 1976 in Nesdale, 1999). Catomeris (2004) outlines the histories of several minority groups in Sweden and finds that Sweden has been at the very forefront of biological racism, with a special department installed in the 1920s at Uppsala university dedicated to the study of racial biology and eugenics and that the sterilisation of some 60 000- 70 000 of "non-fit" citizens was practised right into the 1970s in Sweden. The negative attitudes of the teachers toward children of another ethnicity in Lahdenperä's (1997) study are no chance happening

then, rather it should have been expected considering the history of Sweden and the world-view of the ethnic Swede.

The ability to de-centre and take the perspective of a minority group, the ability to empathise and experience the feelings of such groups and the ability to engage in a higher level of moral reasoning are other factors that affect prejudice and its development in children and adults alike. Johnson and Lahdenperä (1981) conducted a study where they investigated the effects of a 10-week program in changing attitudes ('påverkansmetod') amongst pupils in grade 2, 5, and 8. The main ideas were to make children aware of their selves and others as well as their own culture and other cultures, enhancing a more inclusive world-view, good self-awareness and self-esteem. Focus was on perspective-taking, role-playing and group-tasks but also making pupils aware of how a child of a minority group feels when treated negatively. The method produced positive results in grade 2 and 5, but experimental circumstances such as lack of time, resistance from participating teachers and incompleteness of program did not produce the positive results in grade 8 as in the other grades. Pupils in grade 8 were more resilient to the influential effects and affects of the method. Maybe the study would have yielded more positive results in grade 8 if the people who taught the course were individuals that the pupils valued, trusted and looked up to and not researchers who were there for a short period of time.

The principal determinant of prejudice is a social process as explained by SIT and developed by Nesdale (1999) i.e. prejudiced people adopt, as their own, the negative out-group attitudes which prevail among those people whom they value and with whom they identify, in their social environment.

The social identification process is facilitated by three factors (Nesdale, *ibid*) The probability of people adopting an ethnic prejudice as their own will increase to the extent to which that prejudice is widely shared and expressed by people in the social environment. The social norms in the environment will determine if it is all right to express negative attitudes towards out-groups. The tendency to develop ethnic prejudice will increase as competition, tension and conflict increases between members of the dominant and minority group, due to in-group identification and bias and dislike, rejection and hatred toward the out-group. Finally, the tendency towards ethnic prejudice will be greatest when members of the dominant group increasingly feel that their social standing is threatened by an out-group.

David Cole (in Plous, 2003) accounts for five myths that abound among the American population about immigration and these myths are, most probably, also prevailing in Sweden (however, this has not been investigated). These myths are based on passion, misinformation and short-sighted fear often substituted for reason, fairness, and human dignity. The five myths are as follows:

- America is being overrun with immigrants
- Immigrants take jobs from U.S. citizens
- Immigrants are a drain on society's resources
- Aliens refuse to assimilate, and are depriving us of our cultural and political unity
- Non-citizen immigrants are not entitled to constitutional rights.

Myths have the tendency of being understood as “common sense” and as that, they are not subject to questioning and criticism, and therefore continue to spread the misinformation and divisions amongst the citizenry.

Some explanations to some concepts used in the study

Integrationsverket (The Office for Integration) defines *racism* as a set of theories, world views, movements, processes, societal systems and actions that depart from the view or study that:

- i) human beings can be divided into different races, groups
- ii) the race or ethnicity of the individual, the group or society is its essence,
- iii) its essence determines and explains differences in traits, abilities, talents, skills, and so on among different races, groups or individuals,
- iv) from these essences you can identify ‘superior’ and ‘inferior’ groups, races and individuals and rank the human race from higher to lower.
- v) People can be treated thereafter with reference to these essences.

The concept of *attitude* refers to the predisposition that a person has towards something and is said to have three components: a cognitive, an affective and an action-oriented (conation) component. Attitudes are both positive and negative pre-dispositions toward social objects

such as people and places. Attitudes can be both explicit and implicit in their nature. A *prejudice* is defined as a negative attitude or feeling towards a socially defined group and every member of that group (Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson and Gaertner, 1996 in Bredford & Hansson, 2002). It is the emotional component that separates the prejudice from the stereotype. Often prejudices are used both quickly and unconsciously. Applied to a specific group of people the prejudice is called racism.

The current study

The purpose of the current study is to provide a picture of pupils' attitudes, in grade eight and nine, towards immigrants in an area populated with 36% immigrants. The study builds on Dimakos and Tasiopoulou (2003) but it uses Akrami et al's. (2000) Classical and Modern Racial Prejudice Scale (MRPS), a version of McConahay's (1986) MRS adapted to Scandinavian circumstances. The scale was devised to detect implicit and unconscious racism, as it is said in the literature something that is more commonly found today in comparison to classical racism, but it also measures classical racism. The scale consists of eight items measuring Classical Racism and nine items measuring Modern Racism and its design is in a questionnaire form with statements with five options to answer from *disagree completely* to *agree completely*. Studies have shown that boys express more prejudice than girls and that working class people hold more negative attitudes towards immigrants. Also that the hostility is greater towards non-Europeans than Europeans.

School is one of the most important institutions in a society. According to the Swedish School Law, school should, besides being an agency of knowledge, also promote the development of citizens who have a sense of responsibility and who are members of a society. The national curriculum emphasises values such as the non-violation of human life, the freedom of the individual and integrity, the equal value of all human beings, equality amongst the sexes as well as solidarity with the weak and oppressed. Everyone who works in the schools should contribute to the development of pupils' feelings of connectedness, solidarity and responsibility toward people outside the immediate group, counteract harassment and oppression of individuals or groups actively, show respect for the individual and to have a democratic predisposition in the everyday activities and work.

The study investigates what attitudes youths hold in regards to immigrants, whether there is a difference in prejudice between Swedish girls and boys, whether there is a difference in prejudice scores between Europeans and Non-Europeans boys, and whether there is a correlation between classical and modern racism. The stated *hypotheses* are that there will be differences between Swedish boys and girls, Swedish pupils and Foreign pupils, between Europeans/Westerners and Non-Europeans/Westerners boys and a correlation between classical and modern racism.

METHOD

Design

The experiment had both a between (unrelated) subject design, where subjects were compared on the basis of their gender and their ethnicity and a within (related) subject design where all subjects results were compared on the different scales of racism. The independent variables in the between subject design were a) gender and b) ethnicity. The dependent variable was their score on the attitude scale which ranged from 1 (low score on racism) to 4 (high score on racism) and with the value of 0 to “undecided”. In the within subject design, the independent variables were a) classical racism and b) modern racism and the dependent variables were their score on the attitude scale which ranged from 1 (low score on racism) to 4 (high score on racism) and with the value of 0 to “undecided”.

It was predicted that there would be differences in the attitude scores on racism between boys and girls, Swedish pupils and Foreign pupils, European/Western and Non-European/Western boys and a correlation between classical racism and modern racism.

Subjects

The subjects were pupils aged 14-16, in grade eight and nine, at a council comprehensive school in Södertälje, where 30 % of the pupils have a foreign background. Their socio-economic background varies across all social classes, except for the upper classes. Subjects were the pupils of the investigator, who teaches Swedish and English, who also mentored some of the pupils. There were 32 ethnically Swedish girls, 23 ethnically Swedish boys, 10 European boys, 14 Middle Eastern and Asian boys as well as 9 girls from Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East, making a total of 88 subjects.

The material used was two questionnaires, one with 20 questions which queried the pupils on their attitudes towards school. These questions were based on the statements used by Skolverket (*Attityder till skolan 2003*, Skolverket, 2003). Only one question was of interest for this experiment, and that was “Det förekommer rasism på min skola” (‘Racism is an issue in my school’) (question no 5, see Appendix I). The other questionnaire was the MRPS by Akrami et. al. (2000). It consisted of 44 statements, where eight measured Classical Racism and 9 measured Modern Racism (see Appendix II), and the other questions were fillers, so that subjects would not understand that it was their attitudes towards immigrants that were being measured. The original MRPS was slightly changed as the author of the study thought that the persistent use of the word ‘invandrare’ (immigrant) would reveal the object of the study. It would be too evident what the study was about (See CR and MR in the results section for the substitutions). On the very top of the first questionnaire, subjects answered questions about age, gender, country of birth, parents’ education, form of living quarters and language spoken at home.

Procedure

Subjects were given the questionnaires during a lesson in class, which was a normal setting for investigator and pupils. Subjects were told that it was the investigator’s bachelor-study and that they were to answer some questions/statements regarding school and some social issues. Subjects were not told the true purpose of the study. Questionnaires were handed out and subjects answered as if it was a school task. However, many subjects worked together on the questions, especially in grade eight where they had difficulties understanding the language. Many subjects were also outraged by some of the statements and called out loud in class and discussed them. So measures are not truly of what attitude *one* individual subject has. It is a common problem with many of these students to adhere to strict instructions and not to break rules. Restlessness and anxiety was quite a problem for these subjects, not just during the experiment, but also generally at school. When finished with the questionnaire subjects handed in the questionnaire to the investigator/teacher and were told to start working with their other school work.

RESULTS

Each statement had a value of 1-4, where one represents a low score on racism and 4 a high score on racism. The value of 0 was used for statements where subjects answered undecided. The mean score for each item on the scale was calculated by omitting all the undecided, so that the value ranges from 1-4. The mean scores for Classical Racism (each statement) for each group/condition are shown in Table 1, where also the mean scores for question no 5 on the first questionnaire are shown (shown as “racism in school”)

Table 1 Mean Scores for Classical Racism on each statement. Total CR mean was calculated by using the individual score for each subject on each statement.

<i>Group</i>	<i>No of pupils in School</i>	<i>Racism</i>	<i>CR1</i>	<i>CR4R</i>	<i>CR8</i>	<i>CR2</i>	<i>CR5R</i>	<i>CR3</i>	<i>CR7R</i>	<i>CR6</i>	<i>CR total mean</i>
<i>Swe Girls</i>	32	3.1	2.75	2.9	3.0	1.9	2.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.26
<i>Swe Boys</i>	23	3.05	3.9	2.9	3.1	2.2	3.0	2.4	2.3	2.9	2.79
<i>Total Swe</i>	55	3.075	3.3	2.9	3.05	2.05	2.95	2.15	2.1	2.4	2.48
<i>West Boys</i>	10	3.25	3.1	2.6	2.4	2.25	3.3	2.75	2.6	2.3	2.76
<i>East Boys</i>	14	2.8	1.8	2.0	1.6	1.4	2.1	1.6	1.4	1.6	1.72
<i>Foreign Girls</i>	9	3.0	2.2	2.25	1.4	1.0	1.7	1.2	1.6	1.25	1.49
<i>Foreign Pupils (East boys+ foreign girls)</i>	23	2.9	2.0	2.1	1.5	1.2	1.9	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.66

The content of each statement on the Classical Racism is the following:

CR1 = I think that refugee camps should be placed far out on the country side.

CR4R = People with another culture are generally honest people

CR8= Non-Swedes hold negative attitudes toward women

CR2= People with another ethnicity do not keep their homes tidy

CR5R= Citizens with another ethnic belonging have high moral principles

CR3= Swedes with another ethnicity do not take care of their personal hygiene

CR7R= I am positive to integration between ethnic Swedes and other ethnicities.

CR6= Immigrants are generally not so intelligent.

Table 2 Mean scores for Modern Racism on each statement. Total MR mean was calculated by using the individual score for each subject on each statement.

<i>Group</i>	<i>No of pupils</i>		<i>MR1</i>	<i>MR9R</i>	<i>MR2</i>	<i>MR8R</i>	<i>MR4R</i>	<i>MR5R</i>	<i>MR6</i>	<i>MR3</i>	<i>MR7R</i>	<i>MR Total mean</i>
<i>Swe Girls</i>	32		1.8	2.0	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.6	2.4	1.4	2.1	2.0
<i>Swe Boys</i>	23		1.7	2.8	2.9	2.8	2.3	3.4	2.3	1.5	3.4	2.54
<i>Total Swe</i>	55		1.75	2.4	2.4	2.45	2.2	3.0	2.35	1.45	2.75	2.23
<i>West Boys</i>	10		1.3	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.7	3.25	3.6	1.9	1.5	2.33
<i>East Boys</i>	14		1.5	1.2	1.8	1.75	1.4	1.7	2.3	1.8	1.4	1.64
<i>Foreign Girls</i>	9		2.2	1.25	2.0	1.33	1.0	1.3	1.0	1.4	1.25	1.55
<i>Foreign Pupils</i>	23		1.35	1.2	1.9	1.5	1.2	1.5	1.65	1.6	1.3	1.6

The content for each statement on Modern Racism is the following:

MR1= Discrimination of immigrants is no longer a problem

MR9R= It is good with a multicultural Sweden

MR2= Enough has been done for unemployed foreigners

MR8R= Special programs are needed to create jobs for immigrants

MR4R= It is easy to understand immigrants' demands for equal rights

MR5R= Other ethnicities get too little attention in the media

MR6= Immigrants are getting too demanding in the push for equal rights

MR3= Racist groups are no longer a threat toward non-Swedes

MR7R= It is important to invest money in teaching people with many languages their own mother tongue.

A *t test (unrelated)* was used to calculate the mean score differences between groups. All calculations were done by hand. No statistical computer program was available.

Table 3 Classical Racism. Mean score for each group and the critical *t* value for each group comparison. Also Per cent for subjects who had a mean score equal to or higher than 2.5 are listed as high to very high racism score.

<i>group</i>	<i>mean score</i>	<i>T value</i>	<i>P (two-tailed)</i>	<i>Df</i>	<i>% high racism >2.5</i>	<i>% undecided answers</i>
<i>Swe Boys</i>	2.79	<i>T= 1.8804</i>	<i>0.10</i>	53	70%	44%
<i>Swe Girls</i>	2.26				41%	48%
<i>Swe Pupils</i>	2.48	<i>T= 3.6190</i>	<i>0.001</i>	76	53%	47%
<i>For Pupils (exc. West boys)</i>	1.66				0%	39%
<i>Swe Boys East Boys</i>	2.79 1.72	<i>T=3.7636</i>	<i>0.001</i>	36	70% 0%	44% 38%
<i>Swe Girls For Girls</i>	2.26 1.49	<i>T= 2.1623</i>	<i>0.05</i>	29	41% 0%	48% 33%
<i>West Boys East Boys</i>	2.76 1.72	<i>T=3.9767</i>	<i>0.001</i>	22	60% 0%	41% 38%

Table 4 Modern Racism. Mean score for each group and the critical *t* value for each group comparison. Also Per cent for subjects who had a mean score equal to or higher than 2.5 are listed as high to very high racism score.

Group	Mean	T value	P (two-tailed)	Df	% high racism >2.5	% undecided answers
Swe Boys	2.54	T=2.6014	0.02	53	61%	31%
Swe Girls	2.0				25%	27%
Swe Pupils	2.23	T=3.6817	0.001	76	40%	30%
For Pupils (exc. West B.)	1.60				3%	33%
Swe Boys	2.54	T=4.7885	0.001	35	61%	31%
East Boys	1.64				7%	28%
Swe Girls	2.0	T=1.5639	0.20	39	25%	27%
For. Girls	1.55				0%	41%
West Boys	2.33	T=2.2498	0.05	22	50%	39%
East Boys	1.64				7%	28%

On the question whether there is racism in the school, 58% answered with score 3 or 4 (high to very high). The total mean score for this question for all groups was 3.1. The undecided answers to this question was 22.7%.

The total “undecided” statements of all subjects was 35.7%.

Pearson Product Moment Correlation produced $r=0.5887$, with $p<0.001$ (two-tailed), $df=63$ for a correlation between Classical Racism and Modern Racism. Classical Racism correlates highly with Modern Racism for the Swedish pupils and the Western boys.

DISCUSSION

Before any discussion about possible experimental outcomes should take place, it should be reminded that the procedure was lacking due to subjects interacting with each other during the experiments, so that answers cannot completely be understood as the answers of an individual subject. Also 35.7% of statements were left undecided, a factor that contributes to the limited generalisation of the results. There could be many reasons for why subjects answered in this way, some maybe because they did not want to participate and others who maybe did not want to reveal what they thought of the statements. The form of the questions was maybe in such a way that subjects interpreted that there should be an exact and a correct answer and therefore, answered that they did not know. The general problems with attitudes scales are based on the assumption that the person who responds is able and motivated to disclose his/her true attitude. Attitude misrepresentations, such as tendencies to give socially desirable answers, is common with these tests, due to impression management. Other problems are that people may sometimes actually not possess any explicitly or clearly formulated attitudes and can therefore not answer the questions on these attitude tests (see Stahlberg & Frey, 1988, in Hewstone et.al., 1988). Many reasons could exist. However, 58% scored very high on the statement that there is racism in the school.

The results concerning differences between Swedish girls and boys on Classical racism were not statistically significant ($t= 1.88$, $p < 0.10$, two-tailed, $df= 53$) despite the boys scoring higher than the girls. If one looks at the kind of statements that the CR-scale contains, one can see that they pertain mainly to personal characteristics while the statements on the MR-scale are about the opportunities offered in society to immigrants. On Modern racism the Swedish girls' lower score on racism than the Swedish boys was statistically significant confirming earlier research that girls score lower on racism than boys (cf Almgren, 1999 and Ring & Morgentau, 2004).

The experimental hypotheses for finding differences between Swedish and foreign pupils was also supported as was the differences between European/Western boys and Eastern boys. The results show also a statistically significant correlation between Classical racism and Modern racism, illustrating that if one subject scored high on CR, this will correlate with the score of the subject on MR.

While Ring and Morgentau (2004) found only 5% who were highly intolerant towards immigrants, the results of this study were much higher: 53% of Swedish pupils and 60% of European/Western boys scored high or very high on Classical Racism while no subject amongst the foreign pupils scored high. Similarly, 40% of Swedish pupils and 50% of European/Western boys scored high or very high on Modern Racism. Only 3% (one person) of the foreign subjects scored high or very high on Modern Racism. However, these percentages are calculated differently using different kinds of questions and measures from the Ring & Morgentau-study.

The scores of the girls are lower than the boys in all groups but the Swedish girls score higher than the foreign girls on both CR and MR. The difference is only statistically significant on Classical Racism but not on Modern Racism. Swedish pupils and European/Western boys score higher on Classical racism than on Modern Racism (all groups score higher on Classical Racism than on Modern Racism). Aboud's (1988) sociocognitive theory of the development of prejudice is not supported by this study. The results are comparable to Osbeck et.al, where pupils aged 14-15 were the most intolerant of all groups, explaining partially the high racism amongst the youths in this study. Pupils show clearly very categorical and undifferentiated thinking concerning other ethnicities at the age of 14-16. The lack of logic in the reasoning of these pupils show inconsistencies in their thinking, especially the Western boys, who are immigrants, but who see immigrants as less intelligent. Catomeris' (2004) explanation of the hierarchical structure amongst populations is apparently also shared by the Western boys in this study – supporting social identity theory- that people from the Middle East, Africa and Asia are at the bottom of the social ladder of status.

The higher scores of European and Westerns boys compared to Non-Europeans illustrates what constitutes an immigrant for the subjects. People from Western countries are not thought to be considered low-status groups. However, the boys who had such high scores on both accounts of racism, obviously do not understand that they are also immigrants. What does the word 'immigrant' mean to these pupils?

The lower scores of the girls may be attributed to the fact that women are generally also treated as low-status groups in most societies and therefore probably can empathise with the predicaments of other low-status groups such as immigrants. Especially as their results are lower on the scale that concerns societal opportunities and not personal characteristics.

The idea that Modern racism would be the common way of expressing prejudice against immigrants in the West is not supported by this study. Rather these young subjects express their prejudices more openly. The most common attitudes expressed by Western and Swedish subjects are: “refugee camps should be placed far out, immigrants are not honest people, immigrants hold negative attitudes towards women and immigrants do not have high morals” (Classical Racism) and that “immigrants get a lot of attention in the media, enough has been done to create jobs for immigrants, immigrants are too demanding in the push for equal rights and that it is not important to invest money in teaching immigrants their own mother tongue” (Modern Racism). Despite these attitudes Swedish and Western subjects agree that “discrimination of immigrant is a problem and that racist groups are a threat toward immigrants”. One could interpret this awareness of racism in society that it is all right and acceptable. The school has in that case not succeeded in its mission to teach the equality and egalitarianism advocated by the Swedish National Curriculum and the UN Human Rights conventions as it is the duty of the Swedish school. Cultural diversity and multiculturalism in this council comprehensive school in Södertälje does not seem to be achieved in a harmonious way. For example on how to work with multiculturalism and racism, please see Appendix III. With one third of the pupil population coming from other countries, this constitutes a great problem for many pupils at this school.

The study could be improved by following up the questionnaire with personal interviews with subjects and teachers and observations and analysis of social interactions and curricula taught. The questionnaires should be answered in solitude by the subjects and stricter instructions given to how to work with the questionnaire. A larger study investigating all of the schools and colleges in Södertälje would give a better picture of the state of the schools in this small suburb/town. A comparative school with a lower degree of mixed pupil population could also be compared to the results of this school.

Conclusions

Open and direct racism has declined in the rest of society, also amongst the youth, but at this comprehensive school, a majority of students express direct and open racism with the knowledge that there exists racism in this school. It seems that the pupils understand this and that it is accepted at this school to have such attitudes towards other non-Western ethnicities.

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Appendix I

Ålder: _____ Kön: _____
Födelse land: _____ Utbildning: _____

Förälders Utbildning: 9-årig grundskola: _____
gymnasium: _____ 2-årig
gymnasium: _____ 3/4-årig
utbildning: _____ Högre

Boende: _____
Hyreslägenhet: _____ Bostadsrätt:
_____ Villa/hus:

Hemspråk: _____

Svara på följande påståenden genom att ringa in det alternativ som uttrycker din åsikt bäst.

1 Elever och lärare bemöter varandra med respekt	Instämmer	Delvis	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer
	Inte alls	inte			helt
2 Lärarna behandlar flickor och pojkar lika	Instämmer	Delvis	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer
	Inte alls	inte			helt
3 Skolan jobbar mot mobbning	Instämmer	Delvis	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer
	Inte alls	inte			helt
4 Jag vågar säga ifrån	Instämmer	Delvis	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer
	Inte alls	inte			helt
5 Det förekommer rasism på min skola	Instämmer	Delvis	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer
	Inte alls	inte			helt
6 Det förekommer våld på min skola	Instämmer	Delvis	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer
	Inte alls	inte			helt
7 Grovt språk (svordomar och grova ord) är vanligt i skolan	Instämmer	Delvis	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer
	Inte alls	inte			helt

Attitudes towards immigrants

8 Jag trivs bra i skolan	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
9 Jag trivs bra med andra elever	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
10 Jag trivs bra med lärarna	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
11 Jag tycker om skolarbetet	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
12 Lärarna undervisar bra	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
13 Lärarna kan engagera mig och skapar intresse	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
14 Lärarna tror på mig och min förmåga att lära	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
15 Lärarna bryr sig om mig och tar tillvara mina synpunkter	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
16 Mobbing är ett stort problem på skolan	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
17 Jag är mobbad/trakasserad av andra elever	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
18 Jag är mobbad/trakasserad av någon lärare	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
19 Jag är stressad i skolan	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
20 Jag känner mig trygg i skolan	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt

Tack för hjälpen!

Appendix II

Svara på följande påståenden genom att ringa in det alternativ som uttrycker din åsikt bäst.

1 Kärnkraft är bra	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
2 Media har ingen effekt på mig	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
3 Diskriminering av invandrare är inte Längre ett problem i Sverige	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis Inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
4 Mina individuella beslut har en påverkan På samhället	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
5 En annan människas ansiktsuttryck påverkar Hur jag reagerar	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
6 Det är bra med ett mångkulturellt Sverige	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
7 Barn blir mer socialt och akademiskt Lyckade om de börjar på dagis tidigt	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
8 Brott i Sverige har minskat	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
9 Jag tycker att flyktingförläggningar ska Placeras långt ut på landsbygden helt	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer
10 Sjukvården är underfinansierad	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
11 Politiker är ärliga	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
12 Folk med en annan kultur är i allmänhet ärliga helt	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer
13 Icke-svenskar är negativa till kvinnor	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
14 Religion är viktigt	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
15 Djur har begär	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
16 Människor med en annan etnicitet håller dålig ordning i sina hem	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
17 Våld på TV påverkar oss	Instämmer	Delvis	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer

Attitudes towards immigrants

	Inte alls	inte			helt
18 Det har gjorts tillräckligt för arbetslösa utlänningar	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
19 TV ökar social kompetens	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
20 Moralen i samhället är god	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
21 Medborgare med en annan etnisk tillhörighet har hög moral	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
22 Media har många positiva effekter	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
23 Djur känner ingen smärta	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
24 Särskilda åtgärder bör vidtagas för att få in fler immigranter på arbetsmarknaden	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
25 Det är lätt att förstå invandrarens krav på lika rättigheter	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
26 TV ökar en människas omvärldskunskap	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
27 Svenskar med en annan etnicitet har dålig personlig hygien	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
28 Jag är aktiv mot orättvisor	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
29 Reklam är bra	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
30 Jag är positiv mot integrering mellan etniska svenskar och andra etniciteter	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
31 Media var bättre förr	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
32 Andra etniciteter får för liten plats i media	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
33 Djur är tänkande varelser	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
34 Mycket är medias fel	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
35 Immigranter börjar bli för krävande i sina anspråk på lika rättigheter	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt

Attitudes towards immigrants

36 TV ökar verbal förmåga	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
37 Rasistiska grupper utgör inte längre ett hot mot icke-svenskar	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
38 Film blir bara sämre	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
39 De flesta djur som deltar i biomedicinsk forskning lider inte	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
40 Det är viktigt att satsa på hemspråks- undervisning för folk med flera språk	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
41 Det går ekonomiskt bra för Sverige	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
42 Immigranter är i allmänhet inte så begåvade	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
43 Familjevåld är vanligt	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt
44 Läkare är bara intresserade av att tjäna Pengar	Instämmer Inte alls	Delvis inte	Osäker	Delvis	Instämmer helt

Tack för hjälpen!

Appendix III

Recommendations for a democratic and intercultural education

Studying the difficulties that immigrant children may face in education, Lahdenperä (1997) recommends that to reduce the anguish and problems that may affect children with a foreign parent, there should be changes in the system of meaning and the discourse concepts used in Sweden, these being: from using the concept of immigrant students and students with immigrant background to multicultural students; from compensatory to complementary attitudes towards parents; and from immigrant research to intercultural research (ibid: 182-183). Lahdenperä recommends the following practices to reduce discriminatory treatment of pupils with immigrant backgrounds: ‘change the thinking about school difficulties from focusing on problem individuals to problem-generating systems or systems of meaning’; there should be staff at the school who have ‘the legitimacy and the qualifications to work with teaching difficulties’; bicultural or multicultural staff are important resources at the school, as ‘they can contribute to the creation of the necessary conditions for the intercultural viewpoint which, as stated by school guidelines (SÖ 1987, 1989 in Lahdenperä, 1997), are to characterise all school activity’ (ibid: 180).

Cummins (1996, 2000 in Blob, 2004) argues that a restructuring of the complete activities of the schools is necessary, if immigrant pupils are to be integrated into society, as it is not enough with support programmes for the few. Awareness of diversity teaching and anti-discrimination is a must, it is not a choice. At least 20% of the Swedish population is of another ethnicity and one third of the pupil population of this school. Racism is not something happening on the margins of society, it is in our everyday interactions, where power relations are actualised and reproduced (in Leon, 2004).

Racism and prejudice has several reasons for why it takes places and in order for the school to improve the school experience for many pupils they should consider working with improving the understanding of cultural diversity and multiculturalism: the school and the classroom situations should become more democratic restricting the development of hierarchical structures; the school should encourage teaching styles that emphasise the complex world we live in and promote understanding in the different subjects and not just rote learning; the school should work with the self-esteem of the pupils and encourage and reward good

achievements; the school should work consciously with developing empathy within the pupils and the staff; the whole school should be made aware and acutely observant of bullying and take fast and concrete actions against mobbing both amongst pupils and staff; and the school should work with making the values of pupils more valid and not so alien to the middle class and the mono-cultural values that the educational system advocates. Parszyk (2003) writes about the invisible racism in the school, that minority pupils learn, through the actions of teachers and “Swedish” school-friends, that they are less fit to study theoretical subjects in the school.

Methods that have been proven to reduce prejudice in research are: having a few outspoken persons who vigorously advocate antiracist positions and the presence of norms consistent with those views (Blanchard, Lilly and Vaughn, 2003); arousing feelings of dissatisfaction in persons, where they become aware of certain inconsistencies existing within their own value-attitude systems (Rokeach, 1971); to use empathy in a goal-directed way – if the goal is greater understanding then apply cognitive empathy but if the goal is social action then parallel empathy is more likely to prove successful (Stephan & Finlay, 2003); and by using the Common Ingroup Identity Model, where members of different groups come to see themselves as a single group rather than as separate ones, attitudes toward former outgroup members will become more positive through processes involving pro-ingroup bias (in Gaertner, Dovidio, Banker, Rust, Nier, Mottola & Ward, 2003).

The high scores on Classical racism raises the question of the adult staff working in the school. Teachers should be made aware of their role in changing the prejudice attitudes of their pupils and also to look into the fact how the pupils have acquired these views. The school needs to look at the meaning systems being taught and being circulated in the school. The role of the adults is paramount here, as the students perceive as acceptable to express open and direct racism. Following Social Identity Theory, this school should look over its norms, the social atmosphere of the relations between all people in the school focusing on competition, conflict and tension between members of the school and analysing the factors affecting the social standings of different groups in the school.

For excellent exercises in class that teachers can undertake immediately in their pursuit for harmonious cultural diversity and multiculturalism the following web-sites may be of help: www.peacecorps.org , www.understandingprejudice.org, and www.edchange.org. But a

lone teacher cannot change the attitudes of children, as it is a societal problem, the whole system must change, incorporating teachers, parents, administration, management, the city and the state. As Bunar (2003) argues, multiculturalism is not an issue for only the immigrants, everyone has a culture and therefore everyone has to be involved if we are to make a change. Ethnocentric perceptions and attitudes must be confronted with other understandings and processed emotionally (Lahdenperä, 2004).

