

Sayaka Osanami Törngren

LOVE AIN'T GOT NO COLOR?

– Attitude toward interracial marriage in Sweden

Föreliggande doktorsavhandling har producerats inom ramen för forskning och forskarutbildning vid REMESO, Institutionen för Samhälls- och Välfärdsstudier, Linköpings universitet. Samtidigt är den en produkt av forskningen vid IMER/MIM, Malmö högskola och det nära samarbetet mellan REMESO och IMER/MIM. Den publiceras i Linköping Studies in Arts and Science.

Vid filosofiska fakulteten vid Linköpings universitet bedrivs forskning och ges forskarutbildning med utgångspunkt från breda problemområden. Forskningen är organiserad i mångvetenskapliga forskningsmiljöer och forskarutbildningen huvudsakligen i forskarskolor. Denna doktorsavhandling kommer från REMESO vid Institutionen för Samhälls- och Välfärdsstudier, Linköping Studies in Arts and Science No. 533, 2011. Vid IMER, Internationell Migration och Etniska Relationer, vid Malmö högskola bedrivs flervetenskaplig forskning utifrån ett antal breda huvudtema inom ämnesområdet. IMER ger tillsammans med MIM, Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare, ut avhandlingsserien Malmö Studies in International Migration and Ethnic Relations. Denna avhandling är No 10 i avhandlingsserien.

Distribueras av:

REMESO, Institutionen för Samhälls- och Välfärdsstudier, ISV
Linköpings universitet, Norrköping
SE-60174 Norrköping
Sweden

Internationell Migration och Etniska Relationer, IMER
och Malmö Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare, MIM
Malmö Högskola
SE-205 06 Malmö, Sweden

ISSN 1652-3997 (Malmö) ISSN 0282-9800 (Linköping)
ISBN 978-91-7104-097-8 (Malmö) ISBN 978-91-7393-117-5 (Linköping)

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Tryck och sättning: Prinfo Grafiskt Center, Malmö 2011

Malmö Studies in International Migration
and Ethnic Relations No 10, 2011

Linköping Studies in Arts and
Science No 533, 2011

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IMER/MIM/Malmö högskola

Migration och Etnicitet/REMESO/Linköpings universitet

ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on the geographical area of Malmö, the third largest city in Sweden, and examines the majority society's opinions and attitudes toward interracial dating, marriage and childbearing. The dissertation is driven by two theoretical frames: the theory of race as ideas constructed through the perception of visible differences and the theory of prejudice and stereotypes. Mixed methods have been chosen as a means of exploring people's attitudes toward interracial relationships. Quantitative data was collected by means of an attitude survey and the qualitative data was collected by means of follow-up interviews with some of the respondents who participated in the survey. Through quantitative and qualitative inquiries, the pattern of attitudes and the correlation of attitudes and individuals' social characteristics, as well as the underlying ideas and thoughts, can be explored. This study intends to achieve an understanding of people's expressed ideas and attitudes, rather than the changes and development of individual attitudes and feelings.

The study shows that although their attitudes vary depending on the different groups in question, the majority of the respondents and interviewees could imagine getting involved in interrelationships and would not react negatively if a family member got involved in such a relationship. The quantitative results address the importance of intimate contacts, in other words having friends of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds, in having more positive attitudes toward interracial dating, marriage and childbearing. Age, gender, education and the place of upbringing also affects people's attitudes. The qualitative inquiry probes the reasoning behind the survey results and points to the complicated relations between individual attitudes and the sense of group position. The interviewees' words depict colorblind ways of talking about attitudes toward interracial marriage and different groups. Ideas of race emerge in this colorblind reasoning and the role of visible difference is highlighted both through the quantitative and qualitative inquiries.

Keywords: interracial marriage, attitudes, race, Contact Hypothesis, group position, prejudice and stereotypes, colorblindness, perception of difference, mixed methods

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all I would like to thank my supervisor Björn Fryklund for his support and encouragement. One of the things you said to me at our first meeting, *bekymrar dig inte om saker och ting* (*don't worry about things*), has flashed through my head many times and given me confidence throughout the five years of dissertation work. I would also like to offer my gratitude to Anders Wigerfelt for his guidance as a co-supervisor over the past year. I thank REMESO at Linköping University, IMER at the Department of Language, Migration and Society at Malmö University and especially Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare for supporting this study financially.

My special thanks go to Henrik Ohlsson for answering my questions about the statistical analysis and to Sue Glover Frykman for her language editing of the dissertation. Thanks too to my friends, fellow PhD candidates, co-workers at MIM/IMER and REMESO, everyone who has encouraged and challenged me in my work over the last five years. Last but not least, I would like to thank my family in Japan and in Sweden; especially my parents for raising me to what I have become today and my husband for always being there and supporting me.

PROLOGUE

A young East Asian PhD student attends a conference in Europe dominated by white researchers. A white middle-aged male researcher looks at her name badge and realizes that her “foreign” name and the country in which she is pursuing her PhD do not match.

“You are not Swedish are you? Why are you in Sweden?”

She explains that she moved to Sweden because her husband is a Swede. He starts talking about mail order brides and personal contact advertisements and how horrible they are. Half jokingly he asks her:

“...but you are not one of these mail order brides are you?”

All she can do is to say “No. I met my husband when we were studying in the US.” She makes the point of saying that nowadays personal contacts are probably made through the Internet to a greater extent than before. He replies with a smile, and says:

“Oh yes, that is true. But I am sure that you are not one of them.”

This is my life. This is my paranoia.

INTRODUCTION

Post-war Sweden has been a country of immigration; people of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds have become an undeniable part of present Swedish society. The period between 1970 and 1985 is regarded as a turning point in the Swedish history of immigration. During this period, the dominant immigration category has changed from labor migrants to asylum migration and family reunifications. As the category of immigration shifted, the country of origin of the immigrants also expanded from predominantly within European countries to outside European countries. Since the 1970s, the foreign born population of Sweden has doubled. Today, 14% of the population of Sweden was born outside the country; a figure that is larger than that of its neighboring countries and is equivalent to that of the U.S. Comparing the number with the neighboring countries, 9% of the Norwegian population, 7% of the Danish and 2% of the Finnish are foreign born. Very few industrialized countries in the West have as high a proportion of immigrants as Sweden: France, the Netherlands and the UK have a lesser percentage of immigrants than Sweden. It is expected that the percentage will reach 18% by the year 2060 (Statistics Sweden 2010).

As the immigrant population has increased in Sweden, policies around migration and integration have also changed. While in the earlier policies the focus was on the assimilation of immigrants in Swedish society, the central political idea later shifted to “multiculturalism” and now reflects “diversity” (Brekke and Brochgrevinck 2007; Diaz 1993; Khayati 2008; Schierup and Ålund 2010). In a comparative study of 31 countries in Europe and North America, Sweden is ranked as the country with “the best migrant integration policy” (Migrant Integration Policy Index III2011). From 1975 to 1997, integration policy¹ was based on three pillars: equality, cooperation and freedom of choice. All these were designed so that immigrants as a group could enjoy equal social and political rights, main-

1 It was called immigrant policy at the time.

tain their cultural and language identity and allow migrant organizations to cooperate in making important decisions. The two goals of the policy were equal rights and opportunities based on multiculturalism and a society with diversity, mutual respect and tolerance. Since 2006, the policies have not only been targeted towards the immigrant population, but also the general population. The goals of the most recent reform of integration policy in 2009 are to achieve the same rights, duties and possibilities for everyone irrespective of ethnic and cultural background and to put the focus on individuals rather than groups (Rakar 2010). According to Brekke and Borchgrevink, this shift of focus from immigrant groups to individuals in the general population is the most important change in the current integration policy (2007:16). Even though the focus of integration policies has changed, the idea of self-sufficiency, in other words labor market integration, has played and still persistently plays a dominant role in Swedish integration policy.

An increasing incorporation of immigrants into society points to a growing number of opportunities for the majority population to interact with the immigrant population, and vice versa. Due to the rising number of immigrants, and the second and third generations of immigrant descent born in Sweden, having interethnic and interracial contacts becomes inevitable in people's everyday lives. However, numerous researchers show the difficulties that refugees, immigrants and their descendants face in the labor market, school and health care systems (e.g. Ahlberg and Groglopo 2006; De los Reyes 2006; Sawyer and Kamali 2006). It is a well-established fact that people of foreign descent are confronted with discrimination and racism in different aspects of social life and the difficulties of being fully recognized in Swedish society. The question then is what do the most personal and intimate social relations that individuals engage in look like? This study focuses on an area that has not yet received much research attention in Sweden, intimate relationships across the majority and the minority population, namely interracial dating, marriage and child-bearing. Throughout the thesis the terms *mixed*, *interracial* and *intermarriage* will be used interchangeably. This study also addresses the issue of race, socially constructed ideas about different individuals and groups based on their visible differences, in a Swedish context.

Why study attitudes toward interracial relationships?

Whether intermarriage occurs or not is generally said to depend on two aspects: opportunity and preference. Lieberman and Waters define four broad factors that can affect the occurrence of intermarriage: the existence of formal sanctions such as anti-miscegenation law, the availability

of partners within and outside the different social groups, informal sanctions such as taboos associated with intermarriage or attitudes and opinions about intermarriage that exist in society, and the degree of commonness in social status, such as class, between the different groups (Lieberson and Waters 1990:164). The aspect of commonness between the different groups highlighted by Lieberson and Waters is akin to what Kalmijn refers to as the “preference of marriage candidates”. According to Kalmijn there are socioeconomic and cultural preferences: “People maximize their income and status by searching for a spouse with attractive socioeconomic resources” (1998:398). Cultural preference is derived from the desire to marry someone who is similar. However, according to Kalmijn, socioeconomic and cultural preference alone does not explain the patterns of marrying within or outside i.e. homogamy and endogamy² or exogamy in relation to social characteristics (1998).

There are several reasons for studying attitudes toward interracial relationships. As Root writes, “[i]nterracial relationships, including interracial marriage, are natural consequences of increased social interaction between races” (2001:3). Kalmijn states that:

...interaction between social groups provides a fundamental way to describe the group boundaries that make up the social structure. Because marriage is an intimate and often long-term relationship, intermarriage or heterogamy not *only reveals the existence of interaction across group boundaries, it also shows that members of different groups accept each other as social equals.* [My italics] Intermarriage can thus be regarded as an intimate link between social groups; conversely, endogamy or homogamy can be regarded as a form of group closure. (Kalmijn 1998:396)

Weber writes, “[i]n all groups with a developed ‘ethnic’ consciousness the existence or absence of intermarriage (connubium) would then be a normal consequence of racial attraction or segregation” (1996:53). Therefore, *studying attitudes toward interracial relationships would give researchers a chance to evaluate the degree of acceptance the different ethnic and racial groups have towards each other in a close and intimate context.* This leads to the second motivation for studying interracial relationships, namely that: interracial marriage has been and still is a topic of interest because it is considered to be an indicator of the integration and further assimilation of the next generation. For example, Gordon’s view of intermarriage as an indicator of structural assimilation has been very influential. Gordon refers to Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess and writes, “[a]ssimilation naturally takes place most rapidly where contacts

2 Marriage between people of the same race and ethnicity.

are primary, that is, where they are the most intimate and intense, as in the area of touch relationship, in the family circle and in intimate congenial groups” (1973:62). *The existence of interracial relationships can therefore be an indication of the level of integration in society.*

Gordon’s argument that intermarriage encourages integration and assimilation is widely accepted. As Kalmijn asserts, there is a “consequence of intermarriage” in that intermarriage weakens the cultural salience in the future generation (1998:396). A weakening of the cultural salience may reduce and erase negative attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes of out-groups. In this sense a weakening of the cultural salience can be understood as a threat to the existing group position. The latter is the answer to why even though race, ethnicity, religion and culture are all aspects of choosing a life partner, crossing the ethnic or racial divide is still often regarded as “taboo”. Intermarriage challenges people’s ideas about *us* and *them*, what belongs together and what does not belong together, especially with regard to children born to intermarried couples. Therefore, as Yancy (2009) suggests, *rejecting interracial relationships would legitimize the boundary of us and them, racial discrimination and prejudice.* Lee and Edmonston write that social norms in marriage play significant roles in maintaining the racial or ethnic status quo in racially or ethnically stratified societies. Marriage between people of the same race sustains the rules about race and racial boundaries, while exogamy threatens the stability of racial groups. Racial endogamy becomes important when membership of a racial group defines access to resources and power in society (Lee and Edmonston 2005). Lee and Edmonston state that “[i]n multiracial and multiethnic societies such as the United States, the prevalence of and attitudes toward racial and ethnic intermarriages reveal much about racial and ethnic relations and integration” (4). Lieberman and Waters also write, “[g]iven the fact that the family is such a central force in the socialization process generally; the impact of intermarriage on the maintenance of the group into the future is self-evident” (1990:165).

This study will focus on *attitudes toward interracial relationships among residents in Malmö Municipality*, where 30% of the some 298,000 residents were born abroad, and 10% of the population has two parents born outside of Sweden (Avdelningen för samhällsplanering, Malmö Stad 2011). This study aims to examine *the attitudes of the majority society toward interracial dating, marriage and childbearing.* I chose to conduct the study in Malmö, a city that represents ethnic and racial diversity, because as Lee and Edmonson write, attitudes toward intermarriage reveal much about racial and ethnic relations and immigrants’ integration into Swedish society (2005). Malmö, together with Stockholm and Gothenburg, has the highest immigrant population in Sweden today. Malmö is chosen as a

case study that facilitates a general understanding of what might be applicable in the whole of Sweden. Marriage is one of the most personal and intimate social relationships that individuals enter into in their lives. It is one of the few relationships that “the member of the ethnic group may if he wishes follow a path which never takes him across the boundaries of his ethnic structural network (Gordon 1961:280)”. This relationship is not like other types of social relationships, for example in the workplace, since the choice of not interacting across the ethnic and racial boundaries is limited, especially in a racially and ethnically diverse society like Malmö and Sweden. Moreover, this study examines the correlation between attitudes toward interracial relationships and prior interracial contacts in different contexts such as the workplace or friendships. Therefore, compared to researching other social aspects such as the labour market or political integration, examining attitudes toward interracial relationships will hopefully shed light on the issue of integration from a different perspective.

How marriage as a topic is discussed in a European and Swedish context

As made obvious by the term ‘minority studies’, migrated or other minority groups have in academic history all too often been singled out for scrutiny, suggesting that they are deviant, exotic, or else warrant special attention. Indeed, according to this view, the deviant and the exotic have always seemed to be located elsewhere, or at any rate or among Us, the members of the majority. (Pettersson 2006:21)

In Europe and in Sweden, when marriage is discussed in relation to migration and the field of International Migration and Ethnic Relations, the discussion often deals with the practice of “importing wives” and the topic of *transnational marriage*; the ethnic majority bringing wives from Asia and East Europe, or ethnic minority groups finding and bringing wives and husbands from the country of origin.³ The focus is often on the risks, for example of trafficking, forced marriages, family reunion policies and

3 For example, see research group IMISCOE Cluster 8, Love Across Boundaries: Marriage Migration as Intersection Site between Tradition, Gendered Aspirations and Globalised Policies, AMID research project Migration - Marriage - Research on Transnational Marriages (MiMa), or the plenary session “Making the Family – Marriage Within and Across Borders” at the 14th International Metropolis Conference. Although it is important to note that there are researches on intermarriages such as M. Kalmijn and F. van Tubergen, “Ethnic Intermarriage in the Netherlands: Confirmations and Refutations of Accepted insights,” *European Journal of Population-Revue Européenne De Demographie* 22.4 (2006): 371-97, Amparo Gonzalez-Ferrer, “Who Do Immigrants Marry? Partner Choice Among Single Immigrants in Germany,” *European Sociological Review* 22.2 (2006): 171-85.

policies that regulate such marriages.⁴ The discussions sometimes inevitably touch on the question of whether these marriages are based on love or economic reasons, as if other marriages are always based on love and not on taking any kinds of advantage. It is the powerlessness of the wives brought from abroad or the home country that is at the heart of the argument. Such discussions rarely touch on the issue of integration. Rather, the minority population bringing wives and husbands from the country of origin is treated as a sign of the minority's unsuccessful integration into the majority society. Little reference is made to the discrimination that minority groups face which may lead minority groups not willing to marry someone from the majority society. Both integration and discrimination are only addressed from the perspective of the minority groups. When *intermarriages* are specifically discussed, attention is usually on the problems of cultural clash, divorce and custody (Olofsson 2007).

Petersson states that:

[B]y neglecting to study majority-population views and attitudes, 'most White scholars in the humanities and social sciences have conveniently ignored this social problem, if not in their everyday life, then mostly in their academic work.' (Petersson 2006:22)

Like Petersson, I maintain that "the greatest hurdles are to be found among members and structures of the majority, who are reluctant to let the 'outsider' in" (Petersson 22). This study therefore aims to focus on the *majority society*. There should be discussions about the majority society's role in integration. For example, statistics show that the white majority get married within the white majority. There should also be discussions about discrimination and prejudices that affect the choice of a partner from the perspectives of both the majority and the minority. I am certainly not advocating that the current trend of talking about marriage in both a Swedish and European context is unnecessary. On the contrary, I believe that they are important. However, just as Stopford questions the psychoanalytic approach to the question of intermarriages, I would like to emphasize the importance of looking at the issue of interracial marriage from the majority perspective and asking "different questions" (2007).

4 See for example the report by Roks Länsstyrelsen Värmland, *Isolerad kränkt utkastad - Tolv kvinnor från olika länder berättar om sverigedrämmen som sprack*, 2010), and series of articles *Svenska Dagbladet* published in February 2010. Bosse Brink, "Svensk 'fruiimport' synas," *Svenska Dagbladet* 2-14 2010, Hannes Delling, "Allt fler thailändskor söker nytt liv i Sverige," *Svenska Dagbladet* February 11 2010, "Kärleken och fördomarna förenar," *Svenska Dagbladet* February 14 2010, "Regler för fruiimport ska utredas," *Svenska Dagbladet* February 12 2010, "Lagen står på mannens sida," *Svenska Dagbladet* February 12 2010, Eva Eriksson, "Fruiimporten är en skamfläck," *Svenska Dagbladet* February 12 2010.

I have argued that while analysis of power inequalities and racialized fantasies in black/white relationships is of course of continuing importance, we ought not automatically question the motives of people who enter into interracial relationships. *The time is long overdue to question the motives, phobias, fantasies, and fears of those who oppose interraciality, and to examine the kinds of social and theoretical practices that deny the primacy of relationality and (inadvertently or deliberately) perpetuate racial segregation.* [My italics] (Stopford 221)

By examining the attitudes of the majority society, I believe that this study can contribute to the knowledge and debate about marriage from a different perspective.

The aim and research questions

The aim of the research is to investigate the majority society's opinions and attitudes toward interracial relationships, namely interracial dating, marriage and childbearing. The study focuses on the majority population in Malmö, Sweden. It is important to look at the different levels of interracial relationships, since individuals may be willing to get involved interracially, but might not be willing to engage in serious relationships. The thesis does not only look at attitudes toward interracial relationships from the perspective of preference, but also from the point of opportunities of meeting someone of another origin and the relationship between the amount of contact and attitudes. This study therefore sets out to deal with the following questions:

- » What are the majority's opinions and attitudes toward different racial and ethnic groups?
- » How is interracial marriage understood and perceived?
- » What is the relationship between the attitudes and prior intergroup contacts?
- » What kind of prejudices and stereotypes are reflected and indicated in people's attitudes toward interracial relationships?

This dissertation is underpinned by two theoretical frames: the theory of race as ideas constructed through the perception of visible differences and the theory of prejudice and stereotypes. The role of race, in other words socially constructed ideas about different individuals and groups based on their visible differences, is not commonly applied in a Swedish context. However, the concept of race is crucial in this thesis, *since the interest lies in the initial attitude and spontaneous reactions that respondents have to-*

ward intermarriage. I argue that *visible differences* have a master position in the process of perceiving *difference*, which affects people's attitudes. By utilizing the theory of race, this thesis examines the role of race in how interracial marriage is understood and perceived. Mixed methods have been chosen as a means of exploring people's attitudes toward interracial relationships. Through quantitative and qualitative inquiries, the pattern of attitudes and the correlation of attitudes and individuals' social characteristics, as well as the underlying ideas and thoughts can be explored. Mixed methods have the potential of reducing some of the concerns and limitations of attitude studies and contribute to an understanding of the multidimensionality of attitudes. As individuals' attitudes and behavior can change considerably over time, attitudes should not be treated as something consistent or permanent. The focus of this study is therefore to reach an understanding of the presently existing attitudes that are expressed, rather than understanding the change and development of individual attitudes and feelings. In order to understand attitudes at the individual and collective level, and not simply individual preferences, not only if one can imagine having an interrelationship, but also how close family and society might react to interracial relationships is inquired. Incorporating the two theories of prejudice and stereotypes, Contact Hypothesis and group position, would facilitate an understanding of the initial attitudes, both as individually and collectively defined phenomena. By examining stereotypes and prejudices in people's attitudes toward interracial relationships, this study explores the idea of race that exists in Swedish society.

The concept of dating and marriage

Although this study is written in English it has been carried out in Swedish. Several concepts are translated in the Swedish context and utilized when communicating with the respondents and interviewees. The concept and idea of dating is translated into Swedish as *att vara tillsammans med, eller ha en tillfällig relation* (being together with or having a short relationship with). As the practice of dating became known in the U.S., different definitions and theories of dating emerged. Although the forms and practices may be different, being together with or having a short relationship with somebody in a Swedish context is similar to that of dating in the U.S. context: It is a social engagement between two people, which has the potential of moving forward to cohabitation and ultimately marriage, in which the commitment and responsibility to continue the relationship is a matter between the two people concerned. It is an involvement without obligation from family members and a reflection of the freedom of being together with somebody (Lowrie 1951).

The Swedish word *blandäktenskap* or *blandrelation* is applied to describe interracial marriages. The term in this study does not only refer to official marriage but also to cohabitation, since cohabitation has almost as equal a status as official marriage under Swedish law. The Swedish word *blandäktenskap* can literary be translated as *mixed marriage*. I have intentionally chosen to use this word because I am interested in the marriage between two people of different race and ethnicity. I am aware that the word alludes to the idea that mixed marriage is different from racial homogamy, and also has a connotation of colonialism. Nevertheless, since the word is still used and known in Sweden, I believe that it is the best Swedish word available that refers to interracial marriage. As named earlier, the terms *mixed marriage*, *intermarriage* and *interracial marriage* will be used interchangeably throughout the thesis. The term *interrelationship* or *interracial relationships* encompasses the three levels of relationships; dating, marriage and childbearing. The study does not explicitly state or define that such a relationship is a heterosexual one.

Relevant studies on intermarriage in Sweden

In his book *Can immigrants become Swedish?*⁵ published in 1973, Schwarz writes that it would be interesting to research intermarried families. Schwarz also suggests that even the foreign adoptee should be included in this kind of study (103). Intermarriage has gained more attention in recent years, although as Olofsson indicates, intermarriage has not yet been widely researched or studied in Sweden (2007). The actual number of intermarriages is not clear either, due to statistical ambiguity in Sweden⁶. In this section, I am going to present those studies in Sweden that attempt to map the number of intermarriages, some attitude and opinion surveys and ethnographic or qualitative studies that touch on the issue of intermarriage, and that are of interest and relevance to the study of attitudes toward interracial relationships.

Statistics on intermarriage

Cretser presents findings on intermarriage by using the statistics from Statistics Sweden (SCB). Defining intermarriage as a marriage between a Swedish citizen and a non-Swedish citizen, an average of 14% of all the

5 Kan invandrarna bli svenskar?

6 Statistics on intermarriage is based on the citizenships or country of birth, not the ethnic or racial category of the individuals. This also means that different studies have different definitions of what intermarriage is. Another issue is that different study refers to the majority and minority population differently, for example as foreign-born, Swedish-born or first/second generation and ethnic Swedes. Here I present with the terms that the articles discussed use.

marriages in Sweden from 1971 to 1993 were intermarriages. In 1971, 12.5% of marriages were intermarriages; a number that increased to 18.9% in 1993. In other words, according to the study, the rate of intermarriage has increased by 50% over a period of 20 years. Cretser writes that intermarriages between Swedes and Finns are the most common for both men and women, followed by Denmark, Norway and Iceland. Cretser's article shows that about 20% more Swedish women intermarried with people from non-Nordic countries compared to Swedish men. For both men and women, spouses from the non-Nordic countries were often from European countries like Germany, Great Britain, Yugoslavia and the U.S.; according to Cretser, intermarriages with people from outside the Nordic countries or Western Europe are not so common. Among people of non-Nordic origin, those who often intermarried with Swedes during this period were Greeks, Iranians, Chileans and Italians. The statistics Cretser analyze shows that more Swedish women chose a non-West European spouse than Swedish men, with the exception of Chileans (Cretser 1999).

Further, in 2001 SCB released an article entitled "Love across Borders"⁷ which looked at the statistics of people who immigrated to Sweden due to marriage, widely known as "marriage migrants". According to the statistics, it is common for both men and women born in Sweden to marry people born in Norway or the U.S. The statistics also show that Swedish women tend to intermarry men from former Yugoslavia, Germany, the U.S., the UK and Greece, while Swedish men tend to marry women from Finland, Poland, the Baltic countries, Thailand and the Philippines (Stenflo 2001). This study from 2001 indicates similar tendencies to Cretser's study. In another article on globalization of marriage market, Niedomysl et al find that a substantial proportion of marriage migrants are male; however the characteristics of the male and female marriage migrants are different. Female migrants are from Southeast and other Asia, Eastern Europe, Russia and South America predominantly while male marriage migrants are overrepresented by those coming from Western Europe, Africa and Middle East, Northern America and Australia (Niedomysl, Östh and van Ham 2010).

While the above studies are based on citizenship or the country of birth, therefore only depicting marriages between first generation immigrants and people born in Sweden, the new figures published by SCB in 2010 specify the country of the birth of the parents, which enables the figures to include the intermarriage pattern of immigrant descents as well. During the period 2004 to 2008, 9% of all the established couples were between Swedish-born people with both parents born in Sweden and for-

7 Kärlek över gränserna

eign-born people. Among the Swedish-born with Swedish-born parents, in 5% of women and 6% of men were together with a foreign-born person: Swedish women often created a family with a man born in Great Britain or Finland, while Swedish men often started a relationship with women born in Thailand or Finland. According to the statistics, 78% of those with one foreign-born parent, people born in mixed marriages, established a relationship with people born in Sweden to Swedish-born parents. Fifty five percent of Swedish-born men with foreign parents and 60% of Swedish-born women with foreign parents created a family with people born in Sweden to Swedish-born parents. However, it should be noted that the applicable individuals in this category are mainly people with origins in the Nordic⁸ or other European countries. Statistics show that people with parents born in Syria, Lebanon or Turkey established a relationship with a Swedish-born person with both parents born in Sweden to the least extent (Statistics Sweden 2010:89). These new statistics also indicate the same pattern of marriage since the 1970s as Crester's study, together with a very strong tendency of racial homogamy among Swedes with Swedish-born parents and to some extent Europeans.⁹

Dribe and Lundh have been involved in a research series on intermarriage patterns of immigrants in relation to economic integration, also using the statistics from SCB (2008; 2010). Defining immigrants as people born outside of Sweden, and natives as people born in Sweden, their studies also correspond with the previously presented studies, in that immigrants from Western Europe are more likely to be married to natives than immigrants from other parts of the world. Their studies indicate that cultural dissimilarities affect immigrants' partner choice and that social aspects such as language and religion hinder immigrants from marrying members of the majority population. Dribe and Lundh conclude that the choice of a prospective marriage partner is linked to "individual preferences, collective norms and the risk for social penalties" (2010:20). Whether or not attitudes toward interracial relationships support the actual statistics and patterns of intermarriage needs to be explored.¹⁰

8 Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Norway.

9 The tendency of racial homogamy among ethnic Swedes and also among persons of immigrant background is also discussed in Alireza Behtoui, "Marriage Pattern of Immigrants in Sweden," *Comparative Family Studies* 41 (2010).

10 See also Aycan Celikaksoy, Lena Nekby, and Saman Rashid, "Assortative Mating by Ethnic Background and Education in Sweden: The Role of Parental Composition on Partner Choice," The Stockholm University Linnaeus Center for Integration Studies (SULCIS) Working Paper 7 (2009), "Assortative Mating by Ethnic Background and Education among Immigrants in Sweden" for discussion on educational and ethnic homogamy.

Quantitative inquiries on attitudes toward intermarriage

When it comes specifically to attitudes toward intermarriage some opinion surveys include questions about intermarriage, such as in Lange and Westin's study, in Society Opinion Media surveys (SOM¹¹) carried out at Gothenburg University, and in a questionnaire report by the former Swedish Integration Board, The Integration Barometer (IB). In Lange and Westin's attitude survey, respondents were asked to choose what kind of relationship they could imagine themselves having with people from 13 different countries, including countries in Europe, Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Respondents were asked to choose from the following list: having children with, being in an intimate relationship with, being a best friend, being a neighbor, living in the same residential area, or not living in the same residential area. For people from Finland, the UK, Norway and Germany, the closest relationship the respondents could imagine was "having children with", while for the other groups the closest relationship was "being a best friend" (Lange and Westin 1997).

In the SOM survey of 2004, 15% of the respondents agreed completely or largely with the statement "I would not like having an immigrant from another part of the world married into my family". In 1993 the proportion was 25% (Demker; Demker 2005). In the IB respondents are asked to respond to the statement, "People from different cultures and race should not create a family relationship and have children."¹² In 2005, 10.4% of 2572 respondents agreed with the statement, while 88.3% disagreed¹³. In 2007, 10.8% of 2418 respondents agreed and 85.5% disagreed to the statement (Integrationsverket 2007). The percentage of those who answered "totally agree" dropped from 4.8% in 2004 to 3.5% in 2005 however increased to 4.1% in 2007 (Integrationsverket 2007; 2006). IB analysis shows that men, respondents over 65 of age, living in small cities, have middle range income and lower education respond to the statement negatively, while the opposite tendency can be observed among women, respondents below 49 of age, living in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö, and with higher education¹⁴ (2007).

Qualitative inquiries on intermarriage

Contrary to the SOM survey and IB's results, both of which indicate that very few individuals opposing intermarriage, some ethnographic studies

11 Samhälle opinion medier

12 Personer från olika kulturer och raser bör inte bilda familj och skaffa barn.

13 In IB "agree" is a sum of respondents who answered "Stämmer helt och hållet" (totally agree) and "Stämmer ganska bra" (agree pretty much) and "disagree" is a sum of respondents who answered "Stämmer ganska dåligt" and "Stämmer inte alls".

14 Middle range income refers to people earning 10,000-24,999sek per month and small cities refer to a city with less than 10,000 residents.

show that people who are actually involved in interracial or interethnic relationships often seem to meet resistance from their surroundings.¹⁵ In an article entitled “Marriage across Borders”¹⁶, Gerholm writes that people who live with someone of a different religion or skin color say that most of the problems that exist are not related to the couple’s relationship but rather to their relations with the people around them. According to Gerholm, the imagined or perceived difference that people have and believe in serve as a scale: the more the partner is perceived as “different” the more “mixed” the marriage is perceived to be. For example, Gerholm states that a Swedish-Danish marriage is not regarded as being as mixed as a Swedish-Gambian marriage, and such couples do not receive the same treatment from their surroundings in a Swedish context. Gerholm also writes that a special apprehension arises in marriages between Muslims and Western women due to the Orientalism and Islamofobia that underlie the stereotypes and negative conceptions of such marriages (2003; 2000). Begovic also discusses the negative attitudes toward certain intermarriages depending on which part of the world the person comes from and how willing or unwilling other people are to accept the choice of partner. In those cases where men’s roots are in a so-called third world, or underdeveloped country, the distrust of mixed marriage is greater and much more clearly expressed (Begovic 2003). Gerholm and Begovic’s studies raise an interesting question that I would like to highlight: Does it matter which group the partner belongs to? Is it more acceptable to be together with someone from one group than the other?

Månsson argues in a similar way to Gerholm and Begovic. He writes that there is no legal prohibition of interracial marriage, although this does not mean that negative attitudes toward such marriages, “especially in cases involving individuals with sharply deviating cultures and religions”, do not exist among people (Månsson 1993:97). Månsson assumes that there are motives behind mixed relationships, such as economic, political, social and psychological, in addition to love or sexual attraction, and adds that this is not a well researched area. Quoting interviews and previous studies, he writes about sexual stereotypes and that Swedish women are attracted to foreign men, and says that the latter leads some foreign men to take advantage of and manipulate Swedish women (Månsson 98). Although it is not in my intention to research this matter further

15 For ethnographic studies that show the lives of intermarried couples, see Kerstin Gustafsson Figueroa, Maria Björkroth, and Sveriges Utbildningsradio, *Gränslös kärlek* (Stockholm: Bilda : Sveriges utbildningsradio UR, 2005), Sveriges Utbildningsradio, *Gränslös kärlek* (Stockholm: Bilda : Sveriges utbildningsradio UR, 2005), Akaoma Helena, *Bilder av blandäkenskap: En etnologisk studie om att gifta sig över rasgränser* 1999 .

16 Äktenskap över gränser

here, it can be an interesting aspect to take into account when analyzing the attitudes toward intermarriage.

Other studies also exhibit that sexualized images of African men have been used in different contexts (Schmauch 2006) and how teenage girls racialize and sexualize black men (Andersson 2003). Prad also shows the historical aspect of the sexualization of black people (2004). Another group that is highly sexualized is Asian females. Signell and Lindblad have written about the experiences of Asian adoptees and how Asian females are assumed to be exotic and sexually available (2008). Anecdotes related to the sexualized image of Asian female are also included in HübINETTE and Tigervall's study on adoptees (2008). Contrary to the sexualized image of Asian females, Asian males tend to be portrayed as comical and therefore not desirable (Tigervall and HübINETTE 2010; Tigervall and HübINETTE 2010).

Starting from an assumption that the media plays an important role in how interethnic couples are perceived in Sweden, Hedman et al have studied how Thai-Swedish couples are portrayed in Swedish daily newspapers (2009). Hedman et al have identified a variety of ways in which Thai-Swedish couples are portrayed in relation to Swedish norms. They conclude that as white males, Swedish men are represented as having a superior position, while Thai women are portrayed as a feminine object and described as "both poor oriental object and active and aware agent making her own decision to swindle the rich man" (Hedman, Nygren and Fahlgren 44). With regard to the sexual attraction towards and the stereotypes of foreign men that Månsson discusses, it is also interesting to observe how the image of Thai women and the discourses connected to Thai-Swedish couples affect people's attitudes toward interracial relationships.

In "Being Colored by Sweden"¹⁷, a report produced by The Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination (DO) in 2007 about youths with African backgrounds, Kalonaityte et al write:

Many do not connect love and relationships with institutions. However, if institutions are defined as a collection of socially constructed rules and norms they are highly present in youths' love relations. These relations take place within people's social spheres and are governed by social rules and discourses relating to e.g. belonging, family and origin." (Kalonaityte, Kawesa and Tedros 40)¹⁸

17 Att färgas av Sverige

18 Många förknippar inte kärlek och relationer med institutioner. Men om institutioner definieras som en uppsättning socialt skapade regler och normer så är de i högsta grad närvarande i ungdomarnas kärleksrelationer. Dessa relationer sker inom personernas sociala sfär och regleras av sociala regler och diskurser gällande exempelvis tillhörighet, familj och ursprung.

Kalonaityte et al also write that relationships are about social status and belonging and that the interviewed youths of African background experience that their possibility of having long-term and socially accepted relations with people with other ethnic backgrounds are limited (2007). As Lee and Edmonston state, this reveals that “the prevalence of and attitudes toward racial and ethnic intermarriages reveal much about racial and ethnic relations and integration” (2005:4).

Contrary to Schmauch’s and Andersson’s study, which show a sexualized view of black and African men, Ambjörnsson finds in her doctoral dissertation that very few high school girls say that they are attracted to non-white boys: The darker the boy is, the less interested the girls are (2004). According to Ambjörnsson, it seems that it was unlikely that these girls would fall in love with a person with an African background. Ambjörnsson writes that even though at least one of the girls she interacted with was dating a boy with an African background for a certain period of time, it was noticeable that the hetero-normative relationship market was strictly stratified by skin color: a white Swedish born boyfriend was ranked the highest while a dark skinned African refugee was ranked lowest in terms of attraction (Ambjörnsson 250). Ambjörnsson’s study corresponds with Kalonaityte et al’s study with regard to the difficulties expressed by youths with an African background of having a relationship outside their own ethnic groups and also points to the importance of investigating how the preferences of a potential partner are developed at an early age.

Fear of miscegenation in Swedish history

Lieberson and Waters mention the existence of formal and informal sanctions as something that inhibits intermarriage. In contemporary history, a fear of miscegenation and legal sanctions for miscegenation has been manifested in many countries, such as the U.S., Germany and South Africa. The impact of history and legal sanctions are profound. For example, in the U.S. where the anti-miscegenation law that forbade black-white unions was in force until five decades ago, black-white marriages still represent the smallest proportion of all types of marriage in the U.S. (Yancey 2009).

Sweden has never had any official anti-miscegenation law, although the fear of miscegenation has been articulated and manifested in politics and popular culture. In Sweden the fear of miscegenation involved the idea of “Tatars”¹⁹ and the fear that Swedish blood and heritage would be

19 The word referred to the socially constructed group of people who are indigenous Swedish travelers who are of the Romani people, and also people of Swedish and Romani mix. The word also referred to a group of people who speak the Romani language. Since it is a contested and socially constructed group, the citation marks are used when referring to the group.

lost. "Tatars" were considered as undesirable and a burden on Swedish society, both biologically and socially. The inferiority of "Tatars" was described and elucidated on in racial biology literature by pictures of dishevelled and grimy looking people, often but not always of darker complexion, from prisons and institutions (Hagerman 2007:391). The danger of an "alien element" that might lead to a deterioration of the "pure" Germanic race emerged during the debate in the Swedish Parliament at the beginning of the 20th century. In Malmö, for example, based on an investigation on criminality among "Tatars", police warned that "Tatars" integration into society could threaten the Swedish people by unwanted "race mixing." The first step in the prevention of this race mixing of Swedes and "Tatars" was manifested in 1914 by a deportation law that prohibited "foreign beggars, travelling musicians, felonies and prostitutes" from visiting Sweden (Catomeris 2005:35).

The fear of miscegenation was implicitly articulated by means of the popular culture of the time. Again the central theme was the fear of the Roma and "Tatars" mixing with Swedes. In illustrated magazines, published widely during the 1800s and beginning of the 1900s, it is noticeable how "dark" women are explicitly portrayed with erotic motives, and that relationships between "Gypsies" and Swedes are represented as something to be avoided,²⁰ even in films. "Tatars" as "dark, erotic and tempting" is repeated up to the 1970s (Catomeris 2005:35).²¹ In his dissertation on racial stereotypes in Swedish films of the 1920s, Tommy Gustafsson also highlights the existence of the sexual image of "Tatars". For example, "Race Issues in Modern Light"²² warned against the danger of sexual relationships that could affect the Swedish folk stock. Female "Tatars" are portrayed as "a hot sky of desire, beautiful and radiant"²³, while male

20 Catomeris argues that how the following story of a young man from Finnsmossen in Värmland taking place in the 1900s clearly indicates the idea of "race mixing" as a threat has spread in Sweden: Svart håriga och svarögda zigenarflickor som i övrigt voro utrustade med en slank och välformad kropp och välsvarvade ben. Vilka attribut har lett många blåögd yngling i fördärvet, och produkten därav har blivit de riksbekanta tatterna. Christian Catomeris, "Svartmuskiga bandityper" - Svenskarna och det Mörka Håret, *Orientalism på Svenska*, ed. Moa Matthis (Stockholm: Ordfront i samarbete med Re:orient, 2005) 20-55.

21 Catomeris explains that one of the films, "Flickorna i Småland" [The Girls in Småland], illustrates a deeper social meaning than just portraying "Tatar" women pornographically. It illustrates the fight for the protection of the Nordic race. The story is that Emma lives with a group of "Tatar" men in a small cottage in the woods. She wears provocative clothes and her strong sexuality makes her harmful to the "normal" men who she seduces. As in other "Tatar" films the ending is a happy one: the central manly character resists the seduction and returns to a nice girl from his own group, who he was actually in love with from the beginning. The foreign seducer disappears or dies. There were representations of exotic and erotic men in popular stories as well during the female emancipation period of the 1920s. In these stories, the destiny of the dark-haired exotic man is the same as "Gypsy" and "Tatar" women, in that the main female character deserts the exotic man for a man of her own kind. Catomeris, 41.

22 Rasfrågor i modern belysning

23 vacker och utstrålande "en het sky av begär"

“Tatars” are often portrayed as not attractive and even as rapists. According to Gustafsson, the films depicted both female and male “Tatars” as having an inner evil which results in greed and criminality. The notion of the racial characteristics of “Tatars” as the biggest threat to the Swedish people was used as a dramatic tool (Gustafsson 2007:250). The fear of miscegenation was also articulated in textbooks, one of them being “Soldiers’ Instructions”²⁴ published in 1930 and used until 1952 for all those who were liable for Swedish military service. Here again racial mixing was mentioned as one of the biggest threats to the Swedish people (Jacobsson 1999).

As presented above, the fear of miscegenation circulating around the idea of “Tatars” was very evident in Sweden. Sweden has in fact never had any official anti-miscegenation law against Roma and Swedes marrying, although Sweden did introduce the more serious and powerful measure, sterilization, to prevent the mixing of what was considered undesirable²⁵. Hagerman explains that the National Board of Health and Welfare addressed the need for sterilization to prevent undesirable types of people reproducing. Even the Board of Medicine²⁶ was positive to this kind of treatment. The group that the National Board of Health and Welfare considered to be most in need of sterilization was the “Tatars”. This was also pointed out in the discussion in Parliament prior to the enforcement of the law. The idea was to “[p]urify the Swedish race and prevent it from being inundated by individuals who would not be desirable members of such a sound and healthy population”²⁷ (Hagerman 2007:391). In 1941, sterilization came into effect. Even though the actual number of cases is unknown, according to Hagerman, many sterilization cases dealt with “Tatars” (392)²⁸.

At the same time as sterilization was practiced, a more innocent adaptation of preventing people to marry freely was implemented from 1935 to 1945 for the Jewish population. The Swedish Foreign Department, the Swedish Court, and the Swedish Church adopted Nazi Germany’s race

24 Soldatinstruktion

25 In 1922, Herman Lundborg had already propagated that the mixing of Scandinavian race and what he defines as the “lower” race, the Roma (“zigenare” and “galizier”) and some Russians was undesirable. Gunnar Broberg and Mattias Tydén, *Oönskade i folkhemmet : rashygien och sterilisering i Sverige*, 2, [utök] uppl ed. (Stockholm: Dialogos, 2005).

26 The current Ministry of Health and Social Affairs.

27 sanera den svenska folkstammen och befria den från att i framtiden belastas av individer, som icke äro önskevärda medlemmar av ett sunt och friskt folk

28 For further discussion about sterilization see also Ingvar Svanberg and Mattias Tydén, *I nationalismens bakvattenom minoritet, etnicitet och rasism* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1999), Gunnar Broberg, *Statlig rasforskning : en historik över rasbiologiska institutet* (Lund: Avd. för idé- och lärdomshistoria, Univ., 1995) [5], Mattias Tydén, *Från politik till praktik : de svenska steriliseringslagarna 1935-1975*, 2, utvidgade uppl ed. (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2002), Broberg and Tydén (2005).

rules that prohibited German Aryans from marrying Jews. This was done by the Swedish Foreign Department issuing a decree that forced Swedes who wanted to marry Germans to make sure that their potential spouse's mother's or father's parents were not Jewish (Magnusson 2006). This was due to the fact that the law of 1904 stated that foreign subjects' rights to get married in Sweden should be examined in the light of the law in their home countries. The anti-miscegenation law was in effect for German citizens, even though Sweden did not intend to legally sanction certain marriages. This law was discarded in 1947, since it could forbid marriages between people of different religion, race or ethnicity (Jarlert 1998).

As it was presented, the fear of miscegenation in Sweden focused on the idea of "Tatars" deteriorating Swedish blood and heritage. The idea of interrelationships between "Tatars" and Swedes challenged people's notions of *us* and *them*, i.e. what belongs together and what does not belong together, not only from the biological perspective but also socially and culturally. Even though the target of the fear changed over time, this historical aspect should not be forgotten when examining contemporary attitudes toward interracial relationships. Although what is defined as *us* and *them* may change over time, the notions of *us* and *them* and the idea of what is Swedish remain to the question of intermarriage.

If you have seen Malmö, you have seen the world²⁹ – Contextualizing Malmö within Sweden

This research was conducted on the geographical area of Malmö. Malmö, the third largest city in Sweden, is located in the southernmost part of Sweden and is separated from Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, by the Öresund Sound and the Öresund Bridge. Malmö is a city with a strong tradition of industry and the working class, and has a unique history in relation to immigration and the issues related to it. Despite its unique and distinct characteristics, Malmö's development cannot be separated from the rest of Sweden, especially when it comes to immigration-related issues. Malmö, together with Stockholm and Gothenburg, has the highest concentration of immigrants in Sweden. As mentioned earlier, Malmö could function as a case study that facilitates a general understanding of what might be applicable in Sweden as a whole. A short background presentation of Malmö is appropriate here.

29 Har du sett Malmö, har du sett världen: Sydsvenska Dagbladet, which is the one of the primary newspapers in the south of Sweden used this slogan in the 90s. Jenny Malmsten writes that this slogan can be understood not only as showing the pride Malmö has and the feeling of Malmö as a more than sufficient city of itself but also as embracement of the multiculturalism in Malmö. Jenny Malmsten, Den föreningsdrivna antirasismen i Sverige :antirasism i rörelse (Malmö: IMER, Malmö högskola, 2007) page 15 .

Industrialization took place in Malmö in the middle of the 19th century. Together with Norrköping, Malmö was a leading industrial city with a large number of its residents engaged in factories and production. During the 1950s, industry started to diminish in size and during the 1960s and onwards the public sector instead began to develop. Malmö experienced a stagnating economy and city development during the 1970s and 1980s. During this time the population decreased for the first time since industrialization. The 1980s saw the development of new technology that led to a better economy. Dreams were shattered again during the 1990s, however, and many of the older industries were forced to shut down (Crawley and Crimes 2010; Rönnqvist 2008). While the focus has now shifted to the knowledge-based sector, many industrial workers lost their jobs. At the same time, an increase in the public sector became increasingly obvious (Rönnqvist 2008; Broomé, Schölin and Dahlstedt 2007). It was during this period that problems of social alienation and differences in living standards surfaced and ethnic segregation became more evident (Rönnqvist 2008; Bjurling et al. 1994). This is in fact not peculiar to Malmö, but rather common for many cities in Western Europe, many of which experienced similar crises due to de-industrialization (Mukhtar-Landgren 2008:55).

After the Second World War Malmö became an international and multicultural city. During the 1950s and up to the beginning of the 1970s many labor migrants arrived and supported the industry in Malmö. Sweden saw a change in the characteristics of the immigrants coming into the country from the 1980s until present: labor migrants were replaced by refugees, asylum seekers and family members of the prior immigrants. Consequently, the origins of the immigrants coming to Malmö have changed as well. Already from the period 1986 to 1993 Malmö attracted a substantial number of immigrants from the Middle East, and especially Central Eastern Europe and the former Yugoslavia. Although during the same period Stockholm and Gothenburg's immigrant populations came largely from the other Nordic countries, Malmö's immigrants were mainly from Eastern and Southern Europe (Bevelander 1997). In the middle of 1990s, as immigration continued to increase and ethnic segregation and inequality became more and more prominent, the idea of diversity and multiculturalism became apparent in political discussions and measures in Sweden. The multiculturalism issue emerged in social organizations such as Malmö City Office, and took shape by means of diversity plans (Rönnqvist 2008; Schölin 2007).

Between 1995 and 2010, the number of residents born outside of Sweden has increased by 10%, and the population born in Sweden with two parents born abroad has increased by 5%. In total, residents with a non-

Swedish background have increased from 25% in 1995 to 39% in 2010 (Avdelningen för samhällsplanering, Malmö Stad). Today some 293,909 people live in Malmö; a population that has grown constantly over the last 25 years. Malmö claims to be a city that represents 174 different nationalities. Thirty percent of the population was born outside of Sweden, largest groups of people coming originally from Iraq, Denmark, Yugoslavia, Poland and Bosnia (Malmöstad 2010). The proportion of foreign born inhabitants, or in other words the first generation immigrants, is larger in Malmö than in Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, where around 28% of residents were born outside of Sweden or are Swedish-born with two parents born abroad (USK Stockholms stad). There are residential areas that have a high immigrant population. In the most immigrant concentrated area of Rosengård, 60% of the population was born outside of Sweden (Malmöstad). This number can be compared with the average of 40% of people with an immigrant background living in Malmö, Gothenburg and Stockholm having neighbors with a Swedish background, while 20% of Swedes living in Malmö and Stockholm, and 15% of Swedes living in Gothenburg having neighbors with immigrant backgrounds (Socialstyrelsen 2010). In one of the smaller parts of Rosengård, the proportion of the population without jobs is high, and here the percentage of people who rely on social welfare is almost 70% (Malmöstad).

In political terms Malmö Municipality has traditionally been Social Democratic. This is still the case today. The Swedish welfare model was born and functioned optimally in the south of Sweden, and it was also in Malmö that the welfare state model received its “first serious blow” (Edgerton, Fryklund and Peterson 1994:105). Compared to Stockholm and Gothenburg, Malmö is Sweden’s most politically polarized city. The advancement of the Scania Party, the first right-wing populist party to gain seats on the City Council in 1985 saw the end of the sixty-six-year long governance of Social Democrats (Edgerton, Fryklund and Peterson 1994; Kiiskinen and Saveljeff 2010).³⁰ The current political period continues to be governed by Social Democrats in a Red-Green coalition.³¹ Replaced by the Scania Party, the Sweden Democrats, a right-wing populist party with anti-pluralistic, conservative and populist politics, had five seats in the city delegation after the election in 2006 and seven seats after the election in 2010. Today the party is positioned as the third largest party, followed by the Liberal People’s Party (Kiiskinen and Saveljeff 2010). In the 2010 election, the Sweden Democrats received a total of 7.8% votes for the national government and 10.4% in the municipality government. Together

30 Scania party was represented in the city council until the election in 2006. Scania party remains to be the biggest party among the parties that are not represented in the council.

31 Coalition of Social Democrats, Left Party and Green Party.

with other municipalities located in the south of Sweden, voters in Malmö Municipality contributed to the party's advancement into national politics (Valmyndigheten). According to an SOM survey, attitudes toward asylum seekers are much more negative in the south of Sweden compared to the north (Demker 2006) which may partly explain the advancement of SD in Malmö.

The local government of Malmö supports a number of organizations that work towards integration, and several action plans and integration policies have been implemented to improve problems like segregation, including anti-discrimination policies and diversity management plans (Malmsten 2007; Crawley and Crimes 2010; Mukhtar-Landgren 2008; Broomé, Rönnqvist and Schölin 2007; Broomé et al. 2004). Malmö City also engages in educating people about the issue of migration and ethnic relations through university courses and lectures. In fact migration is one of the eight research profiles emphasized by Malmö University, and the university as a whole engages in the issue of diversity in a variety of ways (Malmö högskola).

While Malmö has a higher percentage of residents with a post-secondary education in comparison to Sweden as a whole, the unemployment rate in Malmö is higher than that of Sweden (Malmöstad 2010). In the survey on the perceptions of the quality of life carried out in 2009 by the European Commission, respondents from Malmö Municipality agreed with the statement "It is easy to find a good job" to a lesser extent than respondents from Stockholm. Moreover, the majority of the respondents from Malmö named "job creation" as one of the three most important issues to be tackled. Compared to the respondents from Stockholm, fewer respondents in Malmö answered that most people in the city could be trusted, that they felt safe in the city and their neighborhood and that foreigners were well integrated in Malmö (European Commission 2010). It is in this context that attitudes toward interracial marriage are examined and discussed in this study.

Disposition

The thesis consists of five parts. The introduction is followed by a chapter presenting the theoretical orientation. The theoretical orientation can be divided into two broad discussions: one oriented towards the issue of race and the other centered on the concept of prejudice and stereotypes. These two theoretical orientations intersect and are relevant in understanding attitudes toward interracial relationships. A chapter on the study's methodological orientation is then presented. This chapter introduces the mixed methods concept and its theoretical background, and discusses at-

titudes and attitude measurement. The chapter also reflects on the position of the researcher and the research subject.

The theoretical and the methodological chapters are followed by two empirical chapters. The first empirical chapter is dedicated to the quantitative inquiry. The chapter starts with a discussion about the implementation of the quantitative method. Results from previous quantitative research on attitudes toward interracial marriages are also consulted in the discussion. After the methodological description, the results and analysis of the quantitative inquiry are presented and conclusions from the inquiry are summarized. The second empirical chapter is devoted to the qualitative study. Again, as in the first empirical chapter, the discussion starts with a methodological description and the presentation of some prior qualitative studies on attitudes toward interracial marriage. Subsequently, the qualitative materials and analysis are presented and a summary of the inquiry is made.

The concluding chapter combines the two empirical chapters and the results drawn from the two inquiries and presents the complexity of attitudes toward interracial marriage.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

The previous chapter outlined the aim and the research questions of this dissertation, and presented some of the previous studies on intermarriage and the context of Sweden. This chapter describes the theoretical orientation of the study. The dissertation is driven by two theoretical frames: the theory of race as ideas constructed through the perception of visible differences and the theory of prejudice and stereotypes. The two frames are connected by the common practices of human beings, the process of categorization and generalization through the *perception of difference*: The perception of difference forms the basis of prejudices and stereotypes that are interrelated with the idea of race.

Conception of difference

Generalizations and categorizations are something that we human beings cannot avoid in our daily lives. Allport names the important characteristics in the process of categorization: categories are invented rationally, function as a guide for our daily lives and help to solve problems in a simple way. Categories also enable us to identify objects and serve as ideational concepts (Allport 1979:20-22). From this, it can be established that categorizing certain groups of people based on their ethnicity, race, religion or age is a rational and normal process. Recent studies in social psychology and social cognition exhibit that categories are activated unconsciously and automatically and guide people's cognition and behavior, especially when it comes to categories that are fundamental in people's lives (e.g. Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz 1998; Wheeler and Fiske 2005; Lepore and Brown 1997).

Goffman argues that society creates a way of categorizing people based on what is perceived to be "ordinary and natural" for the members of the categories. He says that people do not realize which categories they belong to until the question of what is "ordinary and natural" for the category arises:

While a stranger is present before us, evidence can arise of his possessing an attribute that makes him different from others in the category of persons available for him to be, and of a less desirable kind. (Goffman 1990:12)

Goffman writes that a person who possesses *different* attributes and is considered to be undesirable is “reduced in our minds...to a tainted, discounted one” and calls such attributes stigma (12). Therefore, the problem of generalization and categorization does not lie in the categories themselves, but rather in the fact that categories also negotiate *meanings* and *feelings*, which leads to the construction of attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes. D’Andrade calls this process as “schemas” and “prototypes”. “Schemas” is a “framework of objects and relations which has yet to be filled in with concrete details” and “prototype” emerges through filling in the framework of objects and relations with own values and meanings (D’Andrade 1995:124). Schemas are “procedural devices one *uses* to make an interpretation” (D’Andrade 1992:53).

Bearing in mind the distinction between categories and the meanings and feelings attached to the categories, there is a need to address how and on what basis some groups of people are perceived to be “ordinary and natural” or *differ* in some way. In the process of generalization and categorization, a group of people that identifies with and contests the categories emerges, i.e. they are identified and perceived as *different*. As Goffman indicates, individuals have to undergo a relational process in order to take up a position, associate themselves as *we* or *us* and distance themselves from *others* and *them* (1990). As Miles explains, this process is “simultaneously inclusive and exclusive” (1993:58). Hedetoft also argues that *otherness* is usually constructed through “the comparison, the contrast, the relation between ‘us’ and ‘them’” (1995:77). He writes in *Signs of Nations* that:

...the image of the Other is invariably predicated on the Self-image, they mutually define each other in an imaginary demarcation of *difference* [my italics] within a normative and evaluative continuum, even when both sides of the nexus are not directly and explicitly thematised. (Hedetoft 77)

Wodak also asserts that discourse of difference is articulated by the majority society as presenting *others* as “different, deviant or as a threat” (1996). In the process of *perceiving difference*, meanings and feelings are attached to *us* and *them*.

Coming back to the question of the basis on what *difference* are defined and perceived, Cantle raises the point that in the debates about multiculturalism the notion of *difference* is unclear, even though it is essential:

What constitutes “differences” may be visible, though often many of the differences that we regard as being significant have few if any such obvious distinctions. The significance of difference is socially constructed around a wide range of variables in both the private and public realms including social, economic and cultural factors. (Cantle 2005:11)

Cantle writes that the term *culture* is often used as an overarching concept that describes various *differences*. Among several meanings of the word *culture*, in the Oxford English dictionary the word is referred to as “the customs, ideas, and social behavior of a particular people or group” (“Culture.”). Even though culture is defined differently in academia by various scholars, it is commonly defined in terms of shared values and a way of life specific to a group of people. Cantle states that the concept of culture as a reference to difference is vague and problematic, since culture is “inevitably subjective, defined by the individuals and groups themselves – and by the perceptions of others” (2005:85). It is therefore difficult to define what culture is and to draw boundaries accordingly. It is also important to make a distinction between how *culture* is defined and what the *perception of culture* is, a category and a perception of category. Barth argues that culture is often used in public to refer “selectively for that which seems most salient to the outsider, namely difference” (1995:65). The concept of culture is applied to individuals or a group of people who are perceived to be *different* from *us*. It is something that is special to the *other*; something “exotic” and it is increasingly used as “identity” (Barth 65). In this sense, the concept of culture as a reference to difference may only reinforce the idea of culture as something fixed and essential to the group of people defined as having a “different culture”. The perception of culture as something that is passed on to generation after generation within a group leads to culture being conceptualized as something fixed within one group, or unchangeable, which means that the difference between “nature” and “culture” is blurred (Hannerz 1999). Moreover, Pred argues that visible differences like skin color or other bodily markers are interpreted as cultural differences in Swedish society (2000). The perception of culture depends on identifying the *difference* of the *other* through the differences that are *visible*. In this sense, applying the concept of culture to people who are perceived to be different could, as Kuper puts it, “actually reinforce a racial theory of difference” (1999:14).

Another alternative in talking about difference is *ethnic* differences. According to the *Encyclopedia of Race and Ethnic Studies*, an ethnic group is “a group possessing some degree of coherence and solidarity composed of people [...] aware of having a common origins and interests” and is also a group of people who are self-consciously united, or closely

related by common experiences (Cashmore et al. 2004:142). There are many different definitions of ethnicity, although what all different definitions of ethnicity have in common is the notion of shared *culture* (e.g. Cornell and Hartmann 2007; Fenton 2003). However, Cante argues that an ethnic difference may not explain a difference in culture, unless culture is treated and perceived as something fixed and essential to each ethnic group. Ethnic differences may be experienced by the individuals as differences in heritage and something of the past; culture may not be currently practiced and carried on, regardless of how much the heritage is valued (Cante 2005:85). Here again, it is important to point out the difference between the concept of ethnicity and the perception of the ethnic. Groups of people who belong to the majority society often do not see themselves as ethnic or belonging to an ethnic group (e.g. Frankenberg 1993; Pieterse 1996). The concept of ethnicity is therefore applied to those who are *perceived* to have a different culture and as a result becomes a reference to *difference*. Hervik states that in the Scandinavian countries, the term ethnicity is used to describe “non-Western” people and “the schematic features evoked by the local terms for ‘ethnic’ and ‘ethnicity’ consists of visible and audible features of minority groups” (2011)³². Ethnicity is perceived from the perspective of *us*, in the sense that *they* are visibly different from *us*. This perception of ethnicity and culture is evoked through visible differences (Pred 2000)³³.

I agree with Cante’s statement that culture, and in my opinion ethnicity as well, is not an adequate theoretical term with which to discuss *difference*. Instead of discussing culture or ethnicity as an embracing term in referring to the *difference* that exist and that people identify and perceive, clarification of the *differences* that are *seen* and *perceived* to be distinctive is necessary. Cante introduces the “*domains of difference*” (Cante 2005:88). Table 1 summarizes some of the domains of difference Cante presents in terms of the visible, religious, economic and social differences that are both valuable and relevant for this study and in a Swedish context. The domains of difference reflect the objects, what individuals *see* as different.

32 See also Rikke Andreassen, “Whoes Skin does a Skin-Coloured Plaster Match?” *Speak Up!* 1 (2006): 14-6.

33 For a similar discussion, see Mats Trondman, “Disowning Knowledge: To be or not to be ‘the immigrant’ in Sweden,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29.3 (2006) in which Trondman discusses the differences between the category “immigrant” and the perception of “immigrant”.

Table 1. Domains of difference modified (Cantle 2005:88)

<p>Visible differences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Color of skin and other physical attributes (Phenotype) • Style of dress and appearance • Language
<p>Religious differences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious beliefs and patterns of worship • Values
<p>Economic differences (Class)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wealth and assets • Income and employment • Formal education and skills
<p>Social differences (Culture, Ethnicity)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food and culinary arrangements • Family, kinship and settlement patterns • Social behavior, customs and courtesies

These domains of difference are *seen* then *perceived* with various meanings and feelings. As in the process of categorization and generalization, visible, religious, economic and social differences do not only identify and inform individuals with a more or less universal image, but also negotiate *meanings* and *feelings*. Cantle discusses that the *degree of difference* plays a role in how clusters of people are defined and perceived. Groups that are significantly different from the majority and other minority groups in one or two domains would inevitably have an easier time than those with more profound differences (Cantle 87). In other words, intersections of several differences make the position of the individuals and groups more complex. Cantle asserts that degrees of difference only “imply different forms of engagement and agreement” between the majority and minority population and do not necessarily indicate successful or unsuccessful integration and mutual understanding (89). This, I argue, is because the domains of difference are perceived with various meanings and feelings. For example, different languages such as English, Japanese or Arabic would give different ideas and meanings in the Swedish context, although they all are “foreign language”, visible and different from the Swedish language. It is thus not the domains of difference themselves that affect and determine the interactions between individuals and groups and construct attitudes, but rather the perception of the domains of difference.

It is important to note that the perception of difference is a relational process in that differences are negotiated and dealt with in a society and, in some cases, take the shape of prejudice, stereotypes, discrimination and

fear of difference. Again, as earlier mentioned scholars like Goffman and Hedetoft argue, people only become aware of difference when the question of whether someone or something is “ordinary and natural” arises. In this sense the perception of difference is highly contextual and dependent on time, place and society. It is about “a selection of specific traits attributed to one group, traits which are seen, in some sense, as being significant” (Wodak 1996:113). Or, as Frankenberg states: “[d]egrees of similarity and difference are in the eyes of the beholder, constructed by a history of ideas” (1993:99).

Perception of difference

Having made clear some of the aspects of difference, the question that remains is *what* evokes the perception of difference, which in turn leads to the formation of meanings and feelings of the categories? Hughes asserts that in situations where different characteristics and statuses, or in other words where *differences* intersect, a “master and subordinate position” of these differences arises, and certain differences are more prioritized than others. *Race* is one of the characteristics that he names as having the master position (Hughes 1945). For example, according to Hughes, in American society African Americans cannot avoid being treated by others first and foremost as a black person, even though they might be a medical doctor, upper-class or female, all of which should equally encompass the status of the person. As if to support Hughes’ argument, Eriksen and Waters discuss the choice of individuals’ *ethnicity* according to their *physical appearance* in two different contexts. Eriksen states that it can be difficult for groups of people who “look different” from the majority or other minority groups in society to escape from their “ethnic identity” (1993:5). As mentioned earlier, this is because ethnicity is often ascribed to people who look non-Western and because the majority population do not often regard themselves as “ethnic” (Frankenberg 1993). Like Hughes, Waters discusses the American case that while white populations enjoy ethnicity as a choice, the ethnic minority does not have such a choice because ethnicity is always identified with what you look like (2001; 1996). According to Waters, this choice and constraint of ethnic identification is most obvious when you are racially mixed. Waters also states that “individuals who believe their ancestry to be solidly the same in both parents’ backgrounds can (and often do) choose to suppress that ancestry and self-identify as ‘American’ or try to *pass* as having an ancestry they would like to have [my italics]” (2001:71). By way of example she explains that if a person has an English and German background, that person can identify him- or herself as German and *pass* as German without being questioned. On the contrary if a person is of mixed heritage, e.g. with an African and

German background, due to the social norms he or she will probably not be accepted as German if they look black (2001; 1996).

Norman, quoting Banton, writes:

as Banton notes, ‘social differences are often taken for granted when they seem to have a physical basis’ (1988:8) and people will nonetheless tend to classify immigrants, refugees, and foreigners into different cultural categories according to cultural perceptions of phenotypical variation or physical appearance, such as ‘Arab-looking, black, Indian, Korean’. (Norman 2004:210)

As Allport argues, visibility plays a decisive role in the perception of threat, thus the development of prejudices and stereotypes, and consequently attitudes (1979). Allport says that the important point is that “groups that look (or sound) different will seem to *be* different” (132). In this thesis I argue that *visible differences* have a master position and evoke perceptions of economic, religious and social differences. In other words, when visible differences are *seen*, economic, religious and social differences may be both *seen* and *perceived*. This point has already been partly argued by other scholars who infer that the *ethnic* differences perceived together with *cultural* differences are often based on the *visible differences* that serve as identifiable boundaries (Pred 2000; Hervik 2011; Mattsson 2005). When there are identifiable visible differences, the differences are not just *seen* but also *perceived* with various meanings and feelings, and form the idea of race in Swedish society.

Conception of race as the perception of visible difference

I have so far argued that we human beings make use of categorization and generalization in our lives to make sense of our daily lives and that in this process of generalization, differences and similarities between different groups of people, *we* and *they*, are perceived. Some domains of difference are based on more or less objective criteria, and the differences are defined and perceived through a relational process. Moreover, I have noted that visible differences have a master position that evokes and informs social, economic and religious differences and the varying perceptions of difference.

In this study the analytical concept of race, which is a *socially constructed idea evoked by visible differences*, is applied in order to understand the perception of difference and attitudes. Looking back at history, Cantle states that the present conception and classification of race “simply represent our present perceptions of ‘difference’” (2005:107).

Race has therefore been used to classify people in a variety of hierarchical patterns, and has been constructed on the basis of religion, nationality, social class, ethnicity – as well as physical characteristics, particularly skin color – to present a deterministic model of social relations. (Cantle 113)

The concept of race first appeared in the English language during the 16th century. The common usage of the word up to the late 19th to early 20th century was as a biological term, when scientific theories about different human races and people emerged and some European researchers started to divide human beings in different races. However, the intention of dividing the human population into different races supposedly had no racist implication; mapping different types and races of human beings was the equivalent of mapping different animal and plant types and species. Later when the field developed, a racist ideology into the division of human “race” was introduced by scholars like Gobineau and those who promoted Social Darwinism (Jacobsson 1999).³⁴ With the emergence of Social Darwinism, cultural, social and moral differences started to be explained by biological differences and inferiority. With this, different disciplines carried out what is today understood as studies of racial biology and Eugenics. The biological view of race changed when the scientific value of dividing humans in different races proved to have little meaning. During the 1920s, the concept of race as a fluid social category, or in other words, the idea of race as a social construct rather than a biological one, was established and sociologists like Robert Park and Milton Gordon influenced the field of what later came to be called the study of race relations. By 1950, the idea of biological race was officially clarified in a declaration by UNESCO, which affirmed that there was no biologically superior or inferior human race.

34 It was Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882), sometimes called the father of racism, who first introduced racist ideology into the division of human races; Gobineau ranked different races, defining whites as the highest race. Gobineau promoted the idea that mixing “higher” and “lower” race would lead to racial deterioration and thought that lesser “white blood” in the population led to social and cultural decline. It was in the beginning of the 1900s that racist ideology reached Germany and Gobineau’s idea became widely spread. Many started to believe that race mixing was a threat to the European culture. See Ingrid Jacobsson, *Kan man vara svart och svensk? : texter om rasism, antisemitism och nazism*, 1. uppl ed. (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1999). Parallel to Gobineau’s idea of race, Charles Darwin established the theory of natural selection. Darwin believed that everything that lives must fight for a living and survival; those who are weak will not survive, while the stronger ones prevail since there are not enough resources for everybody. For Darwin, the battle for survival was mostly about each individual’s efforts to live and competition took place between different individuals, groups and races. Later Darwin’s idea took a turn that Darwin himself probably did not expect; the idea developed further to what later became called Social Darwinism. Social Darwinism argued that it was morally right that weak ones die and strong ones survive; one should let the weak come to an end so that their “bad traits” do not get passed on to the next generation. It was from this idea that Eugenics, the idea to control “good” and “bad” traits, flourished during the 20th century. Social Darwinists also propagated that since whites were superior, they had the right to conquer the world and the non-white races, which Darwin himself was clearly against. See Jacobsson, 72-73.

Race as a socially constructed category has been theorized in different disciplines. American sociology, represented by the theoretical development that includes the previously mentioned Park, is one of the most influential when it comes to theorizing race as a social reality in society. In American sociology, while dismissing the reference to biology, physical difference is believed to function as a sign of racial difference. Recent race scholars of American sociology advocate a structural or cultural account of the social reality of race. For example, Omi and Winant and Bonilla-Silva initiate a discussion from the point of racism and conceptualized race. Omi and Winant define race as “a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies” (1994:55). They advocate “racial formation”, a socio-historical process that represents cultural and ideological struggles over identity (Omi and Winant 1994). Bonilla-Silva argues for the “racialized social system”, in which racial category or race determines the economic, political and social position of the individual (1997). Contrary to American sociology, other disciplines replaced or combine the concept of race with other theoretical concepts. Marxism, for example, denies the social existence and reality of race and advocates the significance of class over race (e.g. Miles 1989). Social anthropology focuses on the concept of ethnicity and social identity and treats race as one of the element of identity together with religion, class or nation (e.g. Eriksen 1993). British cultural studies bring together the theory of race with racism, class and post-colonialism and also replace concept of race with concepts such as diaspora and culture (Daynes and Lee 2008).³⁵

Since the concept of race is treated and understood in diverse ways throughout history and in various academic disciplines, the understanding of racism is not uniform. Stoler states that there is a willingness in academia to acknowledge a plurality of racisms (2001). One of the ways of understanding racism is racism in a classical sense which is based on the idea that human beings can be divided into different and superior or inferior race in the biological sense (“Rasism.”). Some scholars argue the differences between the “old” racism that were based on the biological claim of race and the “new” racism, which is based on the perception of cultural difference (e.g. Van Dijk 2000). *Cultural racism* is defined as racism based on the process of defining *us* and *them* and the belief that the culture, customs and values of the “other” are inferior (e.g. Essed 1990). Racism is also connected to the discussions of the formation of nation and nationalism (e.g. Balibar 2001). Other scholars advocate that the “new” racism is in fact not new, but is a return of the biological racism within the frame-

35 Detailed discussion on the different disciplines can be found in Sarah Daynes and Orville Lee, *Desire for race* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

work of cultural racism, since, as discussed earlier, the concept of culture may entail the idea of “nature” and essence (e.g. Balibar 2007; Stoler 1996). It should be remembered that cultural and social claims were attached to the biological claim in race during the Social Darwinism era. Goldberg asserts that two types of racism overlap and have developed throughout history: naturalism and historicism (2001). Racial naturalism is based on the idea of purity of blood and the belief that the inferior and superior positions of different groups is fixed in their “nature”, which still thrives today among the extreme right. Racial historicism, based on the idea that white Europeans are historically and culturally developed and progressive, supported the practice of colonialism as a project designed to elevate the standard and quality of life of “primitive natives” (Lentin 2008:23-31; Goldberg 2001:74-80).³⁶

My theoretical approach and interest is influenced by the American sociology of race, which is that race is something that exists not as a biological reality but as a *social* reality. I argue that race is a social reality because the lives of the people who are categorized as *different* according to their *visible differences* are manifested through discrimination and racism. Stating that race is a social reality does not mean that I theorize race in an essentialized way, although this is precisely why the concept of race is highly contested. Even though science has proved that genetics indicates that most physical variation lies within the same racial groups and that “the physical variations have no meaning except the social ones that humans put on them” (American Sociological Association 2003; American Anthropological Association 1998), by reusing the term race, and by referring to reality and to physically visible differences, the classical discussion of biological race and essentialism follows.

Daynes and Lee see the complexity that different theories of race have faced in liberating the concept of race from essentialism, and question this direct and automatic relationship between biology and essentialism. They claim that the issue of physical difference, or visibility, needs to be explored (Daynes and Lee 2008:120). They argue that there is confusion between *race* and *belief in race*:

We start from the premise that *races do not exist within* human kind; what exists, though, is physical variation and human beings’ perception of physical variation. In other words, there *is* a biological object – the *phenotype* – which should not be confused with the *perception of the phenotype*, which

36 For more reference to the biological and cultural claim in race see for example, Ann Stoler, “Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34.3 (1992). This is another example that indicates that cultural racism is in fact not a new phenomenon.

is, if not entirely, at least in a great part a social process [my italics] (Daynes and Lee 121).

According to Daynes and Lee, the conceptualization of race consists of three objects: “phenotype”, “perception of the phenotype” and “racial beliefs” (2008:121). They stress that the phenotype refers to visible physical appearance and natural taxonomies, not genetic differences, “genotype”. This is an important point to emphasize in distancing the position from race as biology. *Racial belief* is a product of thought that is evoked by the *perception of the phenotype* (122). In other words, to borrow Hall’s words, phenotype only becomes a “signifier” of the domains of difference that “makes meaning into practice” (Hall in Jhally 1997). Daynes and Lee explain, as Allport claims, that there is no “dry perception” of an object but there is an instant and automatic connection between what we see and what we know: “When we see a fire, we do not think further to associate what we see with ‘heat’ and with ‘touching it means getting burnt’” (Daynes and Lee 2008:123). Therefore, when we observe and *see differences*, we find an automatic connection between the differences and *what we think we know*. What Daynes and Lee emphasize is the distinction between the cognitive and the social practice of seeing race. Noticing visible and physical traits, such as hair texture, facial features and clothing, is a social-cognitive practice of human beings, whereas perceiving the visible and physical traits with meanings is a socially defined process.

Separating the phenotype and the perception of the phenotype is important and is the same as the distinction between generalizations and categories simply identifying an object and the perception of categories that negotiates meanings and feelings. The practice of seeing visible differences can in fact be observed among children. Katz carried out a longitudinal study with some 100 Black children and 100 White children and found that children as young as six months old identify differences in both gender and skin color and attempt to understand the meaning of them (Katz 2003; Bronson and Merryman 2009). Psychological studies in the field of child development show that for children differences in phenotypes are the same as differences in gender, because they are visible (Bronson and Merryman 2009). Moreover, it is important to note that even though the children in Katz’s study showed the same-race preference and an awareness of differences in skin color at the age of three, racial attitudes were not necessarily observed by all the children (Katz 2003), which indicates a separate process of *seeing differences* and attaching *meanings* and *feelings* to them.

Daynes and Lee stress that the perception of difference is a cultural and social product and has to be addressed in terms of *what we see* and

how we perceive what is seen in a certain cultural, historical and social context. Visible differences only bring to mind the other domains of difference to be seen and perceived. *It is precisely the belief in race evoked by the perception of the phenotype, i.e. the perception of the visible differences, not the phenotypes themselves, which makes race an object* (Daynes and Lee 2008:120-123). Once racial ideas and beliefs are established, this in turn also influences the perception of the phenotype, which makes the cultural and social process of perceiving the domains of difference more definite: “[B]eliefs and collective representations held in a given society have an influence on this selective perception process, evidenced by the emphasis placed on certain traits as compared to others” (Daynes and Lee 123). This perception of the phenotype, the perception of visible differences, is an important component in the conception of race. Differences are chosen to be meaningfully seen, and the process of meaningfully seeing the differences defines a person’s racial ideas. Coming from a Marxist philosophy, Balibar writes that:

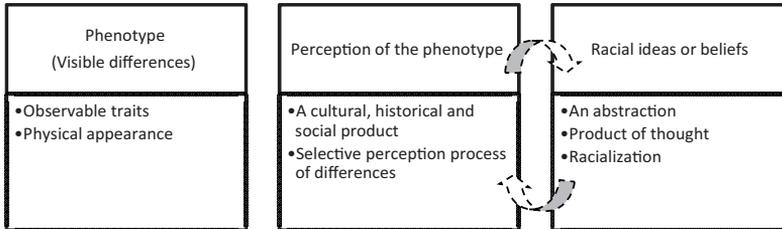
All kinds of somatic or psychological features, both visible and invisible, may lend themselves to creating the fiction of a racial identity and therefore to representing natural and hereditary differences between social groups either within the same nation or outside its frontiers. (Balibar 2001:227)

Lentin gives an example of how Muslims and people of Middle Eastern background are racialized after September 11th because the religion Islam and *the idea of Muslims are chosen to be perceived through the observable trait*, a hijab and niqab, worn by Muslim women. Moreover, police profiling also relies on the “perception of Arabs” in terms of what Muslims would most likely “look like” (Lentin 2008).

Daynes and Lee describe the three objects in the conceptualization of race as indicated in Table 2 (2008:121). Visible differences, or what Daynes and Lee call the phenotype, are *seen* first. The phenotype which has the master position inform other domains of difference, social, religious and economic, which might also be visible. The differences are selectively *perceived* with meanings and feelings, which leads to abstract thoughts and ideas about the group possessing the differences. The perception of the phenotype is socially and historically determined. The thoughts and ideas constructed through the perception of the visible differences are then conceptualized as race. Phenotype, in other words visible differences, evokes schemas, a “framework of objects and relations which has yet to be filled in with concrete details” and through the perception of the phenotype with meanings and feelings, the idea of race emerges as a “prototype” (D’Andrade 1995:124) . Schemas, the meanings and feelings

that are evoked, are not simply a reflection of experiences but rather thorough the selective perception defined within the social environment, what is “normal expectation” within the social context and values (D’Andrade 1995:124).

Table 2. The three objects in the conceptualization of race, modified (Daynes and Lee 121)

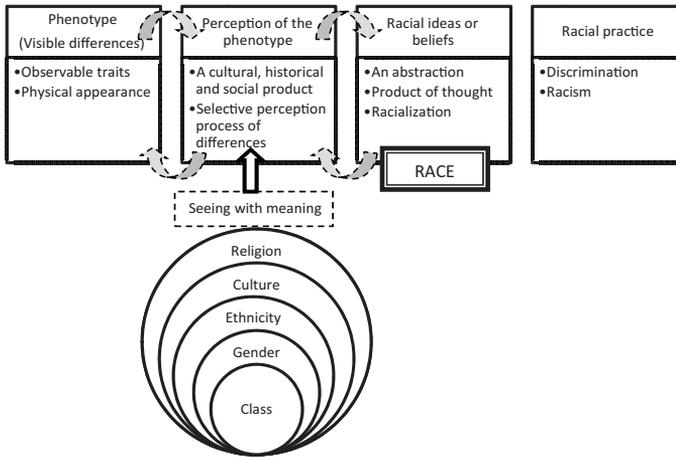


Examples can be given that address and clarify the relationship between phenotype, perception of the phenotype and racial ideas. Categorizing and referring to a group of people as Asian, for example, is a rational and normal process because it is an *object*, “*the phenotype*”, with certain physical appearances that differ from the majority and other minority groups. However, *seeing* them does not make these groups ideal. The phenotypes that are seen and categorized as “Asian” might be different at other times and in other places. In the US context, people who are identified as Asians would predominantly be those with East Asian features, while in the UK Asian would refer to someone of South Asian and Middle Eastern origin. This selection of which visible differences are seen and categorized is part of the perception of the phenotype. Different schemas are evoked depending on the social and historical context. When a group of people are referred to as Asian, they will not simply be *seen* as such, but will “be meaningfully seen as the member of a specific group” in each specific society and context (Daynes and Lee 124). Visible differences, for example East Asian or South Asian features, bring to mind other social or religious differences that are unconsciously chosen to be *seen* and *perceived* with meanings. As this is highly contextual, the differences that are chosen to be seen and perceived depend on the society and the time period. As a consequence of meaningfully seeing the differences, racial ideas such as “yellow peril”, “model minority” or “Muslim” emerge, even though the phenotype, or visible differences, is the same. It is the racial ideas that form a group of people that define *race*, not the visible differences themselves. This is why race is a social construction. There is no such thing as a biological “Asian”. Although head scarves, black hair or blue eyes are *seen* as such regardless of time and place, the *perception* of

the head scarves, black hair and blue eyes may be different according to time and place. Schemas that are invoked by the visible differences depend on the “normal expectation” within the social context and values (D’Andrade 1995:124). The perception of the visible differences therefore derives from the understanding of *us* and *them* that is historically and contextually produced. Connecting to Hughes’ analysis on the master and the subordinate status of different social characteristics, priorities in certain status arise due to the process of meaningfully seeing and choosing the domains of difference to be seen.

The theoretical model below summarizes and depicts the relationship between the perception of difference, seeing differences with meaning and the conception of race. I have earlier discussed that visible differences has the master position, in that it evokes economic, religious and social differences and the perception of difference with meanings and feelings.

Theoretical Model 1. Conception of race



Since race is defined as *product of thoughts provoked by meaningfully and selectively seeing difference through observing the visible differences*, Cornell and Hartmann’s statement that the study of race and ethnicity should focus on *how* the categories and meanings, or “forms and functions” of race, change over time makes sense. Their analysis of a “thick” and “thin” identification is of interest when analyzing the selective perception process of difference (Cornell and Hartmann 2007:86).

In this study, *race as a product of thoughts constructed through the perception of visible differences becomes important*, since the interest lies in the initial attitudes and spontaneous reactions that respondents have toward intermarriage. I cannot stress enough that marking or categoriz-

ing individuals' race does not say very much about the person, although it does *inform the process of perception of the phenotype and difference, and the construction of racial ideas*. Therefore, in researching attitudes and stereotypes, the concept of race becomes both interesting and relevant in that it has consequences even when people do not deliberately invoke race or are conscious of it.

Race in Swedish history

You cannot vaccinate a society, or a growing generation, against racist prejudices only through observing the superficial behaviors in society.³⁷ (Skovdahl 1996:5)

The previous section briefly introduced the development of the concept of race from the biological category to the socially constructed category and conceptualized and theorized the analytical concept of race in the contemporary context. Race is a *product of thoughts* that are culturally, socially and historically determined. Therefore, in order to understand the concept in a Swedish context, it is necessary to address how race was dealt with in Swedish history. Sweden was not left out from the history of race and racial thinking and Sweden played an undeniable role in it. The idea of race, “*ras*”, as a biological term thrived in Sweden in that social and cultural differences were explained through biological differences and inferiority.

The belief in race in the biological sense was constructed and widespread in Sweden during the 19th century, not only in the medical field but also in many anthropological studies involving the examination of human skulls (Hagerman 2007; Furuhausen 2007). Already at the end of the 19th century, a specific belief in race, e.g. the concept of the “yellow peril”³⁸, and negative physical characteristics as a central theme in anti-Semitic trends, could be identified in Sweden.³⁹ Racial thinking also continued to flourish in Sweden at the beginning of 20th century. The conception of race developed relationally by defining the Swedish-German race as one that was ideal and pure and classifying others as inferior. Swedes and the “Arian” white or Germanic race was listed as the most superior race in all the scientific diagrams and tables produced by the National Institute for Racial Biology (Gustafsson 2007:211).

37 Man kan inte vaccinera ett samhälle, eller en uppväxande generation, mot rasistiska föreställningar bara genom att se till yttre beteenden i samtiden.

38 The fear that the Chinese will take over the world.

39 Viktor Rydberg, well known as a writer, a member of Svenska Akademien and a professor of culture and art history was one of the scholars who promoted the idea of an economic war of life and death between the white race and the “yellow”, Jacobsson, 1999:93.

The physician and psychiatrist Herman Lundborg played a prominent role in the development and construction of the idea of the Swedish race as “the pure race”. He was greatly influenced by Gobineau’s idea of race and was deeply convinced and concerned that the Swedish race was threatened by degeneration and the pureness of the Swedish race should be kept. He organized exhibition tours in Sweden⁴⁰ in 1918, in which pictures and tables of the different races were displayed. As a continuation of the exhibition, a beauty contest in search of a “Swedish-German race” was held in 1921 (Jacobsson 1999:115). In 1919, Lundborg published a book entitled “What can be done to improve the Swedish people’s health and prevent degeneration”⁴¹ in which he described what an ideal and non-ideal race was and which necessary preventive measures should be taken. In his mind, the most important thing was to stop “undesirable” individuals from reproducing and to prevent racial mixing with the “foreign race”, namely the Finns and Sami people, at any cost, so that they would not influence the purity of the Swedish-German race (Hagerman 2007:326). In his books and articles, Lundborg propagated that he was against immigration and in favor of Eugenics, although he was in favour of Swedes’ emigration to the U.S. since this could contribute to white supremacy (Broberg and Tydén 2005:37; Hagerman 363). Lundborg eventually became the head of the National Institute for Racial Biology which was established in Uppsala in 1922 and became the world’s first governmental institute engaging in racial biology.⁴²

In 1936, when Gunnar Dahlberg became the head of the institute, he maintained that there was no evidence of racial difference when only looking at physical features such as skin color and facial forms, and that there was therefore no reason to believe that one race was better than the other. Dahlberg also took a clear distance from the idea of a “pure Nordic race” (Jacobsson 1999:122). Therefore, the question of biological race became less important officially and instead people focused on the unity of Swedes in cultural and historical terms (Hagerman 2007:936). According to Hagerman, even when Sweden took a step away from the idea of undesirable race as a threat to society and the focus was shifted to the unity of Swedes in cultural and historical terms, a relief that most Swedes were of the same appearance and a belief that “the feeling of having the same ap-

40 folktypsutställning

41 Vad kan göras för att höja den svenska folkhälsan och förhindra urartning

42 National Institute for Racial Biology, however, was not immune from getting critic. Torsten Fodelqvist, under the title “Racial biology’s mystery” asked for a clarification of what racial biology actually was. He wrote after reading Lundborgs book ”Degeneration Issue”, that “it is a highly interesting news that loss of native country, loss of God, individualism and egoism is part of degenerations phenomena and symptom from the race biological perspective” Tommy Gustafsson, En fiende till civilisationen : manlighet, genusrelationer, sexualitet och rasstereotyper i svensk filmkultur under 1920-talet (Lund: Sekel, 2007), Broberg, 1995:51.

pearance as others makes it easy for the spirit of commonness, while the opposite can make it difficult”⁴³ were expressed (398). This idea of common Swedishness was strengthened by the notion that everybody spoke the same language and belonged to the same church. The connection between the phenotype and perceived difference came into view, and the belief in race and Swedes as something unique and pure continued to flourish. Motivated by social and partly biological reasoning, sterilization was continued as a way of preventing race mixing in Sweden until the 1950s (Hagerman 2007).⁴⁴

The idea of race based on the biological claim was theoretically and socially constructed. Hagerman points out that through the dissemination of racial biology people learned to differentiate the “Arian” and the undesirable race, and how this was evident in different parts of society. Literature also made it clear that “Tatars”, Sami people, Finns and Jews were undesirable races and that recognizing them and preventing further mixing was regarded as being in the national interest (Hagerman 393). One type of social arena in which this was significant was the media. The four groups were often presented by stereotypical and scornful cartoons (Catomeris 2005).⁴⁵ For example, Andersson shows in his dissertation how hundreds of cartoons depicting negative stereotypes of Jews filled the daily press and served to form a picture of the Swedish nation during the first decade of the 20th century (2000). Negative Jewish stereotypes served as a contrast to the “real Swedes”. Dissociation of the Jews and the Swedes was confirmed through physical stereotypes. In addition to a large nose and general flabbiness, a darker tone, curly hair and brown eyes were often negative race markers that divided the Jews from the rest of the population in Sweden. According to Catomeris, many leading personalities in the field of culture with a Swedish-Jew background were questioned about their Swedishness by means of stereotypical and contemptuous cartoons (2005:28).

In his study of masculinity, gender relations, sexuality and racial stereotypes in the films of the 1920s, Gustafsson argues that when looking at the film culture as a place in which societal ideas are created and reproduced, Swedish racial thinking of the time is apparent in the films. According to Gustafsson, the fact that Swedes were always treated as the highest race in racial biology was vividly manifested in films, both implicitly and explicitly: implicitly through a never ending portrayal of the male

43 Känslan av att se ut som andra underlättar sålunda gemenskapen, medan motsatsen försvårar den

44 Described briefly in “Fear of miscegenation in Sweden”. For more information see for example Maja Hagerman, *Det rena landet : om att uppfinna den svenska nationalmyten*, 2007), Broberg and Tydén, 2005.

45 For further discussion see Catomeris, 2005, Gustafsson, 2007.

and female “healthy, agile, sound, well-constructed and natural Swedish body”⁴⁶ and explicitly through film critics’ admiration of Swedish actors for their “genuine Nordic origin”⁴⁷ and “magnificent representative for a woman of Swedish race”⁴⁸ as part of their contribution to the film (2007:211-212). From time to time, objections to the use of racial stereotypes in Swedish films were made. In some cases race issues were problematized, although according to Gustafsson these unwanted voices were hidden by all the positive speeches about Swedishness (211).

The notion of “blacks” was very strong in the pictures studied by Gustafsson. Black men, women and children were the most exposed and the most represented. Blacks were constantly presented at a level that was equivalent to that of animals, to which they were often compared in a humorous way. According to Gustafsson, this was consciously done to attract families to watch the films. For example, black men were described lazy and inferior to black women (Gustafsson 293-294). Many Swedish films utilized and created their own images of blacks, which spoke against previous studies that argued that black characters were something that came from outside, namely the U.S. (Gustafsson 236-237). Image of blacks existed in literature as “Today’s Human Race”⁴⁹ published in 1946 and was used as a course literature in Swedish universities until the 1960s. Blacks as inferior is stated clearly: “Blacks spend the days as it goes, shouts, talks, guffaw [...] Such a nature makes obviously an excellent slave” (Sandberg 2010)⁵⁰.

In the school textbook “Civic Education”, written by Education Minister Ryden, up to 1959 when the book was republished the message was clear that Scandinavians had never been subjugated by people of another origin and that this had maintained the pure German origin and had undoubtedly helped society’s and people’s advancement. The fact that Walloons and Finns had also migrated to Sweden during the Middle Ages seemed to be totally forgotten when the expression of physical and cultural sameness of Swedes was articulated, as did the sterilization of “Tatars” (Hagerman 2007:400).

Race in contemporary Sweden

The previous section outlined the historical process of defining which differences were meaningfully seen and perceived. The idea of race in Sweden did not only evolve through the biological claims made in the early 20th

46 den friska, viga, sunda, välbyggda och naturliga svenska kroppen den friska, viga, sunda, välbyggda och naturliga svenska kroppen

47 äktnordiska ursprung

48 en präktig representant för svensk raskvinna

49 Nutidens Människoraser

50 Negeren tar dagen som den kommer, skriker, pratar, flabbar [...] En sådan natur är naturligtvis en utmärkt slav.

century, but also later and successively through the cultural and historical claim of being Swedish through a selective perception of the visible differences, what was regarded as Swedish and what was not. Moreover it should not be forgotten that the biological claim of race was theoretically and socially constructed. The idea of biological race was officially dismissed in 1950 after World War II in a declaration made by UNESCO, which affirmed that there was no biologically superior or inferior human race. The Swedish scholars Gunnar Dahlberg and Gunnar Myrdal were among the scholars who signed the declaration. With the declaration, the idea of race, “*ras*” in the biological sense became unacceptable and an explanation of social and cultural differences deriving from biological differences and inferiority vanished. However, the idea of Swedishness based on cultural and historical claims continued to exist, as did the idea of *race*. Many contemporary studies and researchers show that even though the differences that are seen and perceived change over time, a belief in race is still evoked by perceptions of the phenotypes. Mattsson argues that the idea of Swedishness is strongly connected to the visible white Europeaness (2005). Visible differences seem to work as the master position when defining *us* and *them*, in that social and religious differences are perceived and meanings are attached to the visible differences. Selective perception of the visible differences, what is regarded as Swedish and what is not can be observed.

In her study of elementary schools, Runfors writes that the classifications “non-Swedish” and “immigrant children” were based on prejudgments of what Swedes “look” like, regardless of whether the students were Swedish citizen or not, or had or had not been born in Sweden (2006:115).

The report of The Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination (DO), *Being Colored by Sweden*,⁵¹ published in 2007, shows that many youths with an African background develop a “black” identity through interaction and contact with the majority society. Many of the conducted interviews showed that the interviewees had experiences of becoming aware that they were different in others’ eyes in a “negative way”. These experiences included an awareness of their skin- and hair color being different and that their physical integrity was insulted by racist words and abuse. According to the report, all the interviewed youths of African descent had experienced unfair treatment by people commenting on the color of their skin and hair (Kalonaityte, Kwesa and Tedros 2007:17-22).

In her dissertation on being Black and Swedish, Sawyer interviews a woman in her late twenties who migrated to Sweden from Zaire with her family when she was a teenager:

51 Att färgas av Sverige

[...] Even if you are adopted and have been brought up in this country, you are forced, by pure self-preservation and defense mechanisms, to seek out the power in your roots. Because you will come to be offended sooner or later by this racism and xenophobia, that makes it hard to really feel, and have the courage to go out and say, 'I am Swedish'. Because then you risk to be encounter people who point their finger and say 'but you are not Swedish at all. You look...you are black.' (Sawyer 2000:187)

In another article, Sawyer writes that “[i]n contemporary Swedish popular images and slogans one can see blackness as symbol of that which is not Swedish (and European)” (2002:18).

In Lundström’s dissertation, *Swedish Latinas; Race, class and gender in geography of Swedishness* young girls with Latin American background discuss⁵²:

“Will I ever become Swedish?” ask Marisol rhetorically. “How long do I have to live here before I have proved that I ...?” She stops and adds: “After all, I have lived in Sweden for most of my life.” “It doesn’t matter”, answers Juana. “It is only about appearance. That is [appearance] what determines whether you are called an immigrant or a Swede”, she adds with certainty [...]. After considering the matter of a moment she comes to the conclusion that she would prefer to be called a Swede rather than anything else. “To be able to say ‘yeah, but I am Swedish. But then they say come on. Stop joking. You are not Swedish’” [...] “Yes, it is to do with appearance. It doesn’t matter where you live or how many Swedish friends you hang out with or whether you speak with an accent. I mean, it is only about appearance.”⁵³ (Lundström 2007:75-76)

Tortzig writes the following in her autobiography: “[r]acial belonging. Genetically I am Korean, in all other aspects a Swede. I will never be ‘100% Swede’”⁵⁴ (2001:94). Nam interviews a woman in a radio documentary *Mom’s Chinese, Dad’s Japanese*⁵⁵ “What do you first think about

52 Svenska Latinas Ras, klass och kön i svenskhetens geografi

53 Kommer jag aldrig att bli svensk?” frågar Marisol retoriskt. “Hur länge ska jag bo här innan jag bevisat att jag...?” Hon kommer av sig och tillägger: “Jag har ju ändå bott nästan hela mitt liv i Sverige.” “Det spelar ingen roll”, svara Juana. “Det handlar bara om utseendet. Det är det som avgör om man blir kallad invandrare eller svensk”, tillägger hon tvärsäkert [...]. Efter en stunds betänketid kommer hon fram till att hon ändå helst av allt skulle vilja kalla sig svensk. “Att kunna säga ‘ja men, men jag är svensk’. Men då säger dom ‘kom igen. Sluta skämta. Du är ju inte svensk.’” [...] “Ja, men det är ju utseendet. Det spelar ingen roll var du bor eller hur många svenska kompisar du umgås med eller om du har brytning. Alltså det handlar bara om utseendet.”

54 Rastillhörighet. Genetiskt sett är jag korean, i alla andra aspekter svensk. Jag blir aldrig “100% svensk”.

55 Mamma kines, pappa japan

when you see me?” The woman answers that he was not born in Sweden, then corrects herself and says that he was born in Sweden because he speaks perfect Swedish. The woman continues and says that he is originally from a country other than Sweden. “Yeah, it is visible in your face”⁵⁶ (Nam 2007).

In the article about Iranian men’s masculinity and ethnicity Khosravi writes that many of his interview informants experienced that when interacting with Swedes they were ascribed with stereotypical views of primitive Muslim immigrants.

I have been jokingly called a woman batterer.

I have been asked if I am thinking about having four wives.

I was asked in a job interview if I could stand having a female boss.⁵⁷

(Khosravi 2006:86)

According to Khosravi, distorted descriptions of immigrant men and a constant focus on immigrant issues in the media make many immigrants feel “noticed”. One interviewee expressed that he constantly felt that he was being watched: at work, in the residential area, at his children’s school, everywhere. He constantly tried to actively dissociate himself from the stereotypical view of Iranian men held by Swedes. “I am more worried about my son than my daughter. He will be seen as an Iranian man in Swedish eyes”⁵⁸ (Khosravi 86).

It is undeniable that a concrete idea of Swedishness and an idea of what Swedes look like physically and socially has existed throughout history and has played a considerable role in the construction of Swedishness today (Hagerman 2007)⁵⁹. I have tried to show that the process of defining people and seeing differences based on physical appearance is still practiced in Swedish society today. In other words, the above examples indicate that *visible differences evoke the perception of difference and how the belief in race is established*. As Wigerfelt writes, “it is hard today to not to talk about race in inquiries and research even though the concept is distasteful (and therefore appropriate to put in quotation marks [when

56 Transcribed and translated.

57 Jag har skämtsamt kallats kvinnopiskare av en kollega. Jag har fått frågan om jag tanker skaffa mig fyra hustrur. Jag till frågades i en anställningsintervju om jag kunde stå ut med en kvinnlig chef.

58 Jag är mer bekymrad för min son än för min dotter. Han kommer att bli sedd som en iransk man i svenskarnas ögon

59 See also Katarina Mattsson, "Klonad skönhet - Fröken Sverige och andra 'missar' i kritisk belysning," -*Och Likväl Rör Det Sig: Genusrelationer i Förändring*, ed. Gunnel Forsberg and Cristina Grenholm (Karlstad: Karlstad University Press, 2005) 2005, Lena Sawyer, "Routings: 'Race', African Diasporas and Swedish Belonging," *Transforming Anthropology* 11.1 (2002): 2002.

written in Swedish]) as long as everyday thinking and actions continue to be racially determined”⁶⁰ (2004:27).

Colorblind Sweden

Color blindness, by virtue of keeping matters of racism and discrimination under wraps – and refusing to raise the subjects for fear of offending or sowing division – actually goes against every bit of modern research on how the brain processes racial stereotypes and can influence our behaviors in a way that causes us to act on them. (Wise 166:2010)

I do not know how many times I have heard people telling me, to my face, that *race doesn't exist!* Even after carefully explaining what I mean, people come up with all kinds of possible explanations: ethnicity is more important, you have to look at class, you have to look at education and so on.⁶¹ Those who come up to me after a long discussion about whether race is relevant in the Swedish context or not, and encourage me in my pursuits are often researchers from a racial minority in Sweden and researchers from countries outside Sweden.⁶²

Having an academic background from Japan and the US, it has been natural for me to make use of the concept of race when talking about minority-majority relations. It came as a surprise when I found out that in Swedish academia you are not “supposed to use that kind of language”; a language that divides people into categories. However, not using the analytical concept of race does not mean that research into *race as ideas of race* is absent from Swedish academia and society. The question of why it

60 [...] är det svårt att idag inte tala om “ras” i utredningar och inom forskning även om begreppet är ”motbjudande” (och därför lämpligt att sätta inom citattecken) så länge som vardagligt tänkande och handlande många gånger struktureras efter rasföreställningar.

61 I do believe and cannot stress enough that social categories such as ethnicity, class and education are of importance in individuals' lives and the experiences they have.

62 This reaction towards race is not only my personal experience but is also mentioned by others such as Tobias Hübinette and Carina Tigervall, Adoption med förhinder : samtal med adopterade och adoptivföräldrar om vardagsrasism och etnisk identitet (Tumba: Mångkulturellt centrum, 2008), Marianne Gullestad, "Blind Slaves of Our Prejudices: Debating 'Culture' and 'Race' in Norway," *Ethnos* 69.2 (2004). Eduardo Bonilla-Silva also addresses this issue in, Racism without Racists : Color-blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States, 3rd ed. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010). Allan Pred's works also depict how racial minorities in Sweden are aware that their physical appearance affects their daily life, Even in Sweden : Racisms, Racialized Spaces, and the Popular Geographical Imagination (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2000), The past is not dead : facts, fictions, and enduring racial stereotypes (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 2004). The resistance to or uneasiness in talking about race is common even in the US, especially among the white population. See for example Pearl M. Rosenberg, "Color Blindness in Teacher Education: An Optical Delusion," Off white : readings on power, privilege, and resistance, ed. Michelle Fine, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2004) 232-272, Phyllis A. Katz, "Racists or Tolerant Multiculturalists? How Do They Begin?" American Psychologist 58.11 (2003): 897-909.

is so wrong to talk about race becomes even more confusing, especially when many studies take up issues of racism, antiracism, racialization and even ethnic racialization. Moreover, the concepts of ethnicity and culture are often ascribed to those who are non-Western and visibly different from what is Swedish (Pred 2000; Hervik 2011). Besides, as discussed earlier, the act of seeing differences and categorizing them is a rational and normal process of human beings. Six-month-old infants can already register differences in skin color and try to understand its meaning. For children, differences in skin color or other phenotypes are equivalent of differences in gender or the color of a t-shirt (Bronson and Merryman 2009), i.e. *seeing* the differences is a cognitive process. Failing to *see* and talk about the role of visible differences is akin to failing to recognize the effects that the visible differences have on some groups of people and their social lives.

Gingrich addresses the different developments of the word *race* in the English speaking and German speaking countries of Europe. He writes that Nazism separated the use of the word *race* in English speaking and German speaking countries both politically and academically and says that the continued usage of the concept of *race* in English stands “in sharp contrast to developments in the German speaking countries of Europe” (Gingrich 2004:158). As a result, Gingrich states that:

the post 1945 years saw a widening gap, in terms of the public usage of ‘race’/*Rasse*, between these two language spheres. In English, an allegedly innocent usage of ‘race’ of humans persisted on all levels of society. In German, by contrast, *Rasse* could only be used in an acceptable manner for animals. (Gingrich 2004:158)

Like Gringrich, Goldberg states that there is unwillingness in Europe to recognize that race matters. He addresses the Nazi experience as the defining moment for Europe and how race became something that was only applied in the ordering of animals. Goldberg writes that:

Race has been rendered invisible, untouchable, as unnoticeably polluting as the toxic air we breathe. Unseen yet we still suffer the racist effects [...]. Racial Europeanization has rendered race unmentionable, unspeakable if not as reference to an anti-Semitism of the past that cannot presently be allowed to revive. (Goldberg 2006:339)

According to Skovdal, as in German, the Swedish word *race*, “*ras*”, now has a biological meaning, especially when talking about domestic animals, and has developed differently than in the U.S. or France where the word

continues to be used in talking about groups of people. On the other hand, the term and concept of racism, “*rasism*”, has evolved from the racial biological sense to now embrace all forms of xenophobia and fear against immigrants, as in other countries (Skovdahl 1996:18). Today the word “*ras*” is most often replaced with words such as origin or ethnic groups (Wigerfelt 2004:26).

Brekke and Borchgrevink write about the ambiguous categorization of people according to the color of the skin in Sweden and state that “[t]he sensible approach to the issue, which is also the official Swedish approach, is to consider color irrelevant to the appraisal of an individual” (2007:79). Acknowledging the inequality of opportunities in Sweden based on the color of one’s skin, they write that:

Dark complexion designates a ‘group’, probably with a flexible boundary, which is not a group in any other sense than in the eyes of the beholder of native extraction. The group has no official name, yet ‘membership’ may imply a difficult time in Sweden. (Brekke and Brochgrevink 80)

Colorblindness, “a mode of thinking about race organized around an effort to not ‘see,’ or at any rate not to acknowledge, race differences” (Frankenberg 1993:142), can be observed in Sweden: You are supposed to talk about “immigrants” in general or “country of birth”. Implicitly addressing differences of the majority and minority by using an ambiguous term like “immigrants”, or even with “no official name”, is the most significant aspect of the ideology of colorblindness. Being a country famous for its welfare system, together with the idea that everybody is equal, it would seem as though mentioning the differences between people has become something controversial in Sweden today. Colorblind politics “proscribe[s] discrimination rather than actively intervening in the market or other putatively private behavior to rectify racial imbalances” (Lieberman 2006:13). At the same time, colorblindness enables people to believe that discrimination based on race is not an issue because it is illegal for individuals to be treated differently according to their race, ethnicity or religion (Gallagher 2003). A colorblind approach does not mean that *differences* are not seen and meaningfully communicated, as the term “immigrants” or “country of birth” indicates. As Bonilla-Silvia states, colorblindness seem to work as a “collective representation” that has been developed to explain and justify inequality (2010:262), even in Sweden. There is a contradiction in claiming not to see race and at the same time being conscious of *difference*.

Hagerman states that the anthropological studies that were conducted during the 19th century in Sweden are difficult to find in modern reference

books or historical works. According to Hagerman, the belief that Sweden was more homogeneous than other countries, even compared to the neighboring country of Denmark, spread without further inquiry into the history of racial biology (Hagerman 2007). The colorblind ideology emerged from this selective forgetting of the history of racial biology and the belief that Sweden was a homogeneous country. As Hagerman puts it, it is possible for a racial belief to live on to some extent, especially in the protection of the memory gap (405). It is probably not difficult to forget the history of racial biology, especially as Sweden played a major role from the very beginning to the ending of it. Indeed, Sweden was the first country to establish a nationally funded race biological research institute, and Swedish scholars Gunnar Dahlberg and Gunnar Myrdal were the experts who declared the meaninglessness of biological race and put an end to the belief that there was a biological superior and inferior human race. Besides, the fact that Swedes as the “Arian”, white and Germanic race that was always listed as the highest race in all scientific diagrams and tables (Gustafsson 2007:211) has never been a victim of history. As parallel to Rosenberg’s analysis in the U.S., the Swedish context only proves that blindness to skin color and race is a “privilege” that is offered to white people and that “color blindness only serves to perpetuate and institutionalize the very divisions between people that it seeks to overcome” (2004:232).

In her study of interracial adoption and racism Tigervall identified two central discourses: a discourse of racism that focuses on differences and a discourse of individualism that disregards differences (2008:242). A discourse of individualism that considers differences as trivial and irrelevant is part of a discourse of colorblindness and colorblind racism (Bonilla-Silva 2000). Like Tigervall, scholars such as Goldberg (1993) and Bonilla-Silva (2010) trace colorblindness within liberal modernity, especially within the notion of individualism. Or, as Moras puts it, colorblindness is “a language of liberalism” (2010:235). Moreover, it is liberalism itself, with its principles of liberty, equality and fraternity that actually gives credence to the idea that race is irrelevant and society is colorblind (e.g. Goldberg 1993, Bonilla-Silva 2000, 2010). Liberalism has two faces against *difference*. On the one hand, liberalism generates toleration as a mean of achieving a rational and common consensus, while on the other hand liberalism creates toleration as an appreciation of difference (Gray 2000). Liberalism is based on the moral, political and legal claims of the individual over the collective (Tigervall 2008; Goldberg 1993). Therefore, “[f]rom the liberal point of view, particular differences between individuals have no bearing on their moral value, and by extension should make

no difference concerning the political or legal status of individuals” (Goldberg 5).

Bonilla-Silva argues that this focus on individuals is one of the ways in which colorblindness is incorporated into an explanation of racial inequality in liberal thinking. Individuals are seen as having choices, and through the *naturalization of difference* racial phenomena can be considered as natural occurrences. Moreover, ideas about different *cultures* are used when arguing why some groups are less well-off than others, and racism and discrimination are neglected as central factors that affect life chances (Bonilla-Silva 2010:28-29). Moras also states that it is not only differences in *culture* that are treated as obstacles when constructing groups in racial terms, but also differences in language. Moreover, these language and cultural differences becomes a marker of racial minority (Moras 2010:236). Parallel to this, as mentioned in the conception of difference, Pred argues that visible differences such as skin color or other bodily markers are interpreted as cultural differences in Swedish society (2000). Arguing for differences in culture in this way reflects the essentialized idea of culture; the notion of culture that divides *us* and *them* and that can “reinforce a racial theory of difference (Kuper 1999:14). Table 3 summarizes Bonilla-Silva’s claim about the different ways in which colorblindness is communicated (2010:53-74).

Table 3. Different ways of talking colorblind (Bonilla-Silva 2010:53-73)

Avoidance of racial language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "It's the culture"
Strategic and semantic moves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "I don't believe that" • "I'm not racist, but..." • "Yes and no"
Projection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "They choose to be so" • "There are racists out there"
Diminutives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "I'm a little bit concerned" • "I can react to..."
Incoherence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "I don't know...but I mean... You know what I mean?"

Bonilla-Silva states that:

Individualism today has been recast as a justification for opposing policies to ameliorate racial inequality because they are “group based” rather than “case by case”. In addition, the idea of individual choice is used to defend whites’ right to live and associate primarily with whites and for choosing whites exclusively as their mates. (Bonilla-Silva 35-36)

As both Bonilla-Silva and Tigervall claim, racist discourses can arise due to the colorblind ideology within the liberalism that commits to people’s rights for equal treatment independent of race and other categories that can affect life in society (Tigervall 2008:256). While I believe that it is important to have legislation that prohibits discrimination based on race and ethnicity, I also agree with Gallagher (2003) that colorblindness enables people to believe that discrimination based on race is not an issue because it is illegal for individuals to be treated differently according to their race, ethnicity or religion.

Bearing in mind that in the World Value Survey Sweden is regarded as the most secular-rational country, it is not really surprising that a focus on individuals and liberalism are two fundamental aspects of Swedish society. The principles of equality, freedom of choice and partnership, which is the equivalent of the principle of liberal modernity, have formed the basis of Swedish immigration and integration policies since 1975 (Schierup and Ålund 2010). These values are reflected in Swedish integration politics, which are based on the colorblind ideology that everybody is equal regardless of their cultural or ethnic background.⁶³ Heinö writes that Swedes understand themselves as “democratic, liberal, equal, tolerant and individualist”, highly value “anti-racism, universalism, secularism and gender equality” and realize these values to a great extent (2009:303-

63 From 1975 to 1997 integration policy, then called immigrant policy, was based on the three pillars of equality, cooperation and freedom of choice. Equality, as equal social and political rights for immigrants, including voting rights at the municipal level, cooperation as including migrant organizations in making important decisions, and freedom of choice as an immigrant’s choice to maintain their cultural and language identity, supported by the state and various policies. This policy was aimed towards “immigrants”; therefore the reform in 1997 and establishment of colorblind integration policy embraced Swedish society in general. The two goals of the policy were equal rights and opportunities based on multiculturalism and society with diversity, mutual respect and tolerance. In the most recent reform of 2009 the goal of integration policy included the same rights, duties and possibilities for everyone irrespective of ethnic and cultural background, putting focus on individuals. Integration policy also centers on the issue of the labor market, which derives from a belief that the labor market is colorblind and rational. For this discussion, see Andreas Johansson Heinö, "Democracy between collectivism and individualism. De-nationalisation and individualisation in Swedish national identity," *International Review of Sociology* 19.2 (2009), Fredrik Rakar, *Ökad inkludering genom språk – förslag och underlag till insatser inom fokusområde Språk i Skåne län*, 2010), Katarina Mattsson, "Den färgblinda marknaden' och välfärdens rasifiering," *Rasism i Europa :arbetsmarknadens flexibla förtryck : rapport från forskarseminariet 5 oktober 2004*, ed. Katarina Mattsson, et al (Stockholm: Agora, 2004) 98-126.

304). The idea of equality, especially gender equality, is also understood as part of a strong Swedish national identity (Hübinette and Lundström 2011; Keskinen 2009; Mulinari 2008; Rabo 1997). Rabo states that many official documents suggest that gender equality is “not an issue that you can voice your opinion against” unless you want to stay away from the common moral value of Swedishness (Rabo 1997:115). Through the idea of gender equality, the dichotomy of the equal majority and patriarchal minorities can be established and communicated. Values of liberalism can therefore function as grounds for the idea of *us* and *them* and a focus on individuals and equality can strengthen the colorblind argument.

Why race?

”Stereotypes remain because Americans cling to the idea that it is best to try to ignore race. That, in turn, forces people to bury – and therefore harbor – beliefs they form from stereotypes heard at school, in the media and from family members.” [President Clinton’s Race Advisory Board Chairman John Hope Franklin’s words in Seattle Post-Intelligencer, July 8, 1998] (Root 2001:92)

...race is all around us; a part of who we are and how we operate. It is outside on our streets and inside ourselves. (Knowles 2003:1)

Sweden was not left out of the history of race and racial thinking, both in terms of biological race and as a social product. However, in modern-day Sweden, talking about *race* has become taboo due to the biological connotation of the term in the profound history of Eugenics and the experience of World War II. Instead, the concept of *ethnicity* is now predominantly used in the Swedish academic context. This is not a phenomenon only in Sweden, but in Scandinavia as a whole and in some parts of Europe and also to some extent in the U.S.⁶⁴ As stated earlier, denying the analytical concept of race does not mean that race as racial ideas perceived through visible differences are not communicated in society. By way of proof, talking about racism and racialization are acceptable, and ethnicity and culture are often not used to describe Swedes but rather to describe *others* who do not look Swedish. Besides, as Furuhausen states, the term “*ras*” is sometimes used in Sweden to describe people originating from different geographical areas and the visible differences, especially skin color that are easy to *see* (Furuhausen 2007:14).

64 See for example Andre Gingrich, "Concepts of Race Vanishing, Movements of Racism Rising? Global Issues and Austrian Ethnography," *Ethnos* 69.2 (2004), Ingrid Tufvesson, Discrimination in the Swedish academia : ethnicity, "race", culture and the relativity of the law (Stockholm: Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations Centrum för invandringsforskning CEIFO, 2001).

Ratcliffe writes, “[i]n the public mind, in Europe at least, ‘race’ remains a sort of catch-all term for ‘the other’” (2004:24):

Everyday discourse may exhibit certain silences about the issue, at least because some are uneasy about being seen as racist, but euphemisms serve the same purpose. As to what ‘race’ means to the average person in the street, there are certainly vestiges of the old physical anthropological typologies, principally to do with skin color. But there is. As suggested earlier, a widespread tendency to ‘float’ between different images of ‘race’ as based on color, nationality (especially in the context of debates about the rights of refugees and asylum seekers), culture and/or religion. (Ratcliffe 24)

The dilemma of colorblindness and color-consciousness is well acknowledged (Lieberman 2006). I am not by any means criticizing colorblindness as policy and ideal, but am simply making the point that *colorblindness does not necessarily ignore the process of seeing the visible differences*. I also recognize that the term race and ideas concerning racism have developed differently in the North American and European context. My point in applying the concept of race in this study is to attempt to address the fact that Sweden has become a multicultural society in which people are and should be aware of the *differences* that exist in society and accept and realize how different groups are *seen with meanings and feelings* and treated accordingly in different situations. I believe that this is one step towards tackling and eliminating discrimination and racism in contemporary Sweden. Again, promoting the analytical term race instead of ethnicity does not mean that I assert that society should categorize people according to race. In an ideal world, race should not matter, although as Bonilla-Silva and other scholars write, race is *socially real* for some groups of people and “affect their social life whether individual members of the races want it or not” (1997:473).⁶⁵ This is why I believe it is important to discuss these issues in terms of race. Lentin states that “[t]he argument for seeing race is not based on a wish to revive race as biology, but on the recognition that the effects of racial division continue to have a profound impact on society and politics” (2008:91). This point should be obvious, considering that race is a *belief in race evoked by the selective perception of visible differences and alleged domains of difference perceived from the visible, not the phenotypes themselves*.

The idea of race and the process of racialization have evolved historically and culturally. I have addressed the prominence of race in historical and con-

65 See for example Alana Lentin, *Racism : a beginner's guide* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2008), Maria P. P. Root, *Love's Revolution: Interracial Marriage* (Philadelphia, PA, US: Temple University Press, 2001), PscINFO, Caroline Knowles, *Race and social analysis* (London: Sage, 2003).

temporary Sweden. In Sweden the idea of race developed from the biological term “*ras*”. My concern is that a country that led the Eugenics study and a country where racial thinking impregnated popular culture cannot all of a sudden forget and stop *meaningfully seeing* the differences between people.

I have established that in this study the analytical concept of race should be understood as *a belief in race established through the perception of difference evoked by visible differences*. A perception of difference leads to the construction of the idea of race, in which prejudices and stereotypes are embedded. The following sections move on to discuss the theory of stereotypes and prejudice.

Theory of stereotypes and prejudice

I have discussed that generalizations and categorizations are something that human beings cannot avoid in their daily lives. However, the problem of generalization and categorization lies in the fact that categories do not only identify and inform individuals with a more or less universal image, but also negotiate *meanings* and *feelings*. In this process of attaching meanings and feelings to the category, or visible differences, prejudices and stereotypes emerge and become a basis for racial ideas and beliefs.

Stereotype can be defined as “an overgeneralization about the behavior or other characteristics of members of particular groups” (Cashmore et al. 2004:414). Hedetoft states that stereotypes:

[...] in their capacity as signs, images of the Other define, represent, condense, and organise meaning, bring forms and substances together, ascribe and transfer value, in the process imposing mental and cultural lines of demarcation on reality (Hedetoft 1995:93).

According to Hedetoft, stereotypes come from an “abstract suspiciousness towards the other” and the idea of *them* as “immanent to the object rather than as a reflection of relations” (98). In other words, *we* are the basis of assessment and how close or different *they* are to *our* values (98). It is believed that stereotypes are activated automatically upon perception of the other and stereotypes form social categorization. Stereotyping is thus one of the processes of selecting the differences to be seen and perceived, which will lead to the establishment of racial beliefs. Eriksen states that stereotypes not only define the boundaries between groups of people and divide people into “kinds”, but also help justify privileges and differences of access to society’s resources (1993:24).

Hedetoft proposes the principal forms of representation of *us* and *them* as the *exclusivist* (absolute, hostile), the *gradualist* (relative, friendly) and the *ex-*

otic (attractive, identificatory). The exclusivist view includes “all sorts of enemy images, whether they relate to situations of war, system competition [...] hostility towards immigrants, or whatever” (Hedetoft 1995:103). The *others* are perceived as “absolutely different from ‘us’, as menaces, arch enemies, units culturally and morally incompatible with ‘ourselves’” (Hedetoft 103). The gradualist recognizes others “in relations of proximity or contiguity vis-à-vis ‘us’ – as, in some way, ‘like us’ or even ‘part of us’” (Hedetoft 104). Contrary to the one-sided exclusivist, the gradualist aims to give “recognition and praise for the qualities of competing nation-state” on the grounds that *they* are “*like us*” (Hedetoft 104). The third representation, the exotic, constructs otherness in “fantasies, dreams” and with symbols of “positive, romanticized, sentimental qualities” (Hedetoft 104). While the exclusivist and gradualist forms of otherness are constructed out of necessity, the exotic representation is always related to “freedom”. In the exotic point of view, otherness is a part of us, and there is a “utopian dream of unity – identification – between Us and the Other” (Hedetoft 105). Different formations and perception of the other becomes interesting in relation to the discussion of who is preferred and not preferred as a potential partner in relationships. As an example, in Western countries Asian women have been ascribed with the third representation of the exotic, therefore desirable, while Asian men have been seen from the exclusivist view of the other, therefore less desirable.⁶⁶

Prejudice is “a negative attitude toward a socially defined group and toward any person perceived to be a member of that group” (Young-Bruehl 1996:43). Prejudices, like stereotypes, are aimed towards groups and individuals. Individuals’ prejudices also have different degrees. As Young-Bruehl writes, they can be as slight as preference and as great and intense as a physical attack. She continues and writes that:

These degrees relate to a rank of valuations commonly associated with prejudices: preference seem more “normal” and tolerable; aversions seems less normal and more complex, especially when words like “justifiable” and “unjustifiable”, “provoked” and “unprovoked” come into play; and violence crosses over a moral line (drawn at different places by different evaluators). Prejudice people, too, are said to have different degrees. (Young-Bruehl 44)

What Young-Bruehl is suggesting here is the complexity of prejudice. It is crucial to point out that prejudice that crosses over the moral line is quite uncommon compared to the “normal” or the “justifiable” prejudice. Therefore, un-

⁶⁶ Asian women are often portrayed as exotic, submissive and sexually available, while Asian men are attached with asexual stereotypes. Another study carried out in the US also indicates that mainstream images of masculinity are incompatible with Asian male features. See Root, 2001:80, Joane Nagel, *Race, ethnicity, and sexuality : intimate intersections, forbidden frontiers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

derstanding the “reasonable”, the “mainstream” or the “everyday” prejudice (Petersson 2006:39) becomes essential in the study of prejudice and its effect on society. This is also why the concepts of stereotype, prejudice or racial preference are employed in this study, instead of a focus on attitudes toward interracial marriage as racism, which is a concept that has conflated meanings and definitions. Besides, racial discrimination and racism cannot operate without the existence of stereotypes and prejudices.

Theories of prejudice can broadly be classified into individual and societal level explanations (Young-Bruehl 1996:49). Bobo and Hutchings summarize four theoretical models of prejudice: *The self-interest model*, *the classical prejudice model*, *the stratification beliefs model* and *the group position model* (1996). *The self-interest model* believes that there is an objective economic or political basis for racial conflicts. The model infers that hostility between members of two or more racial groups mirrors the clash of material interests and competition for them, which indicates vulnerability in individuals’ social environment (Bobo and Hutchings 953). In contrast to the rational self-interest model, *the classical prejudice model*, often associated with Allport’s socio-cultural model, situates interracial animosity as an individual and irrational psychological process rather than objective reality, and highlights “the social learning of cultural ideas and affective responses to particular group” (Bobo and Hutchings 954). *The stratification beliefs model* also puts focus on the individual and claims that individuals’ ideas about social inequality lead to perceiving members of other groups as threats (Bobo and Hutchings 954). *The group position model* incorporates not only the material aspect and individual psychological process, but also the historical and collective process of defining different groups and positioning them in the social order (Bobo and Hutchings 955).

This thesis will specifically look at prejudice from Allport’s *Contact Hypothesis* and Blumer’s *Group Position* and discuss the notion of perceived threat. Allport’s work is profound in the field of social psychology, while Blumer’s work is based on the criticism towards Allport’s and other theories of prejudice that focus on individual feelings and are directed towards the field of sociology. As previous theories and research show, whether intermarriage occurs or not is believed to depend on opportunity and preference. Attitudes toward interracial marriage should therefore also be discussed in terms of opportunities and preferences. The opportunity of interracial marriage can be assumed to be related to the amount of contact and interaction that individuals experience. Applying Contact Hypothesis in the context of interracial marriage, the more opportunity of meeting and interaction an individual has with people of different race, the more tolerant the individual becomes. The probability of the same individual being favorable to or choosing to marry interracially thus in-

creases. Considering that intermarriage challenges the idea of *us* and *them*, the preference of a marriage partner should be strongly influenced by the idea of group position and perceived threat. Analyzing attitudes toward interracial marriage from the perspective of Contact Hypothesis and group position opens up the possibility of looking at the underlying prejudices at the individual and collective level.

Allport's theory of prejudice and Contact Hypothesis

Bobo and Hutchings state that Allport's sociocultural version of the classical prejudice approach is the most widely accepted. Prejudice is regarded as "the socially learned feelings of dislike and aversion, as well as the stereotypes that undergird such feelings" (Bobo and Hutchings 1996:954), which has little real or economic basis and is the reason for racial conflict. Individuals acquire and learn prejudice during childhood and adulthood based on what is socially defined as out-groups or *different* in the specific society in which they live. Allport's assumption is that there is *a* prejudice, a generalized attitude, and "prejudice is X", which appears in many different shapes and forms (Young-Bruehl 1996:44). Young-Bruehl writes:

I want to emphasize now only that prejudice was, for him [Allport], one thing that appears in different forms, under different conditions, and with different rationales, even though the one thing has plural causes. It is like a single disease arising under multiple causal conditions and displaying itself in different symptoms. (Young-Bruehl 13)

Therefore, the classical prejudice model treats perceived threat together with other aspects of prejudice such as negative feelings, stereotypes, desires for social distance from members of other racial groups, since they all are "forms of prejudice toward outgroups learned on an individual psychological basis" (Bobo and Hutchings 1996:954).

Admitting that the idea that prejudice would disappear simply by bringing together people of varying race, ethnicity, or religion is too simple, Allport nevertheless tried to suggest a formula, Contact Hypothesis, for easing the problem of prejudice. This has been considered to be a promising and popular tactic for reducing inter-group bias and conflict for the past fifty years and has attained a prominent position in the research of prejudice and discrimination (Dovidio, Gaertner and Kawakami 2003:15). In short, Contact Hypothesis discusses that the more contact you have with people of different race, ethnicity and culture, the more tolerant you become to these different groups. However, contact cannot just be any kind of contact. Allport's version of Contact Hypothesis identifies four conditions for optimal contact. The situation in which inter-group

contact occurs must entail equal group status, common goals, cooperation and authority support (Pettigrew 1998:80). Allport stresses the importance of equal group status and believes that contact that entail superior-subordinate positions would rather increase prejudice (1979). Equal group status naturally involves common goals, cooperation and support for each others. Pettigrew examined Contact Hypothesis using international data and added that potential for friendship is an essential condition for optimal contact and reduction of prejudice. He also concludes and extends the Contact Hypothesis stating that diverse contact can lead to generalized positive feelings towards a wide variety of groups (Pettigrew 1997).

Contact Hypothesis has not been free from criticism. Pettigrew raises some of the problems of Allport's contact theory. One of the central problems he raises is the casual sequence problem: prejudiced people may avoid contact with out-groups therefore those who have more contact with out-groups are those who seek the contact themselves and those who are more tolerant towards out-groups from the beginning (Pettigrew 1998:69). Problematic or not, Cattle claims that in order to achieve a cohesive society, there is a need for an effective approach to ensure that "fear of differences" is mitigated by positive interaction between different groups of people, and notes:

Many of the social psychological theories now support the view that whilst we categorize "others" and create groups based on stereotypes and a perception of difference, regular and positive contact between communities can create a shared understanding and remove much of the anxiety that such differences represent any real threat. (Cattle 2005:18)

Blumer's theory of group position and perceived threat

Bobo and Hutchings state that:

Blumer's [group position] model explicitly incorporates negative feelings and beliefs as well as a concern with the material conditions of group life. As such, the model provides the frame for a coherent sociological synthesis of the self-interest approach, the classical prejudice approach, and the stratification belief approach. Individual psychology, cultural values, and self-interest are situated in a more complete vision of a "sense of group position" and the larger social processes that define such shared images of appropriate group status. (Bobo and Hutchings 1996:955)

Instead of discussing race prejudice as "antipathy, hostility, hatred, intolerance, and aggressiveness" towards different racial groups exists as an

individual as set of feelings, Blumer claims that prejudice is a response to a sense of group position (Blumer 1958:3). In claiming this, Blumer shifts the focus of racial prejudice from the individual and treats it as a collective process. He asserts that feelings of antipathy, competition and hostility do not exist within an individual, but emerge from “historically and collectively developed judgments about the positions in the social order that in-group members should rightfully occupy relative to members of an out-group” and that at the bottom of prejudice is “the subjective image of where the in-group ought to stand vis-à-vis the out-group” (Bobo and Hutchings 1996:955). However, Blumer does not ignore the differences in the degree of people’s racial prejudice. Bearing in mind the considerable differences between the individuals, he claims that the sense of group position is what unites people belonging to the same group (Blumer 1958:4). Blumer also states that the sense of group position is itself a “general kind of orientation” that is disconnected from any set of specific beliefs: it is a “norm and imperative” which stands for group affiliation for the members of the dominant racial group (5).

In sum, Blumer affirms that racial prejudice is a “defensive reaction” and “protective device” against *perceived threat* (Blumer 1958:5). Group position is a collective process operated through the public. It is a relational matter of “the racial identification made of oneself and of others” and of “the way in which the identified groups are conceived in relation to each other” (Blumer 3). Racial prejudice is a response to the perceived challenge to the sense of group position in the process of defining *us* and *them*.

Blumer claims that the process of defining group position first starts with a complex interaction and communication among the members of the dominant group. Prestige, power, skills, numbers and opportunities are named as some of the factors that contribute to the formation of group position. By interacting and communicating within each other, the feelings and meanings become defined as a collective image (Blumer 1958:5). The four important feelings that emerge from race prejudice are:

- (1) a feeling of superiority, (2) a feeling that the subordinate race is intrinsically different and alien, (3) a feeling of proprietary claim to certain areas of privilege and advantage, and (4) a fear and suspicion that the subordinate race harbors designs on the prerogatives of the dominant race. (Blumer 4)

These feelings form group definitions which consist of an “abstract image”, in other word stereotype, of the subordinate racial group and the group is defined as a whole for “what ought to be” rather than for “what is”. Therefore, an essential claim of the group position is that prejudice

not only entails negative stereotypes and feelings, but “a commitment to a relative status positioning of groups in a racialized social order” (Bobo 1999:447). Bearing in mind Blumer’s argument that negative feelings emerge from a concern about the material condition, or a proprietary claim of privilege and advantage, the focal point of Blumer’s analysis of prejudice is the perception of competition and threat in a social setting (Bobo 448). Consequently, the different degrees of difference identified in the group may affect the group position. The fewer the differences that are perceived and identified in the group, the lesser threat and higher status positioning the group receives.

The relevance of group position theory becomes obvious when discussing attitudes toward interracial relationships. Observing marriage as a market (Becker 1973), or a material condition, interracial relationships create a perception of competition and threat. Moreover, interracial relationships as a phenomenon challenge the boundary of the group position and the boundary of the racial majority and minority. The fear and apprehension that the subordinate group will threaten the position of the dominant group is fundamentally connected to the fear of crossing the racial boundaries.

Despite their different starting points Allport and Blumer both aimed to see how society and individuals influenced each other in the areas of cognition and behavior. Blumer applied crucial aspects of Allport’s work in his theory, such as the concepts of “attitude, affect, stereotype, group identity, and a concern with patterns of intergroup contact” (Bobo 1999:447). However, it is important to note the difference in Blumer’s claim of prejudice as a collective process that transcends individual experience, and Contact Hypothesis, which focuses on individuals’ positive experiences leading to a more positive generalization of an out-group. Blumer argues that “[t]he collective image of the abstract group grows up not by generalizing from experiences gained in close, first-hand contacts but through the transcending characterizations that are made of the group as an entity” (Blumer 1958:5-6). Contact Hypothesis claims, on the other hand, that contact with people of different race, ethnicity and culture can, under certain conditions, lead to less prejudice towards people of different background. Some studies even show that individuals with diverse friendships are generally more positive about a wide variety of out-groups. Contact Hypothesis therefore argues that the abstract image of other racial groups can be reduced and modified by personal contacts, while Blumer claims that racial image is not created through first-hand contacts but through “[t]he happening that seems momentous, that touches deep sentiments, that seems to raise fundamental questions about relations, and that awakens strong feelings of identification with one’s racial group” (6). The infamous “my best friend is black but...” is thus more comprehensible in

Group Position theory than in Contact Hypothesis. Several of the previous studies on prejudice that apply both Contact Hypothesis and Blumer's theory and perception of threat show results in favor of Blumer's theory and challenge Contact Hypothesis (Berg 2007; Jackman and Crane 1986). A quantitative inquiry with a multilevel analysis of the Spanish sample during the period 1991-2000 showed that close and occasional forms of contact, except for workplace contact, were strong predictors of reduced foreigner exclusionism across time and that group threat contributed significantly to exclusionism. Moreover, the study concluded that when both contact and group threat are present, group threat impacts more than the amount of contact over time (Escandell and Ceobanu 2009).

The essential claim of the group position is that prejudice not only entails negative stereotypes and feelings but also a commitment to a racialized social order and that a collective sense of position is not merely individual feelings of like or dislike (Bobo 1999:455-457). Perceptions of threat will arise as soon as *substantial others* are defined by difference and perceived as a threat. As already indicated, Malmö Municipality has one of the most segregated residential areas in Sweden, in which a large number of residents of Middle Eastern background live. The concentration of foreign population can affect the perceived size of the group, and increase the degree of perceived threat among the majority population. It is also important to note that group position and possible perceived threat are not only experienced by the majority population, but also among the minority population. To confirm this, the National Opinion Research Center's poll in 1990 in the U.S. suggested that the white population was not alone in fearing the cultural threat of interracial marriage but that blacks, Asians and Hispanics shared the same feeling (Root 2001:79).

Stereotypes and prejudice among the Swedish public

According to Blumer, the key to understanding racial prejudice is to study "the process by which racial groups form images of themselves and of others" (1958:3). The process of forming images, a product of thought, of racial groups is a collective one, and the resulting images are reinforced by public mediators and interpreted and communicated between individuals (Esposito and Murphy 1999:397). The process begins in the early stages of people's lives and where people interact, such as the home, at school, educational institutions or the workplace (Pettersson and Hellström 2004:103). The discussion presented earlier about race in Swedish history and in contemporary Sweden exhibited how images of the racial others are communicated through the media and literal publications and the profound *perceptions of difference* and *racial ideas* that exist among the Swedish public.

Many scholars agree that stereotypes and prejudices are mediated and facilitated by the media, which can lead to the strengthening and persistence of prejudices held by individuals and society (Pettersson 2006; Pettersson and Hellström 2004; Van Dijk 2000; Cottle 2000). As a source of information, the media plays a role in perceiving difference and establishing prejudices, especially for people having no contact or interaction with anyone in the out-group. The media has historically been one of the means of producing and reproducing an image of Swedes and what is different from Swedes, as presented in the history of race in Sweden. Difference is always provoked through the comparison and dichotomy of what is normal, in this case being Swedish, and what is different. Previous studies show that the contemporary image of *immigrant* males is often connected with “problems”, “crime”, “traditional” or “honor culture” in the Swedish media (Brune 2004), and sometimes immigrants are equated with people of Muslim background (Heinö 2009:304). Moreover, male Muslim immigrants in Sweden are specifically linked to a primitive masculinity that is associated with crimes against women and a threat to Swedish values and norms (Khosravi 2006).⁶⁷ While immigrant and Muslim men are often portrayed as perpetrators of crime and oppressors of women, Muslim women are often represented as powerless, traditional and backward (Keskinen 2009; Golsirat 25-30; Yang 2009). In her dissertation on the representation of immigrants in Swedish films, Tigervall discusses and concludes that on the one hand films try to break the dominant image of *immigrants* and on the other hand maintain the existing perception of *difference* (2005). Malmö as a city with a high foreign population and a city with a segregated area like Rosengård, where people of Middle Eastern and Islamic background live together, it is not difficult to assume that media portrayals of the *other* and *immigrants* undermine the image of *difference*, especially for those who do not have any contact with people of foreign background.

In Sweden, media representation of the *other* seems to be focused on either the abstract notion of *immigrants* or *Muslims*, which often entails

67 Other media stereotypes are discussed, such as Bo Pettersson, *Stories about strangers: Swedish media constructions of socio-cultural risk* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2006), Bo Pettersson and Anders Hellström, *Stereotyper i vardagen: Bilder av 'de främmande'*, ed. Anders Westholm, Karin Borevi and Per Strömblad, *Rapport från Integrationspolitiska maktutredningen* ed. (Stockholm: SOU, 2004), Ylva Brune, *Nyhetslogik och främlings-syn i mediernas konstruktion av "invandrare"*, ed. Anders Westholm, Karin Borevi and Per Strömblad, *Rapport från Integrationspolitiska maktutredningen* ed. (Stockholm: SOU, 2004), Ylva Brune, "'Invandrare' i mediearkivets typgalleri," *Maktens (olika) förklådnader: kön, klass & etnicitet i det postkoloniala Sverige: en festskrift till Wuokko Knocke*, ed. Wuokko Knocke, et al (Stockholm: Atlas, 2002), Ylva Brune, ed., *Mörk magi i vita medier: svensk nyhetsjournalistik om invandrare, flyktingar och rasism* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1998)

images of *religious differences* and refugee or asylum seeker status. It is worth mentioning a couple of other studies that look at the representation of specific racial groups rather than abstract “*immigrants*”. In a study on the representation of Thai-Swedish couples, another two-sided image is portrayed: a poor “oriental” object and an active agent (Hedman, Nygren and Fahlgren 2009:44). Another type of media representation of difference is discussed by HübINETTE and Tigervall: East Asian men portrayed as feminine and as laughable characters (2010; 2010). Such representations of Asian males and females are also made in relation to *perceptions of difference* that reflect and facilitate the *stereotypes* and *prejudices* that exist against the group.

Summarizing the theoretical orientation

[I]n the eyes of the native population, there is a prestige hierarchy of social groups, with the native majority perceived as higher than the various immigrant groups. The reasons for these perceptions may lie in prejudices against ethnic minorities, xenophobia, racist beliefs, and ethnocentrism. (Kalmijn and van Tubergen 2006:378)

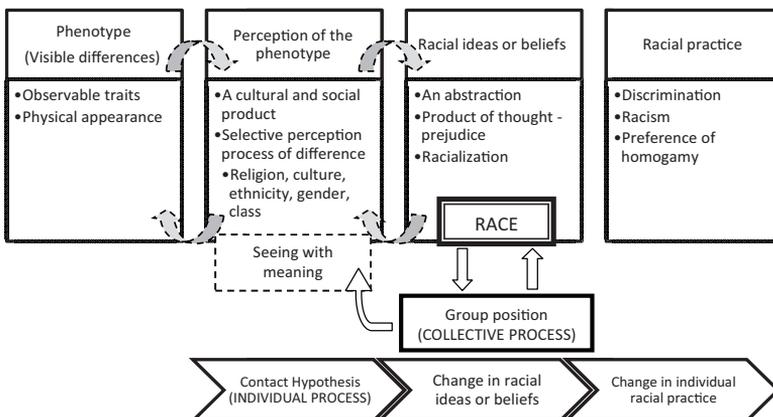
In this study, race as an analytical tool should be understood as an object constructed by *the belief in race evoked by the perception of the phenotype and seeing the differences with meanings and feelings*. This perception of the phenotype and difference is highly socio-contextual. I argue that the perception of difference, whether it may be social, religious or economic, occurs through *seeing* the visible difference. Since race is based on the perception of the phenotype, in other words visible differences, and on *meaningfully* seeing differences, race is a socially constructed category that is subject to changes in time and place, as the history of and contemporary racial thinking in Sweden has exhibited. The analytical concept of race is not commonly applied in a Swedish context. Moreover, colorblindness, a practice of not seeing race and a belief that race does not matter, exists in Sweden. Examining attitudes toward interracial relationships by applying the concept of race will allow this research to probe into the initial ideas and beliefs that exist in society that are evoked by visible differences. This study will explore the perceptions of difference and the stereotypes and prejudices that are expressed and address how the colorblind way of talking about difference actually depicts the idea of race.

The process of perceiving difference and the construction of stereotypes and prejudices can be looked at and understood from individual and collective perspectives. Contact Hypothesis allows the study to investigate

the differences between the attitudes and racial prejudices held by respondents who have experienced interracial contact and respondents who have not. Group position theory, on the other hand, facilitates the examination of the structural aspect and the collective process of perceived difference and the existence of stereotypes and prejudices that go beyond individual experiences and attitudes.

Theoretical model 2, below, summarizes the connection between the perception of difference, conception of race and prejudices. The conceptualization of race consists of three objects as Daynes and Lee advocate (Daynes and Lee 2008): the phenotype, perception of the phenotype and racial ideas and beliefs. Visible differences evoke schemas, which are socially and historically defined and redefined meanings. Social, religious and economic differences are perceived through seeing the phenotype with meanings; in other words, visible differences have a master position. The perception of the phenotype, the process of seeing the visible differences with meaning, is affected not only by the socially and historically determined context and the sense of group position but also by the social interaction of the individuals. Interracial contact may facilitate the modification of the perception of difference, and as a result racial ideas, on the individual level. The sense of group position which unites the individuals as a group and establish identification with one's own group is affected by the racial ideas or beliefs that are historically and contextually defined. At the same time, the sense of group position affect the perception of difference thus the prejudices and stereotypes that exist in society which forms the idea of race. Therefore the idea of race is socially constructed by diverse origins which are all contextual and historical.

Theoretical model 2. Reflections on theoretical orientation



METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

The previous chapter introduced the theoretical orientation of this study. In this chapter the methodological orientation of the study is presented. The chapter includes a general discussion of mixed methods, and methods of survey research and interview inquiry. Attitudes and issues of attitude measurement are addressed together with the benefit of applying mixed methods to minimize the limitations of attitude measurement. Operationalization of the concept of race is presented followed by reflections on the role of the researcher and the researcher's position. The detailed application and implementation of the method is discussed separately in the empirical chapters included in Part 1 and Part 2.

Mixed methods

In choosing a specific methodology, the most important thing to consider is the research questions to be asked and answered. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie write, “[w]hat is most fundamental is the research question – research methods should follow research questions in a way that offers the best chance to obtain useful answers” (2004:17-18). The nature of my research questions obviously leads to a methodological preference for mixed methodology.

According to Teddlie and Tashakkori, social and behavioral scientists have actually applied mixed methods since the 20th century. Mixed methods research has emerged, developed and become popular over the last three decades as the third path (Gorard 2004), the third research paradigm (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004) and the third research community (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009), which challenges the traditional dichotomy of quantitative and qualitative research.

Traditional quantitative research can be defined as research that incorporates the techniques of gathering, analyzing, interpreting and presenting numerical information and data (Teddlie and Tashakkori 5). Quantitative research is originally driven by positivism, a doctrine that maintains

that “the study of the human or social world should be organized according to the same principles as the study of the physical or natural world” and that “social sciences should be modeled on the natural sciences” (Halfpenny 2004). The central characteristics of quantitative research are “a focus on deduction, confirmation, theory/hypothesis testing, explanation, prediction, standardized data collection, and statistical analysis” (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004:18). Qualitative research, on the other hand, is driven by constructivism, which maintains that “researchers individually and collectively construct the meaning of the phenomena under investigation” (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:5). The central characteristics of qualitative research are “induction, discovery, exploration, theory/hypothesis generation, the research as the primary ‘instrument’ of data collection, and qualitative analysis” (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004:18).

Tashakkori and Creswell write that “mixed methods research is still evolving” and that it is “essential to keep the discussion open about the definition of mixed methods” (Tashakkori and Creswell 2007:3). In a search for studies carried out in the field of social, behavioral and health sciences, Tashakkori and Creswell identified that research that was explicitly labeled mixed methods incorporated one or more of the following aspects:

- » two types of research questions (with qualitative and quantitative approaches)
 - » the manner in which the research questions are developed (participatory vs. pre-planned)
 - » two types of sampling procedures (e.g. probability and purposive)
 - » two types of data (e.g. numerical and textual)
 - » two types of data analysis (statistical and thematic)
 - » two types of conclusions
- (Tashakkori and Creswell 4)

With the above aspects, Tashakkori and Creswell broadly define mixed methods as “research in which the investigator collects and analyzes data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or a program of inquiry”, and state that a key concept is “integration” (4). In their study, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie define mixed methods as “the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study” (2004:17).

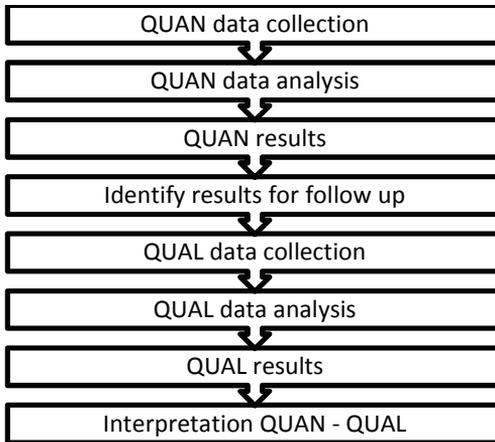
Mixed methods involve collecting both quantitative and qualitative data. In contrast to using only one type of dataset, mixed methods can complement the weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative research and provides researchers with comprehensive results and a better understanding of the problem (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007). From the triangulation perspective, collecting data in multiple ways also increases the validity of the study. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie write that:

Today's research world is becoming increasingly interdisciplinary, complex, and dynamic; therefore, many researchers need to complement one method with another, and all researchers need a solid understanding of multiple methods used by other scholars to facilitate communication, to promote collaboration, and to provide superior research ... mixed position allows researchers to mix and match design components that offer the best chance of answering their specific research questions. (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004:15)

Mixed method research designs can be divided broadly into two types: *parallel mixed* (also called concurrent or simultaneous) and *sequential mixed design*. In a parallel mixed design, quantitative and qualitative data is gathered in a parallel manner, simultaneously or at different times, whereas in a sequential mixed design, quantitative and qualitative data is gathered in chronological order, with one data depending on the previous data (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:143).

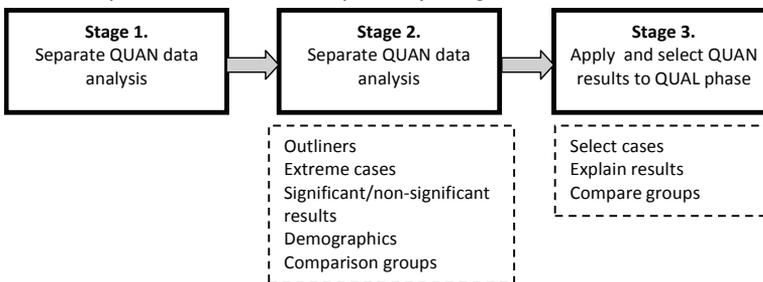
In this study, a mixed methods design presented by Creswell and Clark called *follow-up explanations model of explanatory design procedures* will be applied (see Table 4). The model can be considered as a sub-model of sequential mixed design and is used when a researcher wants to obtain qualitative data in order to explain or expand quantitative results and vice versa. One of the strengths of the explanatory design is its straightforward way of implementation. The researcher collects one type of data at a time, and the report can be written in two phases. The challenge is that the method requires some amount of time (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007:74). In the explanatory design, since data is collected in a sequence and the quantitative and qualitative data are not separable, the results build on each other. In this design, the same individuals should be included in both the quantitative and qualitative data, which means that the interview informants will be chosen from those who have completed the survey.

Table 4. Explanatory design: Follow-up explanations model (Creswell and Plano Clark 73)



In the first stage, quantitative data is collected by means of an attitude survey and the results are analyzed. In the second stage, attention is paid to the quantitative results that should be explained in detail with the help of the qualitative material that is to be gathered in the third stage. Qualitative data is collected by means of follow-up interviews with some of the respondents who participated in the survey; the interview questions are designed and constructed on the basis of the first quantitative results. The key quantitative results to be considered include, for example, statistically significant and non significant results, key predictors and variables, extreme cases and demographic characteristics (Creswell and Plano Clark 123). This procedure is illustrated in Table 5, below.

Table 5. Sequential Embedded and Explanatory Designs (Creswell and Plano Clark 143)



I am, however, aware of the limitations and difficulties associated with mixed methods. Considering the time aspect, applying mixed methods and carrying this out alone means spending less time on data collection and analysis compared to carrying out one specific method, not to mention the time required to gather two types of sufficient data. Moreover,

connected to the issue of time spent on data gathering and analysis, compared to pursuing a traditional quantitative or qualitative analysis I would only be able to deepen my methodological knowledge and skills to a limited extent. Bazeley writes however, that diving into two different methodologies and acquiring knowledge about multiple methods makes one a good mixed methodologist, rather than having pursued a methodological knowledge and skills in one particular traditional discipline (2004).

Pragmatism

Quantitative and qualitative research purists view their paradigm as “the ideal” and support the “incompatibility thesis”, which explains that “qualitative and quantitative research paradigms, including their associated methods, cannot and should not be mixed” (Howe, 1998 in Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004:14). The approach most commonly associated with mixed methods research is pragmatism, which offers an alternative worldview to those of positivism or post-positivism and constructivism (Teddle and Tashakkori 2009; Creswell and Plano Clark 2007; Yvonne Feilzer 2010). Pragmatism claims that “there are singular and multiple realities that are open to empirical inquiry” in a “real world” (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007). According to Feilzer, pragmatists’ view of the measurable world relates to an “existential reality” which is the objective and subjective empirical world (2010). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie advocate the pragmatic method as a method and philosophy that unites qualitative and quantitative approaches into a workable solution. They claim that:

Taking a pragmatic and balanced or pluralist position will help improve communication among researchers from different paradigms as they attempt to advance knowledge. Pragmatism also helps to shed light on how research approaches can be mixed fruitfully. (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004:16)

Johnson and Onwuegbuzie write that although there are many important differences between quantitative and qualitative research, there are similarities that are sometimes overlooked. For example, both use empirical observation to address research questions, and all research tries to present “warranted assertions about human beings or specific group of human beings and the environments in which they live and evolve” (Biesta and Burbulesin in Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004:15). According to Tashakkori and Creswell, the question of whether mixed methods is possible has certainly been raised, and the answer to the question has been that “it depends on what is being integrated or mixed” (2008:3).

Table 6 shows the pragmatic alternative to research methodology suggested by Morgan. Morgan states that a pragmatic approach facilitates the process of finding points of connection between two different methodologies, instead of claiming incompatibility (2007:71). Instead of the traditional dichotomies of induction and deduction, subjectivity and objectivity, context and generality, a pragmatic approach suggests common grounds for these dichotomies: abduction, intersubjectivity and transferability.

Table 6. A Pragmatic Alternative to the Key Issues in Social Science Research Methodology (Morgan 2007)

<p>QUALITATIVE APPROACH</p> <p>Induction Subjectivity Context</p>	<p>QUANTITATIVE APPROACH</p> <p>Deduction Objectivity Generality</p>	<p>PRAGMATIC APPROACH</p> <p>Abduction Intersubjectivity Transferability</p>
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Morgan claims that abductive reasoning that moves between induction and deduction is a process that is most common when researchers are working with a sequential mixed methods model, where the inductive results from the qualitative or quantitative study serve as a starting point and key to the following quantitative or qualitative study. Morgan also suggests working back and forth subjectively and objectively, since there is no such thing as “complete objectivity” or “complete subjectivity” in research (Morgan 71-72; Hanson 2008). Feilzer addresses this by saying:

In a way, pragmatism is a commitment to uncertainty, an acknowledgement that any knowledge “produced” through research is relative and not absolute, that even if there are causal relationships they are “transitory and hard to identify” (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:93). This commitment to uncertainty is different from philosophical skepticism saying that we cannot know anything but an appreciation that relationships, structures, and events that follow stable patterns are open to shifts and changes dependent on precarious and unpredictable occurrences and events. (Yvonne Feilzer 2010:14)

Intersubjectivity and the pragmatic approach give researchers the possibility of probing a single truth and at the same time enable them to make multiple interpretations of the truths that exist in society. Morgan states that reflexivity is necessary in this process and that a crucial question to be asked is “which aspects of our beliefs about research are in contention and which are widely shared, and how do issues make the transition back and forth between these statuses?” (2007:72). Pragmatic approach enables re-

searchers to investigate the extent to which a result obtained in one method and a specific context can be explained in another method and context. Therefore, as Morgan states, mixed methods and pragmatic approach generate new opportunities in the social sciences (72), and as Feilzer indicates, “enable researchers to enjoy the complexity and messiness of social life and revive a flagging sociological imagination” (2010:14).

Attitudes

Attitudes can be measured both directly and indirectly: directly by asking the respondents to express their feelings and evaluation toward a subject and indirectly by examining the responses that are supposed to be interrelated with attitudes (Bohner and Wänke 2002:19-48). Although there are controversies over the validity of such measurements, attitudes are often measured by *opinion*, which is a verbal expression of attitudes (Thurstone 2008:182).

Bohner and Wänke write that attitude has two broad functions, namely a symbolic function and a social identity function. They also maintain that the fundamental values of individuals can be asserted by expressing attitudes, and that attitudes maintain social relationships (2002:8). Attitudes generally help individuals to understand and interpret the world and help them to make the necessary choices in their everyday lives. This is the symbolic function of attitudes. Attitudes also work as a defense mechanism and protect individuals from outside criticism. This identity function of attitudes can be problematic, however, since it can lead to the development of negative attitudes (Löwander 2010:17). There are many different definitions of attitude, but in this study attitude is defined as “*an individual’s disposition to react with a certain degree of favorableness or unfavorableness to an object, behavior, person, institution, or event – or to any other discriminable aspect of the individual’s world*” (Ajzen 1993:21). Petty and Cacioppo’s definition of attitudes as “*a general and enduring positive or negative feeling about some person, object, or issue*” is also useful (1996:7).

According to Bohner and Wänke, human individuality is fundamentally based on attitudes and that “[e]very day, each of us is exposed to countless attempts at changing or reinforcing our attitudes through personal communication, the mass media or the Internet” (2002:3-4). They write that individual attitudes can turn into public opinion, which affect the social, political and cultural environment and consequently people’s lives in a society (Bohner and Wänke 4). This is why so many scholars have been, and are still, interested in researching attitudes.

There are some concerns about and limitations to the research of attitudes, however. Even though attitude research techniques have developed and improvements made, Seeman states that “where we are is where we were in earlier years” (1993:3). Some of the major issues that should be kept in mind are the multidimensionality of attitudes, the situated character of attitudes and attitude-behavior relationships. People may have the same kind of attitude for different reasons, and the same kind of attitude can mean different functions for different people and at different times. Moreover, attitude does not always lead to action, as shown in the classical study published by LaPiere in 1934, in which a disparity between expressed attitudes toward Chinese visitors and their actual reception by hotel managers and in restaurants were shown (LaPiere 1934).⁶⁸ However, as Thurstone states, bearing in mind the limitations of measuring attitudes “[w]e shall assume that it is of interest to know what people *say* that they believe” even if it might contradict people’s actual behavior and even if people intentionally misrepresent their attitudes, we will still be able to measure the attitudes that they are “*trying* to make people believe that they have” (2008:184).

Applying mixed methods in studies of attitudes has the potential of reducing some of the concerns and limitations presented above, in that mixed methods can facilitate an understanding of the multidimensionality of attitudes. Johnson and Onweugbuzie write:

If findings are corroborated across different approaches then greater confidence can be held in the singular conclusion; if the findings conflict then the researcher has greater knowledge and can modify interpretations and conclusions accordingly. (Johnson and Onweugbuzie 2004:19)

The strength of mixed methods is that they can be used to “enhance the interpretation of significant findings” and expand one’s understanding (Onweugbuzie and Leech 2004). This study does not aim to conclude whether the attitudes reported in the questionnaire and interview results are valid or not, nor to imply that the respondents will act in accordance with the attitudes reported. Since attitudes and behavior can drastically change over time, the results should not be treated as something consistent or permanent. This study intends to *achieve an understanding of people’s expressed ideas and attitudes, rather than the changes and develop-*

68 LaPiere, together with a Chinese couple, visited and were received at 66 hotels and 184 restaurants and cafes across the U.S. Later LaPiere sent out a questionnaire asking whether these hotels and restaurants would accept Chinese guests. 128 establishments, whereof 47 hotels and 81 restaurants responded to the survey. The results showed that over 90% of the hotels and restaurants answered “no”, and the rest “uncertain”. Only one auto-camp owner answered “yes” to the question. Richard T. LaPiere, “Attitudes vs. Actions,” Social Forces 13.2 (1934).

ment of individual attitudes and feelings. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that all surveys and interviews create situated knowledge, which means that criticism of research into attitudes is not unique.

Examining attitudes by means of a survey

The polarity of the response scale becomes important when deciding how to measure attitudes. A unipolar continuum addresses the range of favorableness or unfavorableness, which means that the respondents with neutral attitudes presumably choose a response at the lower end of the scale. In unipolar scales, neutral responses cannot be separated from those given by people who clearly oppose the given statements. A bipolar continuum, on the other hand, allows responses at both ends, the negative and the positive. According to Bohner and Wänke, whether an attitude is unipolar or bipolar depends on the individuals concerned. They present Pratkanis' (1989) suggestion that bipolar responses are common in controversially discussed issues, while unipolar responses are common in less disputed issues (Bohner and Wänke 2002:51-53).

According to Oppenheim, attitude measurements are best viewed and evaluated in relation to the linear-scaling model. The model requires the following:

1. Uni-dimensionality or homogeneity – the scale should be about one thing at a time, as uniformly as possible. This means that the items should be internally cohesive.
2. Reliability – the indispensable attribute of consistency.
3. Validity – the degree to which the scale measures what it sets out to measure.
4. Linearity and equal or equal appearing intervals – to make quantitative scoring possible.
5. Reproducibility – the possibility to reproduce exactly which units on the scale were covered and which were not. This is a requirement that in practice is difficult to achieve. (Oppenheim 2002:187-189).

The Likert scale was used for most of the questions in this study's survey. Compared to yes-no answer to questions, the Likert scale makes it possible to measure the "extent or intensity" of the respondents' agreement with the given statements (Oskamp 1991:54). The reliability of Likert tends to be good according to the methodology literature, although some criticism is voiced. Oppenheim writes that the most serious criticism relates to its lack of reproducibility. Other criticism is that it lacks a neutral point and that it is hard to tell where the middle range changes from slightly positive to slightly negative. Scores in the middle range could be

chosen by the respondents due to social desirability needs or a lack of attitude, which could in turn lead to a large number of neutral answers. This would make it difficult to analyze and interpret what the results actually indicate (Oppenheim 2000:200). In order to keep neutral responses to the minimum, four answer alternatives, excluding the neutral answer alternative, were applied in the survey in this study, instead of the original five alternatives (Strongly approve, Approve, Undecided, Disapprove, Strongly disapprove). Some argue the necessity of providing a no-opinion alternative because it may be an effective way of preventing the reporting of weak opinions. Nevertheless, other studies show that it is not an effective way and that many valuable attitudes can be missed by providing no-opinion alternatives. This is generally thought to be the case because the majority of no responses are generated due to decisions not to engage in the cognitive work rather than a lack of attitudes or knowledge or revealing potentially uncomfortable answers (Krosnick, Judd and Wittenbrink 2008; Krosnick 2002:99). However, this does not address the other issue of interpreting the results produced by the unipolar scale: Disagreeing with a statement does not always mean that respondents actually disagree with the actual statement but can mean that they have a neutral position.

Measuring attitudes by means of surveys naturally has its shortcomings. As already indicated, one of the biggest issues is the possible gap between how the respondents answer the questions and how they act in reality. Some methodological improvements have been suggested in order to increase the attitude-behavior correlations, such as measuring attitudes by means of a multi-item attitude scale instead of a single item, applying a behavior criterion scale made up of several actions, and measuring attitudes toward situations or a specific action rather than individuals or categories of people (Oskamp 1991:271). The specificity of the action and object is important in attitude-behavior correlation, since behavior occurs in a specific situation. However, one has to keep in mind that being too specific will shift the attention from attitudes toward the object to attitudes toward specific behavior. Despite its shortcomings, postal surveys have a positive function when researching attitudes. Krysan's study shows that in face-to-face survey respondents are less candid, especially with regard to socially controversial issues (1994). Carrying out a postal survey thereby eliminates some of the social desirability pressures. Moreover, guaranteeing anonymity also should lead to a decrease in social desirability pressures (Krosnick, Judd and Wittenbrink 2008).

As discussed earlier, this study does not aim to understand the individual process of attitude construction or to prove the relationship between attitudes and actual behavior. Rather, the focus of this study is to reach an understanding of the presently existing attitudes that are expressed, and

on what the respondents claim they believe in. Moreover, bearing in mind that prejudices are maintained both on individual and collective level, this study treats attitudes as something that are constructed and communicated individually and collectively.

The questionnaire aims to measure attitude both directly and indirectly by incorporating direct questions about interracial dating and marriage and questions on interrelated issues such as attitude towards immigrants and immigration. Some of the questions are taken and developed from Swedish surveys (Lange and Westin 1997; Integrationsverket 2006; Edgerton, Fryklund and Peterson 1994) and American surveys (Johnson and Jacobson 2005; Powers and Ellison 1995). As mentioned, the biggest problem is the possible gap between how the respondents answer the questions and how they actually act in reality. Questions believed to be indicators of “modern prejudice” were incorporated into the questionnaire (Akrami, Ekehammar and Araya 2000). The answers to these questions are expected to show subtle prejudices and make it more difficult for respondents to answer based on social desirability needs.

Applying mixed methods should reduce the weakness of measuring attitude solely by means of an attitude survey, and interpretations of significant findings from the survey can be enhanced by follow-up interviews and lead to a deeper understanding of attitudes toward interracial marriage.

Examining attitudes through interviews

Projective techniques are used to evoke implicit attitude and can also be an effective way of eliminating the interviewer effect caused by social desirability needs. Projective techniques in general are used when researchers want to probe the subject in depth. Oppenheim writes that projective techniques are particularly useful in studying stereotypes, self-images and norm-perceptions. Projective techniques can help to break down some of barriers of awareness, irrationality, inadmissibility, self-incrimination and politeness (Oppenheim 2000:210-212). In this study, penetrating the barrier of politeness, the need to appear socially desirable and the preference to avoid negative, unpleasant or critical things are especially effective. Projective techniques have different approaches, all of which all rely on the interviewees’ spontaneous interpretation. The approaches used in this study are *association* and *conceptualizing* approaches. Association is the “‘say-the-first-thing-that-comes-into-your-head’ approach”, which is based on the assumption that “a fast response to a stimulus word, picture or question will be less ‘guarded’ and therefore more revealing of underlying attitudes and motives” (Oppenheim 212). Conceptualizing approach

aims to find out “something about respondents’ attitudes by the way in which they name things, order things or group things” (Oppenheim 213).

Operationalizing the conception of race

Ratcliffe explains the struggle experienced by scholars who are skeptical to the use of the term race, and states that “[t]here is no ideologically or methodologically neutral ways of expressing differences between peoples of differing heritages” (2004:24). This study investigates majority society’s attitudes toward interracial relationships and aims to determine whether attitudes vary according to the racial belonging of the person in question. As discussed in the theoretical orientation, the concept of race is seldom used in a Swedish context. Since ethnicity, or more correctly the country of birth, is often a measure of different immigrant groups in Sweden, the racial groups have been constructed for the purpose of this study.

In this study race is operationalized as *ideal-types*, as Weber suggests. Weber considered that sociology “seeks to formulate type concepts and generalized uniformities of empirical processes” (1978:21). He believed reality to be irrational, ambiguous and chaotic, and that sociological method is therefore required to understand and explain social reality (Weber 1949). As a tool for comprehending and seeing social reality, *ideal-types* are offered. The idea behind this is, as Daynes and Lee state, “[t]he ‘real object’ is distinguished from the ‘object of knowledge’: the former – social reality – can only be analyzed through the latter – a construction” (2008:94).

For the purpose of a typological scientific analysis it is convenient to treat all irrational, affectually determined element of behavior as factors of deviation from a conceptually pure type of rational action [...] The construction of a purely rational course of action [...] serves the sociologist as a type (ideal type) which has the merit of clear understandability and lack of ambiguity [...] Only in this respect and for these reasons of methodological convenience is the method of sociology “rationalistic”. (Weber 1978:6)

Ideal-types should be understood as “a rational construction used to make sense of and explain an irrational reality” (Daynes and Lee 2008:94) and are a methodological convenience (Weber 1978:6). Weber states that an ideal-type is “not a *description* of reality but it aims to give unambiguous means of expression to such a description” (1949:90). This corresponds with the theoretical discussions of the process of categorization and schemas. Ideal-types work as schema which are “procedural devices one *uses* to make an interpretation” (D’Andrade 1992:53). Furthermore,

an ideal type is not a normative model. For Weber, the term “ideal” is not a normative judgment which classifies things as better or worse. Ideal, in Weber’s terms, is an “abstraction”, an “idea” that enables the sociologist to observe, comprehend and enlighten reality (Daynes and Lee 2008:94).

An ideal type is formed by the one-sided *accentuation* of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent *concrete individual* phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints in to a unified *analytical* construct (*Gedankenbild*). In its conceptual purity, this mental construct (*Gedankenbild*) cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality. It is a *utopia*. (Weber 1949:99)

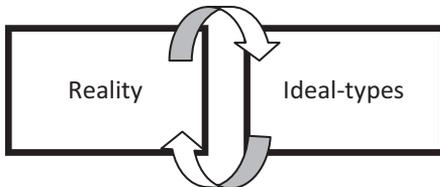
According to Weber, ideal-types should be constructed from the various combinations of tangible actions and phenomena that form social reality (Daynes and Lee 2008:94). Daynes and Lee states that:

The methodological pertinence of the ideal-typical construction is obvious. The empirical data provides the “reality” from which are extracted a certain number of types. These ideal-typical abstractions, in turn, are applied to reality in order to understand and explain it. (Daynes and Lee 95)

Therefore, the construction of ideal-types is a relational and circular process, in that ideal-types are not essential or fixed. In addition, a distinction between the *real object* and the *meaning* or the knowledge of the object cannot be emphasized enough. As Weber states:

[E]very artifact, such as for example a machine, can be understood only in terms of the meaning which its production and use have had or were intended to have; a meaning which may derive from a relation to exceedingly various purposes. Without reference to this meaning such an object remains wholly unintelligible. (Weber 1978:7)

Table 7. Intermediate reflections on essentialism (Daynes and Lee 2008:95)



Thus, operationalizing race and constructing racial categories as ideal-types does not mean that the study essentializes the groups of people who are categorized as specific groups, since the groups are only an analytical construct and not a reality. A construction is simply a way of understanding the social reality.

The following groups are constructed as ideal-types for the purpose of this study. As stated earlier, ideal-types should be constructed from the various combinations of tangible actions and phenomena that form social reality (Daynes and Lee 2008:94). The groups are constructed based on previous studies in Sweden which provide empirical data highlighting that some of the following groups are often targets of discrimination and racialization in contemporary Swedish society and some are not.⁶⁹ The definitions of the groups given to the survey respondents are as follows:

- » *Adopted African* (AA)
- » *Adopted Latin American* (ALA)
- » *Adopted East Asian* (AEA)
- » *African*: Those who have their origin in for example Ethiopia, Ghana, Tunisia and Gambia (A).
- » *Central/East European*: Those who have their origin in for example former Yugoslavia, Poland and Hungary (CEE).
- » *Latin American*: Those who have their origin in for example Chile, Uruguay, Argentina and Mexico (LA).
- » *Middle Easterner*: Those who have their origin in for example Iraq, Lebanon, Iran and Afghanistan (ME).
- » *Scandinavian*⁷⁰: Those who have their origin in for example Denmark, Norway and Finland (SC).
- » *South European*: Those who have their origin in for example Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain (SE).
- » *South/East Asian*: Those who have their origin in for example Viet-

69 See "Race in contemporary Sweden". For detailed discussions see Viktorija Kalonaityte, Victoria Kwesa, and Adiam Tedros, *Att färgas av Sverige: Upplevelser av diskriminering och rasism bland ungdomar med Afrikansk bakgrund i Sverige*, 2007), Lena S. Sawyer, *Black and Swedish : racialization and the cultural politics of belonging in Stockholm, Sweden* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Umi, 2000), for African, Catrin Lundström, *Svenska latinas : ras, klass och kön i svenskhetens geografi* (Göteborg ; Stockholm: Makadam, 2007), for Latin American, Brune, 139, [1], Shahram Khosravi, "Manlighet i exil: Maskulinitet och etnicitet hos Iranska män i Sverige," *Oriental i Sverige : samtida möten och gränssnitt*, ed. Simon Ekström and Lena Gerhlm, 1. uppl ed. (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2006) 77-104, for Middle Easterners' experiences, Central/East Europeans are often perceived as the "other" in attitude surveys for example, Anders Lange and Charles Westin, *Den mångtydiga toleransen* (Stockholm: Centrum för invandringsforskning CEIFO, 1997).

70 The word Scandinavia has traditionally been used to describe Norway, Sweden and Denmark, although some argue for the inclusion of Finland in the definition "Skandinavien," *Nationencyklopedin*, "Scandinavia," *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, 2010). In line with this, Finland is included in Scandinavia in this thesis.

nam, Thailand, China and the Philippines (SEA).

- » *West European*: Those who have their origin in for example Germany, Great Britain, France, USA, Canada and New Zealand (WE).

Throughout the thesis, these groups refer to and include everybody who has their origin in these countries, regardless of whether they were born in or outside Sweden. The term “immigrant background” is also used to refer to persons who have their origin outside Sweden regardless of whether they are born in or outside Sweden. It is important to note once again that these groups are ideal-types based on the common experiences mapped out in previous studies due to their non-Swedishness and visible differences, which is discussed in the section, race in contemporary Sweden. It cannot be stressed enough that the groups are not defined according to biological difference but rather in terms of their common experiences in a Swedish context. However, criticism can be leveled as to whether a geographical and national origin can define what is called racial category and visible differences or not. For example including North America and Oceania in the category West European is problematic since there are many racial and ethnic variations within the countries. The group African can also be seen to be problematic, since differences in religious and social status are large within the area and in the countries that I name as examples. I am fully aware of these issues when operationalizing these racial categories.⁷¹ Categories that I have constructed are again only based on the assumption of the physical features associated with the countries of origin as Rooth applies in his study (2002) and “procedural devices one *uses* to make an interpretation” (D’Andrade 1992:53).⁷² As discussed previously, these 11 groups have been constructed as a methodological convenience and should function as ideal-types from which the respondents can evoke meaning. The purpose of these groups is therefore not to essentialize them or present them as fixed categories. Here again, I cannot stress enough that marking or categorizing individuals’ race does not say very much about the person. I have discussed earlier referring to Hughes (1945) that in situations where different characteristics and statuses, or in other words where differences intersect, a “master and subordinate position” of these differences arises, and certain differences are more prioritized than others. This can be connected to Cornell and Hartmann’s argument on

71 Another criticism towards the racial groups that appear in this study is the division within the white European groups. This is intentionally done to test the perception of different European groups. Moreover, the groups that are constructed do not take religious differences into account.

72 It is also worth mentioning that four groups, African, Latin American, Middle Easterner and South/East Asian are the groups that Allan Pred defines and names as racial groups in Sweden in his works (2000, 2004).

“thick” and “thin” identification as well. (2007:86). In different situations, race may have no meaning while gender, class, age or ethnicity may matter more. For example, individuals having origins in South/East Asia may be categorized as belonging to one group however they can be perceived differently in a Swedish context if it is known specifically that the individuals come from for example Japan, China or Thailand. However this study’s focus is to examine the spontaneous and initial attitudes towards different groups: Again, people cannot perceive difference if visible differences are not seen. What are the attitudes that come forward when only categories which evoke schemas are presented?

Adoptees deviate considerably from other immigrant and minority groups in Sweden, not only in their language ability, cultural background and social networks but also in how people perceive them. Adoptees grow up as Swedes with a Swedish sounding name and are often times treated as Swedes.⁷³ The only thing that separates them from the majority population is their physical visibility. Therefore, observing attitudes toward the three adopted groups separately has the potential of revealing underlying attitudes toward different racial groups and ideas of race in contemporary Swedish society.

My position and my research subject

[...] I need to devise methods for naming the unnamable, marking the unmarked, seeing the invisible, and analyzing why normative whiteness depends so much on not being recognized as a racial and social category (Kenny 2000:114).

The concept of race, which is almost taboo in Sweden, is applied in this study. Like Kenny, who tried to probe the meaning of whiteness, I need to devise methods for naming the unnamable, to probe the meaning of race, since racial categories are invisible in Swedish society. Due to the presum-

73 There are studies that show that adoptees experience discrimination and racism because of their skin color. See for example Hübinette and Tigervall (2009), Tobias Hübinette and Carina Tigervall, "Forstrad till svensk - sedd som främling," *I&M. Invandrare & minoriteter* 6 (2008): 22-7, "To be Non-white in a Colour-Blind Society: Conversations with Adoptees and Adoptive Parents in Sweden on Everyday Racism," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 30.4 (2009), Dan-Olof Rooth, "Etnisk diskriminering och 'Sverige-specifik' kunskap - vad kan vi lära från studier av adopterade och andra generationens invandrare?" *Ekonomisk Dabatt* 29.8 (2001): 535-46, "Adopted Children in the Labour Market — Discrimination or Unobserved Characteristics?" *International Migration* 40.1 (2002), Sonja Signell, *Unga adopterade kvinnors erfarenheter av kränkningar, relaterade till asiatiskt utseende*, Magister i FHV, Karolinska Institutet, 2006, Sonja Signell and Frank Lindblad, "Degrading attitudes related to foreign appearance: Interviews with Swedish female adoptees from Asia," *Adoption&Forskning* 32.3 (2008): 46-59. See Lene Myong Petersen, "Adopteret: Fortællinger om transnational og racialiseret tilblivelse," (2009) also for adoptees experience in Denmark.

ably profound effects of explicitly writing or explaining the concept of race to the respondents and the interviewees, the word race⁷⁴ was never written or spoken during the survey and interviews. Race is therefore used as an analytical tool. This may raise a question of objectivity, since the interpretation of the results involves imposing the significance of race. There is also an ethical dilemma of violating the culture of not talking and writing about race, as the above quoted Kenny experienced in her ethnographical research (2000).

Another important and crucial issue is the researcher's position in the research. I have visible characteristics that signal that I structurally do not belong to the majority population. By visible I do not only mean Asian appearance, but also my name and language skills. In other words, I do not share the ascribed characteristics of the majority population and what is considered to be the norm of Swedishness. In the survey it is possible to hide this to some extent by producing a survey in grammatically correct Swedish, in which case the only visible characteristic would be my name. However, in the interview situation, visibility cannot be avoided. In telephone interviews, the visibility becomes obvious through my language use, and in face-to-face interviews through my language skills and my appearance.

This leads to a discussion about the role of the researcher and can be connected to the methodological consideration of the Race of Interviewer Effect (RIE). While there are different positions to the methodological question of knowledge production, the existing methodological discussions about the social positions of researchers revolve around the issues of white researchers' challenges in approaching the minority population, or concerns among researchers of ethnic and racial minority background in studying their own groups or other minority groups (e.g. Adamson and Donovan 2002; Sands, Bourjolly and Roer-Strier 2007). As Hoong Sin advocates, I believe that there is an apparent lack of attention in the current methodological consideration in the field of ethnic relations (Hoong Sin 2007). In the following discussion, I would like to open up a methodological discussion that has not been taken up sufficiently in the field today: What happens when a researcher with an ethnic and racial minority background researches the white majority population?

Race of interviewer effect

RIE refers to the “‘response bias’ and ‘measurement error’ that has been recorded in the ‘adjustment’ that people make to their opinions and attitudes when questioned by an interviewer from another racial or ethnic group” (Gunaratnam 2003:54). It is a process of “avoiding responses that

74 "Ras" in Swedish.

might offend the interviewer of the ‘opposing’ race, and of being frank (or at least franker) with interviewers of one’s own race” (Hatchett and Schuman 1975:527). RIE can be found not only in face-to-face interview situations, but also in questionnaires filled out in the presence of an interviewer (Campbell 1981). Moreover, it was found by Cotter et al that RIE can also be detected in telephone surveys, which do not involve any face-to-face interactions (Cotter, Cohen and Coulter 1982). The majority of the earlier studies on RIE involve white researchers and non-white interviewees, especially in survey settings (e.g. Davis 1997; Davis 1997; Lawrence, Huffman and Belk 2010; Pompper 2010).

Previous studies show that both the minority and the majority experience RIE. Although RIE cannot be identified in all kinds of survey and interview situations, it is generally seen in questions dealing with racial issues, and especially in questions that ask the respondents about the interviewer’s race (Cotter, Cohen and Coulter 1982). Three theoretical interpretations of RIE have been discussed in an attempt to explain why RIE occurs: racial difference, social desirability and mere presence (Krysan and Couper 2003:365). When it comes to RIE and white respondents, social desirability and mere presence are mainly discussed as the cause of RIE.

Very few studies are available on RIE involving non-white interviewees and white informants in surveys situations, and especially in interview situations and other qualitative inquiries. Some of the earlier survey studies involving white respondents are Athey’s study and Hatchett and Schuman’s study. Athey et al carried out two experiments on white respondents. In the first experiment, an Asian (later on referred to as Chinese) and a white interviewer interviewed white respondents about the degree of acceptance of Asians. In the second experiment, a black and a white interviewer interviewed middle-class white college students and property owners about “the effect on property values of [blacks] moving into their neighbourhood” (Athey et al. 1960:244). In both these experiments, it was evident that “both the [Asian] and [black] interviewers found that people were sensitive to their racial origin” (Athey et al. 244):

The [Asian] interviewer (Chinese) was asked particularly if she were Japanese. [M]any respondents making a point of telling her that [Asians] are respectable people. The [black] interviewer was told by some respondents ‘I know several wonderful colored people,’ and ‘I’m all for you.’ and similar comments. (Athey et al. 244)

In Hatchett and Schuman’s study on white respondents and RIE, it was found that the respondents gave more liberal and pro-black answers when

they were interviewed by a black person. The difference caused by RIE was over 45 percent on the question of the acceptance of racial intermarriage (Hatchett and Schuman 1975:525). A more recent study by Krysan and Couper also showed that not only the racial majority but also the racial minority modify their answers in the presence of a member of a different race. In this study, Krysan and Couper compared the results of live and virtual interviews. African American interviewees expressed greater social distance and negative feelings toward whites when the interviewer was African American compared to when the interviewer was white. Both African American and white interviewees expressed more conservative attitudes toward racial policies and modified their perception of discrimination in the dialogues with the interviewer of the opposite race (Krysan and Couper 2003). Furthermore, Cotter et al's study indicates that RIE has a greater impact among white respondents than among black respondents (1982).

In a qualitative setting, Kim, who conducted research in Tennessee and Mississippi, writes about his experience of being ascribed with stereotypical characteristics that come with his phenotype:

In the field, I experienced a constant pressure to conform to the role expected of an Asian. Almost all of the southerners I studied during my fieldwork expected me to behave as a foreigner. I do not think they had consciously constructed a model of what an Asian should be, but they had enough explicit notions to constitute a stereotype. For example, an Asian should have yellowish skin and straight black hair, be short and stocky, and wear eye glasses. He must say 'thank you' more than three times for every simple thing or event, even if it is not deserving of so much appreciation. He ought to be polite and humble in his manner. But more than anything else, he should not speak English fluently. (Kim 1977:13-14)

Hoong Sin, in his article on ethnic matching in qualitative research, identifies with Kim's experiences of being expected to act as an Asian. When interviewing white informants, Hoong Sin was complimented on his fluency in English, even though the interviewees received information about Hoong Sin before the interview through the initial letter and telephone calls. He also noted that other stereotypes of Asians, such as being polite and humble, were applied to him. All these stereotypes, Hoong Sin writes, "reverse the conventional power dynamic that tends to privilege the researcher" (2007:492). In contrast to Hoong Sin, who received admiring comments about his fluency in English, Tang, interviewing British female academics, discusses her experience of being in a linguistically subordinate position. Interviewing in English, Tang, whose first language is Chi-

nese, felt uneasy at times about communicating in English. She also received comments of disagreement or specification about her choice of words in interview questions. Tang expresses that she felt an element of British cultural superiority over the foreigner and the cultural assumptions and subjective perceptions embedded in the language (2002:715). Kim, Hoong Sin and Tang's experiences are interesting because they are all of East Asian origin, as I am.

One need to be Caesar in order to understand Caesar?

A group of scholars, with a belief that interviewees would give more "honest" or "accurate" responses to researchers of a similar social position, advocated gender, racial and ethnic "matching" of the researcher and the interviewees (Essed 1990; Fine 2004; Archer 2002). The debate on RIE and "matching" can be linked to the classical conception, insider and outsider perspective, of the social positions of researchers and interviewees. In short, Merton writes, the Insider doctrine claims that "the Outsider has a structurally imposed incapacity to comprehend alien groups, statuses, cultures and societies" (1972:15). Therefore, it is only the Insider who can understand the Insiders and it is only the Outsider who can understand the Outsiders. Merton criticizes the extreme doctrine of both Insider and Outsider and states that we are all both structurally Insiders and Outsiders in different contexts:

[...] one must be one in order to understand one – is deceptively simple and sociologically fallacious (just as we shall see is the case with the total Outsider doctrine). For, from the sociological perspective of the status set, "one" is not a man or a black or an adolescent or a Protestant, or self-defined and socially defined as middle class, and so on. Sociologically "one" is of course, all of these and, depending on the size of the status set, much more. (Merton 15)

"One need not be Caesar in order to understand Caesar" said Weber, rejecting the extreme Insider and Outsider thesis (Merton 1972:31). While a group of researchers advocates the matching of the gender, race and ethnicity of the interviewer and the interviewees, another group of researchers has stressed that the matching of gender, race and ethnicity would not necessarily reduce the power relation in an interview situation and lead to a more "accurate" and non-marginalized interpretation of the phenomenon studied (Gallagher 2003; Gunaratnam 2003; Gallagher 2000; Hill 2002): Especially in cases of ethnic and racial matching, some scholars advocate that the idea of matching would only mark out the ethnic and racial differences as something fixed (Hoong Sin 2007; Gunaratnam

2003). As Merton claims, the simple dichotomy of Insiders and Outsiders lacks consideration for the subsets of social structures and omits some theoretical and epistemological questions (1972). Moreover, as some researchers argue, the idea of matching ignores the dynamic interplay of social difference and is guilty of recreating the simplistic belief of similarity and difference among the members of racial and ethnic groups (e.g. Gunaratnam 2003; Tinker and Armstrong 2008).

It is well established that respondents and interviewees have the potential to give socially desirable answers in qualitative studies and interview settings. Punch discusses that interview data is “never simply raw, but are always situated and textual” (2005:177) and that the interviewer effect in general becomes unavoidable. Holm and Solvang also write that “respondents do not like to disappoint the researcher with the answers they give – therefore their answers can be closer to an expression of what the respondents believe the researcher wants to hear, rather than what they themselves think”⁷⁵ (1997:106). Therefore, how the interviewees are affected by the interview situation that I create may not be drastically different from how the interviewees are affected by other interview situations where the interviewer and interviewee belong to the majority population but where gender, religious or class boundaries are crossed.

Gunaratnam writes that, “the question then becomes not whether ‘race’ and ethnicity affect interviewing relationships, but, rather, *how* and *when* racialized dynamics are produced and negotiated within the interview process, and how they are given meaning in analysis” (2003:76). Rhodes and Phoenix say that even though race has an effect on interviews and what the informants may say, it is improper to conclude that such differences account for the “truthfulness” of the responses (Phoenix 1994; Rhodes 1994). As Gunaratnam writes, what is important, and where the focus should be placed, is being aware of the kinds of meaning the construction of race and ethnicity gives to the interviews, how they are dealt with in the analysis and what kind of meaning race and ethnicity have in the wider social context. This process is similar to being self-reflexive in analyzing any other interview content and situation. After all, as Merton claims, “[t]he role of the social scientist concerned with achieving knowledge about society requires enough detachment and trained capacity to know how to assemble and assess the evidence without regard for what the analysis seems to imply about the worth of one’s group” (1972:41). As Gunaratnam indicates, racial and ethnic differences between the researcher and the interviewees and the effect and impact that this might have should

75 Undersökningsspersonerna vill då ogärna göra forskaren besviken med de svar de ger – svaren kan då snarare bli ett uttryck för vad de tror att forskaren vill höra än för vad de själva tycker.

not be regarded as a possible bias or obstacle to getting honest answers, but rather as an opportunity for minoritized researchers to research “matters that are of critical significance to our own lives” (2003:103). Gunaratnam’s claim is comparable to that of Merton, that “[w]e no longer ask whether it is the Insider or the Outsider who has monopolistic or privileged access to social truth; instead, we begin to consider their distinctive and interactive roles in the process of truth seeking” (1972:36).

The results and conclusions that I as an Outsider, Asian, young, female protestant researcher gain by interviewing a white, young, female protestant might be different from the results that an Insider, white, young, female protestant researcher reaches by interviewing a white, young, female protestant. However, this possible difference is just a *difference* that enriches the IMER field and that allows and gives us the possibility to examine *how* and *when* the *difference* is negotiated. Once again, as Gunaratnam indicates, *racial and ethnic difference in the interview will open up particular opportunities for minoritized researchers and enabled us to do research on matters that are of critical significance to our own lives* (2003:103). In this sense, my position and the potential methodological issues concerning my study are not unique, but a universal question of what knowledge is.

The preceding chapters have outlined the purpose of the research and its theoretical and methodological orientation. The next chapters move on to present the empirical materials and analysis, together with the description of the research process. Part 1 engages in the presentation of the quantitative results, and Part 2 presents the qualitative inquiry on attitudes toward interracial relationships.

PART 1: MAPPING PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

This section presents the results of the first stage of the mixed methods inquiry, quantitative analysis and results. The quantitative data collection process is explained first and is followed by a presentation of the descriptive results. The results of the logistic regression analysis are then presented. The chapter concludes with a summary of the theoretical analysis and a discussion of the results.

Data

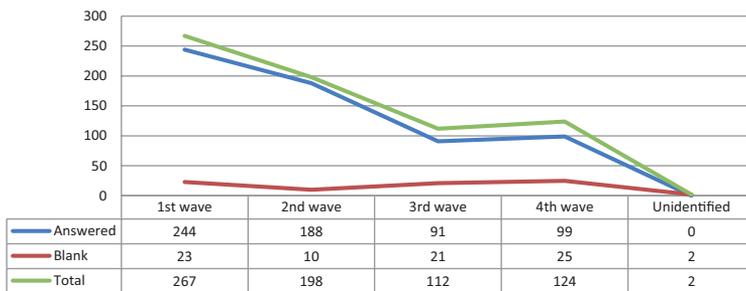
The quantitative data was collected by means of a self-reporting questionnaire containing a variety of general statements and questions about different groups, including interracial dating, marriage, childbearing and number of contacts with persons of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. The written language of the survey was Swedish: the questions and statements that appear in this dissertation have been translated from Swedish to English. The questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1.⁷⁶

76 A pilot study involving a total of 16 Swedish respondents, of whom 7 were male and 9 were female, was conducted in the questionnaire construction phase. Taking the responses gathered from the pilot study into consideration, both by the answers given on the questionnaire and comments received in interviews with six of the respondents, the questionnaire was reconstructed to the final version. The study and the questionnaire were approved of the Regional Ethics Committee in Lund in November 2008. All the practical aspects involved in the survey, from constructing the layout and printing out the questionnaires to sending, scanning and registering the results to SPSS, were dealt with by Kinnmark Information AB., which has considerable experience of carrying out surveys for the public and private sectors. The questionnaire promised respondents confidentiality and anonymity; together with Kinnmark Information AB I worked with the material accordingly. Kinnmark Information AB follows the Personal Data Act and Privacy Act strictly and all the employers who can access the data sign

The postal survey sample was randomly selected from the governmental address registry SPAR and consisted of 2,000 residents of Malmö Municipality between the ages of 18 and 78. Three reminders were sent after the initial sending of the survey. The survey was first sent out on 21st November 2008. The respondents received a copy of the questionnaire together with a cover letter with information about the research (see Appendix 1.1). The first reminder, in a form of a postcard (see Appendix 1.2), was sent out on 2nd December 2008 and the second and the third reminders, with the questionnaire again enclosed, were sent on 5th and 20th January 2009 (see Appendix 1.3). The initial plan was to gather the data until the 10th February 2009. However, as some of the questionnaires were still arriving at that time the data gathering continued for a week more than planned, i.e. until 17th February 2009.

Graph 1, below, describes the time period in which the questionnaires were returned; the majority of the respondents answering the questionnaire responded after the initial approach and the second reminder. A total of 622 people responded to the questionnaire.

Graph 1. Number of questionnaires received after each reminder



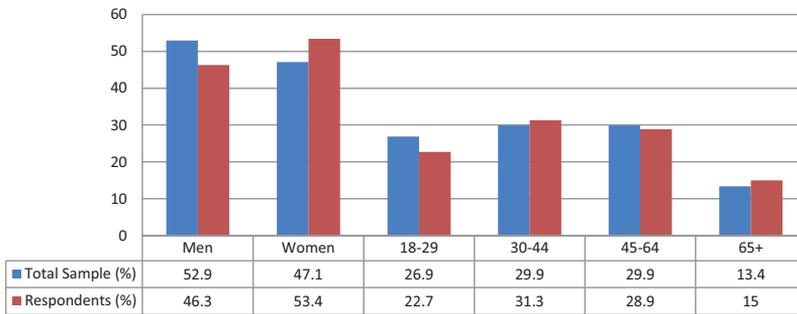
The respondents were given the opportunity to make comments and both encouraging and discouraging comments were made. Some commented on the form of the questionnaire and some explained why they answered the questionnaire in the way they did. Difficulties of choosing one answer to the statements were also expressed. Some freely expressed their hatred of immigrants in Sweden, while others dealt with the question of immigration and immigrants in general in a more balanced way. The relevant comments will be discussed later, in the analysis.

a Confidentiality Agreement. Kinnmark Information AB guarantees that no personal information that makes it possible to identify who has answered what will be disclosed, and that the data file that is delivered is always anonymous. All the responses to the questionnaires have been scanned and presented in the form of numbers, except for the comments that respondents made at the end of the questionnaire.

Missing cases

Excluding the naturally lost cases, a total of 622 (32%) out of 1948 individuals answered the questionnaire. In the majority of the naturally lost cases (N=35) the wrong address had been used, and the rest were reported as absent from home, moving abroad, physically challenged or ill, or being a non-Swedish speaker. Information was available about the randomly selected 2000 individuals' gender and age. Comparing the original sample with the number responding to the questionnaire, the return rate was lower among men and individuals in the age category 18-29. Graph 2, below, shows the comparison of the proportion of people in each gender and age category among the total sample and the respondents. It can be seen that female respondents are slightly overrepresented in the sample analyzed. Looking at the age category, the sample analyzed is slightly older than the randomly selected 2000 individuals. However, this is not unique to this survey, but is also common in other postal surveys.⁷⁷

Graph 2. Comparison between the respondents and the original sample



Besides the 622 individuals who answered the questionnaire, 79 people returned the questionnaire without filling it in. Forty of these were men and 39 women; 6 respondents belonged to the age category 18-29, 10 were 30-44, 25 were 45-64 and 38 were above 65 of age. The clear majority of the 79 respondents gave no specific answers or reasons for returning the blank questionnaire (N=65), while others wrote that they were not interested in the questions (N=10). The rest gave age, time and difficulty of answering the questions as reasons for returning the survey without filling it in.

Among the 622 people who answered the questionnaire, a couple of respondents were below the age of 18. This may have been because they responded to the questionnaire on someone else's behalf. Eliminating the

⁷⁷ For example Väst-SOM surveys have seen the same tendency since 1995. Rudolf Antoni, *Samhälle opinion massmedia Skåne 2006, 2007*.

two people below the 18 of age, the analysis was carried out on the responses of the 620 respondents who answered the questionnaire.

The return rate of 32% can be seen as problematic. However, studying some of the literature on survey methods⁷⁸ and comparing some of the social characteristics of the 620 respondents with the whole population of Malmö Municipality in 2008, when the survey was carried out, it can be said that the respondents fairly sufficiently reflect the characteristics of the population of Malmö Municipality. Although the sensitive nature and content of the survey might have affected the response rates, the low response rate to a postal survey is not an issue only for this study, especially in the southern part of Sweden. SOM surveys indicate that residents of southern Sweden, Scania, show a tendency to answer postal surveys to a lesser extent compared with the other parts of Sweden and that this tendency is getting worse. For example, the response rate in Scania was 52% in 2007 and 51% in 2009, while in the west of Sweden the rates were 56% and 54% for the same years (Antoni 2007; Johansson and Ohlsson 2009).⁷⁹ A reasonable explanation as to why residents of Scania are less inclined to answer postal questionnaires could not be found. Considering the different procedures and resources of SOM surveys and this survey, a 32% net return rate is reasonable.

Table 8 shows the comparison between the sample analyzed in this study and the whole population of Malmö in 2008, when the survey was carried out. It can be observed that the proportion of people in each category corresponds with the sample and the population of Malmö Municipality. The sample is slightly overrepresented by female respondents, the elderly and respondents with high education attainments, which is not uncommon in the samples of other attitude surveys (e.g. Mella and Palm 2010). However, still keeping in mind that the sample analyzed here may not be representative, my goal with the quantitative study is to map out and understand the pattern and tendency of attitudes towards interracial relationships and treat the result as an indication of attitudes held by the general public.

78 For example, Joseph G.P. Paolillo's experimental study showed that the return rate among those who did not receive any monetary incentive was 36%. Joseph G. P. Paolillo and Peter Lorenzi, "Monetary Incentives and Mail Questionnaire Response Rates," *Journal of Advertising* 13.1 (1984). Shannon and Bradshaw's study on a comparison of response rate of postal and electoral survey conducted among college faculties, they received 44% from the postal survey. David M. Shannon and Carol C. Bradshaw, "A Comparison of Response Rate, Response Time, and Costs of Mail and Electronic Surveys," *The Journal of Experimental Education* 70.2 (2002).

79 SOM surveys reach these response rates by sending a notice letter and a survey on seven different occasions and reminding respondents by telephone on three different occasions, and by sending an abridged version of the survey.

Table 8. Descriptive characteristics of the sample compared to the whole of Malmö Municipality (%)

	Sample (N=620)	Malmö Municipality (N=280.801) (Age 18-78)
Gender		
Male	46.3	49.0 (49.6)
Female	53.4	51.0 (50.4)
Age		
18-29	22.7	20.2 (26.3)
30-44	31.3	23.1 (30.2)
45-64	28.9	23.0 (30.1)
65-78	15.0	9.8 (12.8)
Population with immigrant background ⁸⁰	33.2	37
Population born outside Sweden	27.9	28
Top ten immigrant groups	Denmark	Denmark
	Poland	Former Yugoslavia
	Iraq	Iraq
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Poland
	Finland	Bosnia and Herzegovina
	Turkey	Lebanon
	Germany	Iran
	Hungary	Hungary
	Macedonia	Germany
	Bosnia	Finland
Education at higher level ⁸¹ (20-64)	45.6	40.0
Political Preference ⁸²		
Alliance (center-right) ⁸³	44.3	43.8
Red-Greens (social democratic-left) ⁸⁴	45.4	46.8

80 The percentage for the sample shows the percentage of those who have reported to have at least one parent with an immigrant background or who being adopted from other countries, while the percentage for the municipality shows the percentage of those who were born outside Sweden or have two parents who were born outside Sweden.

81 The percentage for the sample shows the percentage of those who have reported to have completed above secondary education (college and university), while for the municipality it is the percentage of those who have one or more year of college or university education at undergraduate and graduate level.

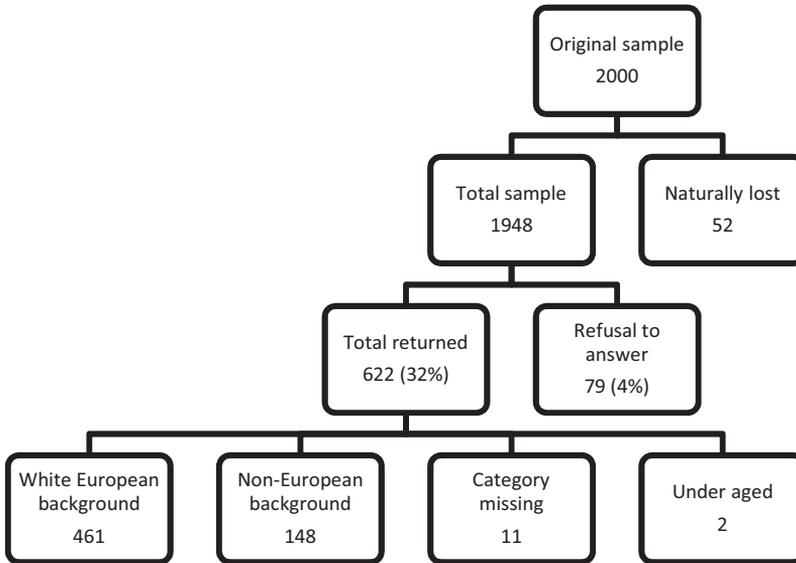
82 Based on the response to the question of which party respondents voted for in the national election in 2006. Information relating to the municipality was taken from the election report published by the municipality, also based on the national election in 2006. Malmöstad, Valet i Malmö 2006 (Election in Malmö 2006). The percentage for the sample eliminates 94 individuals who answered that they did not vote.

83 Consists of the Moderate Party, the Center Party, the Liberal People's Party and the Christian Democrats.

84 Consists of the Social Democratic Party, the Left Party and the Green Party.

Respondents

Table 9. Description of the original sample and the respondents



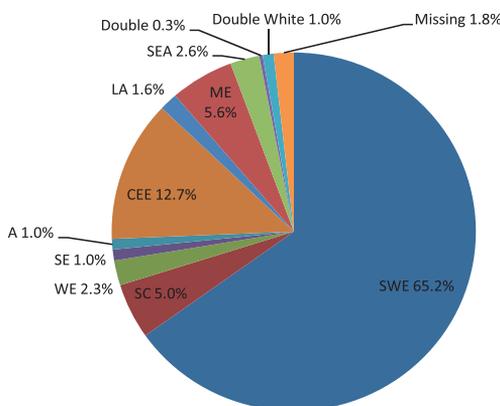
According to the answers to the question of immigrant background, 620 individuals were divided into respondents of *white European background* and *non-European background* for the purpose of this study. This study analyzes the survey respondents in the two groups, since the aim is to understand the majority society's attitudes and opinions toward interracial relationships. The countries of immigrant background the individuals reported were systematically categorized into nine groups.⁸⁵ Respondents who reported that neither of their parents originated from a country other than Sweden nor were adopted (N=404), and those who reported an origin in Scandinavia (N=31), Southern Europe (N=6), Western Europe (N=14) including North America, and respondents who reported a mixture of the previously named origins (N=6) were defined as *respondents of white European background* (N=461). The respondents who reported an origin in other groups were categorized as *respondents of non-European background* (N=148).⁸⁶ The category of white European background and

85 African, Central/East European, Latin American, Middle Easterner, Scandinavian, South European, South/East Asian, West European and Swedish. The definitions can be found in Appendix 1 and in the Methodological orientation. Respondents who reported being adopted were incorporated into the racial categories.

86 I include Central/East European in the non-European category because the reasons for immigration to Sweden are diverse compared to other European groups and research in Sweden often shows the ambiguous status of the group and differentiate Central/East European from other European groups. I am fully aware of the limitation of the two categories white European and non-European.

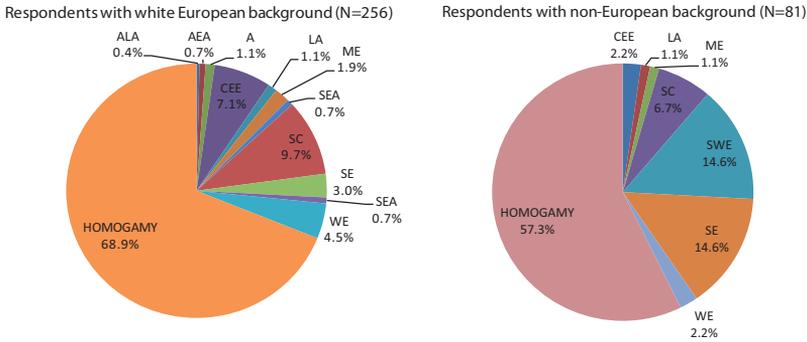
non-European background was based on the assumption of features associated with the countries of origin, as applied by Rooth in his study (2001; 2002). I am fully aware of the limitation of the two categories. Mattsson discusses that perception of Swedishness is based on the visibility, “look like a Swede” and “have a Swedish appearance” which has a direct connotation to whiteness and Europeanness (2005:150). It cannot be stressed enough that this division of white European and non-European is simply a methodological convenience to depict what is perceived to be majority and minority groups in the Swedish context. Diagram 1 gives details of sample’s origins.

Diagram 1. Survey respondents’ backgrounds



Since the study examines attitudes toward interracial marriage, it is interesting to see whether the respondents are or have been involved in interracial relationships. Among the 256 people of white European background who reported being currently married or cohabitating, 87% were married to someone of Swedish, Scandinavian, West and South European origin. Among the 81 people of non-European background who reported being currently married or cohabitating, 57% were in a marriage relationship with someone of the same origin. The homogamy among the respondents of white European background and non-European background was lower than the statistics presented by SCB (2010). One of the reasons for the higher number of individuals engaged in interracial marriage could be due to the geographic characteristics of Malmö and the topic of the study. Diagram 2, below, shows the origin of the current marriage partner as reported by the respondents. More detailed statistics on the relationship history and descriptive statistics of the sample can be found in Appendix 2.

Diagram 2. Origin of the partner in the current relationship



Data analysis

The data was analyzed using SPSS. First, descriptive statistics, together with a 95% confidence interval, are presented in order to understand and demonstrate the patterns of attitudes toward interracial relationships in different groups. A separate analysis was conducted for the respondents of white European (N=461) and non-European (N=148) background.

After observing the descriptive statistics, the focus of the analysis was solely on the respondents of white European background in order to understand the majority's attitudes. To further examine attitudes toward interracial dating, marriage and childbearing, a logistic regression model was executed for each group appearing on the questionnaire. The logistic regression model eliminated the respondents who had not given answers to all the variables analyzed in the model, which is why the number of individuals analyzed varies according to the questions. As in Johnson and Jacobson's study (2005) which examines social settings of contact and attitudes toward interracial marriage, age, sex, education, region and amount of contact were analyzed in the logistic regression analysis with a view to observing the effect of the background variables on attitudes toward interracial marriage. To determine the effect of the background variables on the amount of general and friendship contact, a logistic regression model analyzed the correlation between the amount of contact and different variables, with the outcome variable of contact (coded 1) and no contact (coded 0). The second model, analyzing the attitudes toward interracial relationships, utilized the outcome variable of positive/negative attitudes. Responses to the survey responses were divided into two categories: *agree* (coded 1) and *disagree* (coded 0). The column marked "interracial" in the analysis represents the sum of all eight groups. Age and friendship were analyzed as categorical variables.

As mentioned above, the size of the sample analyzed in the logistic regression analysis is smaller than that used for the descriptive statistics, due

to the missing values of the different background variables. The logistic regression model only contains those respondents who gave answers to all the variables analyzed. Comparing the background variables of the respondents, it can be seen that the respondents in the white European sample examined in the logistic regression analyses are slightly younger, more highly educated and have more of a center-right political position than the 461 white European respondents, the original sample and the population of Malmö Municipality (see Appendix 2).

Although the sample analyzed in this study is small, it is quite compatible in relation to the population of Malmö Municipality. In view of this, my goal with the quantitative study is to map the patterns and tendencies of the respondents' attitudes toward interracial relationships as an indication of the attitudes that exist in the wider society.

Important background variables

Age is a crucial variable in relation to general attitudes. In previous studies conducted in Sweden it is shown that older people tend to have more negative attitudes toward immigrants compared to the younger population (Lange and Westin 1997; Integrationsverket 2006; Demker 2006; Mella and Palm 2010; Mella 2007; Mella and Palm 2009). Moreover, according to studies done in the U.S., interracial relationships are more common among younger people (Joyner and Kao 2005). Based on the year of birth stated in the questionnaire, the age of the respondents included in the sample was between 18 and 78. Age was divided into three age categories for the purpose of the analysis: 327 people were aged from 18 to 44 years (234 white European and 93 non-European), 177 were 44 to 64 (135 white European and 42 non-European), 93 people were 65 to 78 (82 white European and 11 non-European).

In general attitude surveys in Sweden it is known fact that women express more favorable and tolerant opinions, although the differences are not always statistically significant (Integrationsverket 2006; Demker 2006; Mella and Palm 2010). However, the picture seems to be different when it comes to attitudes toward interracial marriage. Hirschl et al's study showed that marriage significantly enhances the odds of affluence for females and not as significantly for males; therefore the decision to marry is more important for females than males (2003). In a study examining gender differences in the desired characteristics when searching for a partner for both short-term and long-term relationships, the results showed that men generally focus more on physical attractiveness, while women focus more on earning capacity (Stewart, Stinnett and Rosenfeld 2000). In another experimental study, women placed greater weight on

the intelligence and race of their partner than men (Fisman et al. 2006). Clark-Ibanez and Felmler's study also show that men focus on attraction more than other factors such as ethnic heritage in their decisions about whom they would date (2004). Frankenberg's qualitative study on the social construction of whiteness also indicated that women are more concerned with racial boundaries in marriage, especially when the racial groups are seen as different and stigmatized (1993). Several studies in the U.S. that have specifically examined attitudes toward interracial marriage among whites show that gender does not affect attitudes toward interracial marriage (Johnson and Jacobson 2005; Wilson and Jacobson 1995; Hughes and Tuch 2003), while other studies show that men are more willing to interracially date than women (Yancey 2009; Yancey 2002; Gardyn 2002; Todd et al. 1992). Moreover, Mills and Daly's study show that females report more negative prejudicial attitudes toward interracial relationships than male respondents (1995). In this study some 326 people reported being female: 242 with a white European background and 84 of non-European background. Among the 281 male respondents, 218 have a white European background and 63 are of non-European origin.

Education and income are believed to have correlations and both function as a proxy of socioeconomic status. Income is confirmed as significantly affecting whites' attitudes toward interracial marriage in some studies in the U.S. (Johnson and Jacobson 2005; Wilson and Jacobson 1995; Hughes and Tuch 2003). On the other hand, in a general attitude survey in Sweden no differences are observed between the different income groups, whereas educational level has a significant effect on attitudes (Mella and Palm 2010; Mella 2007). Previous studies in the U.S. illustrate that education has a positive correlation to attitudes toward intermarriage (Wilson and Jacobson 1995). Also in Sweden, education has been found to contribute to more favorable and generous attitudes towards immigrants in general (Lange and Westin 1997; Integrationsverket 2006; Mella 2007). In the analysis income is divided into two categories according to the mean income (25,773 SEK per month) of the 621 individuals: 334 individuals reported a monthly income below 26,000 SEK (of whom 90 individuals are of non-European origin). 166 people reported an income above 26,000 SEK (of whom 23 individuals are of non-European origin). It is also shown that approval of interracial marriage is the highest among people with a college/university education and the actual intermarriage rate is also higher among those who are college educated (Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan 1990; Kalmijn 1993). Education is measured as the last education completed and classified into two categories for the purpose of the analysis: secondary or below secondary education and

above secondary education.⁸⁷ Among the respondents of white European background, 233 people reported having secondary or below secondary education, while 216 people reported having above secondary education. Among the respondents of non-European background the numbers are 91 and 47 respectively.

Interracial contact within different social settings

In this thesis, the relationship between the amount of contact and attitudes toward interracial relationships is examined and Contact Hypothesis is tested. Contact Hypothesis has been applied in studies of prejudice in Europe. For example, Pettigrew tested the hypothesis against 1998 national probability samples from France, Great Britain, the Netherlands and West Germany and found that inter-group friendship was a strong and consistent predictor of reduced prejudice as well as pro-immigrant policy preferences. Moreover, Pettigrew shows that reduced prejudice among those with diverse friends generally leads to more positive feelings about a wide variety of out-groups (1997). Other studies that apply Contact Hypothesis include Bratt's study in Norway examining inter-group attitudes in a Norwegian town through a survey of 12-16 year-old adolescents (2002), Wagner et al's analysis of the prejudices toward immigrants held by people in West Germany and East Germany (2003), and Liebkind et al's study of the Finnish speaking minority in Sweden and the Swedish speaking minority in Finland (2004). Some of the questionnaires carried out in Sweden also include questions about the amount of contact with various ethnic groups or religious groups as one of the variables (Lange and Westin 1997; Andersson and Lööv 2004; Otterbeck and Bevelander 2006). The latest survey to be carried out among high school students in Sweden also shows that students who have many friends with an immigrant background are more positive towards immigrants and Muslims. Moreover, this correlation is the strongest for students with a Swedish background, compared to students with an immigrant background (Löwander 2010).

Some prior studies in the field of sociology in the U.S. address the question of contact and attitudes and find that those who have more interracial contact have more positive attitudes toward intermarriage (Johnson and Jacobson 2005; Clark-Ibáñez and Felmler 2004; Ellison and Powers 1994; Emerson, Kimbro and Yancey 2002; Jacobson and Johnson 2006; Levin, Taylor and Caudle 2007; McClintock and Murry

87 In Sweden, secondary education starts from the 9th grade. Post-secondary education and secondary vocational education are also included in secondary education. College and University education at all levels are counted as above secondary education.

2010). For example, Emerson et al studied the effect of prior experiences of interracial contact in schools and neighborhoods in adolescences on the likelihood of having more racially diverse general social groups and friendship circles as adults. The findings included whites, African Americans and Hispanics but not Asians. It showed that 13 percent of married respondents who had racially mixed experiences were interracially married compared to 2.5 percent of those who had no racially mixed experience (Emerson, Kimbro and Yancey 2002). Johnson studies the context of contacts in his thesis on whites' attitudes toward interracial marriages and states that friendship or interracial socializing variables significantly relate to the approval of interracial marriage (2004). Ellison and Powers' research indicates that blacks reporting close white friends are considerably less hostile toward interracial dating and both childhood and adult interracial contact are inversely related to opposition to interracial dating (1994).

Interracial contacts in this study are measured by the amount and variation of contact reported by the respondents. The respondents were asked to report the amount of contact as a percentage (more than 90% Swedes, more than 75% Swedes, 50% Swedes/50% immigrants, more than 75% immigrants, more than 90% immigrants) and the variety of contact by specifying a maximum of three groups they have had contact with, including the alternative indicating contact only with Swedes in each given context.⁸⁸

As stated earlier, previous studies in the U.S. illustrate that friendship has a significant effect on attitudes toward interracial marriage and the actual possibility of intermarrying. Friendship-related interracial contact is measured by the completion of three statements:

1. The friends that I spend most time with are ... (F28)
2. Other acquaintances that I keep in touch with and meet occasionally are... (F29)
3. Those who I invite home to are ... (F30)

Responses to the above statements are summed up and presented as *friendship* variable for the purpose of the analysis.

Less intimate contact is measured by completing a further two statements:

1. I remember that I went to elementary school with ... (F26)
2. (Based on your current occupation) People that I work/study with are ... (F27)

88 Other alternatives are African, Central/East European, Latin American, Middle Eastern, Scandinavian, South European, South/East Asian and West European.

Responses to these two statements are summed up and included in the analysis as *general contact*. Educational settings at an early age and working environment encompass some of the four conditions of optimal contact, although contact in these two contexts is not as intimate and close as friendship.

Descriptive statistics relating to the variety of contact of the survey respondents can be found in Appendix 3. The majority of white European respondents have both general contact and friendship only with Swedes or with Scandinavians. Central/East European is also one of the groups that white European respondents have frequent casual and intimate contact with. The majority of respondents with a non-European background report general and friendship contacts with Central/East European and Middle Easterner, which also are the two biggest non-European respondent groups. Swedes are the third most frequently reported group. Non-European respondents have in general a greater amount of contact with diverse groups of people compared to the respondents of white European background, as was the case for the pattern of interracial contacts among high school students (Löwander 2010). For both respondents of white European and non-European background, it can be assumed that contacts are the most frequent within the same group.⁸⁹ The same pattern can be observed when it comes to the respondents' relationship history, which indicates the choice of partner and the role of social settings (Kalmijn and Flap 2001).

Table 10 shows the cross tabulation of descriptive statistics relating to the amount of contact reported by the white European respondents. It can be observed that the respondents experience more general contact than friendship-related contact; around 40% of the respondents experience both contact in general and contact that are friendship related with one non-European group. It is clear that a proportion of the respondents reported a larger percentage of contact, although such contacts are limited to people of European background.

89 Central/East European and Middle Easterner are the two biggest groups among the respondents with a non-Swedish background.

Table 10. Cross tabulation on the amount and variation of interracial contact among the respondents of white European background

General Contact	Contact with only white Europeans⁹⁰	Contact with one non-European group⁹¹	Contact with more than one non-European group	Total
90% Swedes	95	55	7	158 (34.3%)
75% Swedes	34	109	68	214 (46.4%)
50% Swedes	5	20	22	47 (10.2%)
Total	134 (32.3%)	184 (41.6%)	97 (21.3%)	419
Missing				42

Friendship	Contact with only white Europeans	Contact with one non-European group	Contact with more than one non-European group	Total
90% Swedes	127	86	17	234 (50.8%)
75% Swedes	29	71	36	136 (29.5%)
50% Swedes	18	26	32	76 (16.5%)
Total	174 (39.5%)	183 (40.3%)	85 (18.9%)	446
Missing				15

Since the amount of contact chosen by the respondents could be arbitrary, variety of contact is examined in the analysis. The variety of contact was categorized into three groups for the purpose of analysis: *no contact* (contact with only white Europeans), *little contact* (contact with one non-European group) and *some contact* (contact with more than one non-European group). The non-European groups are not specified, since the numbers of people having contact with each group are not sufficient for the analysis.

Other non-intimate contact is measured by the region in which the respondents grew up⁹² and the residential area in which they currently live. Immigration of the different groups analyzed in this study took place predominantly after the 1970s. As Malmö Municipality has the highest foreign population density, it can be assumed that the younger respondents who have grown up in Malmö had more non-intimate interracial contact during childhood than those who grew up outside Malmö. It can also be speculated that older respondents who have grown up in Malmö have seen the changes that the municipality has gone through over the years, from being a Swedish industrial city to a city with the highest concentra-

90 Contact with only Swedes, Scandinavian, South European and or West European.

91 Contact with African, Central/East European, Latin American, Middle Easterner or South/East Asian.

92 The question asks in which municipality respondents spent the longest time up to the age of 18.

tion of immigrants. Previous studies in the U.S. show that geographically urban and mobile population intermarry more (Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan 1990; Rosenfeld and Kim 2005). Rosenfeld and Kim, using census data, look at couples with at least one partner born in a state different from the state of birth, and find that young couples who are geographically mobile have significantly higher odds of being interracial or same-sex couples. They reason that non-traditional couples are pushed away from the community of origin to a community where they can live without explicit and implicit social and parental sanctions (Rosenfeld 2005). Even from this perspective, it can be interesting to determine whether the region the respondents grew up in affects their attitudes toward interracial marriage. Current residential area also indicates the amount of non-intimate interracial contact experienced by the respondents, and can therefore be of interest to observe.

Attitudes toward interracial relationships

Attitudes toward interracial relationships are determined by asking questions about 12 different groups including Swedes.⁹³ The complete survey can be found on Appendix 1.

Attitudes toward interracial relationships are measured by the following statements in this study:

1. I can imagine dating someone from the following group. (F34. Dating)
2. I can imagine getting married to someone from the following group. (F35. Marriage)
3. I can imagine having children with someone from the following group. (F36. Childbearing)
4. I would react negatively if someone in my family brought a girlfriend/boyfriend from the following group home. (F37. Dating 2)
5. I would react negatively if someone in my family married someone from the following group. (F38. Marriage 2)
6. I would react negatively if someone in my family had children with someone from the following group. (F39. Childbearing 2)
7. I think it is negative that Swedes marry someone from the following group. (F40. Marriage 3)
8. It is accepted in Swedish society that Swedes marry someone from the following group. (F41. Marriage 4)

As shown in previous studies in the U.S., the preference of interracial relationships is assumed to decrease with the degree of commitment, from

93 See the chapter relating to methods.

dating, cohabitating to marriage (McClintock and Murry 2010; Blackwell and Lichter 2004). In view of this attitudes towards three different stages of interracial relationships are examined. The respondents were asked to choose one of the four alternatives for each group: *agree*, *partially agree*, *partially disagree* and *disagree*.

General attitudes toward different groups

The questionnaire has a series of statements concerning attitudes towards different groups in general. General attitudes toward the different groups are measured by means of the following statements.

1. I have a negative picture/perception of the following groups. (F42)
2. I believe that Swedish culture is threatened by the following groups. (F43)
3. Individuals from this group experience racism and ethnic discrimination in Swedish society. (F44)
4. Individuals from this group have difficulties integrating because their appearance is very different from that of Swedes. (F45)
5. Swedes mix too much with individuals from this group. (F46)
6. Individuals from this group have socially and culturally compatible values with those of Swedish society. (F47)

The respondents were asked to choose one of the four alternatives for each group: *agree*, *partially agree*, *partially disagree* and *disagree*.

Important background information: Attitudes toward immigration and immigrants

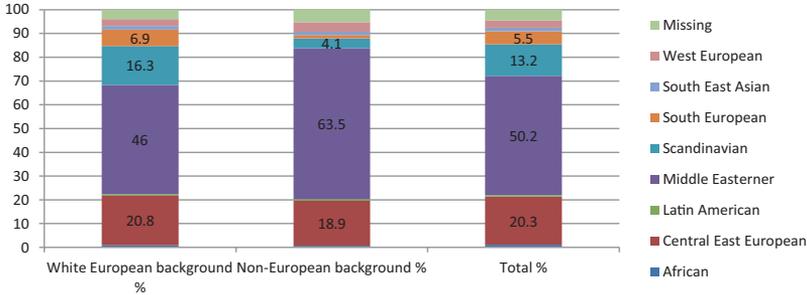
Except for the statements concerning attitudes towards specific groups, the respondents were asked to respond to a series of statements regarding immigration and immigrants in general (see Appendix 1). This section presents the responses to these statements. The responses to statements concerning immigration and immigrants in general also give additional information about the respondents and how they respond to the survey.

Perceived size of the groups and attitudes toward immigrants in Malmö

Respondents were asked to choose one group that they regarded as the majority among the immigrants in Malmö (F17). Graph 3, below, shows the results. As can be observed, both the respondents of white European and non-European background said that Middle Easterner was the group

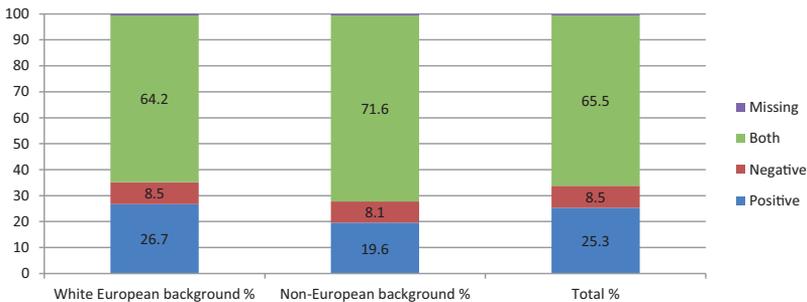
that dominates the immigrant population in Malmö. Middle Easterner is perceived as the biggest immigrant group, even though the actual statistics show that 58% of foreign born residents in Malmö come from Europe and 31% from the Asian continent⁹⁴ (Avdelningen för samhällsplanering, Malmö Stad).

Graph 3. The group perceived as the largest in Malmö (%)



With regard to their basic impression and understanding of the immigrant population in Malmö (F18), the majority of the respondents, both white European and non-European, said that they had both positive and negative images of immigrants in Malmö. It should be noted that when comparing those who answered positively or negatively, more respondents answered that they had a positive image of immigrants in Malmö, rather than a negative one.

Graph 4. Basic image of immigrants in Malmö (%)

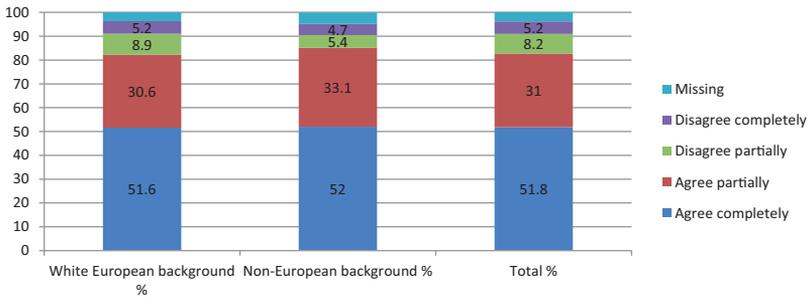


Even though the respondents seem to have mixed feelings about immigrants in Malmö, it can be observed that they are positively inclined towards multiculturalism. Around 80% of the respondents answered that they agreed completely or partially with the statement “It is positive that Malmö in multicultural” (F25). Together with the previous results it can be inferred that the survey respondents seem to be quite positive towards

94 The Asian continent includes countries in the Middle East, South and East Asia.

multiculturalism, although have a mixed understanding of individuals who are supposed to be indicators of multiculturalism. This somewhat inconsequent result is comparable to that in the survey on perception of quality of life in 75 European cities. In the study, residents of the city who agreed that the presence of foreigners is advantageous did not automatically agree that the foreign population is well integrated. Those who were more inclined to think this were the respondents from Sweden (European Commission 2010).

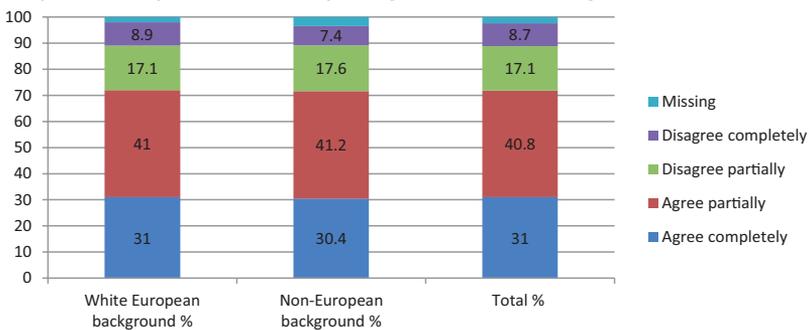
Graph 5. It is positive that Malmö is multicultural (%)



Subtle and implicit prejudice

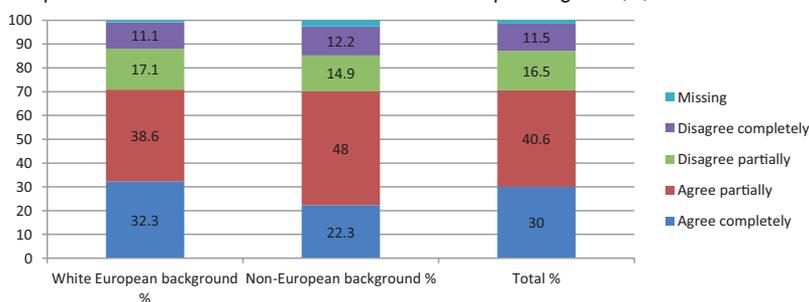
Questions from previous attitude surveys carried out in Sweden that are considered to measure subtle and implicit prejudice are incorporated into the survey. To the statement “It is easy to understand why immigrants demand their rights” (F19), the majority of the respondents answered that they agreed completely or partially with the statement. There is no significant deviation in the way the respondents of white European and non-European background answer the question. As this overlaps with the results from two previous statements, it can be argued that attitudes among the respondents are similar irrespective of whether they have an immigrant background or not.

Graph 6. It is easy to understand why immigrants demand their rights (%)



Again, similar answers were given by the respondents of white European and non-European background to the statement “Sweden as a welfare state can afford to accept immigrants” (F20). Around 70% of the respondents answered that they agreed completely or partially with the statement. Slightly more respondents of white European background answered that they partially disagreed with the statement, although the differences are quite small. This result can be compared with the Integration Barometer (IB) (2007; 2006) and Society Opinion Media survey (SOM) results (Demker). In IB in 2007, 51.8% of all the respondents disagreed and 43.8% agreed⁹⁵ with the statement “Sweden should not receive more immigrants⁹⁶” (Integrationsverket 2007). In SOM surveys, 42 % in 2004 and 39% in 2007 agreed completely or largely with the statement “There are too many foreigners in Sweden” (Demker). Even though the three statements have different connotations, the respondents who answered this study’s questionnaire seem to be as tolerant to the issue of accepting immigrants as the respondents from other survey research.

Graph 7. Sweden as a welfare state can afford to accept immigrants (%)



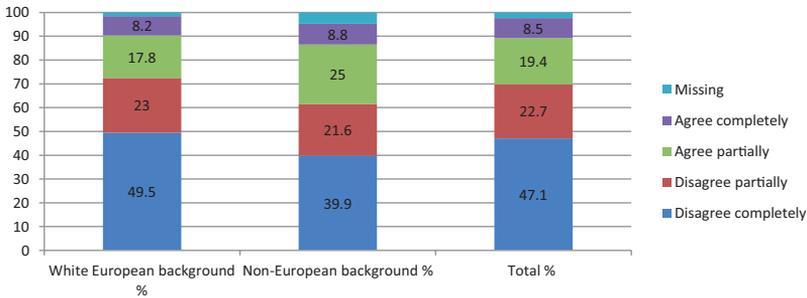
Of the respondents in IB 21.4% in 2005 and 22.8% in 2007 agreed with the statement “The less visible the immigrants the better⁹⁷” (2007; 2006). The result obtained in this study to the exact same statement is very similar. A total of 27.9% answered that they agreed partly or completely with the statement (F23). Both respondents of white and non-European respondents agreed completely to the statement to the same extent, although non-European respondents answered partially agree to a larger extent.

95 In IB “agree” is a sum of respondents who answered “Stämmer helt och hållet” and “Stämmer ganska bra” and “disagree” is a sum of respondents who answered “Stämmer ganska dåligt” and “Stämmer inte alls”.

96 Vi bör inte släppa in fler invandrare i Sverige.

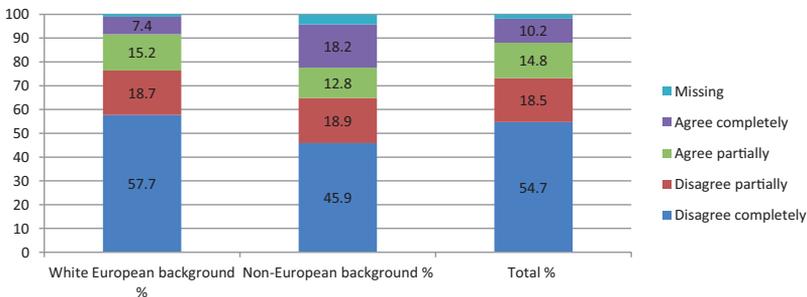
97 Ju mindre man märker av alla utlänningar desto bättre.

Graph 8. The less visible the immigrants the better (%)



The statement “People from different cultures and race should not enter into family relationships and have children⁹⁸” from IB was modified as “Race, culture and religion should not be mixed” in this study (F24). This statement, contrary to the two previous statements, measures explicit prejudice. Twenty five percent of the total respondents answered that they agreed partially or completely with the statement in this study, while 10.8% of the total respondents agreed with the statement in IB 2007 (2007). It should be noted that the respondents with a non-European background responded to the statement slightly more negatively than white European respondents.

Graph 9. Race, culture and religion should not be mixed (%)



Feeling or speaking like a Swede and the role of skin color

In the IB, 10.2% of the total respondents and 9% of the respondents who are born in Sweden disagreed⁹⁹ with the statement “As long as a person feels that she or he is Swedish, the person is a Swede independent of the skin color¹⁰⁰” (2006). In this study, 17% of the total respondents and 12.6% of the respondents of white European background disagreed part-

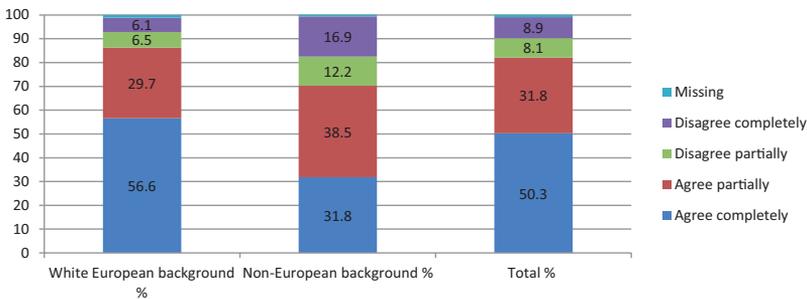
98 Personer från olika kultur och raser bör inte bilda familj och skaffa barn.

99 In the Integration Barometer the answer alternative is described as “Instämmer inte” (Do not agree).

100 Så länge en person känner sig som svensk är hon/han svensk oavsett hudfärg.

ly or completely with the same statement (F21). The respondents of non-European background responded more negatively to the statement than those of white European background; 56.6% of the white European respondents and 31.8% of the non-European respondents answered “agree completely”. Even though the pattern that shows that persons of immigrant background answer to the statement more negatively corresponds with the IB result, the respondents of non-European background responded negatively to the statement to a larger extent than IB’s result (2006).

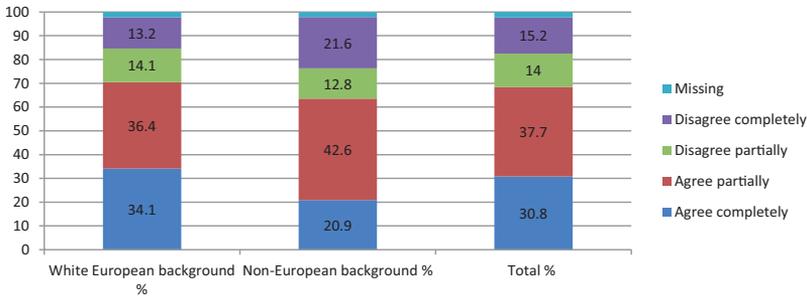
Graph 10. As long as a person feels Swedish he or she is a Swede independent of skin color (%)



Fewer respondents agreed with the statement concerning indication of Swedishness, “As long as an immigrant can speak as good Swedish as a native Swede, he or she is a Swede independent of skin color” (F22), compared to the previous statement. While 86.3% of the respondents of white European background agreed completely or partially to the previous statement on feeling as a Swede as an indication of being a Swede, 70.5% did the same to the question on language. In IB, 10.8% of the respondents answered that they agreed with the statement “To be Swedish, you have to speak Swedish without an accent”¹⁰¹(2006). In this study, twice as many respondents, namely 29.2% of the total respondents, answered correspondingly. The number differs slightly among the respondents of white European and non-European background: 27.3% of the respondents of white European background disagreed partially or completely, as did 34.2% of the respondents with a non-European background.

101 För att vara svensk, måste man prata svenska utan brytning.

Graph 11. As long as an immigrant can speak as good Swedish as a native Swede, he or she is a Swede independent of skin color (%)



Summary of the background information on attitudes toward immigration and immigrants

Some similarities and dissimilarities can be observed in the result from the IB, SOM and this study. The similarities could indicate that the survey respondents in this study are not deviant from the respondents in the IB or SOM surveys. The dissimilarities could be due to the fact that the statements are formulated slightly differently in the surveys. Another possible reason is that the previous studies are carried out with a sample drawn from the whole of Sweden, while this study is only carried out in Malmö. Moreover, this survey utilizes the category white European, while other surveys apply the category “ethnic Swedes” or a category based on the country of birth, which may also account for the different outcomes.¹⁰²

Two things should be noted from the respondents’ responses to the general statements about immigrants and immigration. The first is the ambiguous and mixed feeling of the respondents toward immigrants. Answers to some of the questions concerning multiculturalism are very liberal and tolerant, although respondents admit to the mixed feeling of negativity and positivity towards immigrants. The second thing to note is that even though language is a more visible indication of difference, the invisible “feeling” is more valued as a sign of Swedishness by the survey respondents in this study.

102. Although, because the proportion of non-Swedish respondents included in the white European category is fairly small (N=57), it is not likely that the two different categories would affect the outcome drastically.

Results

Attitudes toward interrelationships among the respondents of white European background

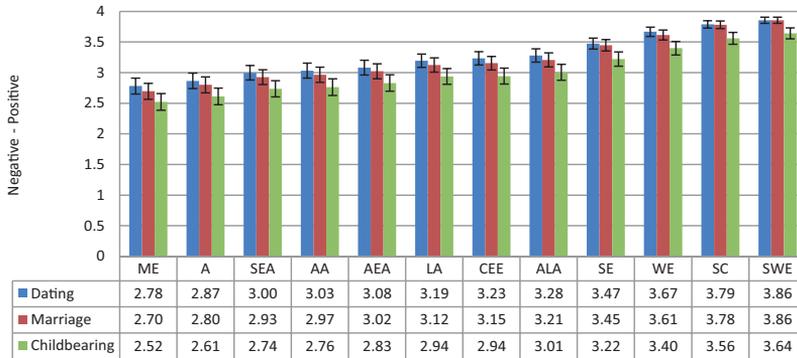
The following analysis is based on 461 respondents of white European background who reported having parents with their origin in Sweden or in other European countries except Central/East Europe. The number of missing cases varies from the minimum of 48 cases and the maximum of 101; therefore the number of individuals analyzed differs according to the statements. Item non-responses could be due to the respondents not having enough information to respond to the statements, refusing to respond specific statements, or simply deciding not to respond to the statements (Madow 1983:20). Looking at the characteristics of the sample of the missing cases, they are more often among elderly, female, respondents with a lower income and education, those who have no contact at all with the different groups and those who live in a residential area with few immigrants. This may indicate that respondents with a higher income, education and more experience of interacting with different groups are slightly more represented in the sample analyzed. Moreover, there are more missing cases for the statements directed at the respondents personally (Dating, Marriage, Childbearing) compared to those statements concerning family members or society (Dating2, Marriage2, Childbearing2). In other words, a non-response may be due to the sensitive nature of the statements.

Descriptive statistics relating to the statements analyzed in this section can be found in Appendix 4. The closer the mean is to 4 the more positive the response is¹⁰³. Descriptive statistics show that the majority of the respondents chose the answer alternative *agree* or *disagree* and not the more neutral alternatives of *partially agree* or *disagree*.

Scandinavian received the most positive responses to the statements on interracial dating, marriage and childbearing, together with West European and South European, followed by Adopted Latin American, Central/East European and Latin American. Adopted East Asian, Adopted African and South/East Asian were in the middle response range and African and Middle Easterner obtained the least positive responses. Graph 12 shows the mean of the responses given to the three statements. The black line represents a 95% confidence interval. It can be observed that the respondents reported slightly more negative attitudes towards marriage and childbearing compared to dating.

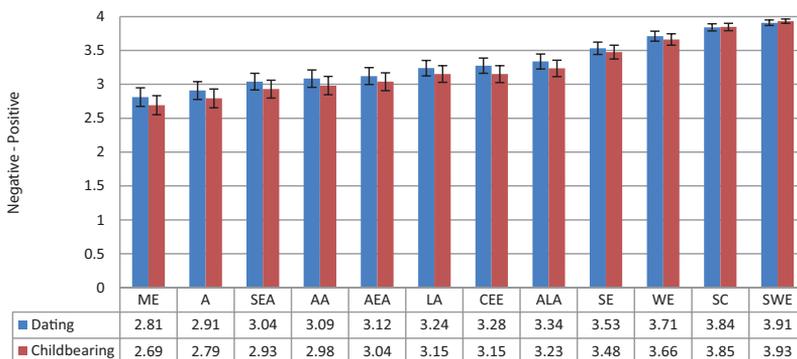
103 Responses are coded *agree* (4), *partially agree* (3), *partially disagree* (2) and *disagree* (1) or *agree* (1), *partially agree* (2), *partially disagree* (3) and *disagree* (4) depending on the statements.

Graph 12. White European respondents' attitudes toward interracial relationships



Since statistically conclusive differences between dating and childbearing can also be observed in the case of homogamy, the assumption can be made that the respondents who disagreed with the statement on childbearing with Swedes do not want to have children. Graph 13 shows the comparison of the responses to the statements on dating and childbearing, eliminating the respondents who answered that they cannot imagine having children with someone of Swedish origin. It can be observed that although not statistically conclusive, the differences in the responses to the statements on dating and childbearing are greater for non-European groups, while responses to childbearing with Swedes and Scandinavians are almost as positive as dating.

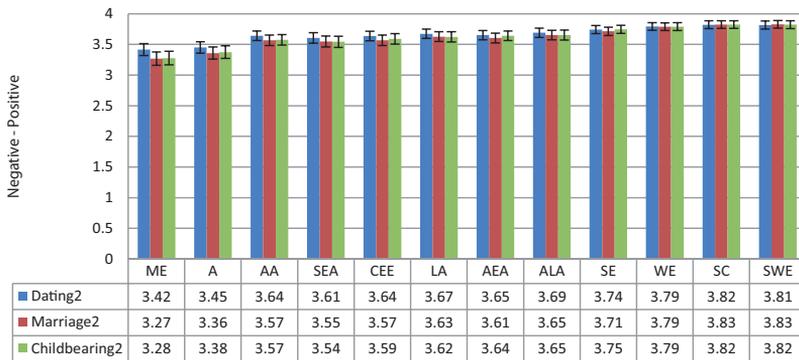
Graph 13. White European respondents' attitudes toward interracial dating and childbearing



Graph 14 shows the comparison between the responses to family members' dating, marriage and childbearing, with the black line indicating a 95% confidence interval. The descriptive statistics can be found in Appendix 4. Looking at the responses to the statement of whether respondents

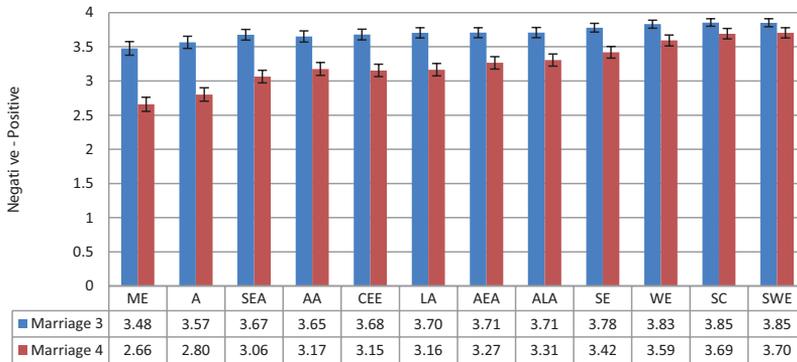
would react negatively if someone in the family dated, married or had children interracially, a clear majority of the respondents said that they would not react negatively. The differences between the groups are small compared to the previous statement of whether the respondents themselves could imagine having an interracial relationship. Although the differences between the groups are much smaller and the average response is more positive, responses to statements about family members dating, marrying or having children with someone of a different origin show the same pattern: Scandinavian, West European and South European received the most positive responses and Middle Easterner the least positive. It should also be noted that Adopted East Asian obtained more positive responses to the statements concerning a family member getting involved in an interracial relationship.

Graph 14. White European respondents' attitudes toward family members getting involved in interracial relationships



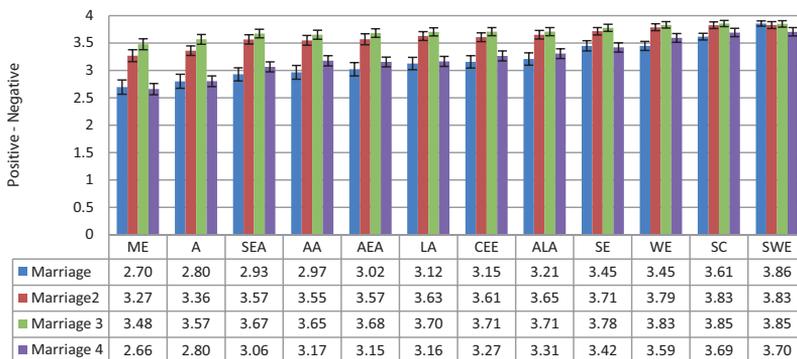
The majority of the respondents of white European background answered that it was not negative for Swedes to marry people of another background, but indicated that such marriages were accepted in Swedish society to a lesser extent. There is a conclusive difference in the responses to the two statements. The differences between the responses are greater for the groups that obtained the most negative responses, namely South East Asian, African and Middle Easterner. Moreover, it is noteworthy that to the statement about whether it was negative for Swedes to marry someone of another origin, the majority of the respondents chose the alternative *disagree*, while to the statement of whether interracial marriage was accepted in Swedish society respondents chose the more ambiguous answer alternatives *partially agree* and *partially disagree* (see Appendix 4). Graph 15 shows the comparison between the responses to the two statements on interracial marriage. The black line represents a 95% confidence interval.

Graph 15. White European respondents' attitudes toward interracial marriage in general



Comparing the responses to the different statements about interracial marriage (Marriage, Marriage₂, Marriage₃, Marriage₄), it can be observed that the responses are not consequent. The respondents have different preferences with regard to choice of partner, although the majority of the respondents answered that they would not react negatively if someone in the family or Swedes in general married someone of another origin. At the same time, they believed that some interracial marriages were not as accepted in Swedish society as others. It should be noted that the answers to whether respondents themselves can imagine marrying someone from the different groups match those relating to the statement of whether the intermarriage of Swedes is accepted in Swedish society.

Graph 16. Comparison of white European respondents' responses to different statements about interracial marriage

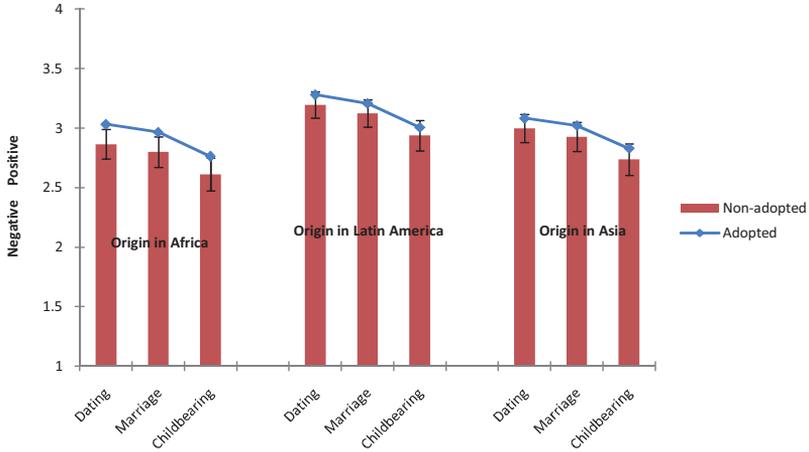


Attitudes towards adoptees among the respondents of white European background

Respondents answered slightly more positively to having interracial relationships with adopted groups compared to the equivalent non-adopted

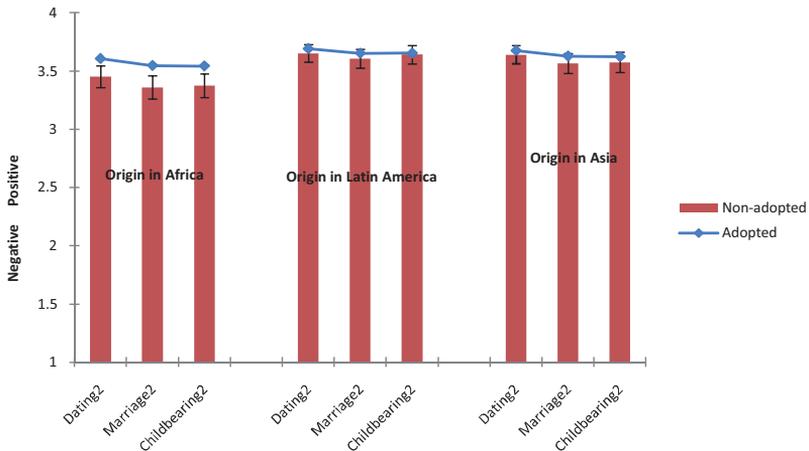
groups; the differences in the mean are greater for Adopted African. However, the differences in the responses between the adopted and non-adopted groups are not statistically conclusive consulting the 95% confidence interval. Graph 17 shows the responses to the statement on interracial relationships.

Graph 17. Comparison of white European respondents' attitudes toward interracial relationships with adopted and non-adopted groups



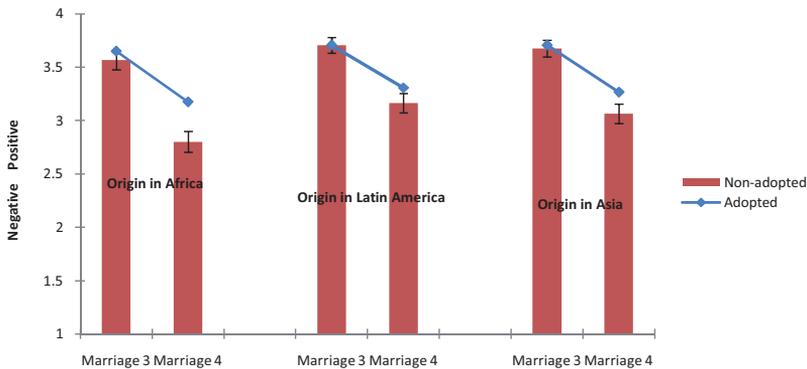
As can be observed in Graph 18, below, the differences between the adopted groups and non-adopted groups are even smaller when it comes to responses to a family member having an interracial relationship. Here again for Adopted African the differences in the mean are greater, although the differences are either very small or non-existent considering the 95% confidence interval.

Graph 18. Comparison of white European respondents' attitudes toward family members getting involved in interracial relationships with adopted and non-adopted groups



On the question of whether respondents think that it is negative that Swedes intermarry (Marriage 3), there are no statistical conclusive differences between the adopted and non-adopted groups. On the contrary, to the question of whether it is socially accepted (Marriage 4), it becomes clear that the respondents believe that adopted groups are more socially accepted as a marriage partner; the differences in the mean are large and the differences are statistically conclusive.

Graph 19. Comparison of white European respondents' attitudes toward interracial marriage in general with adopted and non-adopted groups



Attitudes toward interracial marriage and general attitudes toward different groups

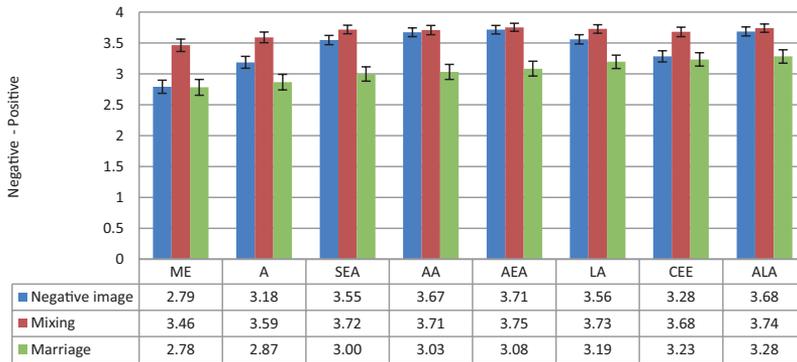
In this section, the attitudes toward interracial marriage and general attitudes toward different groups are compared. Descriptive statistics relating to the statements analyzed in this section can be found in Appendix 5.

The descriptive statistics relating to general attitudes toward different groups raise some interesting points. To the statement of whether white European respondents have a negative image of different groups (F42), the adopted groups received the most positive answers. This indicates the social acceptance of adoptees in Swedish society, as the previous comparison of the statement on the social acceptance of interracial marriage shows. The respondents of white European background answered that they felt the least cultural threat from South/East Asian, followed by Latin American, Central/East European and African and Middle Easterner (F43). It should be kept in mind that South/East Asian is the least preferred partner in a relationship, together with the group African and Middle Easterner. To the question of racism and discrimination (F44) and the question of integration (F45), it should be noted that around one third of the respondents of white European background recognized that adoptees might encounter racism, discrimination and difficulty in integrating into

Swedish society due to their visible differences. It is also interesting to observe that the differences in the responses to adopted African and African are statistically conclusive, which again indicates the social acceptance of adoptees in Swedish society. Responses to the question of social and cultural compatibility (F47) correspond with previous studies looking at cultural proximity (e.g. Mella and Palm 2010). Central/East European and Latin American are perceived to be the most culturally compatible, followed by South/East Asian, African and Middle Easterner.

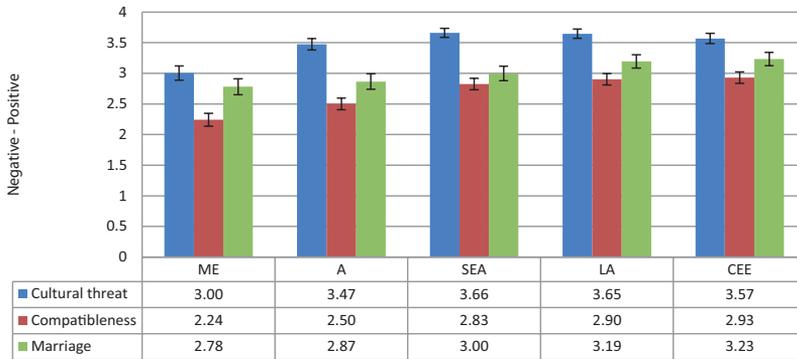
Graph 20, below, compares the responses to interracial marriage, the negative image of different groups (F42) and the question of the degree of mixing (F46). Looking at the responses to specific groups and comparing South/East Asian and Central/East European, more respondents answered that they had a negative image of the latter group. The difference in responses is statistically conclusive. Nevertheless, when it comes to the question of marriage, Central/East European is more preferred than South/East Asian. This difference is also statistically conclusive. The same pattern can be seen when comparing the question of the degree of mixing and attitudes toward interracial marriage.

Graph 20. Comparison of white European respondents' responses to statements 42 and 46 and interracial marriage



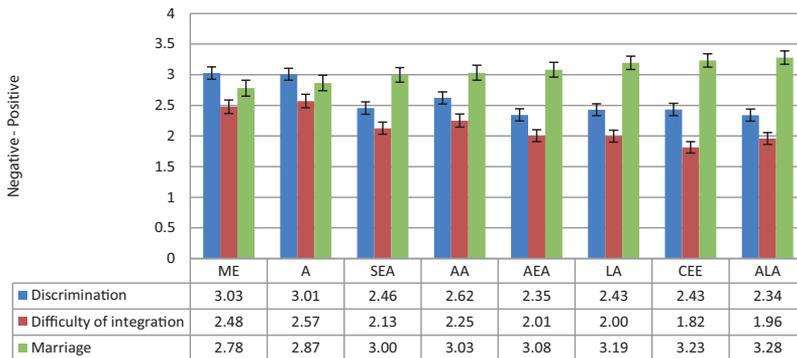
From Graph 21, it is clear that the groups that are perceived as a cultural threat and have less cultural compatibility are the least preferred as marriage partners. Again, it should be noted that although South/East Asian is perceived to be as much of a cultural threat as and are culturally as compatible as Latin American or Central/East European to Swedish culture, this group is not as preferred as a relationship partner as the other two groups.

Graph 21. Comparison of white European respondents' responses to statements 43 and 47 and interracial marriage



The groups that the respondents perceived as experiencing discrimination and racism (F44) and as having difficulties with integration due to their physical appearances (F45) are the ones that are the least preferred as marriage partners.

Graph 22. Comparison of white European respondents' responses to statements 44 and 45 and interracial marriage



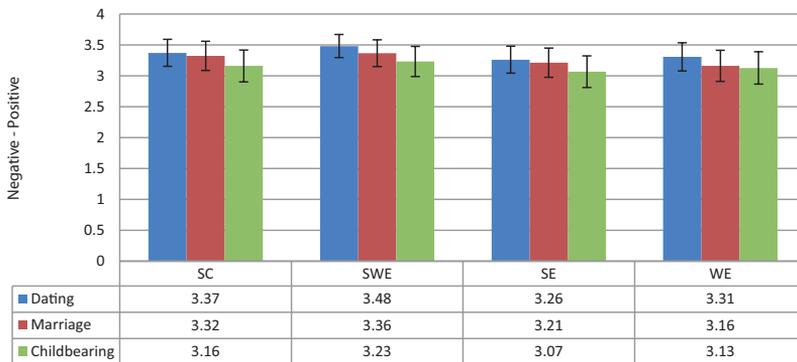
Attitudes toward interracial relationships among the respondents of non-European background

The following analysis is based on the 148 individuals who reported having a non-Swedish background excluding backgrounds in Scandinavia, West and South Europe. As the cases of racial homogamy have been excluded, the number of individuals analyzed varies from 83 to 123, depending on the groups. On average the respondents of non-European background reported lower income and education levels compared to the respondents of white European background. The missing cases are large for those with a non-European background compared to white European

respondents; the missing cases vary from a minimum of 25 cases to a maximum of 66 cases and in some cases the missing cases consisted of more than 50% of the responses. This pattern matches that of missing cases in the U.S. and in Sweden (Integrationsverket 2006; Krysan et al. 1994). As it was observed among the respondents of white European background, missing cases are larger for the statements directed to the respondents themselves (Dating, Marriage, Childbearing) compared to the statements concerning family members or society (Dating2, Marriage2, Childbearing2, Marriage 3, Marriage 4) among the respondents of non-European background. This may be due to the fact that the statements are of a sensitive nature and that respondents might have felt uneasy about reacting to the statement directly and including their own personal opinions and preferences. The results for the non-European respondents should be considered with care, given the low number of responses and the high number of missing values. In other words, the result should not be generalized but should be viewed only as a direction and a call for a further study.

When looking at the results, the non-European respondents' attitudes toward interracial relationships with the four European groups including Swedes (Scandinavian, West European, and South European) show no statistically conclusive difference. For the purpose of this study the four groups are combined as *white European* in the analysis. Graph 23, below, illustrates the responses to dating and shows no statistically conclusive differences in attitudes toward the four groups.

Graph 23. Non-European respondents' attitudes toward interracial marriage with European groups

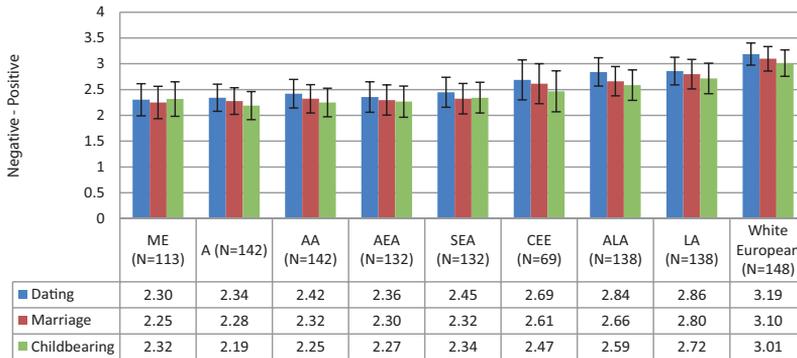


Descriptive statistics of the responses to all the statements analyzed in this section can be found in Appendix 5. The respondents of non-European background in this study had the most positive attitudes toward interracial marriage with white Europeans among all the groups and the least

positive attitudes towards Middle Easterner, a pattern that corresponds to the attitudes reported by the respondents of white European background.

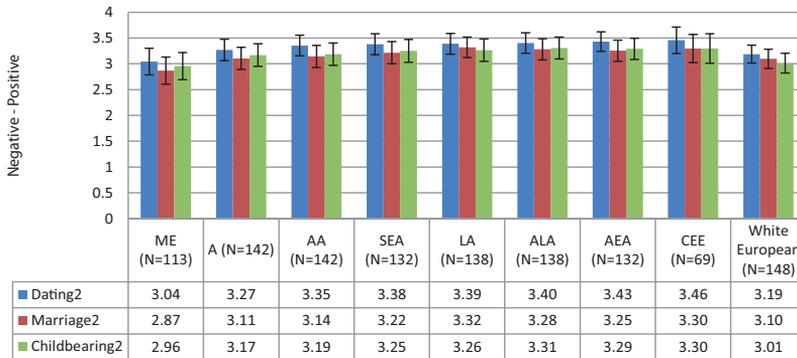
Graph 24 compares the mean of the responses to the statements on interracial dating, marriage and childbearing. It should be noted that the differences between the answers to interracial dating and childbearing are smaller, contrary to the results among the respondents of white European background.

Graph 24. Non-European respondents' attitudes toward interracial relationships



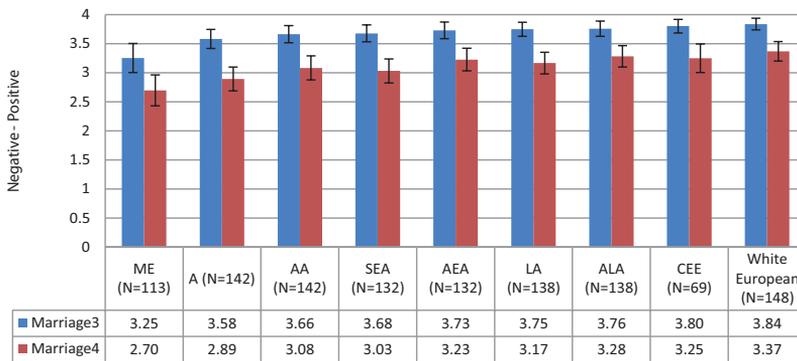
The non-European respondents' attitudes toward family members having interracial relationships in this study are more positive compared to the responses to the question of whether they themselves could imagine having such a relationship. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the missing cases were much smaller with regard to statements about family members. Although it is not statistically conclusive, when observing the responses to the three statements of family members getting involved in interrelationships, it is clear that the respondents of non-European background answered that they would react negatively to a larger extent if someone in the family married or had children with someone of another origin compared to simply dating somebody with another background. This result is different from the pattern identified among the respondents of white European background, where differences in attitudes to the type of interracial relationship a family member gets involved with are almost non-existent. As in the case of white European respondents, Adopted East Asian is the third most preferred group when it comes to family members getting involved in interracial relationships.

Graph 25. Non-European respondents' attitudes toward family members getting involved in interracial relationships



A gap in answers can be observed to the questions of whether non-European respondents think that it is negative for Swedes to marry someone of another origin and whether it is accepted in Swedish society to have such a relationship, as it was seen among white European respondents. The majority of non-European respondents did not think that it was negative for Swedes to marry someone from another group, although they believed that such marriages were acceptable to a much lesser extent. It should be noted that, although statistically conclusive in both cases, the gap between the responses to the two statements is smaller for non-European respondents than for white European respondents. Graph 26, below, shows the comparison of the two statements.

Graph 26. Non-European respondents' attitudes toward interracial marriage in general



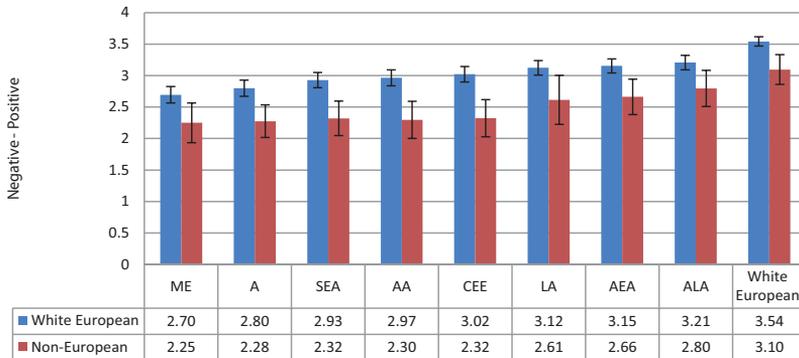
Comparing attitudes toward interracial marriage among the respondents of white European and non-European background

The number of respondents of non-European background analyzed in this study is small, therefore, the results should be observed carefully and not

generalized. However, it is interesting to note that in this study the respondents of non-European background are more negative towards interracial relationships than the respondents of white European background. The mean attitudes are more negative for all the groups and the difference is statistically conclusive. However, further investigation on this point is necessary in additional studies. The respondents of non-European background responded slightly more negatively to the statement “Race, culture and religion should not be mixed” (F24) compared to white European respondents. This slightly more negative attitude among non-European respondents also seems to be reflected in the responses to statements specifically relating to interracial relationships.

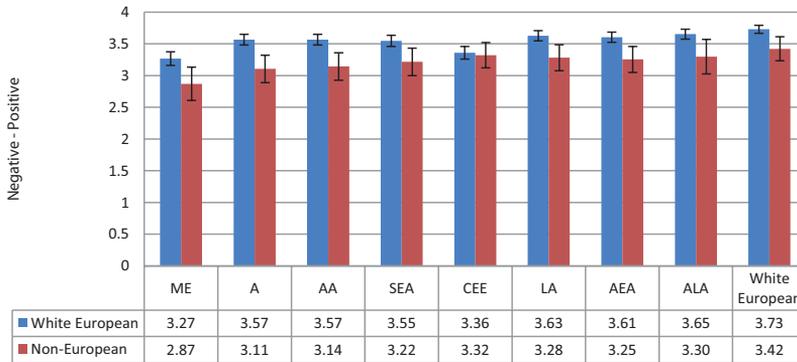
Graph 27 shows the responses to interracial marriage (Marriage). It can be observed that although non-European respondents were more negative to interracial relationships compared to the respondents of white European background, the pattern of preference is the same.

Graph 27. Comparison of attitudes toward interracial marriage between the respondents of white European and non-European background



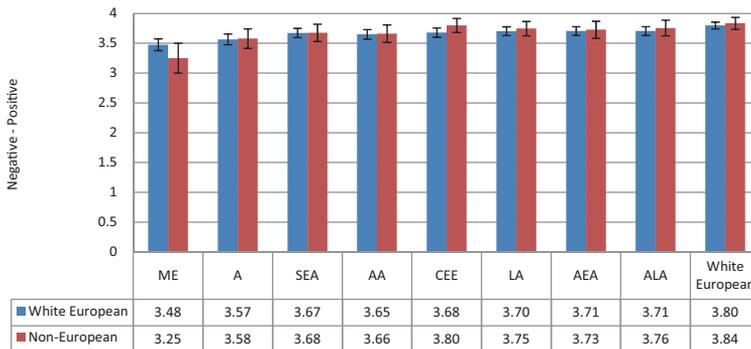
Graph 28 shows that responses to the question of attitudes towards family members getting involved in interracial marriage also exhibit the same pattern. Here the differences in responses between the two respondent groups are not as wide as in the previous results. In the case of Central/ East European, it can be noted that there is no statistically conclusive difference in the attitudes between the two groups.

Graph 28. Comparison of attitudes toward family members getting involved in interracial marriage between the respondents of white European and non-European background



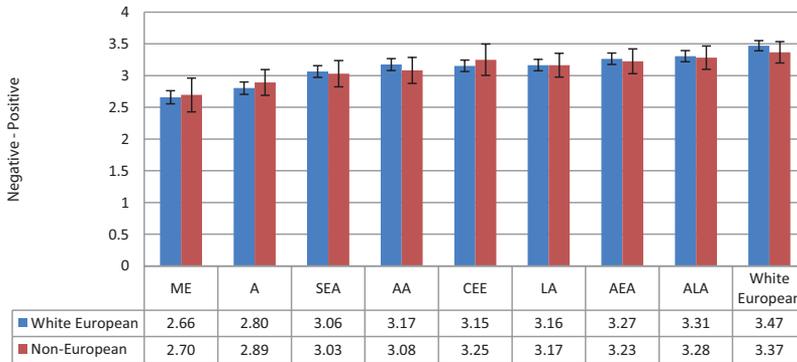
The respondents of white European and non-European background have a similar expectation when it comes to whether they believe that it is negative that people intermarry or whether such a thing is accepted in Swedish society. The two groups of respondents responded that it was not negative for Swedes to marry people of different origins but this was not accepted in Swedish society to the same extent. Graph 29 shows the mean response to the statement of whether respondents think that it is negative for people to intermarry. The differences between the two respondent groups are not statistically conclusive.

Graph 29. Comparison of attitudes toward interracial marriage in general between the respondents of white European and non-European background



Graph 30, below, compares the mean responses of white European and non-European respondents to the statement of whether interracial marriage is accepted in Swedish society. The differences between the two groups are not statistically conclusive.

Graph 30. Comparison of expectation of social acceptance of intermarriage between the respondents of white European and non-European background



Correlation between background variables and attitudes toward interracial relationships

The following analysis focuses on the respondents of white European background and whether they can imagine dating, marrying or having children with people of non-European origin.

The descriptive statistics show that the older respondents gave more negative answers towards interracial relationships. The difference in attitudes between the different age categories is statistically conclusive with a 95% confidence interval. Female respondents in general were more negative towards interracial relationships than male respondents, and this difference is statistically conclusive in some cases especially for Adopted East Asian, Middle Easterner and South/East Asian. There are no statistically conclusive differences in attitudes between the respondents who reported being married to or cohabitating with a partner or those who reported being in a relationship with someone of non-European origin compared to the respondents who reported being single or having a partner of white European origin. The respondents who reported having children, biological, adopted or stepchildren, responded more negatively to the statements about interracial marriage than those with no children.

The respondents who reported having above secondary education were more positive to interracial relationships. The differences are statistically conclusive with a 95% confidence interval. When looking at the level of income, respondents who reported earning more than 26,000 SEK per month gave more positive responses to having interracial relationships. This is also statistically conclusive. The differences between the respondents who voted for the Alliance and the Red Greens in the election 2006 cannot be observed; there are statistically conclusive differences in attitudes between the respondents who voted for other political parties, such as Sweden Democrats, compared to the Alliance and the Red Greens.

However, as the number of respondents is very limited (N= 33) an adequate statistical analysis cannot be carried out. Type of employment, frequency of travel and religion showed diverse and dispersed answers and therefore do not generate a fair statistical analysis.

There is a statistically conclusive difference in the responses of those who reported growing up in Malmö and or another municipality. The respondents who grew up in Malmö Municipality were more negatively inclined to interracial relationships. However, no statistically conclusive differences can be observed between the responses of people living in less or more immigrant concentrated residential areas. Respondents who reported having a large amount of general contact with someone of foreign origin gave significantly more positive responses to interracial relationships, and the differences are statistically significant consulting the 95% confidence interval. As in the case of general contact, respondents who reported having friends of non-European origin were significantly more positive towards interracial marriages. Moreover, the respondents who reported having lived outside Sweden for more than three months at a time were more positive towards interracial marriages than those who said that they had lived abroad (see Appendix 5).

Table 11, demonstrates the effect of background variables on the amount of general contact and friendship. Among the 338 respondents of white European background analyzed in the logistic regression model, it is indicated that general contact depends on age and education. Age shows a negative effect on the amount of contact. The odds of respondents with above secondary education having general contact with people with an immigrant background are around two times higher than those with secondary or below secondary education. Income and region of upbringing does not affect the odds of having more general contact. Respondents who reported living in an area with a more than 30% immigrant population have around two times higher odds of experiencing general contact than those who have reported living in an area with a between 10 to 19% immigrant population, although this is not statistically conclusive.

Age also affects the odds of having friendship contact; older respondents have lower odds of having friends with a diverse background. Residential area does not affect having friendship contacts. This is interesting in relation to Edling and Rydgren's study on the residential area and friendship composition among some 240 ninth graders in three different schools in Stockholm, which shows that friendship circles are not confined to the residential area (2010).

Table 11. Logistic regression: The effect of background variables on general contact and friendship among the white European respondents

	General Contact (N=338)	Friendship Contact (N=338)
	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)
Age		
18-44	REFERENCE	REFERENCE
45-64	0.46 (0.26-0.83)**	0.73 (0.42-1.24)
65-78	0.08 (0.04-0.17)***	0.22 (0.11-0.43)***
Sex		
Women	REFERENCE	
Men	1.07 (0.63-1.80)	0.90 (0.55-1.44)
Education		
Secondary or below	REFERENCE	
Above secondary	1.68 (0.96-2.94)*	1.36 (0.82-2.23)
Income		
Below 26,000 SEK	REFERENCE	REFERENCE
Above 26,000 SEK	0.66 (0.36-1.20)	0.78 (0.45-1.34)
Region		
Malmö	REFERENCE	
Outside Malmö	0.81 (0.47-1.39)	1.01 (0.63-1.64)
Residential Area		
10-19% immigrants	REFERENCE	REFERENCE
20-29% immigrants	1.02 (0.57-1.81)	1.37 (0.80-2.33)
Above 30% immigrants	1.80 (0.88-3.68)	1.49 (0.81-2.76)

*** p<0.01 ** p<0.05 * p<0.1

The following logistic regression analysis is inspired by Johnson and Jacobson's study (2005) which examines social settings of contact and attitudes toward interracial marriage. The analysis examines the effects of age, sex, education, region of upbringing and the amount of contact.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ In a binary logistic regression analysis, the digit one is a reference point. If the figure is smaller than one, the odds of answering the statement on intermarriage positively are smaller, meaning that the variable has a negative correlation to the attitudes. If the figure is larger than one, the odds are higher and the variable has a positive correlation.

Attitudes toward interracial dating and the effect of different variables

*Table 12. Logistic Regression: White European respondents' attitudes toward interracial dating and the effect of different variables and contact*¹⁰⁵

	Interracial (N=326)	AA (N=339)	ALA (N=337)	AEA (N=338)	A (N=337)	CEE (N=345)	LA (N=338)	ME (N=335)	SEA (N=336)
	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)
Age									
18-44	REFERENCE								
	0.50 (0.28- 0.90)**	0.44 (0.24- 0.80)**	0.41 (0.20- 0.81)**	0.60 (0.33-1.09)*	0.56 (0.32-0.99)*	0.50 (0.26- 0.97)**	0.61 (0.32-1.16)	0.52 (0.30- 0.92)**	0.72 (0.40-1.30)
45-64	0.68 (0.27-1.69)	0.30 (0.12- 0.72)**	0.24 (0.09- 0.61)**	0.40 (0.17- 0.93)**	0.44 (0.19-1.02)*	0.11 (0.06- 0.68)**	0.22 (0.09- 0.55)**	0.27 (0.11- 0.64)**	0.47 (0.19-1.14)*
65-78	1.98 (1.19- 3.31)**	1.32 (0.79-2.22)	1.64 (0.90-2.99)	2.05 (1.22- 3.44)**	1.35 (0.83-2.18)	2.15 (1.22- 3.81)**	1.86 (1.06- 3.27)**	1.75 (1.08- 2.58)**	2.71 (1.61- 4.58)**
Sex									
(Women)	2.15 (1.28- 3.59)**	2.39 (1.42- 4.05)**	1.96 (1.17- 3.29)**	1.99 (1.23- 3.22)**	1.99 (1.23- 3.22)**	1.66 (0.94-2.94)*	1.68 (0.96-2.96)*	1.54 (0.94-2.50)*	3.26 (2.06- 5.26)**
(Secondary or below)	2.64 (1.55- 4.48)**	2.44 (1.44- 4.15)**	1.81 (0.98-3.33)*	1.71 (1.00-2.90)*	2.03 (1.23- 3.34)**	1.89 (1.06- 3.37)**	1.98 (1.12- 3.52)**	1.66 (1.00- 2.76)**	2.16 (1.27- 3.69)**
Region									
(Malmö)	0.97 (0.49-1.90)	0.88 (0.44-1.73)	0.80 (0.37-1.69)	1.10 (0.57-2.11)	0.84 (0.44-1.59)	0.83 (0.40-1.71)	0.67 (0.32-1.37)	0.69 (0.37-1.31)	1.64 (0.85-3.15)
Some	0.68 (0.30-1.56)	0.48 (0.20-1.13)	0.70 (0.25-1.92)	1.00 (0.43-2.29)	0.58 (0.26-1.27)	0.44 (0.17-1.11)	0.53 (0.21-1.34)	0.63 (0.28-1.39)	1.42 (0.63-3.23)
Friendship Contact									
No Contact	REFERENCE								
Little	4.42 (2.37- 8.21)**	4.31 (2.31- 8.04)**	4.93 (2.44- 9.96)**	2.76 (1.52- 5.03)**	3.28 (1.84- 5.83)**	4.33 (2.23- 8.40)**	3.92 (2.05- 7.48)**	4.15 (2.31- 7.46)**	3.05 (1.67- 5.58)**
Contact	4.35 (1.91- 9.91)**	3.97 (1.71- 9.19)**	4.69 (1.68- 13.08)**	2.94 (1.27- 6.80)**	3.98 (1.83- 8.69)**	6.13 (2.29- 16.46)**	7.00 (2.55- 19.23)**	5.54 (2.50- 12.25)**	2.61 (1.16- 5.88)**

*** p<0.01 ** p<0.05 * p<0.1

105 Nagelkerke R2 as the following: 0.25, 0.26, 0.24, 0.19, 0.19, 0.23, 0.24, 0.22, 0.25

In the majority of cases, the differences in attitudes between the different age groups are statistically conclusive. Respondents aged 45 and above have higher odds of responding negatively to interracial dating and marriage.

Sex, education, region of upbringing and friendship contact appear to have strong effects on attitudes toward interracial dating. In general, the odds of men answering the statement positively are higher than those for women. The differences between the sexes are conclusive except for the groups Adopted African, Adopted Latin American and African. Respondents who reported having above secondary education have between two to three times higher odds of responding to the statements positively than those with lower education. Respondents who reported having grown up outside Malmö Municipality have around two to 2.5 times higher odds of responding positively to the statement on interracial dating compared to those growing up in Malmö.

General contact does not appear to affect attitudes. On the other hand, friendship has strong effects on attitudes toward dating and marriage. Among all the variables analyzed friendship gives the highest odds. Respondents who reported little contact have around three to four times higher odds, and those who reported large contact have roughly three to seven times higher odds of answering the statement on interracial dating positively than respondents reporting no contact with any of the groups.

Attitudes toward interracial marriage and the effect of different variables

Table 13. Logistic Regression: White European respondents' attitudes toward interracial marriage and the effect of different variables and contact¹⁰⁶

	Interracial (N=325)	AA (N=336)	ALA (N=336)	AEA (N=335)	A (N=335)	CEE (N=340)	LA (N=333)	ME (N=333)	SEA (N=334)
	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)
Age									
18-44	REFERENCE								
45-64	0.45 (0.26-0.80)**	0.48 (0.25-0.93)**	0.75 (0.41-1.36)	0.52 (0.29-0.91)**	0.51 (0.27-0.96)**	0.54 (0.29-1.02)*	0.52 (0.30-0.92)**	0.66 (0.37-1.19)	
65-78	0.42 (0.17-1.05)*	0.35 (0.14-0.91)**	0.47 (0.20-1.15)	0.49 (0.21-1.18)	0.32 (0.13-0.81)**	0.33 (0.13-0.82)**	0.26 (0.11-0.64)**	0.35 (0.14-0.87)**	
Sex									
(Women)	1.58 (0.95-2.62)*	1.10 (0.59-1.64)	1.51 (0.90-2.51)	1.22 (0.75-1.98)	1.76 (1.02-3.03)**	1.97 (1.13-3.41)**	1.94 (1.19-3.16)**	2.23 (1.33-3.72)**	
Education									
(Secondary or below)	2.22 (1.34-3.68)**	2.58 (1.53-4.35)**	2.47 (1.47-4.13)**	1.94 (1.19-3.15)**	2.02 (1.16-3.50)**	1.89 (1.09-3.28)**	1.53 (0.94-2.48)*	2.23 (1.33-3.72)**	
Region									
(Malmö)	2.29 (1.36-3.86)**	2.65 (1.57-4.48)**	2.17 (1.28-3.68)**	2.11 (1.28-3.49)**	1.96 (1.13-3.42)**	1.89 (1.08-3.30)**	1.88 (1.13-3.12)**	2.37 (1.40-4.01)**	
General Contact									
No Contact	REFERENCE								
Little Contact	0.89 (0.46-1.74)	1.03 (0.50-2.14)	1.34 (0.70-2.59)	0.95 (0.50-1.81)	0.90 (0.45-1.81)	0.75 (0.37-1.51)	0.69 (0.37-1.32)	1.53 (0.81-2.92)	
Some Contact	0.67 (0.29-1.53)	0.69 (0.27-1.79)	1.04 (0.46-2.39)	0.56 (0.25-1.24)	0.37 (0.15-0.91)**	0.48 (0.19-1.17)	0.65 (0.30-1.43)	1.07 (0.48-2.41)	
Friendship Contact									
No Contact	REFERENCE								
Little Contact	4.07 (2.1-7.47)**	3.82 (2.06-7.09)**	3.97 (2.04-7.73)**	2.55 (1.41-4.63)**	3.86 (2.16-6.90)**	4.16 (2.20-7.85)**	3.87 (2.06-7.27)**	4.04 (2.24-7.27)**	2.86 (1.57-5.21)**
Some Contact	3.53 (1.59-7.81)**	3.28 (1.44-7.48)**	4.92 (1.79-13.51)**	2.97 (1.28-6.86)**	4.30 (1.97-9.37)**	7.57 (2.86-20.01)**	8.05 (2.98-21.73)**	5.37 (2.46-11.73)**	3.33 (1.47-7.57)**

*** p<0.01 ** p<0.05 * p<0.1

106 Nagelkerke R2 as the following: 0.24, 0.26, 0.23, 0.21, 0.21, 0.24, 0.24, 0.24, 0.26

Almost the same effect of variables can be observed for attitudes toward interracial marriage: Respondents aged 45 and above have higher odds of responding negatively to interracial dating and marriage than the younger age category. Gender does not seem to produce higher odds of responding to the statement more positively for all the groups; men have conclusively higher odds of responding positively to the statement on interracial marriage for Central/East European, Latin American, Middle Easterner and South/East Asian. Region of upbringing and friendship continues to have a strong negative effect on attitudes toward interracial marriage. Respondents growing up outside the municipality have around three times higher odds of responding more positively to the statement; depending on the amount of contact, respondents who reported friendship have roughly three to eight times more odds of being positive towards interracial marriage.

Attitudes toward interracial childbearing and the effect of different variables

Table 14. Logistic Regression: White European respondents' attitudes toward interracial childbearing and the effect of different variables and contact¹⁰⁷

	Interracial (N=328)	AA (N=336)	ALA (N=336)	AEA (N=335)	A (N=334)	CEE (N=337)	LA (N=334)	ME (N=334)	SEA (N=333)
	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)	EXP(B) (95%C.I.)
Age									
18-44	REFERENCE								
	0.42 (0.24-0.75)***	0.45 (0.26-0.80)**	0.41 (0.23-0.74)***	0.64 (0.37-1.13)	0.48 (0.28-0.85)**	0.44 (0.25-0.79)**	0.47 (0.26-0.84)**	0.41 (0.23-0.73)***	0.59 (0.33-1.04)*
45-64	0.31 (0.12-0.76)**	0.24 (0.10-0.60)***	0.31 (0.13-0.74)**	0.36 (0.15-0.87)**	0.35 (0.14-0.85)**	0.32 (0.14-0.76)**	0.27 (0.11-0.65)***	0.26 (0.10-0.65)***	0.42 (0.17-1.03)*
65-78	1.75 (1.06-2.87)**	0.95 (0.58-1.56)	1.12 (0.67-1.88)	1.24 (0.77-2.02)	1.51 (0.93-2.45)*	1.73 (1.04-2.88)**	1.56 (0.94-2.59)*	1.72 (1.06-2.79)**	1.89 (1.16-3.10)**
Sex									
(Women)	1.89 (1.15-3.11)**	1.91 (1.16-3.15)**	1.23 (0.73-2.07)	1.73 (1.06-2.81)**	1.85 (1.14-3.00)**	1.30 (0.78-2.17)	1.29 (0.78-2.15)	1.37 (0.85-2.23)	1.71 (1.04-2.79)**
Education									
(Secondary or below)	2.15 (1.28-3.62)***	2.57 (1.54-4.29)***	2.10 (1.23-3.58)**	2.13 (1.28-3.54)***	2.04 (1.23-3.39)**	1.86 (1.10-3.14)**	1.58 (0.93-2.69)*	1.41 (0.85-2.35)	2.15 (1.20-3.61)***
Region									
(Malmö)	0.96 (0.50-1.84)	0.92 (0.48-1.76)	0.78 (0.40-1.53)	1.25 (0.66-2.34)	1.02 (0.54-1.94)	0.81 (0.42-1.57)	0.79 (0.41-1.53)	0.80 (0.42-1.52)	1.35 (0.71-2.55)
General Contact									
No Contact	REFERENCE								
Little Contact	1.11 (0.50-2.48)	0.85 (0.38-1.93)	0.64 (0.27-1.52)	1.36 (0.61-3.00)	0.91 (0.41-1.98)	0.56 (0.24-1.29)	0.59 (0.26-1.37)	0.81 (0.37-1.77)	1.32 (0.60-2.92)
Some Contact	3.41 (1.59-7.34)***	3.53 (1.61-7.72)***	6.22 (2.51-15.40)***	3.11 (1.43-6.77)***	4.46 (2.08-9.55)***	6.82 (2.88-16.16)***	7.79 (3.24-18.69)***	5.51 (2.41-11.01)***	4.07 (1.87-8.83)***
Friendship Contact									
No Contact	REFERENCE								
Little Contact	4.00 (2.18-7.31)***	3.48 (1.92-6.29)***	3.48 (1.91-6.34)***	2.53 (1.43-4.46)***	3.70 (2.06-6.66)***	4.00 (2.21-7.23)***	3.96 (2.20-7.14)***	4.43 (2.43-8.07)***	3.41 (1.90-6.13)***
Some Contact	7.34 (3.41-15.99)***	7.72 (3.53-16.61)***	15.40 (7.14-32.41)***	6.77 (3.11-14.43)***	9.55 (4.46-20.88)***	16.16 (7.23-35.41)***	18.69 (8.07-42.41)***	11.01 (5.51-22.41)***	8.83 (4.07-20.88)***

¹⁰⁷ Nagelkerke R2 as the following: 0.26, 0.26, 0.23, 0.21, 0.24, 0.24, 0.24, 0.24, 0.25

The logistic regression model for attitudes toward interracial childbearing corresponds with the previous two analyses on interracial dating and marriage. Age has a negative effect on attitudes toward interracial childbearing; the older age category the respondents belong to the higher odds they have of responding negatively to the statement. Men have higher odds of responding positively to the statement on interracial childbearing for all the groups except adoptees. Respondents who reported having above secondary education have higher odds of responding positively to the statement than those with lower secondary education. For Adopted Latin American, Central/East European, and Latin American and Middle Easterner, education does not have any statistically conclusive effect on attitudes. Region and friendship do continue to have a strong effect on attitudes. Respondents who grew up outside Malmö Municipality have two times higher odds, while those who reported a wider variety of friends have between three to eight times higher odds of responding to the statement positively.

Comments from the respondents

Reading through the comments provided in the open commentary section concerning interracial relationships, three central topics could be observed: Islam, race and individual choice. Related to the issue of religion and Islam, comments on views about women and gender equality were common. Some examples of the comments are:

I would not have any problem having a relationship with someone from the given immigrant groups. On the other hand I think that factors such as religion and traditional values are in general stronger among certain groups which makes it harder to find a partner with my more liberal and secular values.

I don't care about the color of the skin and appearance etc., but I believe that Muslims stand for many things that are incompatible with Swedish society and with my opinions.

Views about women within Islam that are often expressed are unacceptable to me.

It is important to note that from the comments made on the questionnaire it is obvious that respondents understood the 12 groups that appeared on the questionnaire in a correct manner, namely as idea-types, and also understood the underlying concept of race in the categories. Some used the words skin color or race in their comments. Around 10 respondents re-

marked that race was not an issue for them; it was rather cultural or religious differences that made the respondents hesitate about having an interracial relationship. Together with the “race does not matter” approach, the importance of culture, individual differences and individual choices was also stated frequently, in around 20 different cases. The following are some examples of the comments indicated on the questionnaires:

I take a distance from having a relationship with an African person, not because of the color of the skin but because of the risk of HIV.

It doesn't matter where you come from or what skin colour you have, as long as the person is willing to learn and assimilate.

It's not about groups or origins. If it's a nice, interesting, fun or beautiful person who wants me and the world, I want to be friends with him or her!

Everybody can decide over their own life.

Another comment that should be kept in mind is that even though it was never specifically stated that the interracial relationship in question should be a heterosexual relationship, one respondent stated in the commentary section that the questionnaire encouraged the heterosexual norm. Since dating and cohabitation can reflect a homosexual relationship, I understood that this respondent's reaction came from the statement on childbearing. Homosexual couples do have a possibility to have children through, for example, adoption or artificial insemination. In view of this the comment made by the respondent indicates a strong biological connotation of childbearing and the idea of a family or relationship with heterosexual norms.

Discussion of the results

Perception of difference and group position

The results show that the majority of the respondents of white European background are positive toward interracial dating, marriage and childbearing. When looking at groups other than Scandinavian, West European and South European, Central/East European and Latin American are the most preferred, while Middle Easterner is the least preferred as a marriage partner. As Kalmijn states, the results point out that in the eyes of the white European respondents there might be “a prestige hierarchy of social

groups, with the native majority perceived as higher than the various immigrant groups” (2006:378). Preference for a particular relationship partner might indicate the degree of *difference* and *threat* that is initially perceived in the different groups, and the *racial prejudice and ideas* that are constructed through the perception of *difference*. Racial prejudice and ideas may or may not persist depending on the structurally existing and non-existing possibilities of *contact*.

Blumer claims that group definitions consist of an abstract image of the subordinate racial group and the group being defined as a collective whole. An essential claim of the group position is that prejudice does not only entail negative stereotypes and feelings but “a commitment to a relative status positioning of groups in a racialized social order” (Bobo 1999:447). This indicates that the collective sense of position is not merely individual feelings of like or dislike, but that the perception of threat will arise as soon as there are *substantial others* who can be defined in terms of difference. Therefore, regardless of the negative stereotypes and prejudices, or the liking and disliking of individual people who are defined as *different*, people would be positioned in the racial order according to the *degree of perceived difference and threat*.

It was expected that the respondents of white European background would prefer someone of Scandinavian, West and South European origin since this can be considered as racial homogamy. Moreover, statistics relating to intermarriage among Swedes also show that intermarriage usually involves someone of Scandinavian and West European background (Cretser 1999; Stenflo 2001). Furthermore, previous research has shown that the closest relationships that Swedes can imagine having with the given groups are those that involve having children (Lange and Westin 1997). Bearing in mind that interracial marriage challenges the sense of group position and boundary of *us* and *them*, it may not be so startling that the respondents prefer to marry a person who belongs to a group that is not threatening and that is socially compatible. In previous attitude surveys in Sweden it was shown that the Central/East European and Latin American groups were perceived to be culturally closer to Swedes than South/East Asian, African and Middle Easterner (Lange and Westin 1997; Mella and Palm 2009; Mella et al. 2007). The level of *social differences* experienced thus affects the level of threat and can explain why people are more positive to interracial marriage with Central/East European and Latin Americans rather than other groups. This is supported by the responses to the statement about general attitudes toward different groups. Due to the perception of social similarities with these groups, racial ideas are perhaps not defined by exclusivist views but rather on friendly identification. Moreover, observing the statistics of the twenty largest foreign

born populations in Malmö Municipality, four represent Scandinavian and West European countries, six represent Central East Europe and one represents Latin America (Avdelningen för samhällsplanering, Malmö Stad). The large number of people of the given origin may suggest more frequent contact in different social settings, which might also lead to more positive attitudes toward interracial marriage with the given groups.

As comments from the respondents specify, the reason for the least positive response to Middle Easterner is marked by the *religious* and *social differences* identified with the group. Quillian's study shows that perception of threat is related to the extent of prejudice (1995). Moreover, studies in the U.S. show that the racial composition of a neighborhood has a strong effect on the majority population's perceived threats and fears of crime. Also, this perceived threat and fear of crime can be communicated by media reports on racial groups (Chiricos, McEntire and Gertz 2001; Eschholz, Chiricos and Gertz 2003). Nearly 50% of the respondents of white European background perceived the Middle Easterner as constituting the largest immigrant population in Malmö (Graph 3, p.115), whereas in actual fact the largest immigrant population is made up of people from other European countries (Avdelningen för samhällsplanering, Malmö Stad). As Blumer's group position theory indicates, the perceived size of the group might affect the perception of the group position and threats felt from Middle Easterners. I argue that the negative attitudes toward interracial relationships with someone of Middle Eastern background can thus be partly explained by the perceived threat and racial prejudice based on the perception of difference. In addition, an abstract image and racial ideas of the group as a whole are constructed and reinforced by the composition of neighborhoods and the amount of media coverage. The prejudice towards and stereotypes of the group could be based on an exclusivist view of difference. Malmö Municipality has one of the most segregated residential areas in Sweden, in which a large number of residents of Middle Eastern background live. This can prevent individuals from having any regular interaction with someone of Middle Eastern background and as a result lead to racial prejudice.

Although the number of respondents analyzed is small, a similar pattern of attitudes and preferences can be observed for the respondents of non-European background with their origins in Africa, Central/East Europe, Latin America, Middle East and South/East Asia. The group defined as white European, which consists of Swedes, Scandinavians, South and West Europeans gave the most positive responses. This is not very surprising considering that interracial relationships with the majority population gives access to and contact with the majority society, while interrelationships with people from other minority groups threatens the group posi-

tion of your own group. Moreover, minority groups are forced to interact and associate with the dominant society in different situations, which leads to contact with people in the majority groups and may even foster more positive attitudes toward the majority groups. The rest of the attitudinal pattern is the same as that for white European respondents, in that Central/East European and Latin American are the most preferred relationship partner and Middle Easterner the least preferred. Mentioned earlier, it is not difficult to imagine that individuals belonging to minority groups feel that interracial relationships will threaten their group position (Root 2001). In addition, attitudes toward interracial marriage among the respondents of non-European background indicate the sense of group position as a “commitment to a relative status positioning of groups in a racialized social order” (Blumer 1958) that is socially and collectively constructed and even affects and structures the minority groups’ positions.

The almost non-existent differences between attitudes toward adopted groups and the equivalent non-adopted groups should be examined further in the qualitative analysis. In terms of cultural preference when selecting a marriage partner the result is perplexing, since adoptees are culturally identical to Swedes. In this respect an assumption can be made that the cultural factor of the adoptees, the non-existence of *social differences*, does not play as great a role as expected. The only domain of difference that is obvious between the majority society and the adoptees is that of *visible differences*. This may imply the master position of the visible differences and that the idea of race, a product of thoughts provoked by the perception of physical difference, takes a larger place than the idea and perception of *social differences*. Moreover, the non-existent differences in attitudes toward adoptees and non-adopted groups should be observed together with the responses to the statement on what it means to be Swedish. Respondents agreed to a lesser extent that speaking the language perfectly would make the person Swedish compared to feeling like a Swede, independent of the color of the skin. This indicates that language, which is one of the most obvious and visible demarcations of Swedishness and non-Europeaness, is a weak sign of Swedishness compared to invisible and intangible “feelings”. Furthermore, one third of the respondents admitted to the difficulties in integration, racism and discrimination that adoptees might face due to physical deviations from the majority population. This again points to the need to discuss the role of visible differences.

Adoptees are believed to have crossed the boundary of the majority group and become part of it although physically they may belong to the minority group. However, the result of the survey indicates that there are still certain apprehensions about the group position and that cultural preference alone cannot explain the attitudes, as Kalmijn claims (1998).

From the perspective of the sense of group position as a “norm and imperative” for a group affiliation for the dominant racial group (Blumer 1958), it can be inferred that adoptees are categorized and positioned as *different* in the collective commitment to the racial order that transcends individual feelings of like or dislike. From the point of view of the material condition, privilege and advantage, adoptees’ *visible differences* may evoke the majority society’s perception of threat because adoptees have crossed the boundary of the majority and minority in other social aspects. The case of adoptees may suggest a tension between the prejudices and stereotypes of individuals and the collective feelings of identification with one’s own group.

As Blumer argues that prejudice emerges from concerns about the material condition and claim of privilege, the role of *visible differences*, which I argue have a master position in the perception of difference, should not be neglected. How different kinds of stereotypes and racial prejudices are generated from the perception of difference will be discussed and examined further in the qualitative study.

The idea of individual choice

The survey results clearly show that survey respondents have hierarchical preferences when it comes to choice of partner, although the majority of respondents answered that they would not react negatively if someone in the family or Swedes in general married someone of another origin. This somewhat inconsequent result may depend on the phrasing of the questions. One of the issues involved in interpreting results produced by unipolar scale is that disagreeing with a survey statement does not always mean that the respondents actually disagree to the statement. It might simply mean that the respondents are neutral. In addition to the limitation of questionnaire wording and interpretation, differences in the preferences that respondents indicate for themselves and for the others infer the idea of *individual choice*. Indeed, many respondents commented that individuals have a choice and are free to have a relationship with whomever they want. This focus on the individual might be reflected in the personal preference of a relationship partner with whom respondents can and cannot imagine having a relationship with, and who might or might not be appropriate for other members of the family or Swedes in general. The result therefore shows that even if the respondents themselves cannot imagine having a relationship with, for example, someone of Middle Eastern origin, they answer that they would not react negatively to a family member or other members of society having such a relationship since this is a matter of individual freedom. By focusing on individual choice, the issue of interracial marriage becomes a case by case preference rather than a

group based preference or racial prejudice, to borrow Bonilla-Silva's words. This might also relate to the idea of colorblindness, given that some of the respondents commented that it was not race that was an issue for them but cultural and religious differences (Bonilla-Silva 2010).

The results show that the respondents believe that there are hierarchical orders in the acceptance of interracial marriage in Swedish society depending on the groups, although they do not think that it is negative that Swedes get involved in interracial marriages. This may also point to the focus on *individuals* and *colorblindness*. As individuals can choose who they want to marry, it is not negative for Swedes to marry someone of another racial origin. On the other hand, the result that shows that respondents do not think that interracial marriage with some of the groups is not accepted in Swedish society as much as others might reflect the respondents' strategy of projection that some people do not accept interracial marriage even though it is not an issue for the respondents themselves. This point becomes even more interesting and complicated in that the responses to the statement of whether respondents could imagine marrying someone from the different groups overlap with those to the statement on whether such marriages are accepted in Swedish society. It shows that the projection, or how the respondents think that society reacts toward interracial marriage, corresponds with individual preferences. The idea of individual choice and colorblindness are examined further in the qualitative analysis.

Attitudes toward interracial relationships and immigrant groups

Correlations in the attitudes toward different groups in general and toward interracial relationships were observed. Looking at the descriptive statistics, Central/East European and South/East Asian stand out as a peculiar case. Comparing the two groups, the responses concerning South/East Asian are consistently more positive than those relating to Central/East European with regard to negative images, racial mixing and cultural threats. However, Central/East European is more preferred than South/East Asian when it comes to the question of interracial relationships.

The result seems contradictory when explained through Contact Hypothesis. This study cannot identify and analyze the correlation of the amount of contact and attitudes toward a specific group in a meaningful way. However, if it is the case that the respondents have more contact with Central/East European and less contact with South/East Asian, and are therefore more favorable to interracial relationships with Central/East Europeans, the responses to negative image, mixed interaction and cultural threat should follow the same pattern. Observing that the second largest number of respondents named Central/East European as the biggest immigrant group in Malmö, the perceived size of the group may have af-

affected the perceived threat, which in turn may have led to the slightly more negative responses to the statement about the group compared to South/East Asian in the statements relating to *social differences*. However, this again does not explain the more positive attitudes toward interracial marriage with Central/East European compared to South/East Asian. Once more, the master position of *visible differences* should be noted together with the *degree of perceived difference*. Central/East European may pass as Swedes while South/East Asian cannot because of the visible differences, which may affect the attitudes. This point needs to be addressed further by means of a qualitative inquiry.

The responses to the statements concerning social and cultural compatibility, discrimination and racism and the difficulty of integration correspond with the pattern seen from attitudes towards interracial relationships. This indicates that the respondents prefer someone who is socially and culturally compatible, who does not experience discrimination and racism to a large extent, and who can easily integrate into Swedish society. In short, white European respondents prefer someone who is not identified with visible, religious, economic and social differences as a relationship partner.

The role of age, education and gender

Examining the effect of background variables on attitudes toward interracial relationships among the respondents of white European background, the result of the logistic regression analysis shows that age, education and gender have an impact. Bearing in mind that the number of individuals analyzed in this study is limited, and considering that statistical conclusiveness is observed much less with smaller samples, and only observed when the effects are very strong, the statistically significant results obtained here can be regarded as reliable.

The negative effect of age can be observed for almost all the groups, which corresponds with the results of previous attitude surveys (Lange and Westin 1997; Integrationsverket 2006). As in prior studies, the level of education also has a positive effect on attitudes toward interracial dating and marriage (Johnson and Jacobson 2005; Wilson and Jacobson 1995; Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan 1990; Kalmijn 1993). Education has a potential of offering interracial contacts that contain all the four conditions in order to achieve optimal contact.

Prior surveys on attitudes toward interracial marriage in the U.S. show various results when it comes to statistically significant differences in responses between the genders (Yancey 2009; Johnson and Jacobson 2005; Wilson and Jacobson 1995; Hughes and Tuch 2003; Yancey 2002; Mills and Daly 1995). A general study on mate selection shows that women put more focus on race than men (Stewart, Stinnett and Rosenfeld 2000; Fis-

man et al. 2006): A qualitative study by Frankenberg indicates that women are more concerned with racial boundaries in marriage, especially when the racial groups are seen as *different* and stigmatized (1993). In this study, men responded more positively to interracial relationships in general than women. This is interesting in association with Ambjörnsson's study, which shows that high school girls express non-attraction to non-white boys (2004). Considering that marriage may enhance the odds of affluence significantly for females, and not as significantly for males, the decision to marry becomes more important for females than males (Hirschl, Altobelli and Rank 2003). Women may thus rationally prefer to date and marry someone from the same background, considering the different groups' perceived socioeconomic status and economic differences, and this rationality may have affected the way the female respondents answered the questionnaire. The gender differences in attitudes and the actual number and patterns of interracial marriage in Sweden may also have a correlation. Previous studies that have tried to map the patterns of intermarriage in Sweden show that men intermarry more than women (Cretser 1999; Stenflo 2001). It can thus be inferred that attitudes among men are more positive because the actual practice is more common and accepted. However, further examination is required through qualitative inquiry in order to explain why women respond more negatively to interracial relationships. Considering that previous studies exhibit how sexualized images of African men have been used in different contexts (Schmauch 2006:54), and how teenage girls racialize and sexualize black men (Andersson 2003:214-217), it is also interesting to observe that the female respondents were negative to interracial marriage in general including with Africans, compared to men.

Middle Easterner and South/East Asian are the two groups for which the analysis consistently showed statistically conclusive attitude differences between the genders. In explaining gender differences in the responses to interracial marriage with Middle Easterner and South/East Asian, gendered *racial stereotypes* and *prejudices* mediated through the Swedish public might have an effect on female respondents' attitudes. Many of the respondents expressed ideas about *immigrant* males connected to Islam and gender inequality in the commentary section of the questionnaire. Previous studies in Sweden show that the images of immigrant males are often connected to "problems", "crime", "traditional" or "honor culture" in the Swedish media (Brune 2002; Brune 2004). Moreover, male Muslim immigrants in Sweden are often associated with a primitive masculinity that is linked to crimes against women and a threat to Swedish values and norms (Khosravi 2006). It can thus be assumed that the above Muslim and immigrant male stereotypes are applied to Middle

Eastern males and affect females' attitudes toward the given group. In Western societies, Asian women have been portrayed as exotic, submissive and sexually available, while Asian men are associated with asexual stereotypes (Nagel 2003). Another study carried out in the U.S. also indicates that mainstream images of masculinity are incompatible with Asian male features (Root 2001:80). Studies in Sweden also show that Asian females are assumed to be exotic and sexually available (Hübinette and Tigervall 2008; Signell and Lindblad 2008), whereas East Asian men are portrayed as feminine and comical in the Swedish media (Tigervall and Hübinette 2010; Tigervall and Hübinette 2010). Asian gendered stereotypes like this can be one of the underlying factors as to why women respond more negatively and men more positively to interracial marriage with South/East Asians. Structural factors, such as the gender disparity of South/East Asian in Malmö, can also be a contributing factor, given that the majority of immigrants from South/East Asian countries consist of women (Avdelningen för samhällsplanering, Malmö Stad)

The importance of friendship and the limitation of non-intimate contact

This study applies Contact Hypothesis and examines how the amount of previous interracial contact affects attitudes toward interracial relationships. When looking specifically at which context of contact affect attitudes toward interracial marriage, the importance of intimate contact became obvious.

General contact, contact during the elementary school years and current contact at a workplace or place of study do not show any significant effect on attitudes toward interracial relationships. Rather, general contact shows a tendency to affect attitudes negatively. This corresponds with Johnson and Jacobson's study in the U.S., which showed that the workplace was not related to attitudes toward interracial marriage (2005). Moreover, Nagayoshi's study also points to the negative effect of superficial contact (2008). It can be argued that general contact does not fulfill the conditions for the optimal contact that Allport originally claimed. A situation in which intergroup contact occurs must entail equal group status, common goals, cooperation and authority support. The contexts of general contact that are analyzed here, namely the elementary school and workplace settings, reflect a competitive nature that to some extent may foster the feeling of threat and can affect attitudes toward interracial marriage negatively. Besides, the result may have been different if the two statements relating to general contact had been analyzed separately or if the amount of contact has been measured and categorized differently. In

order to determine the role of general contact in attitudes toward interracial marriage, further analysis with a larger sample is required.

As prior studies have shown, interracial contact through friendship affects attitudes toward interracial marriage positively. The effect of friendship remains strong even after other significant variables such as age, education and region of upbringing are added to the model. Since this is not an experimental study, the selection process cannot be controlled for. However, it is very clear that individuals who report friendships with various groups show higher odds of positively responding to the statement on interracial relationships, compared to those who reported no contact with groups other than Swedes and Europeans. Since the amount of contact was measured according to the number of groups the respondents reported having contact with, this study indicates that having friends in the different groups can lead to more tolerance and positive attitudes toward interracial dating and marriage not only toward the group the individuals have contact with but in general, although a further analysis is required on this point.

The region in which respondents have grown up has a strong correlation to attitudes toward interracial dating and marriage. Growing up in Malmö Municipality should indicate more frequent contact with people from different groups, especially among the younger generation. It was therefore assumed that respondents who reported having grown up in Malmö Municipality would be more positive to interracial marriage than those growing up outside Malmö. The results show the opposite, however, namely that the respondents who reported having grown up outside Malmö have notably higher odds of giving a positive answer to interracial dating and marriage. This might be explained by the context of contact the respondents who grew up in Malmö have. For example, their experiences might have been of a non-intimate nature. As it was addressed earlier the result shows that contact during the elementary school years does not affect attitudes. Nagayoshi's study in Japan shows that superficial contact, such as seeing immigrants, does not necessarily encourage positive attitudes (2008). Since the amount of friendship and general contact is not related to region of upbringing, it can be speculated that the respondents who reported having grown up in Malmö may only have had superficial contact due to segregation and that the respondents who grew up in Malmö have not had contacts that reflect the four conditions for an optimal contact i.e. equal group status, common goals, cooperation and authority support, that encourages positive attitudes and reduces prejudices and stereotypes. The result also can be understood from the perspective of group position. Previous studies in different contexts show that the majority population perceives threat according to the size of the minority

or foreign population (Berg 2007; Nagayoshi 2008; Taylor 1998). For people growing up in Malmö, observing the population increase of the five groups may have fostered a feeling of threat and that only having superficial contacts has affected attitudes negatively.

Seeing racial prejudice as a collective process that transcends each individual's positive experience and contact with racial others, the respondents who grew up in Malmö Municipality might have experienced negative feelings concerning material conditions, privileges and advantages as a result of an increasing number of foreigners and as a result of accumulated superficial contact. A fear and suspicion that the growing immigrant groups will undermine the majority society might have fostered a sense of group position and racial prejudice among the respondents growing up in Malmö, which in turn may affect their attitudes toward interracial marriage. In trying to find an explanation in an aspect other than the amount of contact and group position, the result may reflect the studies carried out in the U.S., which indicate an increase in interracial marriage for young people who are geographically mobile (Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan 1990; Rosenfeld and Kim 2005).

Since the region that respondents reported growing up in affects attitudes toward interracial dating, marriage and childbearing, it is natural to assume that the current residential area which indicates the amount of casual contact also affects attitudes. Studies in the U.S. show that the racial composition of a neighborhood has a strong effect on the majority population's perceived threat and fear of crime and that this perceived threat and fear of crime can be mediated by media reports on racial groups (Chiricos, McEntire and Gertz 2001; Eschholz, Chiricos and Gertz 2003). However, the descriptive statistics did not show any statistically conclusive differences in attitudes according to current residential area. In this respect this result coincides with Johnson and Jacobson's study in the U.S. (2005). Even though further analysis is needed to draw any conclusions about the effect of residential area on attitudes toward interracial marriage, if residential area does not affect attitudes it may reflect a criticism of Contact Hypothesis, in that residential area encompasses a selection process in nature that contact in the residential area neither reinforces nor dissolves prejudices and negative attitudes. Apart from the selection process that cannot be controlled for, the result can also be discussed in terms of the context of contact: even if you live or do not live in an immigrant-dense area, the type of contact that is experienced in the residential area is limited to superficial and non-intimate contact, which may not have an effect on attitudes and racial prejudice. The result may also infer the dynamics of understanding prejudice as both an individual and collective process. Living in an immigrant-dense area may stimulate the feeling

of competition among the residents and establish a commitment to the racial hierarchy. At the same time, superficial and casual contact may not have any positive effects on attitudes, while living in an area with less immigrant concentration may not create the feeling of competition. This could mean that a lesser threat is perceived and that attitudes remain positive. Different outcomes for the effect of region and current residential area raise some questions. In view of this, the relationship between current residential area and attitudes toward interracial marriage should be further investigated in a future study, together with an analysis of superficial and non-intimate contact.

Summary

This chapter has presented the findings from the quantitative survey on attitudes toward interracial marriage. Swedes' attitudes toward the different groups and the effect of interracial contact on attitudes have been examined by applying Contact Hypothesis, group position and perception of threat as a theoretical frame.

The results show that although their attitudes vary depending on the different groups in question, the majority of respondents of white European background in this study could imagine dating or marrying interracially. Respondents of white European origin thought that it was not negative for someone in their family to become interracially involved or for Swedes to get involved in such a relationship, although the respondents also believed that such marriage was accepted in society to a lesser extent. Attitudes toward interracial relationships and different groups in general are correlated; however some results raise questions that should be dealt with in a further qualitative inquiry.

The respondents of non-European background in this study could imagine having an interracial relationship to a lesser extent than the respondents of white European background, except when it comes to relationships with Swedes and Europeans. Although the respondents of non-European origin responded much more negatively than those of white European background, the results show the same preference and pattern as the respondents of white European origin. Further inquiry is also required in order to be able to draw any useful conclusions, however.

Focusing on the respondents of white European background, the age, education, gender and the region that respondents grew up in affected attitudes toward interracial relationships, as did the amount of contact related to friendship. Of all the background variables, friendship had the strongest effect on attitudes. This study also points out that friendship with a variety of different groups can result in more positive attitudes to-

ward interracial marriage in general. Income, residential area and general contact did not show any statistically significant effect on attitudes.

Part 2 moves on to explore and expand the understanding that has been arrived at in Part 1. The significant findings from the quantitative study and the questions that arose from the quantitative results will be explored by means of qualitative questions.

PART 2: EXPLORING PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The previous section presented the quantitative results and identified some points that need to be further examined in the qualitative study. The quantitative survey mapped out and explored the pattern of attitudes toward interracial marriage by operationalizing the concept of race and constructing different groups as ideal-types on which respondents' understanding of the groups were based. The survey aimed to understand the respondents' initial attitudes and spontaneous reactions to interracial relationships. A qualitative inquiry enables the researcher to probe and understand the initial ideas and meanings that were evoked by the different groups presented in the survey and thereby make the existing racial ideas underlying each group clear. This section engages in the presentation of the qualitative data, the collection process, the results and the analysis.

The interviewees

A total of 30 informants were chosen: 17 women, 3 of whom directly communicated their willingness to participate in the interview via telephone and e-mail, and 13 men were interviewed. The rest of the 27 interviewees were selected by systematic random sampling according to their gender and residential area from the survey respondents who agreed to be contacted for the follow-up interviews.¹⁰⁸ Following the systematic random sampling, eight interviewees (five men and three women) were cho-

¹⁰⁸ A total of 194 people, 100 men and 94 women, indicated by name, agreed on the survey to be contacted for follow up interviews. 126 respondents, 63 men and women, were first of all systematically categorized according to gender and place of residence. After this systematic categorization the interviewees were randomly selected.

sen from the residential area with more than a 30% immigrant population, nine (four men and five women) from the area with 20-29% of immigrant residents, and ten (four men and six women) from the area with a 10-19% immigrant population at the time of interview. Two of the interviewees who volunteered live in the area with a 10-19% immigrant population and the third person in the 20-29% immigrant population. The ages of the informants ranged from 21 to 71. The average age for women was 42.9 and 46.5 for men. A self-selection process can be observed in the sense that interviewees were those who responded to the survey and indicated their willingness to be contacted for a further interview. However, the background characteristics of the interview informants were diverse, since the original sample was based on randomly selected survey respondents. In addition, the 30 interviewees had diverse occupations, from being a student, a highly qualified professional to currently unemployed. Consulting the socioeconomic classification (SCB), one female interviewee owned a business, eight were blue-collar workers (six males and two females), two were students (one male and one female), one male was unemployed and the rest were white-collar workers.¹⁰⁹ The interviewees in this study were mostly the white-collar workers, especially the women. Twenty one interviewees were either married or cohabitating, four were single and five were divorced.

Initial contact was made via the telephone; all except one accepted and indicated their willingness to take part in the interviews.¹¹⁰ The interviews were conducted over a period of seven weeks, starting from the end of September 2009. The interviewees were able to choose a face-to-face interview or a telephone interview. A total of eight informants chose a face-to-face interview meeting, of whom four were female and four were male. Two of the face-to-face interviews with the female informants were carried out in a café downtown and the other interviews were conducted in the premises belonging to Malmö University.¹¹¹ Interviewing in a café led to a more relaxed atmosphere, although at the same time it was also very distracting.

109 In the category of blue-collar workers, both industrial (industriarbetare) and other kinds of manual workers (övriga arbetare) are included. The category of white-collar workers includes all kinds of non-manual workers ranging from regular office workers (lägre tjänstemän, tjänstemän i mellansställning) to highly qualified civil servants (högre tjänstemän). Three retired interviewees were categorized according to the profession they had before retiring.

110 The person who refused to participate in the interview was a Danish woman. She explained that she would not take part in the study because she was a Dane, worked in Denmark and she only lived in Malmö and was not interested in how Sweden dealt with its integration politics. She therefore did not think that she could give me answers that would contribute to my study.

111 When meeting at a café I bought the informants a cup of coffee. When the interview took place at the university the informants were offered coffee and biscuits.

In both the face-to-face and telephone interviews the informants received written and oral information about the research project and about how the results would be confidentiality and anonymously treated. The interviewees were also informed that they had a possibility of discontinuing the interview whenever they wished.¹¹² The oral consent for participation is documented digitally in the cases of informants who agreed to the recording of the interviews. Twenty eight interviews were digitally recorded with the consent of the interviewees. One person refused to be recorded and one interview was not recorded due to a technical failure. The length of the interviews varied from around thirty minutes to one and a half hours. Within a week of the interview being held the informants received a thank-you letter and an invitation to anonymously write and return comments on both the interview and the topic. None of the interviewees took up the invitation.

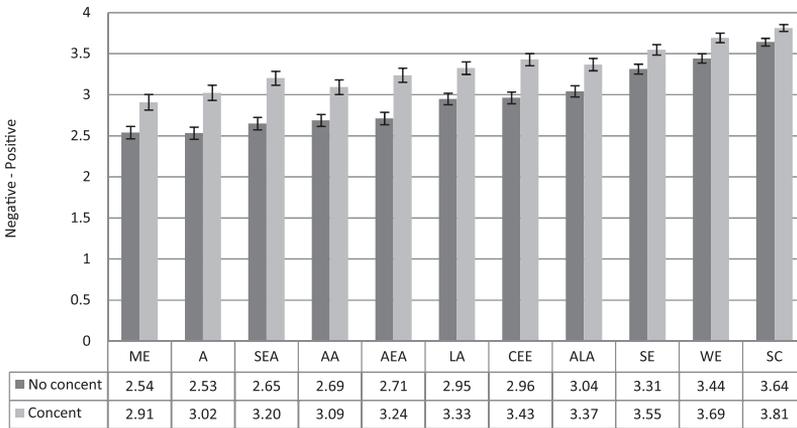
Of the 30 informants, 6 people (4 women and 2 men) had at least one parent of West European, Central East European or Latin American origin. Two of them were first generation immigrants, others were adopted or had at least one parent who had immigrated to Sweden. A large majority of the interviewees had some kind of contact with people of immigrant background through work or private life. Seven interviewees reported that they had “very few” contacts with people of another origin, and the rest said that they had colleagues (N=9), friends (N=7) or both (N=5). The majority of the female (N=11) informants and some of the males (N=5) knew somebody who was involved in a mixed marriage. Some interviewees also had a close relationship with people of non-European background: five reported having a close family member with an immigrant background or adopted and three are now or had cohabited or are/were married to someone of non-Swedish origin. Both the interviewees who were first generation immigrants did not turn out to be useful or effective and were therefore eliminated from the analysis.¹¹³

112 In the face-to-face interviews the interviewees were asked to read through the written information and to give both oral and written consent for participation. In the case of telephone interviews, written information was sent to the interviewees in good time before the actual interview was carried out, and the same information was given orally prior to carrying out the interview. One telephone interviewee did not receive the prior written information since he insisted on carrying out the interview during the initial contact. In his case I informed he of the written information orally and received oral consent before carrying out the interview.

113 One only answered “I don’t know” to the majority of the questions, while the other expressed his dissatisfaction of the religion of Islam and immigrants from Islamic countries. His aggressive emotions made the interview situation uncomfortable and at some point I felt threatened. I was very glad that the interview took place at the university, where my colleagues could intervene if something happened. As much as his words were intriguing and interesting, the interview did not have a place in this specific study. One of these respondents was a blue-collar worker and the other was unemployed.

Because of the ethical issues, the individual answers that the interviewees gave to the survey are unknown to the researcher. Comparing the survey responses to the statement on whether respondents could imagine themselves intermarrying, it was obvious that the respondents who consented to a follow-up interview were significantly more positive to the statement than those who did not give such consent (See Graph 31). Therefore, it should be kept in mind when analyzing the interview material that the voices of the interviewees represent the respondents who might be more positive and interested in the issue of intermarriage. The list of the interviewees can be found in Appendix 7.

Graph 31. Comparison of attitudes toward intermarriage among the respondents who consented to a follow-up interview and those who did not



Interview questions

This study applies a follow-up explanations model of explanatory design procedures of mixed methods. The model enables researchers to obtain qualitative data in order to explain or expand quantitative results. The interview questions were thus constructed on the basis of the results of the survey on attitudes toward interracial relationships.

The interviews were semi-structured, therefore in addition to the set of questions follow-up questions were asked depending on the answers the interviewees gave. In directing the set of questions, careful attention was paid to phrasing the questions as exactly as possible to the original, so that all the informants would receive the questions in the same way. Having the projective technique, association and conceptualizing approach in mind, the questions asked the interviewees to react and respond to the survey results spontaneously, rather than articulate their personal thoughts about the issue. This was an intentional choice and an attempt to eliminate the effect of social desirability needs that can be experienced by

the informants. Besides, as Ehn writes, when people comment on actual societal questions, such as immigration and immigrants, they tend to give answers based on how others act and think rather than what they think. Therefore, formulating questions that put the focus on the general result and how the interview informants perceived that the public would react to interracial marriage becomes even more important. Ehn states that this enables an interpretation of the interview result that reflects a social construction of meaningful experiences and cultural identity rather than simply being an interpretation of what the informants think and have experienced (Ehn 1996:137).

The questions that were asked in the interviews are as follows:

- » The results show that the survey respondents responded more positively to some groups and negatively to other groups with regard to statements 34-36: "I can imagine dating; marrying; having children with". The groups Scandinavian, West European, and South European received the most positive answers, followed by Adopted Latin American, Central/East European. Adopted East Asian, Adopted African and South/East Asian were in the middle and African and Middle Easterner received the least positive answers. How do you react to this result? Why do you think the respondents prefer some groups to others?
- » The results show that the survey respondents responded more negatively to the statement on having children with people of different origin compared to dating or marrying. How do you react to this result? Why do you think the respondents have answered in this way?
- » Differences in answers can be observed between the questions of whether you yourself could imagine intermarrying and how you would react if someone in your family intermarried. The survey respondents answered more positively in general to the question of a family member intermarrying. How do you react to this result? Why do you think the respondents have answered in this way?
- » Differences in answers can be observed between men and women. Women in general are more negative to interracial marriage, especially with South/East Asian and Middle Easterner. How do you react to this? Why do you think that women are more negative to interracial relationships?
- » The results show differences in attitudes toward interracial marriage with adopted groups and non-adopted groups, although the differences are very small. How do you react to this?
- » The results show that Swedes in general do not think that it is negative for Swedes to marry someone from with the different groups,

although when it comes to the question of whether it is accepted in Swedish society the answers are not as positive. How do you react to this?

- » The results show that a larger group of respondents answered that they had negative image of Central/East European compared to South/East Asians. However, a larger group of respondents could imagine marrying someone of Central/East European origin, compared to people of South/East Asian origin. How do you react to this result? Why do you think the respondents have answered in this way?
- » Could you imagine dating, marrying or having children with the groups that are mentioned on the questionnaire?
- » How would you react if someone in your family brought somebody of another origin home?

In those cases where the interviewees had difficulty understanding the questions, tables were shown to describe the results during the face-to-face interviews and concrete numbers were presented during the telephone interviews.

At the beginning of the interview the informants were asked their age, immigrant background, marital status and amount of contact with people of foreign origin. The following questions were also asked: How did you understand the questionnaire? What were your thoughts about the questionnaire? What do you associate with when hearing the words *mixed marriage*? Is anyone in your family or among your friends involved in a mixed marriage?

Language difficulties and translation

All the interviews were carried out in Swedish, which is not my mother tongue. The various difficulties involved with interviewing are discussed by Roulston et al (2003). In the article, issues involved with transcribing the interview results are discussed. One of the quotes appearing in the article is about the challenge faced by a student whose mother tongue was not English.

The transcription process is intensive and tough. With English as my foreign language, I found myself getting stuck many times in the transcribing process. [...] This experience also reminds me of the difficulties and problems I might come across in my future interviews when I have to interview native speakers of English. It's so hard for me to comprehend when [my participant] began to talk fast in her low and soft voice. (Roulston, deMarrais and Lewis 2003:657)

I did not experience any significant difficulties in carrying out interviews, although I do recognize the difficulties of transcribing the interviews as indicated by Roulston et al. In some of the recorded interviews, especially with elderly men, I sometimes had difficulties in grasping what the interviewees were saying, even though this was not experienced during the actual interviews themselves. To avoid miss-transcribing the words, all the interview transcriptions were double checked. When the manuscripts were ready, I listened to the interviews again in order to check that the words on the scripts were indeed correct¹¹⁴.

All the interview quotations that appear as empirical material have been translated into English. In the process of translation, grammatically incorrect Swedish was corrected and unfinished sentences were modified and concluded. Ehn states that different ways of writing down the words of the interviewees can give a completely different impression of them and lead to contradicting interpretations (1996:137). Describing his own experience of interviewing a Yugoslavian friend, who had difficulty not only with the language but also in expressing his emotions, Ehn explains how he not only freshened up the language but also the Yugoslavian friend himself. He justifies this practice from the point of view of making it easier for the reader to follow the informant's claim, and from the standpoint that spoken language is never the same as written language. Ehn interviewed people who were first generation immigrants; most of whom seemed to have some difficulties with the Swedish language. Ehn maintains that it is sensible and ethical to correct the language and transform the individuals from "an immigrant who speaks bad Swedish" to a person who can debate (139-141). Grammatically incorrect sentences or unfinished sentences are in fact something that can be commonly observed in spoken language, regardless of whether you are a native speaker of the language or not.

In this study the words that are used have been translated as much as possible in order to transmit the different nuances and the informants' choice of words. However, like Ehn, in some cases sentences were reconstructed, repetitions were deleted and words and sentences were adjusted. As a researcher I have a responsibility to depict my interviewees as people who are competent to discuss the issue of interracial marriage.

114 In cases of great difficulty in catching the words the exact words were documented with the help of a native Swedish speaker. Important parts of the manuscripts that can significantly affect the analysis of the results were also read by a native speaker.

My position and my interpretation

As I was looking at the transcription and trying to make sense of the interview results, I faced the same question as Schmauch when she was writing her dissertation: How do I know that I have not completely distorted what the interviewees have said? What do I do as a researcher to not only pick up the materials that confirm to my presumptions? (Schmauch 2006:70) I also had to pay attention to the way in which I translated the transcripts: How do I know that I have not added nuances and feelings that deviate from what the informants' intentions were? How would my position as an Asian immigrant, an IMER researcher and being married to a Swede affect the interpretations that I make?

As discussed earlier, the quotes were translated from Swedish to English and sometimes the language was modified in the process. As a researcher I do not only have a responsibility to depict my interviewees as people who are competent to discuss but also a responsibility to present them in a fair manner. When I look back at all the interview transcripts and read through the interview diary that I kept, it is very clear that the majority of the interviewees were not openly racist. However, this does not mean that all the 28 interviews I analyzed did not contain any racial ideas or prejudiced answers and understandings. Rather, there were variations in how frankly the informants talked about the cultural or religious differences of different immigrant groups. In other words, the words of the interviewees reflected the nature and complexity of prejudice. It was obvious to me as a listener that most of the interviewees' intentions were not racist, or at least they seemed to have been unaware of the racial ideas behind their words. The informants' expressions were somewhat reasonable and as expected.

Ehn writes that “[c]itation has a persuasive function” (1996:142). As much as I have tried to be objective, fair and neutral in my choice and presentation of citations, it is inevitable that I have also been affected by my own position and by the choice of theoretical orientation. Frankenberg argues that an advantage of qualitative research lies in “greater possibilities for multiple interpretation” (1993:30). There is a room for a researcher coming from different theoretical position and personal experience to reinterpret the material that I have gathered.

Relevant qualitative studies on attitudes toward interracial marriage

Quantitative studies on attitudes towards interracial marriage have been widely carried out in North America (Johnson and Jacobson 2004; Wilson and Jacobson 1995; Todd et al. 1992; Jacobson and Johnson 2006;

Johnson 2004; Uskul, Lalonde and Cheng 2007; Everts et al. 2005; Dunleavy 2004; Martelle 1970; Barnett 1963). Qualitative studies that probe the attitudes and reasoning process behind attitudes toward interracial marriage have also been conducted to some degree.

In her study of colorblindness in the U.S., Bonilla-Silva looks at the question of interracial marriage in order to explore the racial thinking that exists in the colorblind discourses. Her study shows that even among the college students who expressed difficulty in accepting interracial marriage, such marriages were described as a matter of love and individual choice (Bonilla-Silva 2010:117). The interviewees who approved of interracial marriages but only had primary white social networks expressed that they did not have problems with interracial relationships even though they were mostly attracted to whites. In these cases hesitation about getting involved in an interracial relationship was articulated as a matter of attraction (Bonilla-Silva 119). The informants who expressed reservations toward interracial marriage, on the other hand, explained and reasoned that those marriages were more “difficult” and entailed “problems”. Their opinions were justified through projection and articulating concerns for children or family reactions (Bonilla-Silva 118,120). Moreover, some of her interview informants articulated the acceptance of others getting involved in interracial marriage by focusing on individualism: “I don’t think I could tell people what to do” (Bonilla-Silva 121). Those who were opposed to interracial marriage accused people of being selfish and not thinking about the consequences for the children born into such a relationship. Bonilla-Silva concludes with the three common characteristics that she identified in the answers given by the informants. Behind the colorblind “I have no problem with it” idea, there are reservations towards interracial marriage, and informants express their attraction and preference for a partner who is white, which may contradict the idea of colorblindness. Last but not least, the interviewees who were opposed to interracial marriage, in her case black and white marriages, presumed that there would be “problems” (Bonilla-Silva 123).

Moran also states that for Americans with a norm of colorblindness, the idea that race is irrelevant for marital choice has legitimized the high rate of same-race marriages (2001:121). Moran, through observing different types of literature, argues that the reality is far from being colorblind, and it is rather that “race becomes a proxy for social ties and cultural attributes of paramount importance” (121). Moran discusses Frankenberg’s study and points out that the informants in her study admitted the existence of racist beliefs about interracial marriage by focusing on other people’s racism (119-120). By using this projection technique, the interviewees defended their own attitudes toward interracial marriage. Al-

though they had nothing against such marriages, they were not willing to get involved in such marriages themselves.

In Frankenberg's study on white women and the construction of whiteness, the preference of a partner in a relationship was largely discussed through the notion of cultural proximity and the degree of similarities and dissimilarities. She states that when examining discourses against interracial marriage, "the racial construction of masculinity and femininity", "the construction of race difference as 'real', 'essential', and based on 'biology' and the construction of racial and cultural groups as entirely and appropriately separate from one another" are apparent (Frankenberg 1993:75). The colorblind idea was communicated through expressions such as "race makes, or should make, no difference between people", while others "discussed the significance of race in terms of cultural differences or economic and sociopolitical differences" (Frankenberg 138). The women Frankenberg interviewed outlined their concern for the interracial couple and their children, that they would experience issues related to cultural belonging and difficulties in society and defended their reservations to such marriages. She argues that this concern for the welfare of the couple and their children only strengthens the idea that racial differences are ascribed with visible differences. Frankenberg complements this argument by presenting how a person of mixed heritage is always identified with the non-white racial or ethnic group, rather than being white (93-95).

Rosenblatt et al also studied black and white biracial couples and analyzed the concerns that white family raised in their opposition to such marriages. They conclude that there is a wide range of "racist feelings, assumptions and fears at the heart of the discourse of opposition" to interracial marriages (Rosenblatt, Karis and Powell 1995:98). Issues such as societal and surroundings disapproval and problems the children may face were recurring themes underlying the opposition (Rosenblatt, Karis and Powell 98).

In pursuing the question of what differentiates those families who accept and who do not accept interracial marriage, Root suggests different systems of family relationships: open or closed. While closed families firmly sustain the borders of *us* and *them*, open families maintain the "respect for individual choice" and a "clear sense of the boundaries between individuals" is observed. The family members in an open family structure "did not see an individual's actions or opinions as representative of the whole family" (Root 2001:94-95). However, this does not mean that the families are completely open to *differences*. Root explains that open families maintain the idea that it is the person of foreign origin who needs to become accustomed to the dominant society and culture (97). Through the notion of respect towards the family member and a focus on the per-

sonality of the individuals, interracial marriage is accepted in open families. Pseudo-open families, according to Root, are similar to open families “until a relationship moves to a level of serious commitment”. Root writes:

[b]ecause pseudo-open families consider themselves liberal, enlightened, and free of racial prejudice, they will typically couch their objections in cultural or class rather than racial terms. Some pseudo-open white families were open to any choice of partner except black; some pseudo-open black families were open to any choice but white. (Root 98)

The above studies show how people justify their racial preferences of a marriage partner from a liberal point of view with a focus on the individual over the collective. These preferences are communicated via a color-blind discourse that incorporates a projection technique that focuses on “racists out there” and differences in culture.

Empirical material and analysis

This section presents the results and analysis of the 28 follow-up interviews on attitudes toward interracial marriage. The names that appear in the analysis are pseudonyms in order to maintain the anonymity of the interviewees. The names were chosen from the top 15 list of names in the Skåne region (Namnstatistik Sverige 2010) and randomly applied to individuals. As this study is a mixed method study, the qualitative inquiries are based on the preceding quantitative survey result. Qualitative examination enables this study to further expand, probe and understand the initial ideas and meanings that were evoked by the different groups and helped to clarify the idea of interracial relationships.

Employing the projection technique and asking the informants to respond and relate to the survey results seems to work well in the interviews. The projection technique was used because this study is a mixed method study in which the quantitative survey results are further explored and extended through qualitative interviews. A typical interviewee first expressed their agreement or disagreement to the results. Even if the interviewees' views did not correspond with the results, they articulated that they could imagine or understand why others had answered in such ways. The use of projection technique did not inhibit the interviewees from referring to their own opinions, experiences and thoughts about interracial marriages. For example, there were clear distinctions in the way the informants articulated their own opinions and thoughts about others' opinions by using the pronouns *I* and *they*.

It is also important to note that even though some interviewees expressed that individuals should not be categorized into groups, none of the interview informants reacted to or questioned the groups that were constructed for the purpose of the study. It was very clear that the interviewees understood and made use of the function of the groups as ideal-types. During the interview, the word *race*¹¹⁵ was never mentioned by the interviewer. The groups were always referred to as stated on the questionnaire. However, some the informants specifically chose to use words like *race* or *white*¹¹⁶ to express their thoughts. Another point that should be mentioned is that there was a strong tendency towards heterosexual normativity when talking about interracial relationships.

Examining the interview material, it is hard to observe a clear gender or class pattern in how the interviewees articulated their thoughts. The analysis explicitly marks the gender of the interviewees in those cases where the pattern of answers based on gender was apparent. The effect of class on the interview material has been especially difficult to analyze, which may be due to the fact that information about the interviewees' occupations was very limited and therefore the classification of class is very broad.¹¹⁷ Gender and class patterns revealed by how the informants spoke could have been obscured by use of the projection technique. The interviewees were asked to relate to and give responses to the results of the survey, rather than to express their personal opinions about the issue of intermarriage. However, as stated earlier, this did not discourage the informants from expressing their personal opinions and attitudes.

Quasi-statistical claims are made in the analysis not only in the form of terms like majority, some or many, but also in explicit numerical forms. As Maxwell claims, incorporating numbers when presenting the qualitative material gives precision as to how frequent or typical the particular phenomenon is (2010:478). Maxwell reasons the advantages of using numbers in qualitative research. Introducing numbers in qualitative research gives qualitative inquiries possibilities to generalize and characterize the results within the setting or collection of material analyzed, to identify the diversity of results and patterns that are not obvious from the unquantitized data and to adequately provide evidence for the interpretations that the study makes. Numbers in qualitative inquiries can be misused in some cases, e.g. in generalizing unrepresentative settings or samples, focusing on causal explanations and reducing the data to the amount of evidence, or simply making the results appear more precise and scientific without numbers playing any role in the conclusions drawn. It is

115 Ras in Swedish.

116 Ras, and in some cases *folkgrupp*, *vit*.

117 Blue-collar, white-collar, small business owner and student.

therefore important to bear in mind that the quantitative observations complement, rather than substitute the qualitative inquiry (Maxwell 2010:478-480). The numerical forms in the analysis only aim to present the frequency of the statements made by the 28 interviewees and attempt to establish that the themes and findings presented here are characteristic of the informants' statements that have been analyzed. Moreover, since this study is a mixed method study, in which a qualitative study is carried out to explore and further the understanding of the quantitative study, presenting numbers in qualitative analysis is a valid practice in order to identify the patterns of attitudes toward interracial relationships.

From the interviewees' words it can be observed that attitudes toward interracial relationships are based on the perception of difference. It becomes clear that two contradicting views about difference exist: one that focuses on difference and the other that disregards difference. In both cases, the arguments were made in a colorblind manner. The interview material also exhibited several recurring themes independent of the question asked, namely the idea of culture, individual choice and gender equality.

What is mixed marriage? – Perception of differences

One of the first questions the interviewees was asked was: What do you think about or associate with when you hear the word mixed marriage¹¹⁸? The interviewees provided different associations in relation to the term mixed marriage. Hans stated "I don't have much to say about interracial marriage, except that it is a marriage just like any other, actually." Five informants shared the idea that interracial marriage is no different from any other marriage, as Hans stated. Among them, Nils and Kristina noted explicitly that they had never reflected on such marriages until taking part in the questionnaire. Although both Nils and Kristina had not given much thought to intermarriages before, Kristina was one of those who specifically stated that such unions were no different from any other marriage, while Nils stated that "Mixed marriage for me is about both religion and race¹¹⁹ and so on." Like Nils, the majority of the interviewees had clear associations and thoughts about what intermarriage was. The majority of the interviewees referred to intermarriage as a marriage between *two people who are different from each other*; with a focus on *difference*. As the term mixed marriage or interracial marriage may suggest the notion of difference, it is important to examine what kind of meanings are attached to the idea of difference.

118 Communicated with the interviewees as *blandäktenskap*. In this thesis the terms mixed marriage, intermarriage, and interracial marriage all refer to the Swedish word *blandäktenskap*.

119 ras

Some informants described the differences between the two people involved in the intermarriage in more specific terms. Like Nils, three of the interviewees referred to different *religions*. Five interviewees talked in terms of different origins, such as the country of birth. For example, Jan defined intermarriage as a marriage between two people born in different countries. Emma expressed that intermarriage involved people from different countries, while Ulla articulated that mixed marriage was a marriage between a foreigner and a Swede. Framing intermarriage as two people who come from different countries indicates an idea that intermarriage involves someone who was not born in Sweden and has immigrated to Sweden. Anders specifically used the term ethnic background¹²⁰ and, like Nils, Per noted racial differences in association with intermarriage. However, the difference was that Nils specifically used the word race, while Per articulated in terms that could be understood as racial categories: “It’s a Swede together with a South American, a Swede with an Asian, a Swede and an Arab and African and so on.”

Johanna and Helena thought that the term mixed marriage was out of date. Both made direct contact that they would like to take part in the follow-up interviews which may suggest that they are more aware of the issue and the associated discussion. This was in fact the only difference that was observed in the interview material between the two interviewees who volunteered and the ones who were randomly selected. Johanna associated the term with the debate in the U.S. in the 1960s:

For me, it sounds like the USA in the 60s, then you talked about interracial marriage. For me it is an outdated word. ... Interracial marriage, I felt, was something that you talked about between the blacks and whites in 50, 60s and something you were afraid of back then. Today it feels like we don’t react over it [interracial marriage]. (Interview with Johanna)

Taking the stand that interracial marriage was no different to any other marriage, Helena believed that the word was related to colonialism and other associations that were “a bit ugly”. She also expressed that the usage of the term “mixed marriage” admitted that these marriages were different. When I asked both Johanna and Helena which concept they preferred to use, they both argued along the lines of intercultural marriage.¹²¹ Johanna explained that:

Because the question is how you use the word “mixed marriage” and intercultural. ... My mother is remarried with [NATIONALITY]. Is it “mixed

120 etnicitet

121 Interkulturell äktenskap

marriage”, no, I don’t think that people perceive them as such. ... they are from the same cultural sphere, the Western culture. The only time I feel that I may use the word [mixed marriage] is when we mix quite strong religion, because I would use the word when I see problems in the marriage because of the different origins. (Interview with Johanna)

From Johanna’s response, ideas about the degree of mixing depending on how different the *culture* is perceived to be can be inferred. As she explains, if you come from the same cultural sphere, the marriage is not considered to be intermarriage, and problems are not seen in the marriage. Helena raised the concept of differences in cultures as well:

There is no synonym for the word “mixed marriage” but if I have to take up the question I would say they are married and they are from different cultures instead of just saying “mixed marriage”. (Interview with Helena)

Johanna and Helena were in fact not the only ones who referred to the concept of culture when explaining mixed marriage. Eight other interviewees also expressed intermarriage as a union of two people from different cultures. Examining these, the idea and awareness of different degrees of mixing becomes more obvious and the idea of difference clearly surfaces. Linnea, who was cohabitating with a person of Central/East European origin who had been born and raised in Sweden, expressed that intermarriage is about two people from two cultures or countries that are far away from each other and “you don’t think about a Swede being married to a Dane in the first place”. Not only Linnea but also Mikael and Peter specified Swedish-Danish couples as not being applicable to the category of intermarriage. They perceived mixed marriages as marriages between two people with “certain” and “distinct” difference, such as “an Indian and a Swede”. In this context it was interesting to observe how Peter connected visible and religious differences and concluded that religious difference was invoked by physical difference:

I don’t know if I am biased but it is about different religions. Maybe even people’s physical appearances are also affected by religion. Is it a mixed marriage if you are married to a Dane? No not really, there should be certain distinct differences. (Interview with Peter)

From the words of the interviewees an assumption can be made that the words “cultures” and “countries” do not refer to cultures and countries in the literal sense. Denmark and Danes do not represent a different culture,

just as other Western cultures do not, because the cultural differences have to be “big”, “further” and “distinct”.

Ingrid could imagine having a mixed relationship, although her idea of mixed marriage as a union between two people from different cultures and having nothing much in common raised a question:

Two persons who come from different cultures mix in a way that they do not have anything common. I think there can be differences when you come from the southern or northern part of Sweden but we still have things like the King and Santa Claus in common, we have coffee breaks, but if you are in mixed marriage you come from another culture and you don't understand or don't know about such things. (Interview with Ingrid)

Johan associated intermarriage with people from different cultures rather than different countries. However, when he described what he meant by culture, he referred to “different parts of the world”:

I think about people from different cultures more than different countries.

(Interviewer) What do you mean when you say culture?

Different religions, completely different parts of the world, like Muslim, Christian, Hindu.

(Interview with Johan)

The notion that culture is something that is different from the Swedish or the Western culture takes a clearer shape when the interviewees talked about people originating from different countries in relation to the term mixed marriage. The informants used expressions such as “cultures out there” and “people over there” in general: people “come from” and “are from different cultures” and you “have a relationship with different cultures”. These expressions could indicate that the interviewees thought of different cultures as something that existed beyond the geographical area of Sweden. Moreover, as Johan's words depict, the notion of culture is strongly connected to the notion of countries. Interviewees generalize “people who have different cultures” which is “out there”, not “here”. Furthermore, it can be inferred that there is an understanding that having an origin in another country means that the people themselves have immigrated to Sweden and have no connection with the country. Through this, it also becomes clear again that the idea of culture is attached to the geographical area and that the interviewees have some kind of distance to what they call “cultures”. This lack of understanding is depicted for example when Per explained that a marriage with a South/East Asian, specifically Chinese, would be difficult because they had another language

and it would be hard to be married to someone who could not speak a word of Western language. Here it was clear that Per only imagined South/East Asians in South East Asia, and did not include those who were born and lived in the geographical area of Sweden. In other words, an understanding of what is within the geographical area of Sweden and Malmö seems to be absent. Per in fact was one of three interviewees who mentioned language difficulties in interracial marriages.

The perception of someone with an origin in another country also seemed to affect the perception of interracial marriage. In some cases, examples of interracial marriages were given in terms of *international* marriage. The interviewees focused on the two people meeting outside the geographical areas of Sweden rather than within the geographical areas of Sweden. For example Lennart articulated that:

It's not so special that people who live in Malmö get married to someone from Stockholm is it? Now our youths travel to USA and Australia and other places and get married you know. (Interview with Lennart)

When the question “what about those who are born and raised in Sweden?” was raised during some of the interviews, the common reaction was that there were differences between those who had immigrated to Sweden and those who were born and raised in Sweden. Those who had been born and raised in Sweden, even if they had a different culture, understood the Swedish culture and language, and in view of this it would be easier to have a relationship with them. It is interesting to note that even though the interviewees made a distinction between and had a different perception of so-called first and second generation immigrants, the spontaneous image that is evoked by the idea of origin is one of first generation immigrants, those who were born in abroad and later immigrated to Sweden. This again indicates a strong connection between having an origin in another country and how difference in other words non-Swedishness, especially cultural differences are perceived. Furthermore, the idea that interracial marriage would be easier if it was with a person of foreign origin who had been born and raised in Sweden still implies that such marriages are not the same as marriages between two Swedes. Culture is thus attached to the notion of origin. From this, how cultural differences are evoked by idea of origin becomes tangible.

While the majority of the interviewees associated intermarriage with the idea of cultural difference, four informants associated visible differences with the idea of mixed marriage. Among them, three interviewees referred to the black and white contrast in the intermarriage. For example Cecilia said:

Because I am small and dark-skinned [laughs], I think about a small dark-skinned person being together with a tall light-skinned man. Of course it does not have to be so, it may as well be a tall dark-skinned man, but I don't associate with that. It's probably because you relate to yourself, small dark-skinned girl with tall light-skinned man. (Interview with Cecilia)

At the time of the interviews, 3 of the 28 informants were or had been together with someone of non-Swedish origin. The question of whether they thought that they were in a mixed relationship was asked and the responses varied. This may have been to do with the perception of the different degree of mixing and the difference in the culture. Both Marie, who had cohabitated with a man of South European origin in the past, and Linnea, who was cohabitating with a man of Central/East European origin, stated that they perceived their relationship to be a mixed relationship. Mikael, on the other hand, who was cohabitating with his girlfriend of Western European origin denied that they were in a mixed relationship:

(Interviewer) Do you consider your relationship to be a "mixed marriage"?
No [laughs], I don't think I do. But maybe it is a nuance difference as well. In a way it is a mixed marriage but we two are very similar in our culture.
(Interview with Mikael)

"It would not be easy to have a relationship with two different cultures" – Differences as a "problem"

The previous section discussed that depending on the degree of difference some mixed marriages are perceived to be non-problematic and not defined as intermarriage, as in the case of a Swedish-Danish marriage. When asked to react to the result that showed that intermarriage with some groups was not as socially accepted as others, Linnea also indicated the social hierarchy and group position that exists due to the degree of difference:

It's not that it is noticed in a neutral way but there always will be a judgment about it. Sometimes it is positive; you get impressed. If a girl is married to an Italian or a French person, then you think oh, it must be exciting. It is a status if you come from certain countries, rather than some other.
(Interview with Linnea)

As Margareta noted, interracial marriage is often understood and depicted as something different and controversial. In fact, throughout the 28 interviews it became obvious that many of the interviewees thought that interracial marriage involved difficulties and problems. Through this ar-

gument interviewees defended their reservations about having such a relationship. Indeed, the idea of interracial marriage seemed to be rather negative.

Johanna expressed that she would use the term mixed marriage in those cases when she assumed that the cultural differences of the two individuals would lead to problems in the marriage (p.171). The idea of difficulties and problems associated with mixed marriages stems from the notion of *cultural differences as a problem*. Ingrid and Marie, both of whom could imagine having an interracial relationship and also knew people who were intermarried or cohabiting couples, stated that problems could arise due to not coming from the same *culture*. Ingrid expressed “I have this picture that, you don’t really understand each other.” Marie described how “two problems” had to be coped with, namely the cultural differences and the reactions of other people:

It would not be easy to have a relationship with two different cultures and it would not be easy either to cope with how the surroundings would react to your relationship. It is two problems you have to deal with and because of that reason I would try to inform her [her daughter], as a mother who want to protect her children, that it’s not just experiencing strange things in your relationship but it’s also how people around would react to you because you are together with someone or married to someone who comes from another country. (Interview with Marie)

Even Helena, who said that she could imagine having a relationship with someone of another origin and talked about the term mixed marriage as outdated (p.170), expressed her reservation toward interracial marriage and a preference for a Swedish partner due to the problem of cultural difference:

The thing that I have problems with concerning interracial marriage is the cultural clash, that I don’t have the energy to take the confrontation every time something happens. Therefore I can be a bit traditional and rather want someone who comes from my culture. (Interview with Helena)

Looking at how the interviewees express cultural differences as a problem, a belief that there are irreconcilable differences and an incompatibility of *culture* and social behavior, which would lead to a cultural clash, between what the informants believes *we* are as Swedes and *those* with an origin in another country. For example, this idea of incompatibility can be related to Per’s description of the Chinese using pictorial language, as

presented earlier (p.172) and to other informants' descriptions of language differences leading to communication problems.

This incompatibility is especially articulated both implicitly and explicitly towards the group Middle Easterner and the religion of Islam. In discussing the difficulties and problems of relationships with Middle Easterner, the perception of *cultural* and *religious differences* emerges, together with the idea of *gender equality*. To the question of whether she could imagine having a relationship with someone of non-Swedish origin, Louise communicated that she could not imagine having an interrelationship with somebody who did not have gender equal views. Louise therefore would not want to be together with someone "from countries that are generally thought to have negative view of women", although she did stress that it would depend on the individual in question. To the same question, Anders stated more specifically that he could imagine having an interracial relationship with someone from any of the groups except Middle Easterner. Anders connected his perception of the social and religious differences of people with a Middle Eastern background.

I can imagine being together with somebody of another origin, except for Middle Easterner.

(Interviewer) Why?

Because I believe that the religious and cultural differences would just be too difficult. You can imagine meeting a Middle Eastern woman who is very liberal towards the religion and culture she comes from, but I would still believe that her family [would be a problem], I mean if you get married and have children and so on you would associate a lot with the family and I believe that there would be trouble, somewhere. That's why I would be careful, but I am not a racist so if you fall in love you fall in love.

(Interview with Anders)

Karl introduced the idea that when the couple does not have equal status in the relationship, intermarriage becomes less difficult and is therefore less problematic. In this type of description, the stereotype of a South/East Asian female as obedient and submissive, and not gender equal, come to the surface:

My former colleague has been there [Thailand], met a Thai woman and then brought her here ... they have been together for 10 years now. ... So it surely can work but many times, if you see a South/East Asian woman, if you come from there, she is culturally or not, often below the man so to speak, not like Swedish men and women who should be somewhere 50-50 and sometimes even too much on one side or the other. So there is no conflict. (Interview with Karl)

Karl later said that intermarriage becomes easier in general if the wife has a foreign background and the husband is a Swede, for the same reason as above. There is a perception of immigrant women as submissive and immigrant men as dominant. Moreover, Karl takes the idea of gender equality among Swedish women for granted, although this desire for gender equality is not applicable to non-Swedish women and men, and to some extent Swedish men.

Four other interviewees, three female and one male, specifically articulated that they could not imagine marrying someone of Middle Eastern background for similar reasons as Louise and Anders (p. 176). One of them, Anna, was the most eloquent of the informants and articulated strongly the problem of culture and the incompatibility of the group Middle Easterner. Anna claimed that her experiences abroad during her youth constructed her image of Muslims. She asserted that the groups of people who differed most were “Arabs” or “Muslims”, as “their view of women is different”. She constantly compared and dichotomized herself and her culture to that of “Arabs” and Muslims and even made reference to how they were different from someone from the U.S. or from South America. Anna’s claim was very strong considering that the “Arabs” she talked about were, in her words, “tourists”. She justified and naturalized her generalization of Muslims by saying that “we as human beings generalize if we meet someone who is different in a way that we don’t perceive as positive”. During the interview Anna expressed that people with an immigrant background who accepted and adjusted to the cultural norms of Sweden were not problematic, while those who did not accept and adjust were questionable: “you can resist but you should accept”. Anna said, “if the region I move to requires me to have a head scarf, I would do it even though I would resist otherwise.” Anna explained how two of the people of immigrant background that she was acquainted with were different because they chose to adjust to Swedish society and culture: they “understand that it is like that in Sweden” and “there you do it this way and that way while in Sweden you reason differently.” She criticized immigrants who did not conform to the Swedish way and said: “If you have a problem with Swedes and how Swedes are, why do you move here?”. The projection is very clear in her reasoning, namely that *they choose to be so*. Anna was not the only one who talked about the necessity of cultural conformity from the immigrants’ side, especially in relation to the group Middle Easterner. Eva also thought that “Arabs” should modify their action according to the Swedish standard. Eva used the same example as Anna that if she was in an Arabic country she would wear a head scarf. She wondered why women could not take their head scarves off when they were in Sweden. Lars said that religious secularity was important and stated:

... I had no idea before I worked with a guy from the Balkans that they are also religious in a very different degree. Almost all the people from the Balkans are Muslims but they are as much Muslims as I am Christian. So the only thing he does not do is that he does not eat pork. He doesn't fast but he celebrates Bayran and things like that because it's exactly like how we celebrate Christmas. They drink alcohol and they follow the other entire western customs except for eating pork. And it is much easier. The life, if you persist like this guy from Iraq [a colleague and a friend] he only eats halal meat you know. It's really difficult in Sweden. You can hardly eat.

(Interview with Lars)

Lars' words depict the choice that he believes the individual Muslim has. Underlying this is the idea that cultural differences can be compromised if immigrants change their behavior. In this way, the fundamental cultural differences are projected as a sign of unwillingness from the immigrants' side that they *choose* to be so. Through the projection, the problem of culture and religious differences can be justified and naturalized as an explanation as to why intermarriage with Middle Easterner is difficult.

Starting from the belief that interracial marriage was more difficult and that such marriages cause more problems than regular marriages, Elisabeth focused on *individual choice* and expressed that she had nothing to say about intermarriage as long as the couple were aware of the cultural clash that could arise. Brigitta expressed:

In principle, I think that every human being including myself are allowed to get married to and have children with a person, woman or man, young or old or from whichever country. But my experience from work tells me that if you have children with someone who comes from very different background, you can get very, very big problems and the problems that I see when they separate creates a huge conflict [for the couple] because they don't have one country to live in. ... there is no principle reason for people to not get involved in mixed marriages but I can see that there is a risk that it becomes problematic when you have children whatever it can be.

(Interview with Brigitta)

She further articulated that intermarriage is positive in terms of integration, although couples who are involved in intermarriage might need extra help due to their possible *difference*. What she sees as problem is also connected to the idea of having different background being equal to not belonging to the same geographical countries. Here again, as was seen earlier, the reservation towards interracial marriage is clearly stated by focusing on the difficulties and problems that might emerge. However at the

same time, Brigitta emphasized the individual choice and freedom of having a relationship, which in fact is based on the idea that *difference* do not matter when choosing a partner. In her comments, the belief of fundamental difference between different cultures and the idea that differences do not matter coexist. What is also noteworthy is that she was the only informant who was not confined to heterosexual normativity, in that she stated that human beings “are allowed to get married to and have children with a woman or man”.

“I would be more worried if someone took home a person who has some kind of drug abuse problem” – Legitimizing the “problem”

The previous paragraphs presented that the picture the informants have of intermarriages entails the idea of problems and difficulties derived from cultural differences. The belief that interracial relationships are problematic become symbolically clear when the interviewees use comparisons to explain why they think the way they do. For example, Anna, Karl and Marie repeatedly made comparisons to argue their positions, and these comparisons often involved social issues and problems.

Anna explained that she would try not to react negatively if her younger sister dated a man of Middle Eastern background. She made a parallel to domestic violence and reasoned that there was no guarantee, that her sister might meet somebody who beat her and that this person did not have to be an immigrant. She also compared having mixed-race children with having an alcohol problem. Later, Anna imagined how she would react if her son met somebody of Muslim background and compared the worries that she might feel with the anxiety she experiences everyday when she sees her son off to school.

You hear about honor crime and stuff like that and I know too little about it how it works. If for example one of my sons meets someone in the future who is strictly bound to the family because of the religious reasons, then I would probably be a little bit afraid that something will happen to my son. ... If I just get the question, then spontaneously I would surely be worried. I would be worried for sure but I mean it is not only because of this and it would cause this situation [honor crime]. There are many other occasions where I am worried for my children. I am worried for my N year old child when he goes to school every day. Of course I trust that there will not be a car driving up on the side walk, but the thought comes across every morning when he goes to school. So when it comes to children you always have, no matter what, all the thoughts that can come to your mind what could hurt your children. (Interview with Anna)

Anna also defended the way she answered the questionnaire by comparing gender inequality to inequality based on the color of someone's skin. She explained that as a woman, she has to show her competence and seriousness at work because otherwise she would not be treated equally. This, she claimed, applies to people of African origin, no matter if they are adopted or an immigrant: "as an African person, it is not enough that you are competent or as competent as a white¹²² person. You have to be much more capable to be able to succeed compared to a white person."

In articulating why he could not imagine marrying and having children with a person of African origin, Karl made a comparison of having mixed-race children, specifically half black and half white children, with having a genetic physical defect. He explained that he wanted to protect his children from *problems*:

... It doesn't have to become a problem but often times it can be problems with children. ... It can be an identity crisis for children you know. You want to protect your children from problems. I don't know if you have noticed but I have X [physical defect]. ... I want to protect my son from having it you know, I wasn't mobbed a great deal but I don't want him to experience it and I want to protect my children from the problem you know.

(Interview with Karl)

Marie described how she would react if one of her family members got involved in an interracial relationship and compared the worries she might feel in the situation with the worries she would feel if her family member had a relationship with someone who had a drug abuse problem:

I would want to learn about the person before I [make a judgment]. I don't care so much; I would be more worried if someone took home a person who has some kind of drug abuse problem or something similar.

(Interview with Marie)

Besides being a tool with which to justify their opinions, all the above examples of explaining the reservations they feel about interracial relationships by comparing with other social problems seem to function as modifiers that make the interviewees' opinions sound trivial and unproblematic. The comparison of social problems and interracial marriage shifts the focus from and minimizes the issue of racial preference, and contributes to the colorblind explanation.

¹²² vit

“It’s not surprising, it’s about culture” – Explaining colorblind attitudes

The common responses to the result that shows that Scandinavian, West European, South European are the most preferred, and African and Middle Easterner are the least preferred as a dating, marriage and childbearing partner were “not surprising” (seven interviewees), “understandable” (five interviewees), and “the same as how I answered” (eight interviewees).

The idea of cultural difference and difference as a problem has already been indicated earlier. Indeed, the colorblind argument of “It is the *culture* that matters” was the most frequent message that came across throughout the interviews in explaining the hierarchy of preference. Helena specifically articulated that appearance did not matter, but the *culture* did. Karl also stated that it was the “cultural difference that creates problems” and that attitudes towards interracial relationship had “nothing to do with racism”. This idea of culture was often inferred through the interviewees’ description as something different from that of the West and something that was a problem and incompatible to that of Swedes, as discussed earlier. How similar and different the *culture* is perceived to be explains the preference of some groups and not others.

The matter of culture was repeatedly clarified through the idea of geographical proximity as well as the notion of difference. Half of the 28 interviewees explained the result by concretely referring to cultural proximity and geographical distance. Anders was among the 14 interviewees who articulated that the different attitudes towards the different groups depended on geographical distance:

Yeah, it is probably so that the ones who are furthest away are the most difficult to understand.

(Interviewer) Can you develop a bit more what you mean by “the ones who are furthest away?”

Yeah, I mean the ones who are geographically far away and geographical distance often overlaps with cultural distance and religion and so on I think. It can be like that unfortunately. (Interview with Anders)

Karl and Marie also explained the cultural differences of South/East Asian and African by means of geographical distance: “it is so far away.” The explanation of the geographical proximity may indicate the felt distance to people of different origins and culture and the lack of understanding and attention paid to the geographical area of Malmö. Having an origin in a country other than Sweden does not necessarily mean that the person has immigrated in Sweden and that there are people of different origins

present *here*. The idea of culture seems to be strongly connected to the idea of geographical place.

Explanations of cultural and geographical proximity are used to describe the positive attitudes toward the European groups and Adopted Latin American, Latin American and Central/East European, together with the idea of the familiarity of the groups in Sweden. It is clear that the three groups are perceived to have a lesser degree of difference and more similarities than the other groups. Margareta said that the three groups are more preferred because “[t]he closer it is to your own culture the easier it is to accept”. While Latin American and Central/East European were regarded as having similarities, or in other words less perceived difference, the focus was on differences when the interviewees explained the result towards the groups South/East Asian, Middle Easterner and African. As Karin expressed, unfamiliarity was often articulated in terms of foreignness and how people preferred someone who was perceived to be “closer to our own cultural background and appearance”. Karin expressed that she did not think it was okay that people had preferences depending on where they came from:

[Referring to AEA, AA, SEA, A and ME]

Yeah, well it's the same as before that these are the groups are people with cultures and parts of the world we are the most foreign to and therefore I believe that people have difficulties in imagining a relationship or friendship with these groups just because they are unfamiliar. I don't think it is okay but I do understand why it is like that. (Interview with Karin)

Group position is also inferred in relation to the perception of the similarities and differences of each group. Mikael expressed the sense of group position and perceived threat directly by stating that there were a lot of immigrants from the Middle East and Africa in Malmö and that was why people reacted in a negative way:

[Referring to A and ME]

Maybe many people feel that they are foreign, but not in an exotic way, which you feel for the groups that are not that dominant.
(Interview with Mikael)

Mikael was not the only one who focused on the perception of the group size of Middle Easterner. From Kristina's words the relationship between group position, perceived size of the group and threat can be ascertained:

I don't know, but there have been many immigrants from the Middle East

for example and as it looks like right now in our society they don't have such a good reputation if I may say so. I feel like that they are blamed for causing different problems in society. ... and I think that it can be a reason for people to think, I cannot imagine being together with or marrying them.

(Interview with Kristina)

The idea of familiarity and unfamiliarity of the groups were also discussed repeatedly. Eight informants reasoned the hierarchy of the preference of a marriage partner through the idea of personal experience or contacts with different groups leading to familiarity. On the other hand, four of the interviewees explained the result in terms of a lack of contact and experience leading to unfamiliarity with and more negative attitudes toward the groups that received more negative responses. Contrary to Anders (p.181) and others who explained it in terms of the geographical distance of different countries, Nils and Brigitta used the reference point of Malmö. Both reasoned that experience of and a lack of experience of meeting people from different countries led individuals to perceive them as "strangers" and to be more influenced by the media. This explanation of familiarity and unfamiliarity is reconnected to the degree of difference perceived and evoked. As Louise expressed, "people are comfortable with others who remind you of yourself", and that "it is easier to live together with someone who has the same thoughts and values." Anna also articulated that it had a lot to do with what you are "familiar with" and what is most "similar to our values here."

The importance of cultural proximity, previous experience and contact in choosing a partner was expressed for the second time by seven interviewees when they were asked to explain why they thought that fewer survey respondents answered that they had negative image of the group South/East Asian compared to Central/East European, although Central/East European was significantly more preferred as a marriage partner compared to South/East Asian. The focus was again on similarity when the interviewees expressed their thoughts about Central/East European, while the focus was on difference when they talked about South/East Asian. Elisabeth noted that survey respondents preferred people of Central/East European origin as a marriage partner because Swedes had more contact with them compared to people of South/East Asian origin. Marie and Mikael both expressed Central/East European as being "closer" to Swedes, while South/East Asian was more "foreign".

Seven informants articulated that attitudes toward interracial marriage reflected the immigration pattern and the high and low cultural status of certain groups. This was another way of indicating group position. These interviewees reasoned that the preference reflected the

reputation that immigrants from the Middle East and Africa have and represented the general ethnic hierarchy that exists in Swedish society. This infers the group position and racialization of the groups Middle Easterner and African and naturalization of the preferences. Lars expressed that there is a “different status among immigrants”; some have a high status and some have low status. His usage of words in fact depicts the low and high status that he expressed particularly clearly, namely that a person “immigrates” to Sweden from Somalia, but a person “moves” to Sweden from the U.S.

In connection with the status of different immigrant groups, the association between the Middle East and the religion Islam again became apparent. The interviewees articulated very clearly why Middle Easterner was the least preferred as a relationship partner. Johanna stressed the impact of religion: “I think religion plays a big role today” and expressed:

I am not so surprised. I think the results for Middle Easterner are so negative probably because of the low status that Islam currently has. ... It has to do a lot with the fact that the further away you are religiously and geographically the less inclined you are to accept or understand the culture.

(Interview with Johanna)

As seen earlier, Anna (p.177) seemed to naturalize the negative attitudes towards Middle Easterner through projection. Her argument was that as they chose a way that was “so different” from the Swedish way it was natural that people preferred Middle Easterner the least. Not only did this reflect a clear racialization of the group, but also a feeling of perceived threat towards the group and religion, which can be assumed from her description of Muslims as demanding.

I believe that it has to do with their religion. It is so far away from ours, it affects their culture so much and it is so different from our culture. And oftentimes, if you are Muslim, when you come here you demand to build a mosque. You are so deeply affected by it [religion] that you expect that society that you have moved to should conform to how they are instead of the opposite, then it becomes harder to accept these groups.

(Interview with Anna)

The idea of *gender equality* emerges again when explaining the position of the group Middle Easterner. Brigitta put her position and the group Middle Easterner in a dichotomy through the idea of gender equality; as other interviewees her reference point was values in “those countries”. Brigitta focused on the view of women that people of Mid-

dle Eastern background have as her own reason for not preferring someone with a Middle Eastern background, although she did recognize that some people of Middle Eastern origin shared her values. In her words, a clear racialization of Middle Eastern male was gathered. By focusing on the issue of gender equality she managed to talk in a colorblind manner. Moreover, the expression of the recognition that some people of Middle Eastern origin do share her values suggests that she is not arguing against the group as a whole, but on an individual basis, which strengthens her colorblind argument.

A couple of the interviewees insisted that it did not matter where you came from and did not reason further. Their argument was that when you finally choose a partner it is more to do with the person's personality and chemistry. Thus, behind the idea that origin did not matter was a focus on the individual and the idea of individual choice, as was seen and discussed earlier (e.g. p. 178). Erik articulated that "there is no culture that is stronger than love". Kristina expressed the following quote when she was faced with the result that showed different preferences towards different groups:

I think, to be together with a Swedish guy is the same as being with an African or Latin American guy or whoever. For me, it is not that different. It's about the person behind I see. (Interview with Kristina)

In fact, the majority of the interviewees who noted that they had answered the questionnaire in the way the results indicated, or showed understanding and no astonishment at the result seemed to share, at least on the surface, a claim that origin did not matter when looking for a possible marriage partner. Fifteen informants expressed that they could imagine dating, marrying or having children with someone of all the origins mentioned in the questionnaire. Like Erik, Jan emphasized individual choice and love:

I think the most important thing is that you feel that you are right for each other and you work well together, that the personal chemistry exists. I think that it has nothing to do with where you come from or what skin color you have...Love is not limited to borders. (Interview with Jan)

Johan was one of the informants who interpreted the result as natural because of the cultural differences, and yet persisted with the colorblind approach and the idea of individual choice when he was asked if he could imagine having an interracial relationship:

I think that it's about the person and not about where you come from or

what color of skin or which religion you have. It's about the person.
(Interview with Johan)

It can be again argued that two seemingly contradictory ideas, the idea that difference becomes a problem and the idea that difference is trivial, coexist.

There were other interviewees who communicated that they could imagine having an interracial relationship, although with some restrictions. Five informants said that they could not imagine having a relationship with someone of Islamic or Middle Eastern background, and three noted that they rather preferred Europeans. One informant expressed that she was not attracted to South/East Asian, and another interviewee could not imagine marrying or having children with someone of African origin. These groups, as it has been observed, are the groups that are marked with *differences* rather than similarities.

Brigitta was the only one who brought up class perspective in a search for a partner, both for herself and a family member:

[If my family member was involved in an interracial marriage] I think that I would be positive and give it a chance. I believe, as I said, it would be much easier if the person is a university graduate or I would rather say someone who is intellectual. Intellectual who is from whatever country, and this applies even for Swedes. It sounds very snobby but if my sister comes home with someone who repairs cars in a small town in Småland I would also think oh my how would this work out when they are so different.

(Interview with Brigitta)

As stated earlier, the majority of the interviewees agreed to the survey result through the concept of cultural differences. Since culture was the central reasoning as to why the interviewees believed the survey respondents showed different degrees of favorableness to intermarriage according to the different groups, the question "How do you think people know that the person has a different culture?" was asked whenever the interview situations allowed. The question was asked directly after the interview informants articulated their thoughts about cultural differences. A couple of the interviewees answered that you would actually not know if the difference in culture existed until you got to know the person. Some of the other interviewees stated that the idea of culture was connected to first generation immigrants, while others affirmed that it was not possible to separate first generation immigrants and those who had been born and raised in Sweden when talking about cultural differences. Several interviewees, in-

cluding Karin, acknowledged that *visible differences* evoke the idea of cultural differences:

Maybe only through looking at a person and if she or he has a foreign appearance, like if the person is black for example, has a dark skin color, then there are prejudices that undermine the understanding [of the person]. And afterwards when you get to know where the person comes from, the same thing again, prejudice plays a role in the understanding you have [of the person]. (Interview with Karin)

Contrary to the majority of interviewees reasoning through ideas related to cultural differences and proximities, three interviewees, Lennart, Jan and Cecilia, understood the varying degrees of preferences depending on the different groups explicitly in terms of physical and visible differences. Cecilia articulated how natural it was for her to prefer a white man through the notion of attraction. Lennart explained the more positive responses towards Central/East European and Latin American by stating “the ones who have lighter skin color are more accepted”. Moreover, he explained that preferences according to visible differences were natural by saying “it is like that.” Contrary to Lennart and Cecilia, who naturalized racial preference in a marriage partner, Jan was more careful about how he formulated his sentences, thus ensuring that he didn’t “dare to think” but that it might depend on the visible differences: “it maybe because they differ so much in appearance, it can possibly be a reason.”

“You can be quite positive towards red-haired people but you don’t necessarily want to get married to them” – The idea of culture and visible differences

One third of the interviewees expressed their confusion over the result showing slightly more negative answers to interracial childbearing compared to dating and marriage. The interviewees explained that they could not understand why there was a difference between the three stages of relationships, especially the differences between marrying and having children. At the same time, as in the previous case, the interviewees speculated and clearly understood why others answered the way they did.

One of the common arguments was that when you are a couple without children you can live your separate lives, but when you have children you and the person you are with become inseparable. In this argument, a tension between marriage as a decision based on individual choice and childbearing based on the choice of two persons emerges. Eight interviewees, all female, articulated that the more negative attitudes towards childbearing come from the idea that the relationship becomes more serious.

Four informants reflected that having a child involved more responsibility and made the meaning of the relationship “totally different”. Brigitta made a clear distinction between cohabitation or marriage as an individual choice and having children as a collective decision:

If you are just living with your partner then you can still live a little bit of a parallel life and you can compromise. But when you get children then to begin with you are permanently together in a different way. Even if you separate you are still hooked together for the rest of your life.

(Interview with Brigitta)

Three informants expressed that how the family or the surroundings might react could be accounted for the more negative attitudes toward interracial marriage and childbearing. This reflects the tension between the individual choice of getting involved in intermarriage and the generally held understanding of interracial marriage as a “problem”, as discussed earlier. Cecilia focused on the level of commitment and how you think more about the surroundings’ reactions:

You maybe think less when you are just dating, you don’t have to introduce the person to your family, mother and your grandmother, but when you are going to get married then you have to introduce this person to your family and maybe they wouldn’t like it. (Interview with Cecilia)

Here Karin’s argument is close to Cecilia’s, although the focus is on the reaction of family members:

It becomes more definite. It is difficult to say, and it is wrong to say that people want to experiment, but it can be easier for example for parents to accept a short term relationship when you are young and you may meet a person with a certain background that parents wouldn’t accept otherwise. But I can imagine that it is harder for parents to accept marriage and children, when the situation is more serious, if the family has problems with such relationships. (Interview with Karin)

The idea that childbearing means greater responsibility would probably be a reasonable and common answer even if the question was not about interracial childbearing. However, there is a distinct way in how the informants reasoned. With the idea of the relationship becoming more serious and inseparable, a different degree of involvement with the *culture* was also articulated. When you have children with someone of another

origin, you become more involved in the other person's culture. For instance, Anders articulated:

... maybe people think that the extent you will be involved with the partner's family will not be the same and it will not be the same responsibility and so on when the child gets involved. (Interview with Anders)

Anna expressed that it could be exotic to live together with someone of a different background because it is just about you and your choice of living in such relationship, although in her view having children was quite another thing. In her words, below, the idea of individual choice clearly emerges in the decision to marry someone of another origin:

For me it is a much bigger thing to have children with someone compared to living together as a couple. When you live together as a couple I think that it can be a little bit exotic to live with someone from another country and another background, and then you think about yourself. It's just about what you want to do. (Interview with Anna)

Beneath the idea of getting involved in the partner's culture seems to be again the idea of *cultural difference as a problem*. Karl strongly indicated the issue of responsibility and worries about the welfare of the couple and children in reasoning why he believed that people were more negative towards having children with someone of another origin.

I think the problem is all the cultural differences that exist all the time. It can be my prejudice but you create problems that you in reality don't want. You can date or get married with [someone of different origin] but when children come into the picture, you have tied yourself in a completely different way. If it's just a relationship, it's just one of the "kind". It doesn't have to mean anything almost. But if you have decided to have children then it is more responsibility, you have to defend your partner, you have to protect your children. The question is if you want so much responsibility and if you want to continue to have it like that. ... Children means responsibility you have to take. (Interview with Karl)

Connected to the view of interracial marriage as something difficult and culture as a problem, an expectation of cultural clash as something that was impossible to avoid in parenting was observed and articulated by five interviewees. Peter noted that cultural and religious differences become more vivid when you have children together. Mikael commented:

... maybe more cultural clashes may arise when you have children. ... If you don't have children, you can partly continue with your own culture. I mean, of course if you have children the question becomes what you should teach to the children and what you want to pass on. So I can imagine that culture can be the reason [for people being more negative to having children with].
(Interview with Mikael)

In Mikael's words, culture is clearly understood as something personally associated with the individuals of foreign origin. Moreover, culture is understood as something that is passed on.

The group Middle Easterner, and especially Middle Eastern man, was implicitly pointed out by the discourse of "fathers kidnapping their children and taking them to their home countries", when the interviewees expressed their concern about the cultural conflicts that could arise as a result of interracial child rearing. This fear was articulated by four female interviewees. This prejudiced idea of fathers kidnapping their children may reflect the perceived threat that the interviewees feel towards the group. Considering that this was articulated solely by female informants, the idea of *gender equality* and resistance to patriarchic relationships can be inferred. Moreover, in this context, *culture* is again seen as something that is fundamentally different and not compatible with Swedish culture. One of the informants who expressed this idea was Linnea:

It can be conflict when it comes to how you bring your children up. We have also heard quite a lot on the media about kidnapping and fathers who have taken their children to their home country and left them with their aunt or whoever should take care of the children and mothers who never got to see the children again. Stuff like that scares people I think.

(Interview with Linnea)

Marie also mentioned the role of the media in the construction of the idea of Middle Eastern men: "you have seen a great deal on the media that when the marriage breaks the man takes the children to his country of origin. And of course, then I can understand why people answer so." Linnea's and Marie's words depict that the stereotypes of Middle Easterner are established as a collective thought that is interpreted and communicated between individuals and reinforced by public mediators.

Again the question of why interracial childrearing could be more negative than dating or marriage seemed to be largely related to the question of *cultural differences*. However, several interviewees addressed another domains of difference in reasoning: the role of *visible differences*. Karl, after expressing some of the positive characteristics that he saw in South/

East Asians, articulated that he still did not want to be together with somebody *different*. In his words, refusal to take part in the differences, especially the visible differences, can be clearly noticed: “You can be quite positive towards red-haired people but you don’t necessarily want to get married to them.” Karl’s metaphor of the red-haired person is clearly related to the concern of having children who are visibly different from that of the majority society. Margareta, who had adopted children, also expressed concern about the visible differences and said:

There was always the fear that the children would get into some kind of trouble, like they would be vulnerable because they looked different. And to some extent we stood up for it. Everyday racism exists quite extensively.
(Interview with Margareta)

As Margareta articulated, a couple of the interviewees expressed worries about how the surroundings would react to the appearances of the children as one of the reasons for more negative attitudes toward interracial childbearing compared to dating or marriage. For example, Emma stated; “When you think about what the children will look like ... I don’t know, maybe you think about the appearance.” Underlying these responses is the idea that visible differences relate to “problems” and “troubles”. Jan specified this concern about how the child would be ascribed with the visible differences that evoked non-Swedishness, and how language fluency was not enough to address Swedishness. The master position of visible differences is inferred in his words:

... you maybe think about how the child will be looked upon from the surroundings when he or she grows up, that people will be prejudiced towards the children. Even though they may speak perfect Swedish, it doesn’t always protect for the child from prejudice. I think thoughts like this may be a reason. (Interview with Jan)

The interviewees above all indicate how the children of mixed heritage are ascribed and identified with the visible differences that evoke non-Swedishness, and how the focus is never on the children being “Swedish” in a positive sense. The focus is on the difference rather than the similarity, and this focus on visible differences undoubtedly indicates the idea of what *we* Swedes should look like. The idea of *us* and *them* seems to be challenged and marked by the visible differences.

"You can marry whoever you want" – the idea of individual choice

When the interview informants were asked to reflect on the result showing that the survey respondents would not react negatively towards their family members getting involved in interracial marriages, the majority of the interviewees stated that what others wanted did not concern them. The focus on individuals and the freedom of choice was clearly presented. The focus on individual choice is interesting considering that some of the informants expressed unease about how family members would react to interracial relationships, which may have affected attitudes toward interracial marriage, as discussed in the previous section. Moreover, the cultural differences that the interviewees repeatedly articulated become minimized and trivial in the argument based on individual choice. Many of the interviewees, when answering and reasoning, put themselves in the situation and hypothesized how they would react if someone in their family got involved in an interracial relationship, instead of projecting the idea of how others would react.

Ulla stated that her family members were allowed to have interracial relationships, but that she would not be so happy about it. Her reaction depicts one of the most common responses. Seven interviewees noted that family members can do whatever they want and you cannot control their choice. For example Lars said:

I believe that they [the respondents who have answered the questionnaire] think that they cannot influence what their family members think, therefore they have to accept it, but if it is about yourself then they can say no, not me. (Interview with Lars)

Jan agreed with the result and put the focus on individual choice: "you choose the one you want to be together with and I think that others should accept it and understand." Lennart hypothesized his own situation and emphasized what was best for the children. Individual choice and freedom in choosing a partner is expressed, however, although his initial difficulty and reservation can be inferred from his vocabulary.

You want the children's best. I mean, if my child comes home with a person from for example another country, you try to do your best as much as possible out of it you know. Accept them as much as you can. That's it, it's not strange. (Interview with Lennart)

Even though the idea of individual choice is prioritized, at the bottom of the argument for individual choice is the idea of cultural difference as a

problem. Owing to the fact that the interviewees would not be able to control their family member's decision, the interviewees articulated that they would first try to explain to the family member what having an interracial relationship meant. Then, if the person in question seemed to understand the consequences, they would have no choice but to accept it. Here again, the idea of individual choice is articulated, although at the same time there is an underlying idea that interracial marriage is problematic.

Like Lennart, both Karl and Marie put themselves in a situation when articulating their thoughts: Karl in a situation where his sister meets an Arabic person and Marie in a situation where her daughter introduces her partner. They both reasoned that they could not disagree with or forbid their family to have an interrelationship, although they would inform and make their family aware of what kinds of "problems" and "cultural clashes" could emerge. Marie stated "it is still about what she wants. [but] It's not like what you are going to get for Christmas." Anna's reaction also reflected the notion of intermarriage as a problem, which is why Anna felt that she had a responsibility to "inform" her children. There is a clear awareness of difference here:

If someone of my sister for example takes home a boyfriend it's their thing. My children are so small ... so it's hard to imagine how I would react to the situation. But I think I would react more strongly if it was my children than if it was my sister somehow. Because I have a responsibility to inform my children, they will be influenced by my values but I have nothing to do with it, if for example my sister dates a Muslim. (Interview with Anna)

Five interviewees explained and defended why they would not be negative towards a family member's choice of a partner with the notion of respect and the desire to be open about interracial relationships. For example, Anders strongly emphasized the individual choice that family members make: "You don't care about what others do, even though it is your closest family, because you respect the people you are close to and you respect their choice." Cecilia imagined herself in a similar situation and explained the contrast between what she might want and what her brother would want:

If it is about yourself then you know what you do, what you like and what you don't like but if my little brother comes home with someone whom I am not really attracted to, if you love your little brother like I do, then you would be happy for whatever he does ... So you become more open, it's not you who are going to live with that person [laughs]. (Interview with Cecilia)

Cecilia's argument focused on the happiness that the choice her brother makes would bring. This was another common way of explaining why the interview informants would be more neutral to interracial marriage involving a family member. Here the focus was on the family member's happiness. Six interviewees presented a similar argument. Johan put it like this:

I still think that if one of my children meets someone, all I want is that they would be happy and content, and do what makes them content.

(Interview with Johan)

Linnea seemed to focus on the combination of the different aspects named previously. Like Cecilia, Linnea also marked the differences between what she wanted and what her family wanted. In her words, it is clearly indicated that she herself is not so keen on having an interracial relationship, although her family are free to do whatever they want; both because of individual choice. It should also be noted that Linnea also connects the idea of individual choice to Swedish culture:

I rather accept a Chinese who is very nice than a Swede who is not nice if you understand what I mean [laughs]. It is not about the nationality but about personality. If they are both nice and kind to my brother and if I believe that he would be a better person not worse, then it doesn't matter for me. ... there is a difference between having someone with you everyday who shares your life with and having siblings. You don't decide over your siblings in this culture [Swedish]. (Interview with Linnea)

Louise also connected the idea of individual choice to Swedishness:

And as I said before, we [Swedes] are quite reasonable, we should respect each other and others' opinions and it feels like it's the Swedish mentality. Because of that you can imagine that you would say, yeah but if that's what you want you can do it. [laughs] But you yourself know what you want and what you don't want. (Interview with Louise)

What comes forward in the words of Cecilia, Linnea and Louise is the idea of individual choice as an explanation for the choices that you yourself make for not wanting to get involved in interracial relationships and also for the choice that family members make in wanting to get involved in such relationships. This explanation shifts and minimizes the focus on idea of difference to the idea of individual choice.

Emma indicated the social desirability needs in being more open about interracial marriages involving someone other than herself. Here again, the idea of individual choice in explaining your own preference and other's preference in wanting and not wanting to get involved in interracial relationships can be inferred.

It's because you don't want to be prejudiced, you want to be open. When it's about yourself you think more, but it doesn't matter so much if it's about someone else you know. You don't think so much and think wow cool, and be happy for them that they are together. (Interview with Emma)

Helena also associated social desirability needs with a sign of hidden prejudice. As with Cecilia and Emma, the distance between what you want and what others want is expressed.

It's hidden prejudice. It is completely fine if the others do it, but no no, I cannot imagine having such a relationship. It is like, you have a distance if it is someone else, even though it is within your close family, you can avoid confrontation. It's not that strange really. (Interview with Helena)

Erik presented a different perspective as to why it is easier to accept and imagine interracial marriage when it involves family members and not yourself. He stressed that when the possible intermarriage involves someone you know, then the person of foreign origin becomes an individual instead of an unknown entity, i.e. the person becomes legitimized and familiar. This may reflect the idea of group position and perceived threat. The process of having contact that leads to a more positive attitude can also be discussed.

Several interviewees expressed that the closeness and distance of the family member affects how they would react. This argument strengthens the idea of individual choice and at the same time communicates the reservation towards interracial marriages and taking a distance. Anna's words, presented earlier (p. 193), depicted how she would react more strongly to her children dating interracially than to her sister doing the same thing. Per stated:

... of course the further it is from yourself, the easier it may become to accept interracial marriage. ... It's easier if it's your son or daughter, than yourself. If you ask a person, can you imagine marrying or having children with a black person, no I'm not that keen on it, he might say, but he might say of course my son can come home with a black woman though he might rather want to see him with a Swede or an American girl, I mean a white girl. If it's

my neighbor who is together with a black woman, it's just pleasant you know. It's like that, the further away the more pleasant. (Interview with Per)

Ingrid was the only interviewee who disagreed with the result indicating that people would not react negatively to interracial marriage involving family members. Her thoughts may derive from the assumption that interracial marriage involves problems and her concern for the welfare of her children:

For me, no. I think you would be more tolerant to yourself. As a parent I can date someone of another origin but not my children you know. I would think that the result will be the opposite. (Interview with Ingrid)

In fact, the interviewees who agreed with the result showing that the respondents would not react negatively to family members getting involved in interracial relationships also expressed the similar kind of opinion to Ingrid with regard to immigrants with a Muslim background. For example Brigitta said:

I think that I also want to be an open person who is positive to everything you know. If my sister chose to marry a woman or an African person or whoever, in my perception of myself, it would not be a problem for me. But the closer it is to me, like if my daughter comes home and say that she would marry a Muslim and would convert [to Islam] I wish that I could somehow be positive about it and be open about it. But my spontaneous reaction is oh my, how would this work out? (Interview with Brigitta)

*"It has to do with Swedish gender equality standards" –
Racialization of the idea of gender equality*

The majority of the interview informants expressed that they anticipated no gender differences in attitudes or that men would be more negative toward interracial relationships, contrary to the result that female respondents were more negative than male respondents in general. Although displaying some confusion, just over half of the 28 interviewees regarded view of women and *gender equality* as a standard in Sweden as the probable reason for the gender discrepancy in the attitudes. The idea of gender equality was articulated at several points by female interviewees in earlier discussions. When the question was specifically on gender discrepancy in attitude, the idea was articulated both by male and female interviewees. The idea of gender equality appeared to be connected to the idea of *culture*. For example Mikael said:

... maybe it is perceived that other cultures are more male-dominated. ... I still believe that Sweden, the Swedish culture is pretty equal and gender equality is something important. (Interview with Mikael)

While Mikael referred to other cultures as “male-dominated”, Jan and Ingrid contextualized gender equality to different “countries”. They both expressed that some countries have not come as far in their development as Sweden when it comes to gender equality. As it was observed earlier by many of the interviewees, people who have their origin in another country are not included in the context of Sweden. Origin is strongly connected to the different cultures which fixed to the different countries. The group Middle Easterner and the religion of Islam were frequently mentioned explicitly and implicitly, even though the question of gender discrepancy in attitude was a more general one and the group Middle Easterner was not specifically named. Middle Eastern men are again highly racialized, and the perception of Middle Easterner involved the notion of them not being gender equal.

Four different informants mentioned the practice of importing wives or of men who desire traditional wives as a reason for men being more positive towards interracial relationships in general. Brigitta expressed her spontaneous thoughts about “importing wives via the Internet and contact ads” and Johanna also articulated her thoughts about men who want a “traditional wife”. She took up the example of men travelling to Asia to find a wife as the reason for the differences in attitudes between men and women:

Firstly I think it is frightful that Swedish men’s attitudes towards women are still so out-of-date. It is my spontaneous reaction. ... I think there are too many Swedish men who want to look for a wife from the Far East because it is too much with a Swedish woman who has lots of demands, while it’s more comfortable to have women from countries where they don’t have the same level of freedom and gender equality as Swedish women have. Too many Swedish men think that it is comfortable to find women from there.
(Interview with Johanna)

Parallel lines can be drawn between Johanna’s comment and Karl’s idea of interracial relationships being less problematic when the gender relationship is not 50-50 (p.176). This also indicates interesting ideas about gender equality, namely that gender equality is strongly connected to the idea of Swedishness and those who have origins in another country are not included in the concept of gender equality. The idea of gender equality serves as a criterion for *us* and *them*. However, it is not just a simple di-

chotomy through racialization, but is also a dichotomy across gender. For Swedish women interracial marriage can be more negative, since non-Swedish men are perceived as not having gender equal value. At the same time, some Swedish men can be positive toward interracial relationships because non-Swedish women are perceived to be more traditional. The idea of gender equality is thus used to argue the positive attitudes among men and the negative attitudes among women toward interracial marriage. The idea of gender equality is described as something that is part of the Swedish culture and something that is obvious, especially for Swedish women, while people from other culture are perceived as not having the same ideas or values in relation to gender equality. This intersection of gender and race can be observed and is articulated both by male and female informants as stated earlier.

The interviewees who did not focus on and engage in arguing through the idea of gender equality articulated their thoughts about other gendered aspects of social life. Six interviewees used male and female's fundamental mentality differences in attitudes toward having a relationship, which can be interpreted as a stereotypical gender view. Eva and Karl thought that women were more careful about choosing a partner and thought more about the future, while men tested things out more and did not think too much about the future. Helena also expressed the idea of women as being more careful in choosing a partner. This view indicating a stereotype that women want security indicates that being a non-Swedish male is a cue for insecurity, instability and unreliability:

I don't know ... if we take the old prejudgment maybe women think in long term, they think more about the stable relationships so if you are together with someone who comes from there [referring to different groups] fine, but should I be steady with him, maybe but you are more negative because you want someone secure and reliable. (Interview with Helena)

Linnea mentioned the stereotypes involved in a female's choice of partner: when a Swedish woman is together with a foreign man people might think that it is because no Swedish men are interested in her, while if a Swedish man is together with a foreign woman the man is "trying it out." A similar opinion was articulated by Karin, who expressed that if women are together with someone of a foreign origin they tend to be prejudged. These arguments all seem to depict a gendered stereotype in terms of looking for a partner and relationship.

At another point Karin and also Per named the differences in male's and female's working situations as an explanation, i.e. that men have a job that involves travelling and meeting people therefore have been more ex-

posed to situations where it is easier to find a future partner with another origin than Swedish. In their words, mixed marriage is a marriage of two people from different countries meeting outside the geographical area of Sweden and is indistinguishable to international marriage.

Maybe it has something to do with the fact that men have traveled at work and have had profession that requires them to be out in the world for a longer period of time compared to women, and they have met a woman or a partner who they have taken home and in that way it became bigger acceptance among men to meet women abroad, outside Sweden.

(Interview with Karin)

When it was disclosed that the gender disparities were the greatest and most significant for the groups Middle Easterner and South/East Asian, the reactions toward Middle Easterner became crystallized. The interviewees strongly articulated that it was “definitely to do with Islam’s ideas about gender equality and its view of women”. The discourse of men who kidnap their children was also reinforced. The association of Middle Easterner with the religion of Islam and ideas about gender equality was articulated at several points earlier. Here again, Middle Eastern men are highly generalized and racialized. For example, Marie stated that:

I believe that it has to do partly with the religion that they are often Muslims. ... I believe that a large number of Muslims would not accept that women keep her and daughter’s gender equality, actually. I think that people have thought a lot about gender equality [when answering the questionnaire]. (Interview with Marie)

Brigitta and Lennart’s ideas about Middle Easterner were again based on the dichotomy of *here* and *there*, *us* and *them*, Sweden and the Middle East. Brigitta talked about the images of women who are raped and stoned in Syria and Iran and said, “You feel as a women spontaneously, no, it’s so crazy, [a relationship with] a man who lives in such a country and does not protest or escape from there [would be difficult]”. Lennart said “they have a strong religion in the Middle East.” People of Middle Eastern background are associated with the geographical *there* not *here* in Sweden.

The reactions to the group South/East Asian were very ambiguous and not clear-cut as in the case of Middle Easterner, where the interviewees were unanimous about the role of religion making women more negative towards having a relationship with someone of Middle Eastern origin. Louise mentioned the view of women in Asia and the underlying message

was the submissiveness of women and women not being gender equal. Like Lennart and Brigitta, Louise also talked in terms of “there in Asia and the Middle East”. The idea of culture is again fixed to a geographical area and, through the dichotomy of *here* and *there*. The understanding of what belongs to and does not belong to Sweden becomes obvious.

Well, I would guess that it has to do with the picture you have of maybe there in Asia and the Middle East that they have another type of view of women than what we have here in Sweden and it is not that attractive ... Simply, different attitudes towards women’s tasks, what role women have in a relationship, things that maybe fit for Swedish men more than for women [laughs]. (Interview with Louise)

Anna and Ingrid mentioned the role of Islam in Asia, together with other aspects that could affect women’s attitudes, something that indicates the magnitude and perception of the religious differences in Swedish society. Anna extended the religious differences and the idea of patriarchal society like this:

People in Thailand are Muslims. I believe that it has to do with it, that you are Muslim. And yes, China, they don’t want to have daughters, they want sons. I think you think about these things absolutely. If you have children together, if you have a girl then she would be seen as less valuable than a boy ... (Interview with Anna)

Ingrid named the aspect of perceived threat: “South/East Asian, I think it is far away and you know less about it and think that it’s dangerous.” The idea that South/East Asia is far away corresponds to Louise’s articulation of “there in Asia”. Ingrid also mentioned the religion of Islam and the problem of trafficking. Yet again Ingrid’s and Anna’s words depict the idea of geographical distance and an obvious lack of understanding of what is within Sweden.

As previously presented, several informants articulated their thoughts about importing wives or Swedish men looking for traditional wives as a reason for male respondents being more positive about interracial marriage. On the question of men’s attitudes toward interracial marriage with South/East Asian, Linnea answered in terms of Swedish men wanting South/East Asian women who are traditional.

There are so many guys who travel to Thailand and I have a neighbor who has just moved in, I just see him from distance but he looks quite old, like around retired age, and he has like two five-year-old children, a boy and a

girl and the woman, I have no idea how old she can be but she is not much older than thirty at least. Many Swedish men have it easier. And also women in Sweden have had a tradition for the last several decades to become successful in professional life and have not been interested in staying at home and taking care of the children and can't even imagine having a man do that work. So if you are traditional and you want to have a career yourself then they should choose women from another culture. (Interview with Linnea)

Not only Linnea but also other interviewees explained the gender disparity in attitudes observed for South/East Asian through the male practice of importing wives. When discussing South/East Asians, the explanation often included the notion of Thailand and Thais. Karin mentioned the acceptance of men bringing Thai women and other South/East Asian women home. Margareta reasoned that Swedish women want to live in a gender equal relationship, while there are men who want to dominate. In this gendered dichotomy, a stereotype of South/East Asian female as well as a stereotype of Swedish men who get involved in interracial relationships with South/East Asian can be observed.

It can be because men have taken home women from those countries [South East Asia] to be able to dominate them, I guess, while a woman wants to live in a gender equal relationship and therefore they think that it will be troublesome if the man comes from a patriarchal structure ...
(Interview with Margareta)

At the bottom of the idea of Swedish men importing Thai women is the idea of Thai women not being gender equal. Here again, the idea of gender equality is not only racialized, but also gendered, therefore Thai women are excluded from the idea of gender equality in a dual sense.

In reasoning why female respondents were more negative towards interracial relationship with someone of South/East Asian origin, three female interviewees focused on the *visible differences*. They mentioned the physical unattractiveness of Asian men according to Swedish standards and norms. For instance Helena expressed:

It can also be that women are more negative towards Asians in general because they are shorter and little thinner. It can be such reason that we are brought up with the thought that men should be big and strong and have a certain type of appearance, then sorry to say this, but smaller and slender men are not on the list. (Interview with Helena)

Linnea affirmed that she agreed with many other women that “I have difficulties imagining myself with a Thai.” She generalized Asians as “Thais” and said “they are Asians and they are often short” which does not visibly fit to the standard of attractiveness in Sweden.

“I don’t know...” –Difficulties in talking about visible differences

The interviewees expressed their confusion over the result that showed very little difference in the attitudes toward the adopted groups and the equivalent immigrant groups. It became very obvious that the interviewees could not find the words to express their thoughts. As the research proceeded, and as I realized how difficult it was for the interviewees to share their thoughts about the question of adoptees, I started to talk about what I thought and thereby positioned myself on the issue. *I was confused by the result. I understood that adoptees were seen as Swedes, and that they would be preferred as a marriage partner.* My purpose was to let the interviewees see that I was at the same point as them, although when looking back at the 11 interviews in which I have disclosed my position, the strategy of positioning did not seem to encourage the informants to reason and express their opinions.

The idea of colorblindness was persuasive: The informants all shared the opinion that “if you are an adoptee you are a Swede”. A little less than two thirds of the interviewees articulated their confusion and did not get any further in their explanations. Eight informants specifically mentioned and insisted that adoptees were Swedes. Six interviewees could not note anything except “I really don’t know why” and “it’s strange”. Three shared the idea that interracial marriage with adoptees would be easier due to the non-existence of cultural differences. The same idea was expressed when talking about the differences between interracial marriage with someone who had immigrated to Sweden and someone who was born and raised in Sweden. The comment that it is easier to have a relationship with adoptees than someone with an immigrant origin is interesting, because it indicates that the interviewees believe that there is something about the adoptees that makes it *different* or harder to have a relationship with them, compared to having one with Swedes.

Many of the interviewees who explained the hierarchical preference of a marriage partner in terms of cultural and social differences expressed their concern about how their arguments did not apply in this case. Marie responded to the result by saying that it revealed hidden racism. Karl, who repeatedly and persuasively argued that he had problems with interracial marriage due to the cultural and social differences seemed honestly shocked to hear the result:

... then it actually doesn't matter whether you are adopted, when you look at this result. Then you may say that my explanation about the cultural clash is not valid because it is purely race if you look at the groups. ... My thought was only about the huge cultural clash. (Interview with Karl)

Ten interviewees who managed to reason and articulate their thoughts about the result gave recognition to the role of *visible differences*. Like Anna (p. 180), some interviewees explicitly said that the color of the skin mattered, while other interviewees simply recognized the role of visible differences. Many of the informants were careful about formulating their thoughts and it was noticeable that they were unwilling to accept the survey result. Even the interviewees who expressed their thoughts about the visible differences made it clear that they did not understand how people could distinguish adoptees from Swedes simply by means of differences in physical appearance. For example, Johanna said that it was "a little bit strange" and was confused by the result, although by using diminutives she seemed to be fully aware of the master position of visible differences over social differences. After stating that adoptees were culturally Swedish and the "differences are so small", she expressed:

I would think that the unwillingness to marry and have children with someone from another country lies more in their culture and what they bring with them, rather than their physical appearance. But I interpret that physical appearance matters more than you believe or I have believed.
(Interview with Johanna)

Lars stated that adoptees were "culturally the same as the natives", as Johanna had done. He indicated how a group as a whole can be defined as one and individuals can be ignored because of the visible differences that are common to the group: "it's really strange. ... that you can dismiss a whole continent of people just because you look a certain way instead of who you actually are." Anders expressed firmly;

Because then it only has to do with the physical, like skin color and appearance, hair color, whatever it might be. And for me it plays a very small role, and I think it is sad that it is like that. (Interview with Anders)

Karin recognized the role of visible differences as determinedly as Anders and identified the master position of the visible differences.

It's puzzling for me because I interpret [the result] that the important background factors should in this case be, if you are prejudiced about a certain

nationality, it is the physical appearance that decides the nationality. If you get closer to this person, get to know the person and understand that this person has another cultural background because he or she has grown up in the Swedish culture then I think that the differences [in attitudes] should be bigger than shown here. But obviously the physical appearance remains, adoptees will still be judged by what they look like and where they were born and so on. I think it is scary and I cannot understand this really.

(Interview with Karin)

Helena and Linnea, both of whom advocated cultural differences as a problem in intermarriage, argued in terms of “playing the safe card” that you do not know whether the person is adopted or not until you get to know them.

It’s surprising but I understand. It must be about prejudice and the physical appearance. Because culture, I mean adoptees have the same culture, it’s impossible to argue that it is the culture [that is the reason behind the negative answers]. So it must be that you take one step further that you want someone who looks like yourself, not only the same customs and values. It’s sad but it’s a little bit like that, if I choose someone who looks like me, I’m playing the safe card. I don’t know if this person is adopted or not before I have asked. It can also be that people can’t carry on like that.

(Interview with Helena)

This argument does not seem sufficient since the groups were specifically stated as adopted, although their comments are interesting in trying to understand the master how people’s prejudices and perceptions are connected to the visible. Moreover and importantly, their comments depict the master position of visible differences: how racial ideas are constructed through visible differences and how visibility evokes the perception of difference. Cecilia’s explanation in terms of attraction exemplifies the master position of visible differences. For Cecilia, contrary to Helena’s or Linnea’s argument, the central importance seems to be on physical attraction rather than the cultural aspect.

I mean if you are attracted to an African woman then it doesn’t matter if you are adopted or not. She is as good-looking and beautiful and smart [no matter what]. I think so. (Interview with Cecilia)

The matter of visible differences and the difficulties of talking about it reappeared when the interviewees articulated their thoughts about why the survey result showed a lesser preference for mixed marriages with South/

East Asian compared to Central/East European despite the fact that fewer survey respondents had a negative picture and understanding of South/East Asian compared to Central/East European. Some stereotypes of Central/East Europeans such as “Yugoslavian mafia”, “gold diggers” and “loud and standing out” came to the surface when the interviewees reasoned why the survey respondents had a more negative image of Central/East European compared to South/East Asian. Stereotypes of South/East Asian as “not taking place” also emerged. These stereotypes depict the relational identification in terms of how similar and different *they* are to *us*. Comparing Central/East European and South/East Asian, six interviewees answered “it is strange” and five said “I don’t know why”. Three informants argued that it was a matter of cultural and physical proximity, as discussed earlier (p. 183). Although problems in talking about visible differences emerged, the level of uneasiness in talking about the visible differences was much smaller, since the interviewees could formulate an argument that focused on the *cultural differences* and similarities, which was not possible when talking about adoptees.

Five interviewees connected the idea of Europeaness and physical appearance. Per expressed that Central/East Europeans were “ordinary white people. South/East Asians are more foreign”. Ulla also expressed that “Central/East Europeans are quite like us in their physical appearance. It does not differ so much and it’s not that obvious”. Peter connected the visible and social similarities of Central/East European in the following way:

It can be that people think that they [CEE] are similar to us. It is also an important thing, you know. They are rather like us. Of course it plays a role when you imagine what you think when you answer these questions.

(Interviewer) What do you mean “similar to us”?

I don’t know, physical appearance you want to keep. Because when it comes to relationships you can say that it’s about the physical appearance. If you like this person it doesn’t matter but maybe people believe that there are cultural similarities [when you have similar physical appearance] even though there might not be [in reality]. They are like European, not West European but still ... (Interview with Peter)

Like Peter, Jan also discussed the Europeaness of people of Central/East European origin. Moreover, Lennart inferred the definition of Swedes and how Europeaness is connected to being accepted as a Swede:

You can say that in Sweden people have stretched out what is considered to be Swedish and we recognize Europeans as Swedes you know. Wherever in

Europe you come from you are accepted as a Swede. ... It is obvious, because then the children or the grandchildren will look like yourself [laugh]. You skip that problem you know. (Interview with Lennart)

As in the case when the idea of “playing the safe card” was raised in discussing adoptees, the relationship between visible differences and the perception of Central/East European defined as European and culturally similar to *us* Swedes was obvious. Visible differences and whiteness evoke the idea of what is European.

This connection between visible differences and the idea of Swedishness or Europeaness and the master position of the visible differences was also obvious in Anna’s words. She took Asian adoptees as an example when describing why she thought survey respondents had a less negative picture of South/East Asian compared to Central/East European. Here the stereotype of South/East Asians as “hard working” was extended to the adoptees who were culturally and socially Swedish:

My husband has two cousins who are adopted [from South East Asia], one from COUNTRY and the other from COUNTRY or somewhere there. They are really nice, and I know them from a close perspective and it feels like they are hard working people, so even if you don’t want to get married to such a person you think you would appreciate one as a colleague because they work hard. (Interview with Anna)

“I’m not racist but...” – The dilemma of individual choice

“It is not surprising” was again the common reaction to the result showing a discrepancy between whether survey respondents thought it was negative for Swedes to marry someone of another origin and whether marrying someone of another origin was accepted in Swedish society. Ten interviewees articulated that even though they did not have anything against interracial marriage, they knew that there were people with extreme opinions and who were prejudiced against immigrants and people of immigrant background. This projection was frequent. Karin clearly stated her position and that of others by saying:

I think also, personally, that I have nothing against [interracial marriage] but my understanding is that there are attitudes in society which are troublesome for persons who choose to live in an interracial marriage or relationship. (Interview Karin)

From her own experience of previously being in a mixed relationship Marie expressed:

Swedes rather want to talk about, how should I put it ... democratic or that they think everything is of course okay, because that is what you are supposed to say. But then when you get to the bottom of it, you hear behind your back that it is not like that at all [laughs]. (Interview with Marie)

Seven interviewees articulated the social desirability needs involved in the process of answering the questionnaire as Marie indicated. For example, Mikael put it straightforwardly:

I am pretty sure that you think that you yourself are a little more positive than Swedes in general, even though it maybe is like in the case where 60% of all men think that you are better looking than the average men or whatever, I guess. (Interview with Mikael)

Hans and Anders recognized the tension between what you actually believe and what you think others believe. They both believed that your own thoughts reflected what you supposed the thoughts of others to be.

Maybe you have many thoughts but when you fill [the questionnaire] in then you think no, not me. Society maybe is offended about it but not me. I think that you want to have a different opinion than what you may actually have. (Interview with Anders)

The idea of individual choice was again incorporated in discussions about why the respondents answered that it was not negative that Swedes married interracially but that Swedish society did not accept such marriages to the same extent. Several interviewees reasoned around the notion of individual choice that others can do whatever they want. Louise and Karl discussed the tension between individual choice and the awareness of the attitudes, racism and prejudice that exist in society. As in the case of child-bearing, the individual choice of getting involved in an interrelationship conflicts with the generally held idea that such a relationship is “difficult” and a “problem”. Louise talked about this gap:

I believe that many Swedes think, as I said, that you should do whatever you want and you should be allowed to decide over yourself, you should have freedom. At the same time, you also know that there are attitudes in society and that there is racism and prejudice. So I think that for my own part it maybe is easier to say that it is okay but then you at the same time know that in society there are people who don't think that it's okay.
(Interview with Louise)

Karl also stated that “if someone gets married, it’s a very personal thing, and people should do what they want. It’s another thing if we the society should accept it”. Here, the idea of group position might be gathered, and crossing the boundary of *us* and *them* challenged. As Karl, other informants noted the contradiction and complexity of supporting and questioning intermarriage. As Jan stated, “It’s one thing to say that you accept it, and it’s another thing when you question if it REALLY is accepted.” This can be connected to the reflection of social desirability needs in answering the questionnaire. Brigitta also talked about her friends’ situations and explained the conflicting position of supporting and at the same time questioning mixed marriage. This might also be a reflection of conflicts that can emerge through the idea of individual choice and the generally held idea of intermarriage.

Contact Hypothesis and group position from the qualitative view

The majority of the interviewees had some kind of contact with people of immigrant background in their work and private lives. Seven interviewees reported that they had “very little” contact with people of another origin, while the rest stated that they had colleagues, friends or both with different backgrounds. Some interviewees expressed how a lack of experience and contact could be behind the negative attitudes toward certain groups, as presented earlier. Despite this the informants made little reference to their colleagues, friends or experiences with people of foreign origin when explaining their opinions. This may raise the question of what the informants actually meant by having colleagues or friends of a different background and points to the necessity of probing what the interviewees’ experiences actually are.

Explanations through the idea of familiarity could be an indication of how contact can affect attitudes. Some mentioned that general contact, such as coming across a diverse group of people in the downtown area, did not lead to a positive attitude and that direct contact was necessary.

Although I did not ask all the 28 interviewees where they grew up, it sometimes became obvious during the conversation that an informant had not grown up in Malmö Municipality. When I had a chance to talk to them about it, I asked what they thought about the differences in attitudes among those who came from and outside Malmö Municipality. Mikael raised the issue of the physical proximity of diversity and speculated on the reverse effect of diversity and having contacts with people of different background.

If I compare Malmö and CITY it feels like Malmö is much more integrated that you actually meet people with a different cultural background every

day, while in CITY it's much more divided. There are the suburbs, it's far away and people don't go there if you don't live there. I actually think that it is positive [that Malmö is integrated] and I don't understand why it has caused rather a reverse effect. (Interview with Mikael)

Linnea also articulated the relation between attitudes toward interracial relationships and the size and visibility of different immigrant groups. Her comments also indicate the problem of visible differences that includes what people wear and their lifestyles. Her words indicate perceived threat, as well as the notion of passing, such as of Poles, who can "hide" and pass as Swedes compared to African or Middle Easterner. The class perspective is raised as well.

I think it has to do with first of all Malmö being a blue-collar city. People are quite narrow-minded and traditional. ... And when you talk about immigration and things like that, people feel that their opinions do not really matter and that everything happens before their eyes. There has been a huge concentration [of immigrants] here because of the location, big families come, and it happened very quickly, in such a short time there were so many. And you can visibly see you know, everywhere. ... I can imagine that because the two groups you have mentioned, Africans and Middle Easterner, they are extremely far away from the Swedish way of living. They have a very different clothes style and life style in general. They look very different physically and the whole thing, it becomes visible of course. If you come from Poland or somewhere on the other hand, you can easily hide in the bunch.

(Interview with Linnea)

Lars also expressed his thoughts about how changes in the city with an increased immigrant population might have affected people in Malmö. He inferred the formation of perceived threat in terms of the visibility and perceived size of the group.

I think that people who have grown up in Malmö, their parents have lived in a Malmö where there were only Swedes and then immigration has just escalated and their beautiful Malmö disappeared and it's so easy to blame the immigrants for the problems. ... and I believe that this carries over to their children. I see people at my workplace who move away from the city because there are so many immigrants here, and they are in different age groups. It of course leaves an impression on the children. It's very strange. They don't contribute to integration either. If you think that it is a problem then they should actually do the opposite. (Interview with Lars)

Mikael, Linnea and Lars, who grew up outside Malmö Municipality, all pointed to the fact that the growth in size of and the visibility of some groups may have fostered more negative attitudes toward certain groups among those who grew up in Malmö Municipality. Some of the interviewees who grew up in Malmö Municipality also indicated the visibility of some groups. This may suggest a relationship between group position and the perceived threat and attitudes toward interracial marriage as well as be an indication of the role of contact.

Race of interviewer effect in interviews

The above presentation and analysis concerns the question of attitudes toward interracial relationships. In this final part of the presentation of the empirical material and analysis, race of interviewer effect (RIE) is examined. The analysis highlights how race and ethnicity are negotiated during the interview situations and how the perception of visible differences is communicated.

When conducting the telephone interviews I was careful not to disclose information about my ethnic or racial background. Because of this, or not, I was not asked about my origin as much as I thought I would be during the phone interviews, although this does not mean that the question never arose. Six out of the eight interviewees that I met face-to-face asked me where I was from, while only 5 out of the 21 telephone interviewees asked me the same question. Among the five, one specifically asked if I was Japanese because he saw my name on the cover letter. Another telephone interview informant wondered whether my personal intention of carrying out research on attitudes toward interracial marriage was to do with me being married to a Swede, because I had a “foreign name”. These two informants were the only ones among the telephone interviewees who specifically mentioned or noticed my foreign sounding name. Having the interviewees asking the question of my origin in face-to-face meetings seemed like an automatic and natural process, because they saw that I was Asian. Asking me where I came from not only revealed the process of communicating visible differences but also served as clarification of my ethnicity. However, this process should naturally be analyzed critically in relation to the question of race, the visible differences and the norm of what it means to be Swedish.

Observing the cases where my race and ethnicity was specifically negotiated during the interviews, it becomes apparent that there were different reactions and ways for the informants to interpret my social characteristics and position. It is impossible to speak for the majority of telephone interviewees who never asked me the question about my ethnicity and race, what their perception was and if my presence has affected their responses and answers. I cannot stress enough that this section does not

try to argue *if* the perception of my presence has affected the interview interaction but rather have a purpose of presenting *when* and *how* my presence is marked and communicated during interviews.

Gap between the expectation and the reality of who I am

Through the initial contact by phone and letter, the interviewees seemed to have a picture of who I was and what I looked like before meeting me in person. Even though my name and language skills were exposed before the initial face-to-face meeting, some informants that I met in person never imagined that I was Asian. In this respect the reactions of the informants are very similar to Ann Phoenix's experiences of some white interviewees in her studies being surprised to see her as they did not expect a black researcher (1994). Moreover, as Kim and Hoong Sin experienced, the surprise also seemed to originate from the association of poor language skills and being Asian. Hoong Sin experienced an interviewee saying that "I didn't know you're Chinese!" reacting to his fluency in English, in spite of the fact that initial contact had been made and the informants had been informed of his non-anglicized name (2007). A similar response was observed in several incidents in my study.

As Hoong Sin discusses, some of the interviewees had not paid much attention to the letter that I had sent to them, but formed an assumption of me through the telephone conversation and my language skills prior to the actual meeting (2007). When I asked Johanna during our face-to-face meeting if she thought that my presence affected the answers she gave to me, she expressed that she did not initially think that I was Asian. She explained to me that she could hear during our initial telephone conversation that I had some kind of accent but could not really guess what it was. She looked at my name later and guessed that I was an Asian married to a Swede, since my last name sounded Swedish. Another female interviewee, Helena, who I also met face-to-face, expressed that she had not expected me to be Asian and in fact was surprised because she did not hear an Asian accent in my spoken Swedish. She thought my accent was Middle Eastern or South European. She expressed that she did not "see" or know that I was Asian before she met me. In both these cases the interviewees did not expect me to be Asian because I did not have what they imagined to be an "Asian accent" when speaking Swedish. On several other occasions, both during the face-to-face and telephone interviews, when I answered the question of how long I had been living in Sweden, the interviewees expressed that I was very good at Swedish considering the time period, in comparison to other "immigrants who never seem to learn Swedish even though they have lived in Sweden for many years." While it is unclear how my Swedish language affected the interviews and the interviewees, espe-

cially on the telephone, one thing became obvious. Several examples of this can be identified in the interview material, which is that people think that Asians and immigrants in general speak the language in certain ways.

A more precise case of where the gap between who an interviewee expected me to be and who I really am was evident was observed at the initial meeting with Peter. I was standing at the meeting point and the male informant passed by without noticing my existence. He telephoned me to inform that he would be arriving in about five minutes and I stood at the meeting point waiting. The meeting point was an obvious one and I was the only person standing in the area. The distance between me and the informant when he passed by was less than one meter. It was very clear that this interviewee did not see me or expect an Asian person. During the interview the informant also mentioned that he could imagine being together with an Asian person and told me about the good reputation that Asians have in the small town from which he originally came. He was the only informant who specifically expressed Asian-friendly opinions. As much as it is possible that the interviewee was positive to Asians, because his passing in front of me without giving me a second glance was awkward for both of us, he may have needed to recover, or may have felt the need to defend himself that he had nothing against Asians and was instead favorable.

In a telephone interview, when you cannot see each other, it is not possible to communicate or understand the gap between someone's perception of me and who I actually am unless the interviewee asks me where I come from or what my race and ethnicity are. When I called Lennart, he was very dominant at the beginning and demanded that I carry out the interview immediately or there would be no interview. This can be understood in terms of a gender power relation. We decided to conduct the interview anyway and he expressed explicitly how he wanted it to be done. Towards the end of the interview he asked me where I was from. When I said that I was from Japan, the tone of his voice changed and became friendlier. He said that his children also came from Asia. It was at that moment that someone who was unknown to him became familiar: he could visibly imagine what I looked like, place me in the category Asian and could relate to me through his children. The interview ended on very good terms by him telling me how interesting my study sounded, contrary to how he had reacted at the beginning. I do not know what kind of expectations and images this interviewee had before he discovered that I was Japanese, although it was very clear from the tone of his voice that his skepticism of me, and of who I was, fell away at that moment.

Discretion in revealing real thoughts

The race of the interviewer means that interviewees may make “adjustments” to their opinions and attitudes when questioned by an interviewer

of a different racial or ethnic group in order to avoid responses that might offend the interviewer (Gunaratnam 2003; Hatchett and Schuman 1975). The visibility of my Asian appearance, in combination with not knowing exactly what my ethnicity was, seemed to trigger a discretion about revealing honest thoughts in the face-to-face meetings I had with one of the previously mentioned female interviewees, Helena. She first communicated our racial differences by stating that “this result is not amusing for you is it?” when I explained the survey results showing that South/East Asian was one of the least preferred groups for a marriage partner. The comment was a clear indication of her recognizing and categorizing me as Asian, and also sympathizing and imagining that finding out that Asians were not favored as marriage partners by Swedes was not a pleasant thing for me, being Asian myself. At the end of the interview, when I asked Helena if she had anything more to say or add to what we had been talking about, she asked if I had been born in Sweden. When she found out that I had not been born in Sweden and was from Japan, she stated that I had some kind of “accent” when speaking Swedish. Since this was the second time she mentioned that I had some accent when speaking, this may be a reflection of what Tang experienced as an act of clarification of “linguistic subordination” and something that has “an element of cultural superiority” on the part of the interviewee (2002:715). Helena’s idea of South/East Asian women subsequently came forward when she told me that she had “totally forgotten” to talk about the stereotypes of marriages between Thai women and European men. She told me about her experience of travelling to Thailand and how disgusted she was to see Thai women flocking around white European men. As her opinion and description was quite strong and vivid it made me wonder why she had not mentioned this before. Not only did she articulate the stereotyped picture of Thai women and white men travelling to Thailand to meet them, but also the practice of “importing wives”. She told me an anecdote that she had heard about a Thai woman being “imported” by a Swedish man who studied Swedish and when she became fluent in the language, got a job, acquired Swedish citizenship, she divorced the Swedish man. She said that the Swedish man was “her ticket to Sweden” and that the Thai woman took advantage of him. The informant rounded off the anecdote by telling me that “it would take a long time before this stereotype proves false”. Her opinion about Thai woman was without a doubt strong and concrete. When she articulated the images of Thai women in words, it was hard to imagine that she just happened to “totally forget” to talk about it. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that her first reservation in talking about Thai-European marriages may have stemmed from the insecurity of not knowing my ethnicity and where I was from.

The role of age and gender

There are a couple of other examples where not only my race and ethnicity but also age and gender seemed to influence the interview situations. One of the telephone interviewees, Linnea, assumed that I was a foreign guest student. She expressed her opinion about how her own people in Sweden have not welcomed immigrants who have come to Sweden in recent years. In explaining this, she excluded me from the category of immigrants by saying: "... and with that I don't mean you because you are one of these guest students, right?" She continued to talk without waiting for my answer and I never had the chance to inform her that I was not "a guest student". This comment clearly indicates that she perceived me as an "outsider" not belonging to Sweden; neither a Swede nor an "immigrant" but a "guest". In excluding me from the category of "immigrants" it seemed as though she did not reflect on the fact that I spoke Swedish and had a Swedish surname. Looking at the transcription, it became obvious that she interrupted me quite a lot and started talking before I had finished my sentence or question. In the light of this the power relationship in the interview could be interpreted as unequal. However, the fact that she believed that I was a guest student and that she was telling me things from her Swedish perspective seems to have worked well in the interview, in that she was not hesitant about disclosing her own personal thoughts, including her own intimate feelings and views about immigrant groups, and what she considered other Swedes to be like. This created what Hoong Sin refers to as the reverse of the "conventional power dynamics" that benefit researchers (Hoong Sin 2007:492). The informant's perception of me as a foreign guest student and the power relations worked positively because the informant, a middle aged female Swede, could talk to the interviewer, a female "student" and thus young "guest" about what things were like in Sweden. As Rhodes indicates, the position of a "student" wanting to learn about the informants' opinions and Swedish society might have influenced the interview situation positively (1994).

During our face-to-face meeting Karl compared himself to me: "You know, I am big, tall and look at you, you are so small and cute." Although he expressed his uncertainty about my origin and background, whether I was an immigrant or a transnational adoptee, he explicitly articulated his opinions about international adoption, stereotypes of Asians and even about Asian-Swedish marriages. For example he thought that international adoption had a connotation of "buying children". He also expressed that he could never imagine having a relationship with a Thai woman who is half his age because he would "only be her ticket out of Thailand". He articulated his thoughts about Asians without any hesitation, even though he expressed uncertainty about whether I was an immigrant or an

adoptee. In fact, during the entire interview he never asked me specifically where I was from. At the end of the interview, when I asked if he had expressed his thoughts in a satisfactory manner, he said that the experience of meeting and talking to me had been a positive one, and that he felt it had been a positive experience for me as well. He articulated that he had not felt pressured to answer the questions that I asked, but could remain calm and express his thoughts carefully and clearly in his own way. His perception of me as “small and cute” was naturally somewhat problematic from a professional point of view, in that he might not have taken the interview as seriously as he should have, although on the other hand my “small and cute” existence may have eliminated the threat and fear of expressing what he thought. During the interview Karl explicitly articulated that he could not imagine having a relationship with a black person, and explained that the differences in the color of the skin were “too much”. I doubt that he would have disclosed this if he had not experienced the interview situation and my presence as positive, likewise if I were not Asian. Moreover, this informant’s perception of me as “small and cute”, not to mention him telling me openly that I was small and cute, would probably not been expressed if I had been a male researcher or if I had been the same age or older than him. Again, the reversed power dynamics seemed to benefit the interview situation.

Stereotypes of Asians

The examples discussed earlier implicitly depict and indicate the stereotype of Asians lacking language fluency or having a distinct Asian accent when speaking the language. Because the interviewees had an idea of how Asians should speak the language, some never imagined that I would be Asian. Unlike Tang (2002) I did not have any difficulty in communicating in Swedish with the interviewees or experienced them correcting or questioning my choice of words. As mentioned, only 5 out of the 21 telephone interviewees directly asked me about my origin. Considering the reference to “immigrants who never seem to learn Swedish”, my language skills might have indicated some degree of “integration” into Swedish society, which in turn might have influenced the interviews and the interviewees’ perceptions of me as a person positively.

Both Hoong Sin and Kim experienced that they were expected to act as Asians, i.e. polite and humble (Hoong Sin 2007; Kim 1977). I did not feel the expectation to act as Asian, however in my interview material stereotypes of Asians as “hard working” were both marked and communicated by the informants on several occasions. Peter, the informant introduced earlier, who passed by without noticing me, articulated the good reputation of Asians in the small town from which he came. Another male

interviewee asked me where I was from at the end of our telephone interview, when I asked him what he thought about the interview. When I disclosed that I was Japanese, he made a point of saying: “You are from Japan. Then you belong to the Asian group.” He continued with “then I believe that people generally think that Japanese are very driven” and laughed. Both his comment and his laughter were difficult to interpret because I did not perceive his tone to be totally positive. However, it is noteworthy that out of all the possible reactions he might have made and comments he could have articulated he chose to make the above statement when he heard that I was Japanese.

All interview settings involve processes of negotiating social positions between the researcher and the researched. However, my position as a non-white researcher researching the white majority population provides a unique opportunity to “reverse the gaze” that other types of researches do not have. While this analysis does not aim to address the question of *whether* RIE took place during the interviews, highlighting the incidents in which the boundary of race, ethnicity, gender and age are implicitly and explicitly communicated between the researcher and the interviewees is relevant. Indeed, this process of communicating differences may strengthen and support the analysis of the perception of difference evoked by visible differences.

Summary

The interview material was presented and analyzed in the previous section. In this part the intention is to summarize the important themes and findings that emerged from the interviews.

The perception of difference

The qualitative interviews made clear how the idea of intermarriage is often associated with negative notions and accounts. The interview questions asked the informants to express their thoughts about the survey results, which were often related to giving explanations as to why the respondents were more negative towards having interracial relationships with certain groups. Since the questions were inquiries into the negative attitudes of the respondents, the negative accounts might have been reflected in the interviewees’ words. At the same time, however, it is important to note that even though a few interviewees indicated confusion about the results at times, none of them came up with an elaborate and legitimate counter-argument as to why it was *not* negative. Moreover, although the interviewees expressed their disagreement with the results, they could still reason clearly as to why the survey respondents had an-

swered in the way they did. Diminutive expressions like “I am a bit confused but...”, “I don’t know but...”, “I don’t think it is okay but...” followed by a clear reasoning were the most common utterances of the interviewees.

Analyzing the 28 interviews, it is clear that explanations of the attitudes toward interracial relationships often implied preferences of a partner according to the degree of *perceived difference*, through which an association of *we* or *us* and distance from *others* and *them* were defined. *Social and religious differences*, especially the idea of *culture*, were communicated the most, while *economic differences* were almost never communicated. Among the differences expressed, *visible differences* were the least articulated and seemed to be the most difficult to talk about for the interviewees. On examining the interview material with a view to trying to understand the perception of difference, the informants’ words indicate a spontaneous and automatic connection between having a *root* or *origin* in another country and the perception of difference. In the material it becomes clear that if an individual is perceived as having *difference*, whether these be visible, religious, economic or social, he or she is perceived to have immigrated to Sweden and is not Swedish. Moreover, this *difference* is strongly connected to non-Western and non-Europeanness. Table 15, below, demonstrates the domains of perceived difference that were named by the interviewees.

Table 15. Domains of difference as articulated by the interviewees

<p>Visible differences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Color of skin and other physical attributes • Language
<p>Religious differences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious beliefs • Islam
<p>Social differences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family, kinship and settlement patterns • Patriarchical structure • Gender equality • Social behavior, customs and courtesies • Culture as different from that of Western or European • Culture as causing problems (cultural clash) • Tradition

Communicating the perceived differences

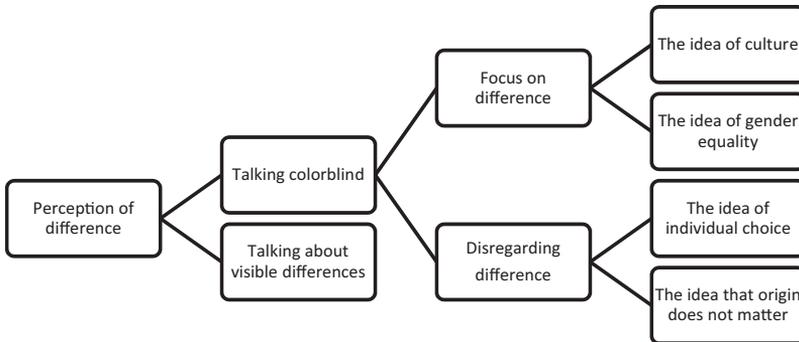
Generalizations and categorizations are something that we human beings cannot avoid in our daily lives, although the problem of generalization and categorization lies in the fact that they negotiate *meanings* and *feelings*. In the process of seeing difference and defining how different *they* are from *us* are and *our* values, meanings and feelings are attached to the difference. Prejudices and stereotypes emerge based on the perception of difference and become a platform for racial ideas and beliefs. As Hedetoft asserts, *otherness* is usually constructed through “the comparison, the contrast, the relation between ‘us’ and ‘them’” (1995:77). Therefore, the perception of difference is a relational process. When the informants talked about Latin American and Central/East European, the central argument was the perception of *similarity*. The two groups are often identified in a *gradualist* manner and perceived to be “like us” and “part of us”. Clearly, on the contrary, South/East Asian, African, and especially Middle Easterner, were marked with *difference*. The group Middle Easterner and people who are perceived to be Muslims are ascribed with *exclusivist* stereotypes, i.e. people who are “absolutely different” and “culturally and morally incompatible” (Hedetoft 1995). South/East Asians and Africans are perceived as being different in a more ambiguous way. The religion Islam was connected at times with the two groups, which indicates the prominence of perceived religious differences. South/East Asians as hard-working people was mentioned by several interviewees. Even adopted East Asians were included in the description at one point. These perceptions of difference and the relational identification of self and of others based on perceived similarities and differences establish the group position (Blumer 1958:3). Racial prejudices emerge as a response to the perceived challenges and threats to the sense of group position in the process of defining *us* and *them* and how different *they* are to *us*. Table 16 summarizes the differences that the interviewees specifically communicated towards different groups.

Table 16. The perceived difference communicated about the five groups

<p>Central/East European & Latin American</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Similar to us, "like us" • Europeaness • Culture • Physical appearance • Familiar • Geographical closeness
<p>South/East Asian</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional and patriarchal culture • Thai women • Non-demanding, hard working • "not European"
<p>African</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Color of the skin • Islam
<p>Middle Easterner</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Islam • Patriarchal culture • Kidnapping • Gender equality • "totally different"

The interviewees' perceptions of difference were communicated in two different ways: *talking colorblind* and *talking about visible differences*. The practice of colorblindness, "a mode of thinking about race organized around an effort to not 'see,' or at any rate not to acknowledge, race differences" (Frankenberg 1993:142) was obvious. Uneasiness was observed in situations where the interview informants were confronted with issues where they were unable to argue in terms of *cultural and social differences* but rather where *visible differences* seemed undeniable. The interviewees talked in a colorblind manner in four broadly divided ways: they expressed the *idea of culture, gender equality, individual choice* and the idea that *origin does not matter*. The idea of culture and the idea of gender equality noticeably focused on the perception of difference, i.e. how different *they* are from *us*: *they* are defined as a collective whole. On the other hand, the idea of individual choice and the idea that origin does not matter cancelled out the differences: the focus was on individual and a case by case situation. Colorblind explanations thus contain two contradictory ideas: one that focuses on difference and one that disregards difference. This focus on and disregarding of difference was also observed in the study on adoptive families carried out by Tigervall (2008).

Table 17. Different ways of explaining perceived differences



Talking colorblind – Focusing on and disregarding differences

The idea of culture

In Frankenberg’s study of white women carried out in the US, while her interviewees claimed that race did not matter and shouldn’t make any difference between people, they did focus on cultural differences and economic and sociopolitical differences (1993:138). In this study, the same pattern could be observed. Focusing on the degree of *cultural differences* of different groups and the ethnic hierarchy that exists in Swedish society, the majority of the interviewees naturalized the survey result that showed Europeans to be the most preferred and Middle Easterner as the least preferred as a relationship partner. The informants linked the idea of *culture* to the notion of *origin*, a person from a culture that was not Swedish, and repeatedly referred to geographical countries or areas, *there* rather than *here*. Based on the idea that cultures belong *there* not *here*, and people of differing origins belonging *there* not *here*, the idea of culture is fixed and essentialized together with the idea of origin.

The focus on *cultural differences* and the notion that *culture is something that is different from Swedish or Western culture* was prominent. This idea crystallized when the interviewees considered that some intermarriages were not as problematic as others, such as a marriage between a Swede and a Dane. This understanding corresponds with previous ethnographic studies carried out in Sweden (Gerholm 2003; Begovic 2003; Månsson 1993). The majority of the interviewees seemed to share the idea that interracial marriage was controversial and entailed difficulties and problems caused by the couple’s *cultural differences*. The idea of interracial marriage as a problem seemed to be influenced by the strong idea that having an *origin* in another country, or outside the Western sphere, was equal to *social* and *religious differences* that were difficult to bridge. *Difference* is frowned upon to exist. By focusing on the problems caused by

cultural differences, the informants implicitly explained their reservations about interrelationships. As Bonilla-Silva asserts, by focusing on the difficulties and problems, and on *cultural differences*, a legitimate colorblind argument against interracial marriage is established. Referring to the problems that can arise as a result of cultural differences shifts the focus from individual preference to the welfare of the couple. The argument thus becomes something reasonable and understandable on the surface, instead of something prejudiced (Bonilla-Silva 2010). However, looking at how cultural differences are communicated, a clear distinction of and prejudice towards what is *us* and *them* emerges. As Frankenberg discusses in her study, cultural groups are constructed as incompatible and separate from one another (1993). With the idea of *cultural differences*, the racialized division of *us* and *them* is communicated. Moreover, defending the preference of a marriage partner on the grounds of cultural differences reflects the notion of a culture that divides *us* and *them* and that reinforces and establishes ideas of race, as Kuper advocates (1999:14).

When the meaning of the word *origin* was probed, some of the interviewees realized and became conscious of the meaning of the word *origin*: you can be Swedish and still have an origin in another country. Some even claimed that it would be easier to have a relationship with someone who had been born and had grown up in Sweden, since even though they might have a different *culture* they would have an understanding of what things are like in Sweden. Here again, people of different *origins* were linked to a *culture* that was *different* from that of Swedes and culture as something that is passed down through the generations. Moreover, underlying the idea that having a relationship with someone who grew up in Sweden was easier seems to be the notion of compromising *culture*, i.e. that *they* can conform to *us*. In talking about cultural differences, a projection was observed on some occasions in terms of it is *them* who “choose to be so”. In other words, the notion of having a *choice* of pursuing culture drives the idea of cultural conformity. Therefore, cultural differences can be articulated as a sign of unwillingness to integrate, or even as something that can be compromised if *they* change their behavior. This justifies the preference of a partner based on cultural difference and shifts the blame from the prejudice or stereotype that drives such preferences to the individuals who are perceived as having a different culture and who “choose” to pursue their culture. This relates to Root’s examination of families being open about interracial marriage and the maintenance of the idea that the minority should become accustomed to the majority society and culture (2001). This again corresponds to the way of talking colorblind as advocated by Bonilla-Silva (2010).

The idea of gender equality

Keskinen, HübINETTE and Lundström argue that gender equality discourse is central to the national self-image of the Nordic countries (HübINETTE and Lundström 2011; Keskinen 2009). Mulinari asserts that gender equality has developed in Sweden “as the central ethnic signifier of national belonging and the most important boundary between ‘us’ and ‘them’” (2008:180). The interview material shows that *gender equality* is discussed as something that is part of Swedish culture and not necessarily something that *others* have, as previously mentioned scholars argue. The female interviewees utilized the idea of gender equality in explaining the preference of a marriage partner on a number of different occasions. Moreover, the idea of gender equality came forward vividly when the interviewees, both men and women, reasoned and communicated why male survey respondents were more positive to interracial relationships in general compared to female respondents. Yang, in her analysis of a feminist adult school in Norway, identified a dichotomy of “oppressed third world women” who are “religious”, “family-oriented” and “domestic” and Western women who are “progressive, liberal and democratic” (2009:245). As in her study, the dichotomy of the patriarchal culture and the gender equal Swedish culture, and the exclusion of non-Western women in the notion of gender equality were observed in this study.

The racialized gender construction also became obvious when the interviewees discussed the result showing male respondents consistently being significantly more positive to interrelationships with Middle Easterner and South/East Asian. Middle Easterner marked with *social* and *religious differences* received a lot of attention throughout the interviews in different contexts. With the idea of gender equality, Muslims and the religion of Islam were especially constructed as having opposite ideal that are “extremely different” from those of Swedes, and communicated as a group and people that can threaten Swedish equal gender values. The idea of gender equality and the patriarchal picture of Middle Easterner were expressed through stereotypes such as *the men oppressing the women* or *Muslim men kidnapping children to their home country*. These stereotypes of and ideas about Middle Easterner connected to religious differences seemed to be profound, considering that several interview informants specifically articulated that they could not imagine having a relationship with someone of Middle Eastern origin. Stereotypes of South/East Asian also emerged on the grounds of gender equality, although to a lesser extent. Contrary to Middle Easterner, the focus here was mostly on the female, especially *women who are imported as wives* or *taking advantage of Swedish men*. The description of Asian women as non-demanding could also be observed. The interviewees were unanimous that the female re-

spondents were negative towards the group Middle Easterner because of the religious differences and because *they* did not share the view of *our* gender equality. At the same time, some interviewees reasoned that some Swedish men desired immigrant women, especially South/East Asian women, because *they* were not gender equal and the relationship would entail less conflict and problems. The construction of Middle Eastern men as oppressors of women and South/East Asian women as traditional and domestic were apparent. As in Frankenberg's study in the U.S. and Yang's study in Norway, a racial construction of masculinity and femininity can be observed from the idea of gender equality (Frankenberg 1993). It is also interesting to note that the focus of the argument was on why female respondents were more negative when it comes to Middle Easterner, while the focus was on why male respondents were more positive when it comes to South/East Asian.

People who are perceived to have different *culture* are ascribed as not sharing the gender equal view. The oppositional *us* and *them* are communicated by the idea of gender equality. Therefore, the idea of gender equality functions together with the idea of culture as a division of *us* and *them* that is incompatible and separate from each other. In this dichotomy people who are perceived as different are affected by the prejudice and stereotypes in two layers: first through the idea of *culture* and second through *gender*.

The idea of individual choice

The idea of *individual choice* was very persuasive when the interviewees explained their thoughts about the discrepancy between the survey respondents' own preference of a marriage partner and their attitudes toward family or other members of society getting involved in interracial marriages. The idea of individual or free choice is also connected to the idea of Swedishness. Even though one fourth of the interview informants stated that they would have initial reservations, they still seemed to, from the perspective of individual choice, accept and respect their family members' choice of partner, as seen in previous studies in the U.S. (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Root 2001). The idea of choice disregards and shifts the focus from difference and argues for and against interracial marriage on liberal grounds, rather than focusing on cultural differences or the idea of gender equality (Bonilla-Silva 2010). The idea of individual choice is explained as the freedom that individuals have to want or not want to marry someone of another origin, and the freedom that others have to want or not want to marry someone of another origin. The idea of individual choice therefore serves as a defence mechanism for the interviewees' own opinions of inter-

racial marriage and at the same time as an indication of tolerance of interracial relationships.

The idea of individual choice seems to form a tension when there is a discrepancy between individual choice and the collective group position, what individuals want and how other people might perceive the choice. A disagreement between the individual and the collective position could be observed when the interviewees expressed that they themselves did not have anything against interracial marriage, although they knew that there were people who were against them. This projection coincides with the study by Moran and Frankenberg, which shows that informants sometimes admitted the existence of racist beliefs about interracial marriage by focusing on other people's racism (Frankenberg 1993; Moran 2001). This concern about the collective perception seems to affect the idea of interracial marriage, for example the more negative attitudes toward childbearing compared to dating. Several informants expressed that when you date or live together it is only about yourself, however when you have children it is not just about your own choice but also involves other people. As Blumer states, the collective image of the abstract group is not constructed through personal experience but rather through the events in which questions of the belonging of *us* and *them* arise (1958). An individual's choice to marry someone of another origin may conflict with an awareness of the group position. Therefore, as with Bonilla-Silvia's analysis, the idea of individual choice and the idea of "I have no problem with it" by projecting on others' racism, might be just another reflection of a reservation towards interracial marriage (2010).

The focus on individuals can also be observed in the belief that "origin does not matter" and "it is about the person in question that matters". This clearly reflects the colorblind ideology that race or ethnicity should make no difference between people where the idea of difference is disregarded. Here the focus is not on the group and the perceptions of difference, but rather on the *individuals*, which is why the matter of intermarriage can be discussed and legitimized as a case by case matter. This is a clear contrast to the idea of *social* and *religious differences* communicated through the idea of collective *culture* and *origin*. However, it should not be forgotten that the idea of cultural conformity discussed earlier may underlie the idea that it is the individual that matters.

Talking about visible differences

Even though the practice of talking colorblind is prominent, there were some examples where *visible differences* were highlighted. The colorblind argument was contested when the interview informants were to discuss attitudes toward adoptees. The informants all shared the colorblind opin-

ion that *if you are an adoptee you are a Swede*, although the majority could not find the words to explain why adoptees were not preferred as a marriage partner as much as Swedes and other Europeans. They obviously had difficulties talking about the position of the adoptees in Swedish society and the issue of visible difference. These difficulties are also documented in HübINETTE and Tigervall's study on adoptees and adoptive families (2008). Several of the interviewees articulated that interracial marriage with adoptees would be *easier* due to the non-existence of *cultural differences*. The same idea was seen when differences between interracial marriages with first or second generation immigrants who had been born and raised in Sweden was inquired. The remark that it is *easier* to have a relationship with adoptees than with someone of immigrant origin is interesting, since it indicates that there is *something* about the adoptees that makes having a relationship with them *different* or *not easier* compared to one with Swedes. As several of the informants noted, these differences refer to the visible and the physical differences.

The issue of visible difference was again addressed when the interviewees compared the attitudes toward South/East Asian and Central/East European. Many interviewees persisted with their colorblind argument by saying that it was the *cultural differences* not the *visible differences* that made people prefer Central/East European. At the same time, several interviewees defined Europeanness and Swedishness in terms of visible and social differences. Central/East European marked with *social* and *cultural similarities* were attached with *visible similarities*, i.e. whiteness. The preference of Central/East European is stated in the name of Europeanness and Swedishness that South/East Asian do not possess. This may indicate the notion of passing, and how Swedishness and Europeanness is indicated by the *visible differences*, as expressed by some of the interviewees.

Another point where the colorblind argument and the effort of not talking about visible differences were challenged was in connection with children of mixed parentage. In explaining why the survey respondents were slightly more negative towards having children with someone of another origin than dating or marrying them, some interview informants showed their concern for the welfare of the children: *what would the children be?* The focus here was on the *difference* and not on the similarities. It seemed as though the children of mixed heritage challenged the group position and raised questions about the belonging of *us* and *them* (Blumer 1958). Showing one's reservations by explaining anxiety about the children coincides with Frankenberg's study, which showed that mixed-race children were portrayed as a question of cultural belonging (Frankenberg 1993). Apprehensions about physical deviations and how the children of

mixed origin would be ascribed with the *visible and cultural differences that evoke non-Swedishness* could be examined. Questioning the cultural belonging of the children of mixed parentage only strengthens the idea of *culture* as something fixed and passed on, not to mention the idea of *culture* as something that *others* have. Together with the question of what the children would look like and how they would be perceived in society, the issue of mixed marriage and having children also centers around the idea of *visible differences*.

The idea of Europeaness and Swedishness and the idea of mixed-race children point to the fact that *cultural differences* are evoked by *visible differences*. As Barth argues, culture is used to refer “selectively for that which seems most salient to the outsider, namely difference” (1995:65). Previous studies shows that the culture is perceived according to how visibly different *they* are from *us* (Andreassen 2006; Pred 2000; Hervik 2011; Mattsson 2005). This was confirmed by several interviewees who stated that you do not know what the cultural differences are until you get to know the person. The idea of “playing the safe card”, expressed by a couple of the interviewees when talking about adoptees, illustrates the connection between cultural and visible differences. Other interviewees have also acknowledged this aspect of visibility, *seeing* the differences and how visible differences construct stereotypes and evoke the idea of difference. These interviewees’ words infer the master position of the visible differences over the other domains of difference.

Although it is important to note that few informants actually talk about visible differences per se, as compared to talking about the visible differences of adoptees, mentioning the physical appearance of mixed-race children and South/East Asian compared to Central/East European seemed easier for the interviewees. This may highlight the deep-rooted colorblind ideology that adoptees are similar to Swedes as well as the taboo of talking about visible differences, especially in relation to adoptees.

The role of contact and group position

Mapping the pattern of contact and attitudes on the basis of the qualitative material was difficult, despite having asked the interviewees about the amount of contact they had with people of different origins. Interestingly, the most articulate interviewees among the 28 informants lived in a residential area with a high immigrant population but had very limited personal contact with people of different origins. It is also worth mentioning that even though half of the interviewees stated that they had colleagues and just under half claimed that they had friends with non-Swedish backgrounds, the informants seldom made reference to their colleagues, friends or their experiences with them when explaining their opinions.

This raises the question of what the informants actually meant by having colleagues or friends with different backgrounds and also points to the necessity of probing what the interviewees' experiences actually are and mean (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Wise 2010).

Some interviewees expressed that segregation and a lack of experience and contacts could lead to negative attitudes toward certain groups. The idea of *familiarity* could be an indication of how contact can affect attitudes, moreover a sense of group position and the threat the informants felt towards different groups. The positive aspect of non-intimate contacts was expressed by some interview informants also through the notion of proximity and familiarity, especially when explaining the positive attitudes toward Latin American and Central/East Europeans. Some interviewees on the other hand mentioned that general contact, such as coming across diverse groups of people in the downtown area, did not lead to a positive attitude and that direct contacts were necessary. This claim corresponds with a previous quantitative study result in Japan, which showed that superficial contact did not necessarily lead to positive attitudes and indicated that when the contact is superficial group position and perceived threat can be fostered (Nagayoshi 2008). Furthermore, even when individuals may experience personal contact and are positive toward interracial relationships, these positive attitudes can conflict with the awareness of collective attitudes and group position, thus leading to a preference of homogamy. Individuals' choices and preference can therefore be overruled by the group position, as discussed earlier.

The interview material shows an intricate relation between the effect of interracial contact and the sense of group position. When contacts are superficial, group position and perceived threat may affect attitudes toward interracial marriage. Group position is the equivalent of "historically and collectively developed judgments about the positions in the social order" (Bobo and Hutchings 1996:955). Blumer argues that "[t]he collective image of the abstract group grows up not by generalizing from experiences gained in close, first-hand contacts but through the transcending characterizations that are made of the group as an entity" (1958:5-6). This seemed clear in the case of the group Middle Easterner in that this was the group that was the least mentioned in terms of contact: of the 21 interviewees who stated that they either had colleagues or friends of non-Swedish origin, only 5 named Middle Easterner. Considering that the interviewees had given a great deal of attention to and expressed clear opinions about the group, it can be assumed that the ideas expressed about the group Middle Easterner may not necessarily have been based on actual contact, but could rather reflect the prejudices and stereotypes that emerged from the understanding of the various group positions. The three

interview informants who grew up outside Malmö Municipality pointed to the fact that the growing size and *visibility* of some groups may have fostered more negative attitudes toward certain groups among those who had grown up in Malmö Municipality. Other interviewees who had grown up in Malmö Municipality also indicated the visibility of some groups. As Allport argues, visibility plays a decisive role in the perception of the threat, the development of prejudices and stereotypes and consequently attitudes (1979). The visibility of the groups may foster feelings of threat, which might lead to more negative attitudes.

Things that were never discussed

Some stereotypes never came to surface in the interview material. For example, the idea of foreign men taking advantage of Swedish women economically, politically and socially, as Månsson assumed, was never expressed, even when differences in attitudes between men and women were discussed. Moreover, none of the female interviewees expressed their sexual stereotyping of and attraction towards foreign men (Månsson 1993).

None of the interviewees explained interracial marriage with South/East Asian and African in an exotic sense either. Instead of the victimized picture of South/East Asian women, marriages between white European men and South/East Asian women were depicted by some interviewees as the female taking advantage of the male, and here criticism was directed towards Swedish men who engaged in such relationships. Considering previous studies that exhibit how sexualized images of African men have been present in different contexts (Schmauch 2006; Andersson 2003), and how Asian females are assumed to be exotic and sexually available (Signell 2006; Signell and Lindblad 2008), it seemed natural to expect sexualized images and discourses of the two groups. Interestingly, these were absent. In fact, there was very little reference to the idea of attraction in general on the part of the interviewees. The reason for sexualized images and attractions not coming across might have been because in this study the interviewees were not recruited on the basis of an interest in interracial relationships, but were chosen at random. Another possible reason could have been RIE or the interviewer's effect in general. The informants might have unconsciously avoided talking about topics concerning victimization and sexualization due to their sensitive nature, social desirability needs and my presence as an Asian female.

PART 3: BEYOND ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Part 1 and Part 2 addressed the findings from the quantitative and qualitative examination of attitudes toward interracial relationships. In this section the quantitative and qualitative results are summarized and discussed as a whole in order to extend the understanding of attitudes toward interracial relationships. This thesis looks at the population of Malmö and examines *the majority society's opinions and attitudes toward interracial relationships, namely interracial dating, marriage and childbearing*. By applying mixed methods, the study not only attempts to map and explain people's attitudes toward interracial relationships through quantitative inquiry but also to expand and explore the quantitative results through qualitative inquiry in order to understand the reasoning behind the attitudes toward interracial relationships. The study looks at the spontaneous responses and reactions toward interracial relationships and probes the underlying ideas behind the responses: it does not aim to draw conclusions about how an attitudinal change occurs, neither is it the goal of the study to prove the process of attitudinal change. As Thurston states, "it is of interest to know what people *say* that they believe" and regardless of whether people might be intentionally misrepresenting their attitudes, this study sets out to measure the attitudes that they are "*trying* to make people believe that they have" (2008:184).

Since the aim of the study is to investigate the majority society's attitudes, the final chapter focuses solely on white European respondents. First, the key findings from the quantitative and qualitative analysis are briefly accounted for. This is followed by discussions concerning the central themes: perception of difference, colorblindness and the interrelation between the sense of group position and interracial contact. The final argument addresses the underlying prejudices and stereotypes that emerge

when talking about interracial relationships, which indicates the different ideas of race.

A brief summary of the key findings on attitudes toward interracial relationships

Findings from the quantitative inquiry

The quantitative survey results showed that the majority of the respondents of white European background could imagine dating, marrying and having children interracially. However, the hierarchical preference of a partner in a relationship is obvious. Comparing the responses to groups other than Scandinavian, it is clear that West and South European, Central/East European and Latin American are the most preferred, followed by South/East Asian. African and Middle Easterner are the least preferred as a dating, marriage and childbearing partner. Although not statistically conclusive, the respondents were slightly more negative toward childbearing than dating or marriage. Furthermore, a clear majority of the respondents reported that they would not react negatively if their family members or other Swedes were involved in interrelationships. Contrary to the answer that the respondents would not be negative toward family member or others getting involved in intermarriage, the respondents answered that such marriages are not accepted as much in Swedish society.

Attention should be paid to the hierarchical preferences of the following five groups: Central/East European, Latin American, South/East Asian, African and Middle Easterner. The dispersed preferences toward adoptees, namely Adopted Latin American as the most preferred followed by Adopted East Asian and Adopted African, and together with the almost non-existent differences in attitudes toward adopted groups and the equivalent groups with immigrant background should not be ignored either. This study shows that female respondents answered more negative to interracial relationships in general and in some cases the discrepancies between men and women's attitudes are statistically conclusive. Other background variables that have a statistically conclusive effect on attitudes were age, education and the place of upbringing. The variable that gave the biggest odds of responding positively to the statements on interracial relationships was the amount of friendship related contact, which indicates the relationship between prior interracial contact and positive attitudes.

Findings from the qualitative inquiry

Attitudes toward interracial relationships implies preferences of a partner according to the degree of *perceived difference*, by which the association *we* or *us* and the distance from *others* and *them* are defined. Social and religious similarities were named by the interviewees when arguing for the preference of Central/East European and Latin American. On the other hand, South/East Asian, African and Middle Easterner were associated with the idea of *difference* that could cause problems and conflicts. Contrary to the clear articulation of social and religious differences, difficulties were experienced in addressing visible differences. Avoiding references to visible differences, and instead focusing on social and religious differences, is one of the typical ways of talking colorblind (Bonilla-Silva 2010). Colorblindness was contested when discussing the results concerning adoptees, interracial childbearing and comparisons between Central/East European and South/East Asian, all in which the master position of visible differences in the perception of social and religious differences was inferred.

As in the case of Tigervall's study (2008), two seemingly contradictory colorblind arguments are observed, namely a focus on *difference* and a disregard of *difference*. The interviewees articulated their understandings of attitudes toward interracial relationships in terms of cultural differences and the idea of gender equality. These two arguments do not only focus on the differences and incompatibility between *us* and *them* but also communicate the difficulties of having interrelationships in a colorblind manner. These two modes of colorblind arguments depict the idea of the *other* in an essentialized way and the racial thinking that exists within colorblindness very clearly. On the contrary, the two other explanations, namely the idea of individual choice in deciding on a partner and the expression that the origin of the person does not matter when you are in love, disregard the social and religious differences that the interviewees spoke strongly about. A focus on individuals and people's rights for equal treatment regardless of race and other categories can be observed in the argument.

Readdressing the quantitative and the qualitative results

The key findings from the quantitative and qualitative analyses have been explained in the previous section. The following section reflects the final stage of the mixed methods study: the understanding of the quantitative results is expanded and explored together with the qualitative results. By addressing the quantitative results together with the qualitative results the aim is to highlight the answers to the following research questions.

- » What are the majority's opinions and attitudes toward different racial and ethnic groups?
- » How is interracial marriage understood and perceived?
- » What is the relationship between the attitudes and prior intergroup contacts?
- » What kind of prejudices and stereotypes are reflected and indicated in people's attitudes toward interracial relationships?

Attitudes toward interracial relationships are communicated in color-blind ways through the perception of social and religious differences and through utilizing ideas based on liberal values such as gender equality or freedom of choice. Social and religious differences are *seen* through visible differences and perceived with meanings and feelings. The social and religious differences articulated by the interviewees reflect and indicated people's perceptions of difference and ideas about different groups which in turn may reflect some of the underlying stereotypes and prejudices that exist in society.

Perception of social and religious differences – Defining us and them in a colorblind manner

The majority of the survey respondents and more than half of the interviewees expressed that they could imagine having a relationship with someone of another origin, although having said that there is a clear hierarchy of preference. The interviewees' spontaneous associations with the words mixed marriage had negative connotations. Furthermore, the informants felt able to articulate their reservations of and thoughts about the "problems" of intermarriage; problems that were often related to the idea of *cultural, social and religious differences*. Expressing reservations about interracial marriage by projecting the difficulties and problems in such a marriage and referring to social and religious differences has also been identified in previous studies in the U.S. (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Frankenberg 1993; Rosenblatt, Karis and Powell 1995).

Follow-up interviews made it clear that depending on the degree of cultural, social and religious differences some marriages were considered to be less problematic than others. This degree of cultural, social and religious differences expressed reflects the hierarchical preference of the African, Central/East European, Latin American, Middle Easterner and South/East Asian groups. This point became even more apparent in the words of several interviewees who commented that if a Scandinavian or West European marries a Swede it is not regarded as intermarriage. The argument for intermarriage highlighted in the qualitative materials supports the survey result, in which responses to the questions of social and

cultural compatibility, discrimination and racism and the difficulty of integration mostly reflect the pattern of attitudes toward interracial relationships. Therefore, it can be motivated that the respondents and the interviewees prefer someone who they perceive as socially and culturally compatible, someone who does not experience discrimination and racism in society to any great extent, and someone who can easily integrate into Swedish society. In other words, the majority favor someone who is *not* identified with visible, religious, economic and social differences as a possible relationship partner.

The focus and description of cultural or social and religious differences indicate a strong sense of group position, “[t]he collective image of the abstract group” (Blumer 1958:5). As Goffman, Allport and other scholars assert, the problem of categorization and generalization lies in the meanings and feelings that are attached to the categories, not the categories themselves or the simple act of *seeing* the differences (Allport 1979; Goffman 1990). The perception of social and religious differences is a relational process; a process of defining who *we* and *they* are. Seeing differences with meanings and feelings leads to the construction of prejudices and stereotypes and forms the idea of race. Therefore, attention needs to be paid to how social and religious differences are defined and used to describe a group, when difference is asserted and what the focus is actually on. Table 16 in Part 2 (p.219) demonstrates the differences that are articulated by the interviewees. The following sections recapitulate the ideas and meanings and perception of difference that are evoked by the five groups, African, Central/East European, Latin American, Middle Easterner and South/East Asian when talking about interracial relationships.

Latin American and Central/East European

Latin American and Central/East European were the groups preferred by the white European survey respondents followed by other European and Scandinavian groups. These were the groups that respondents perceived as being culturally compatible with Swedes and the groups that experience less discrimination and difficulties in integration compared to African, Middle Easterner and South/East Asian. When the interview informants talked about Latin American and Central/East European, the central argument was on the perception of similarity rather than difference. Latin American and Central/East European were identified in a *gradualist* manner (Hedetoft 1995:104) and perceived to be “like us” and “part of us” based on friendly identification through the perception of visible and social similarities, such as Europeaness, and cultural similarities. This also corresponds with previous studies in Sweden which show the perception of cultural proximity towards the two groups (Lange and Westin 1997;

Mella and Palm 2010; Mella and Palm 2009; Mella et al. 2007). Latin American and Central/East Europeans are categorized as partly like *us* and thought to have certain similarities, although they are still positioned as *different* in relation to what is considered Swedish. The focus on similarity would lead to a lesser perceived threat and therefore a positive preference as a marriage partner.

The relational aspect of perception of difference and a definition of the group position is clearly brought to light when attitudes toward South/East Asian and Central/East European are compared. Stereotypes of Central/East Europeans, like “Yugoslavian mafia”, “gold diggers” and “loud and standing out”, surfaced when the interviewees reasoned why survey respondents had a more negative picture of Central/East European than South/East Asian. However, as stated earlier, Central/East European was defined in terms of how similar *they* are to *us*. Here the idea of Central/East European sharing the *Europeanness*, both socially and visibly, comes to the surface. Central/East European is defined as “part of us” and “like us” Swedes, and is therefore more favored as a marriage partner than someone from the South/East Asian group who does not have the social and visible quality of Europeanness. The notion of passing can also be observed in the comparison of Central/East European and South/East Asian, in that Central/East European has the potential of becoming what is perceived as being Swedish.

Middle Easterner

Survey respondents could imagine having a relationship with someone of Middle Eastern origin to the least extent. Contrary to the focus on the similarities when talking about Latin American and Central/East European, the focus undoubtedly centered around the idea of differences when interview informants talked about the group Middle Easterner. Middle Easterner was the group that white European survey respondents perceived to be the least culturally compatible and the most culturally threatening. The perceived religious and social differences were also expressed by survey respondents in the comments section. The construction of an abstract image and racial prejudice toward Middle Easterner, especially Middle Eastern men, based on perceived religious and social differences was prominent in the interview material as a whole. The sense of group position and perception of threat was obvious. Middle Easterner, and on some occasions people who are specifically perceived to be Muslims, are ascribed with the *exclusivist* stereotype of being “absolutely different” and “culturally and morally incompatible” (Hedetoft 1995:103). The exclusivist stereotypes come across strongly in the description of incompatibility of religion and liberal standpoints such as gender equality. Express-

sion of the patriarchal culture was prominent. In the qualitative interviews, more female than male interviewees expressed stereotypes of Middle Eastern men concerning the issue of gender equality.

Middle Easterner received a great deal of attention compared to the other groups. Middle Easterner was the group that survey respondents and interviewees reported having the least contact with, which pointed even more to the ideas about Middle Easterner based on the sense of group position rather than firsthand experience. Furthermore, contrary to the statistics, the majority of the survey respondents perceived Middle Easterner to be the biggest immigrant group in Malmö Municipality. Blumer's group position theory indicates, and several prior studies support, that the perceived size of the group and its visibility can affect the perception of a group position and threat (Berg 2007; Nagayoshi 2008; Taylor 1998). Alongside the perception of Middle Easterner as the biggest immigrant group in Malmö, a fear and suspicion that the group would undermine the majority society's liberal values might have accentuated and developed a feeling of threat and racial prejudice among the respondents and the interviewees. Moreover, the current political climate in Sweden and continuous media representations of Muslims since 9.11 may have accelerated the perceived threat.

African and South/East Asian

Even though African and South/East Asian were also groups that white European respondents could imagine having a relationship with to the least extent, the two groups seemed to be overshadowed by the strong focus and image of Middle Easterner and the perception of the religion of Islam. As stated previously, considering the media focus and current political climate in Malmö and in Sweden, it is not surprising that Middle Easterner and the religion of Islam received a lot of attention. The idea of Islam and religious differences was uttered on some occasions towards the groups African and South/East Asian, which once again indicates a strong tendency and focus on religious differences. The visible differences of people of African and South/East Asian origin were also named on some occasions by the interviewees.

Survey respondents with white European background reported South/East Asian to be much less of a cultural threat, face lesser discrimination and difficulty of integration and have less of a negative image than African and Middle Easterner. However, South/East Asian shared the position as one of the least preferred groups. In comparison with Central/East European, the interviewees said that this depended on the social and visible differences; South/East Asians were characterized as culturally and visibly non-European.

Stereotypes of female Thai and the type of relationships that Swedish men have with them were expressed on several occasions, although to a much lesser extent than expected. Contrary to previous studies which indicate the sexualized image of African male and South/East Asian female, the sexualized stereotypes of the two groups are missing from the qualitative material in general. The sexualized stereotypes and desire among Swedish women towards African men is not confirmed in either the quantitative or qualitative inquiry. On the contrary, female survey respondents were more negative toward intermarriage with someone of African origin compared to male respondents, and none of the female or male interview informants specifically articulated their thoughts about being attracted to African men. For South/East Asian, the survey result showing male respondents as being statistically conclusively more positive toward intermarriage with South/East Asian compared to female respondents does not refute the idea of the sexualized image of South/East Asian female. Furthermore, the stereotypes of Thai-Swedish marriages consisting of Swedish men desiring “traditional” Asian women do not refute the idea either. Nevertheless, even though the images and stereotypes of Thai-Swedish marriages cannot be ignored since they indicate the widespread belief in such marriages, the majority of the interviewees did *not* talk about the sexualized image of South/East Asians. Even in the cases where Thai-Swedish marriages were discussed, the idea did not revolve around the sexualized image but rather on the picture of South/East Asian women not having gender equal values, which reinforces the idea of difference. Asexual images of Asian men were expressed by some female interviewees, although this was not the dominant discourse among the 17 women interviewed.

Perception of difference and the idea of race

Observing how social and religious differences are communicated, the following line of thought and schemas automatically evoked can be noted. First, the notion of *origin* underlies the perceptions of cultural, social and religious differences. Secondly the notion of origin and social and religious differences are referred to the geographical distance of *here* and *there*. There appears to be a lack of understanding that people of foreign origin exist within the geographical areas of Sweden and Malmö. A clear distinction of *us* and *them*, what is Swedish and what is not and what belongs to and what does not belong to Sweden can be inferred from this. Furthermore, the idea of culture as a collective, homogenous and fixed entity can be inferred from the perception of difference that is connected to the idea of origin and geographical distance. As Barth argues, culture is something that is special to the *other*; something “exotic” and it is increas-

ingly used as “identity” (1995:65). *Difference* is essentialized and the *idea of race* comes forward.

The differences and similarities evoked and perceived by the different groups when talking about interracial relationships may mirror the prejudices and stereotypes and ideas of race that exist in society. Middle Easterner is obviously the most racialized group of all the groups included in the study. It can be established that Middle Easterner is a distinct group that the majority society notices and perceives in a negative manner in Malmö, and presumably also in Sweden. In 1980, Diggs wrote:

Few, if any, Americans are unaware of blacks. Nearly everybody in the United States is prepared to discuss blacks, and almost no one is entirely without an opinion on blacks [...]. Some would say blacks are a dominant issue. Some would say blacks are a main divider of opinion in national politics and certainly in local politics. As a secondary problem and as a peculiar influence on all dominant national issues, the presence of blacks has disturbed religious moralists, political philosophers, statesmen, philanthropists, social scientists, politicians, and businessmen. The presence of blacks is interpreted by many Americans as a menace: biological, economic, social, cultural, and, at times, political. For some, it is a challenge to democracy as a form of government and a way of life. (Diggs 1980:165-166)

Studies show that a great deal of attention to the African American population and a lesser focus on other minority groups such as Native American, Latino or Asian American continues to be observed in a contemporary U.S. context (Frankenberg 1993; Feagin 2010). African American racial stereotypes, images and emotional loads are fully developed and applied, while other groups are subjected to such stereotypes and emotions to a much lesser extent and the images of other groups have not yet been fully established either, according to Feagin (2010:103). In Diggs' words quoted above, the group “blacks” could easily be replaced by the group Middle Easterner to depict the position of Middle Easterner in the present Swedish context. Like African Americans in the U.S., Middle Easterner has a clear position in the racial order in Sweden. This focus on Middle Easterner as a dominant issue might also explain the obscure position and perception of the groups African and South/East Asian.

Naturalizing and rationalizing through liberal values

Parallel to focusing on social, religious and cultural differences, other ways of explaining the preferences of a marriage partner and attitudes toward interracial marriage in a colorblind manner emerged in the inter-

view material. These are a justification of attitudes through the idea of *individual choice* and the idea of *gender equality*.

Conflict between the idea of individual choice and the sense of group position

The idea of individual choice as a way of explaining the preferences of a marriage partner emerged in the comments section of the quantitative inquiry. This idea is confirmed by the qualitative inquiry. In some cases the idea of individual choice was expressed as a Swedish value. The idea of choice is reflected in the personal preference of whom you can and cannot imagine having a relationship with, and also whom other people in the family, or Swedes in general, can or cannot have a relationship with. This may explain the survey result that showed discrepancies between the responses of whether the respondents themselves could imagine having interrelationships and whether they believed it is negative for their family members to get involved in such relationships. The idea of individual choice disregards the idea of difference. To borrow Bonilla-Silva's words, by focusing on an individual's choice, the issue of interracial marriage becomes a case by case preference rather than a group based preference or racial prejudice (2010:35). Explaining preference through the concept of individual choice enabled the interviewees to justify their own preference of a partner and at the same time show tolerance towards others. Arguing for the individual choice is a very powerful way of naturalizing and rationalizing the choice and preference of a marriage partner.

The interviewees asserted that although people could choose whoever they wanted to marry this did not mean that everybody was open to intermarriage. The projection was clearly depicted in the response to the survey result on whether intermarriage was accepted in Swedish society: "I think it is okay but I know that there are people who are not okay with it." This coincides with the study by Moran and Frankenberg, in which interview informants admitted the existence of racist beliefs about interracial marriage by focusing on other people's racism (Frankenberg 1993; Moran 2001). This projection, namely a belief that some people do not accept interracial marriage, is utilized on several occasions to reason and justify the reservation of getting involved in interracial relationships. This corresponds with the survey result showing that the responses to the statement asking whether the respondents themselves could imagine marrying interracially and the statement of whether mixed marriages were accepted in Swedish society are a complete mirror picture. What is interesting about this projection is that the idea of individual choice and the collectively held idea, the sense of group position, seem to be in conflict. The idea of individual choice forms a tension when there is a discrepancy between

what individuals want and what they perceive others' views and ideas to be. There is a disagreement between the idea of individual choice, the choice of crossing the boundaries of *us* and *them* and the sense of group position that is "the subjective image of where the in-group ought to stand vis-à-vis the out-group" (Bobo and Hutchings 1996:955). The sense of group position overrules the idea of individual choice in the projection "I have no problem with it but. . ." Another case where the idea of individual choice is overruled by the sense of group position was observed when interview informants expressed concern about how other people would react to the relationship and to the children as the reason for not being positive to such a serious relationship. As Bonilla-Silva argues in her study (2010), there seems to be an argument against interracial relationships behind the statement "I have no problem with it".

This tension between the idea of individual choice and group position seems to reflect the complexity of attitude formation as an individual and collective process. As Blumer asserts, there are differences in the degree of racial prejudice that individuals have, although the sense of group position is what unites all individuals belonging to the same group regardless of the degree of prejudice individuals have (1958:4). The sense of group position is both a "norm and imperative" which stands for group affiliation for the members of the dominant racial group (Blumer 5). This could be why, I believe, individuals who have interracial contacts can report to be positive about interracial relationships and at the same time can express reservations about such relationships due to their awareness of group position.

The idea of gender equality that defines the group position

Contrary to prior attitude surveys carried out in Sweden (Lange and Westin 1997; Integrationsverket 2006; Mella and Palm 2010), the results of this survey showed that female respondents were more negative to interracial relationships in general. The result corresponds with the current intermarriage pattern which shows that men intermarry more than women. It can therefore be inferred that interracial marriage is more accepted among men because the actual practice is more common. As the official statistics gives no clear explanation as to why men intermarry more than women, the interviewees' arguments as to why men are more positive toward interracial marriage could be of great interest.

Examining the attitudes discrepancy between men and women through qualitative inquiry, the majority of the informants' arguments were based on the idea of gender equality standards in Sweden. As in previous studies, the idea of gender equality is understood and expressed as something uniquely Swedish (Hübinette and Lundström 2011; Keskinen

2009; Mulinari 2008; Rabo 1997). Reasoning the negative responses among white European female respondents by claiming the value of gender equality and women's position shifts the focus of the argument against interracial marriage to the issue of liberal values, which is supposedly colorblind. However, as other scholars argue, behind this argument is a clear dichotomy of what is Swedish and what is not and the distinction of *us* and *them*. The idea of gender equality is highly racialized: *We Swedes* have the gender equal ideal and have achieved it to a great extent, while people from *other cultures* are not as gender equal as Swedes; cultures are essentialized. Through the idea of gender equality, the dichotomy of the equal majority and patriarchal minorities can be both established and communicated.

The dichotomy that can be seen in the notion of gender equality is not just a simple racialization, but is also gendered. Many interview informants reason that *immigrant men* and especially *Middle Eastern men* are not desirable for *Swedish women* because of their *religious differences* and because *they* do not share the view of *our* gender equality. At the same time, some interviewees reason that some *Swedish men* desire *immigrant women*, and especially *South/East Asian women*, because *they* are not gender equal and the relationship would entail less conflict and problems. Parallel to Yang's study, there is a contrasting belief about progressive, liberal and democratic Western women who aim for a gender equal relationship and traditional, family oriented and domesticated non-Western women who do not question a non-gender equal relationship (2009).

As Heinö states, Swedes highly value "anti-racism, universalism, secularism and gender equality" and realize these values to a great extent (2009:303-304). The interviewees in this study also believed in and articulated these aspects of social life. The idea of individual choice and gender equality defined as part of *Swedish culture* and *values* becomes a very powerful way of naturalizing and rationalizing the choice and preference of a marriage partner in a colorblind manner. Moreover, an argument based on liberal values makes the preference of a marriage partner sound reasonable rather than prejudiced; at the same time, utilizing these values essentialize *others*.

Master position of visible differences

The argument for and against interracial relationships in a colorblind manner through the expression of social, religious and cultural differences was clearly articulated in the interviews. However, the question still remains as to what triggers these perceptions of social and religious differences. Hughes asserts that in situations where different characteristics and statuses, or in other words where *differences* intersect, a "master and sub-

ordinate position” of these differences arises, and certain differences are more prioritized than others (Hughes 1945). Based on the survey and interview results, I argue that visible differences have a master position and evoke the perception of difference. *Seeing* difference and generalizing or categorizing a group of people who share similar characteristics is a natural, rational and functional process that all human beings experience. Without *seeing* the visible differences, a person cannot *perceive* difference and articulate his or her thoughts about cultural, social and religious differences. As a couple of interviewees stated when explaining the survey result for adoptees, “you would not *know* if the person is adopted until you get to *know* the person.” In fact, this process is affirmed by the fact that none of the interviewees questioned the groups constructed for the purpose of this study that appeared on the questionnaire and in the interview. Observing how respondents and interviewees communicated the differences and similarities of *us* and *them*, it is apparent that the groups presented on the survey evoked schemas, and meanings and feelings were filled based on the “normal expectation” within the social context (D’Andrade 1995:124). This depicts the perception of difference evoked and racial ideas that underlie the different groups.

The interviewees had difficulties expressing themselves even at occasions when the issue of visible differences seemed undeniable. The popular belief that “adoptees are Swedes” was challenged through the survey result showing that the survey respondents could not imagine having relationships with adoptees to the same extent as they could with Swedes or Scandinavians. Moreover, the survey result that indicated no statistically significant difference between attitudes toward adoptees and non-adoptees¹²³ contradicted the argument of social, religious and cultural differences that the interviewees expressed. The survey result thus challenges the colorblind argument and the reasoning of attitudes toward interracial relationships through social and religious differences. The interviewees had trouble expressing the matter of visible differences of the adoptees. On the other hand, the awareness of visible differences was observed to a greater extent in the survey result showing that nearly half of the white European respondents agreed completely or partially that adoptees faced discrimination and racism and that one third thought that adoptees had difficulties with integration due to their physical deviance from the majority population. This may reflect an uneasiness of addressing the issue of visible differences in interview situations, compared to the completely anonymous survey settings, due to social desirability needs.¹²⁴

123 Adopted African, Adopted Latin American, Adopted East Asian, African, Latin American and South/East Asian

124 Moreover, my presence may increase the uneasiness to point to the visible differences es-

The question of the role of the visible differences was also highlighted by the survey result that showed slightly less positive responses to interracial childbearing and when comparing attitudes toward specific groups like South/East Asian and Central/East European. Talking about the children of mixed origin and the comparison of South/East Asian and Central/East European were the two cases in which interviewees named the visible differences besides talking about the adoptees. Anxieties about the welfare of the couple and the children of mixed origin was inferred from the interviewees words when they reasoned why the survey results showed more negative attitudes toward interracial childbearing compared to dating. When the interviewees expressed their concern for children of mixed heritage, attention was centered on the idea of children ascribed with *social* and *visible differences*. Here associations and focus are not centered on the idea of Swedishness, but on *otherness*, that is to say on the *differences* rather than the *similarities*. Another case was when the interviewees articulated their thoughts about South/East Asian and Central/East European, as discussed earlier. Here it is clear that South/East Asians are described as people who do not have what interviewees considered “European” attributes. Due to their “European” attributes, the respondents and interviewees are more positive to Central/East European as a marriage partner than South/East Asian. This Europeanness is not only described in terms of cultural similarities, but also in terms of the *visible* similarities, which is whiteness.

Barth argues that culture is often used in public to refer “selectively for that which seems most salient to the outsider, namely difference” (1995:65). Culture is something that is special to the *other*; something “exotic” and it is increasingly used as “identity” (Barth 65). Ethnicity, which is strongly connected to the idea of culture, is also applied to individuals who are perceived to be different. Studies shows that the culture is perceived according to how visibly different *they* are from *us* (Andreassen 2006; Pred 2000; Hervik 2011; Mattsson 2005). This study also highlights the connection between the perception of *difference* and the visible differences. Adoptees are believed to have crossed the boundary of *us* and *them* and are part of the majority group and society, though *visibly* they may belong to a minority group. Children of mixed parentage also cross the boundary of *us* and *them*, but were obviously not associated with Swedishness in cultural and visible terms. Central/East European can become part of *us* and *pass* because of their visible similarities, while South/East Asian cannot. The survey and interview results point out that there is an apprehension in the sense of group position to the question of visible

pecially in face-to-face interviews.

differences and the role these visible differences play in defining who *we* Swedes are. The case of adoptees and children of mixed parentage indicate that intermarriage challenges the boundary of *us* and *them* not only *culturally* but also *visibly*, and has the potential to redefine group position and what it means to be Swedish, that may be perceived as threatening.

Interracial contact and group position – Understanding prejudice, attitudes and the construction of the idea of race

One of the questions examined in this study is the effect of prior interracial contact on attitudes toward interracial relationships. With a reservation that contacts should be made in a context that ensures equal group status, common goals and authority support, Contact Hypothesis assumes that the more opportunity an individual has of meeting and interacting with people of different race and ethnicity, the more tolerant the individual becomes (Allport 1979). It also follows that the probability of the same individual being favorable to or choosing to marry interracially increases. Considering that intermarriage challenges the idea of *us* and *them*, the preference of a marriage partner should be influenced by the sense of group position and perceived threat. As theories that complement each other rather than conflict, Contact Hypothesis and group position can help to explain attitudes toward interracial marriage from an individual and collective perspective. Moreover, these two theories facilitate the probing of the perception of difference and the idea of race that have been formed based on prejudice which is communicated individually and collectively. From the quantitative and qualitative inquiry, it is clear that the amount of contact and group position affect attitudes toward interracial relationships, and in this respect utilizing the two theories as explanatory tools for understanding the complexity of attitudes is indisputable.

The survey results suggest the importance of intimate contacts and the non-significance of superficial contacts: and here the role of interracial friendship appears to be crucial. The results show that those respondents who have established interracial friendships have significantly higher odds of responding positively to the statements about interracial dating, marriage and childbearing. The odds that friendship indicates are the biggest even after other important background variables such as education or age are taken into account. Even though the survey results indicated the negative effect of non-intimate contacts, the positive aspect of non-intimate contacts was expressed by the interview informants with the notion of proximity and familiarity, especially when talking about the groups Latin American and Central/East Europeans. Some interviewees, on the other hand, mentioned that general contact, such as simply coming across a diverse group of people in a downtown area, did not lead to a positive

attitude and that direct contact was necessary. The interviewees who grew up outside Malmö Municipality made specific remarks about the fact that the growing size and visibility of some groups might have fostered more negative attitudes toward certain groups among those growing up in Malmö Municipality.

The hierarchy of preferences seen in the survey results and the argument about similarities and differences utilized by the interviewees are clear indications of perceived threat and sense of group position in contemporary Swedish society. Group position is a commitment to the racialized social order, which transcends individual feelings of like and dislike (Bobo 1999). From the qualitative inquiry it became clear that when contacts are superficial, group position and perceived threat affect attitudes toward interracial relationships. The sense of group position is a “norm and imperative”, which stands for a group affiliation for the members of the dominant racial group (Blumer 1985:5). As Blumer asserts, there are differences in the degree of racial prejudice that individuals have, although the sense of group position is what unites all individuals belonging to the same group regardless of the degree of prejudice individuals possess (4). Even though further research is required, superficial contact and lack of contact leading to a focus on group position and perceived threat seems the most obvious in the case of Middle Easterner. Middle Easterner was the group that the survey respondents and the interviewees reported having the least contact with. Despite this Middle Easterner received much more attention compared to other groups. Therefore, as Blumer asserts, it can be assumed that the images of Middle Easterner are not created through first-hand contacts but through “[t]he happening that seems momentous, that touches deep sentiments, that seems to raise fundamental questions about relations, and that awakens strong feelings of identification with one’s racial group” (6). These images may be reinforced and communicated through, for example, media representations. Moreover, the assumption that when contacts are superficial, group position and perceived threat affect attitudes toward interracial marriage more is reasonable. Allport claims that intergroup contact must entail equal group status, common goals, cooperation and authority support (Pettigrew 1998:80). A competitive nature that may foster the feeling of threat is seen to be an obstacle to achieving optimal contact (Allport 1979).

Concluding remarks – Trying to understand complex attitudes through mixed methods

As Sweden became a country of immigration, and as the characteristics and the categories of immigrants coming to Sweden changed, discrimina-

tion, racism and difficulties of integration in different aspects of social lives were both experienced and documented (e.g. Ahlberg and Groglopo 2006; De los Reyes 2006; Sawyer and Kamali 2006). This study focuses on the aspect of life that has not received much attention so far in a Swedish context, namely interracial dating, marriage and childbearing. The aim of the research has been to *investigate the majority society's opinions and attitudes toward interracial dating, marriage and childbearing*. The study focuses on the geographical area of Malmö Municipality, in which 30 percent of the residents were born outside Sweden and 9 percent have two parents born outside Sweden. As Malmö's development and situation today cannot be separated from the rest of Sweden, Malmö functions as a case study that facilitates a general understanding of what can be applicable to Sweden as a whole. Intimate relationships are one of the few relationships that "the member of the ethnic group may if he wishes follow a path which never takes him across the boundaries of his ethnic structural network" (Gordon 1961:280), contrary to other types of meetings and relationships in a society where the choice not to interact across racial and ethnic boundaries is limited, especially in a racially and ethnically diverse country like Sweden. Examining attitudes toward interrelationships enables the study to evaluate the degree of acceptance the majority and the minority have towards each other in a close relationship. Inter-marriage challenges people's ideas of *us* and *them*, what belongs together and what does not belong together. Especially if children are involved, inter-marriage may also weaken the cultural salience and redefine what is considered *us* and *them*. Therefore, rejecting interracial relationships legitimizes the boundary of *us* and *them*, racial discrimination and prejudice.

This dissertation is driven by the theory of race as ideas perceived and evoked by visible differences and the theory of prejudice and stereotypes. Although the theory of race is not commonly applied in a Swedish context, the study chose to operationalize the concept of race because the interest lies in the initial attitudes and spontaneous reactions of the respondents toward inter-marriage and relationships with different groups. As individuals' attitudes and behavior can change considerably over time, attitudes should not be regarded as consistent or permanent. The focus of this study is thus to achieve an understanding of the currently existing and expressed ideas and feelings that are initially evoked towards different groups of people, rather than understanding the change and development of individual attitudes and feelings. Incorporating two theories of prejudice and stereotypes, Contact Hypothesis and group position, facilitate the analysis of attitudes as individual and collective phenomena. Here again, it should be remembered that attitudes are susceptible to change, and in this respect the results should be observed in the context in which

the research has been carried out. The attitudinal patterns that are discussed in the thesis are the attitudes and perceptions that were expressed by the respondents and the interviewees in the context in which this study was carried out. It would be of interest and importance to follow-up and to examine the development of attitudes toward interracial relationships in the future. Moreover, extending the context of the research to the whole of Sweden would also be important in order to broaden the understanding of interracial marriage as an indication of racial and ethnic relations and integration in Sweden. This study only briefly touches on the attitudes toward interracial relationships among people of foreign origin. Interracial relationships involve the mutual understanding of the majority and minority population. For that reason a further study would be required to examine the attitudes among minority groups in order to understand racial and ethnic relations.

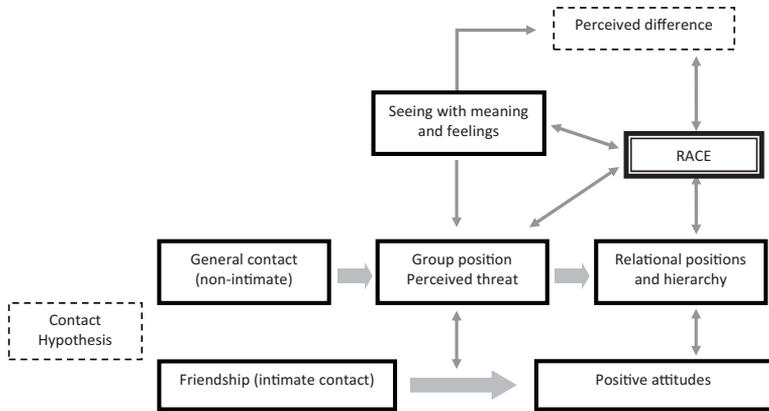
What does it mean that the majority of survey respondents can imagine dating, marrying and having children interracially, although their attitudes vary depending on the different groups? What does it mean that although there are hierarchical preferences in choosing a partner, the same respondents answered that they would not react negatively if a family member or others in society got involved in such a relationship? What does it mean that the survey respondents answer that interracial marriage is accepted in Swedish society to a greater or lesser extent depending on the groups in question, even though the respondents themselves do not think that it is negative for Swedes to intermarry? These are only few of the questions that remained unanswered after analyzing survey results. Combining the survey and the interviews, more specifically by employing the follow-up explanations model of mixed methods, the complex and intricate picture and reasoning behind the attitudes toward interracial relationships came to the surface. Mixed methods made it possible to not only answer concrete questions such as the pattern of attitudes toward different racial and ethnic groups and the relationship between attitudes and intergroup contact, but also to examine the various ways in which interracial relationships and different groups are perceived and understood and to observe how the differences are perceived and communicated.

The theoretical model, summarizes the concluding argument. From the quantitative and qualitative empirical materials, and considering Allport and Blumer's theories, it can be both theorized and summarized that when intimate contacts exist the perception of threat and group position is challenged, whereas when contacts are non-intimate, group position and perceived threat persist. However, friendship does not necessarily reduce people's prejudices and lead to positive attitudes. As Blumer suggests, group position transcends the positive interracial contacts that indi-

viduals experience and the different degree of prejudices that individuals have from the beginning; group position is what unites the individuals belonging to the same group. According to Blumer, group position is not gained by first-hand experience but is rather established and communicated collectively through the characterization and generalization of abstract groups (1958). This tension between individuals' degree of prejudice and the collective sense of group position can be observed when the interviewees utilize the perception of public opinion and reaction as an explanation for having reservations about interrelationships. This is an example of the idea of individual choice of having a relationship with a person of another origin conflicting with the sense of group position. In my view, the argument "I have no problem with it but I know that there are people who are against intermarriage", is a typical example of the collective sense of group position overruling individual opinion. The awareness of the relational group position and hierarchy can therefore undermine an individual's positive attitudes that are fostered by having positive experiences and contacts.

Group position and perceived threat are strengthened by seeing and perceiving difference with meaning and feelings. I would maintain that the difference that is perceived with meaning and feelings are evoked by the visible differences i.e. visible differences have a master position in the perception of difference. The differences that were communicated by the interviewees revealed the idea of race. In the process of seeing the visible differences and perceiving the difference with meaning and feelings the idea of race is established and exchanged collectively. According to the degree of difference that is perceived, Central/East European and Latin American are positioned as similar to Swedes and are therefore more preferable as a marriage partner, while Middle Easterner is positioned as completely different and therefore less preferable as a partner. The idea of race is a historically and contextually defined product which is established and communicated through seeing visible differences with meaning. Therefore the idea of race affects in turn which domains of difference are to be seen and perceived through the visible differences, and the relational sense of group position.

Theoretical Model 3. Interracial contact, group position and the construction of the idea of race



The examination of attitudes toward interracial relationships highlights the issue of integration and ethnic relations in a unique way. The majority of the survey respondents and interviewees were willing to date, marry or have children with a person of another origin than Swedish. Moreover, the respondents with interracial friends and contacts were more positive toward interracial relationships than those only having friends of Swedish or European origin, which indicates the importance of interracial contact. More neutral attitudes toward family members and others getting involved in interrelationships indicate the complex interplay between individual and collective positions and perhaps also social desirability needs. Probing the explanations behind the survey results by means of follow-up interviews enabled the researcher to point to and reveal the intricate relations between prejudice and the idea of race. Arguments against interracial relationships were made and defended on a colorblind basis and the examination of the colorblind argument revealed the prejudices and stereotypes of different groups based on the relational identification of *us* and *them*. Moreover, by exploring the attitudes toward interracial relationships qualitatively, the complex relation between contact and group position came to the surface, together with clearly articulated ideas and perceived difference about the groups in question. To borrow Lee and Edmonston's words, also quoted at the beginning of the thesis, in multiracial and multiethnic societies such as Malmö and Sweden, attitudes toward racial and ethnic intermarriage reveal much about racial and ethnic relations and integration (Lee and Edmonston 2005).

The roles that visible differences and the idea of race play in this study are undeniable. The issue of visible differences is highlighted especially in relation to the question of adoptees. The case of adoptees not only chal-

lenges the colorblind ideology, but also fundamentally questions the role of social and religious differences vs. visible differences when choosing a life partner. Efforts to not discuss the issue of race and the role of visible differences would not decrease prejudice and racism but would perhaps allow prejudice and racism to thrive beneath a colorblind ideology. I hope that this study challenges the practice of colorblindness and the avoidance of recognizing the role of race in Swedish society. Seeing the visible differences is a natural and rational process. What needs to be problematized is the idea of race, schemas evoked and the meaning and feelings that are attached to the visible and perceived difference. Analyzing the empirical materials gathered, I cannot agree more with Wu's sentiments:

Many assumptions and attitudes can be racial without necessarily being racist. There are gradations, intellectual and social, from the unrepentant white supremacist who agitates to remove people of color from the country, to the respectful segregationists who counsels that everyone is better off among their own, to the unwitting racist who without malice relies on generalizations about strangers. For this reason, even as we try to use "racism" sparingly, it is necessary to speak of race more profusely. (Wu 2001:28-29)

One can be positive about immigrants and minority groups, but may not wish to marry someone with immigrant background. One may not want to get involved in a relationship with someone of another background, although the same person may be positive towards a family member or others getting involved in interrelationships. I do not doubt that there are people who are against interracial marriage due to his or her racist convictions. However, I strongly believe that attitudes toward interracial marriage do not always reflect racism and discrimination. As Wu states, attitudes can be racial without necessarily being racist and the interviewees' words truly reflect this. Therefore, the importance lies in understanding and analyzing the idea of race, the meaning and feelings attached to the idea of different origins.

This study has examined attitudes toward interracial relationships, which is the most intimate relationship individuals can have with another individual. Inter marriage is still an area of research that needs to be further investigated in Sweden. Probing the attitudes toward interracial marriage and relationships facilitate an understanding of the issue of integration and ethnic relations at a personal level as opposed to looking at other parts and functions of society. By examining the intimate situation, a complex structure of attitudes at the individual and collective level is indicated and the mechanism of prejudice that goes beyond individual like or dislike (Blumer 1958) is pointed out. My hope is that this study will not only con-

tribute to a deeper understanding of individuals' attitudes toward interracial relationships but also to an understanding of the role of visible differences, and prejudices and stereotypes of racial minorities that are collectively established in society.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1
Questionnaire on attitudes toward different immigrant
groups and interracial marriage



MALMÖ HÖGSKOLA

Enkät om attityder till
olika invandrargrupper och
blandäktenskap

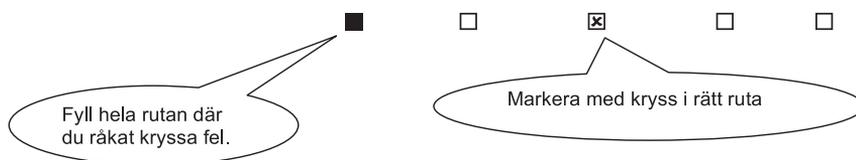
Så här fyller du i formuläret

Läs igenom frågorna noga och kryssa i eller skriv in det eller de svar som stämmer bäst för dig personligen.

Svaren läses av optiskt av en skanner. Vi är därför tacksamma om du sätter dina kryss innanför rutorna.

Kryssa så här:

- och om du råkar kryssa i fel ruta rättar du till det genom att stryka över hela rutan. Sätt därefter kryss i rätt ruta. Så här ...



Använd helst kulspetspenna när du markerar dina svar.

Inledningsvis är vi intresserade av din bakgrund

1. Vilket år är du född? _____
2. Är du man eller kvinna?
 - Man
 - Kvinna
3. Är du född i Sverige?
 - Ja
 - Nej

Om Ja, varifrån?

Invandrabakgrund från _____

Adopterad från _____
5. Har du nära släkt (mormor/far, farmor/far, syskon) som antingen är adopterad eller har invandrabakgrund och bor i Sverige?
 - Ja
 - Nej

Om Ja, varifrån?

Invandrabakgrund från _____

Adopterad från _____
6. Har du eller har du haft hemmavarande barn?
 - Ja
 - Nej

Om Ja, är/var barnet.....

 - Biologisk
 - Adopterad
 - Styv/Bonus
7. Ange den kommun i Sverige där du bodde flest. antal år tills du fyllde 18 år.
 - Malmö kommun
 - Annan kommun _____
8. Var bor du nu?
 - Centrum
 - Fosie
 - Husie
 - Hyllie
 - Kirseberg
 - Limhamn-Bunkeflo
 - Oxie
 - Rosengård
 - Södra Innerstaden
 - Västra Innerstaden
9. Vilken är din högst avslutade utbildning?
 - Grundskola, folkskola eller motsvarande
 - Gymnasium
 - Folkhögskola
 - Högskola
 - Annat _____
10. Vad är din huvudsysselsättning?
 - Anställd (privat)
 - Anställd (offentlig)
 - Egen företagare
 - Studerande
 - Pensionär
 - Annat _____
11. Vilket yrke har du och inom vilket yrkesområde/bransch arbetar du? (Om du är arbetslös eller pensionär, vilket yrke hade du och inom vilket yrkesområde/bransch arbetade du huvudsakligen?)

Yrke _____

Yrkesområde _____
12. Vilken inkomst har du per månad (före skatt)? _____ kr
13. Vilket parti röstade du på i riksdagsvalet 2006?
 - Centern
 - Folkpartiet
 - Kristdemokraterna
 - Miljöpartiet
 - Moderaterna
 - Socialdemokraterna
 - Sverigedemokraterna
 - Vänsterpartiet
 - Annat parti _____
 - Röstade ej

14. Vilken religion associerar du dig med?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Buddhism | <input type="checkbox"/> Hinduism |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Judendom | <input type="checkbox"/> Kristendom |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Islam | <input type="checkbox"/> Ingen |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Annan _____ | |

15. Hur ofta reser du? En gång varje vecka En gång varje månad En gång varje kvartal En gång varje år Mindre än en gång per år

Inom Sverige	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Inom Europa	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Utanför Europa	<input type="checkbox"/>				

16a. Har du bott utomlands i mer än 3 månader i följd?

- Ja
 Nej

16b. Om du har svarat Ja, ange det land där du bodde längst tid och hur länge du bodde där.

Land _____ Tid: ____ år ____ månader

VIKTIGA DEFINITIONER

Invandrare:	De som har minst en förälder som inte har sitt ursprung från Sverige.
Svenskar:	De som har två föräldrar som har sitt ursprung från Sverige.
Afrikaner:	De som har sitt ursprung från exempelvis Etiopien, Ghana, Tunisien och Gambia.
Central/Östeuropéer:	De som har sitt ursprung från exempelvis forna Jugoslavien, Polen och Ungern.
Latinamerikaner:	De som har sitt ursprung från exempelvis Chile, Uruguay, Argentina och Mexiko.
Mellanösternbor:	De som har sitt ursprung från exempelvis Irak, Libanon, Iran och Afghanistan.
Nordbor:	De som har sitt ursprung från exempelvis Danmark, Norge och Finland.
Sydeuropéer:	De som har sitt ursprung från exempelvis Grekland, Italien, Portugal och Spanien.
Syd/Östasiater:	De som har sitt ursprung från exempelvis Vietnam, Thailand, Kina och Filippinerna.
Västeuropéer:	De som har sitt ursprung från exempelvis Tyskland, Storbritannien, Frankrike, USA, Kanada och Nya Zeeland.

(inkluderar Nordamerika och Australien):

Nu kommer några påståenden kring invandring och invandrare. Välj ett svar.

17. Majoriteten av invandrare som bor i Malmö idag är (endast ett svar).

- Afrikaner
 Central/Östeuropéer
 Latinamerikaner
 Mellanösternbor
 Nordbor
 Sydeuropéer
 Syd/Östasiater
 Västeuropéer

18. Min grundläggande uppfattning om invandrare i Malmö är.

- Positivt
 Negativt
 Både positivt och negativt

19. Det är lätt att förstå varför invandrare kräver sina rättigheter.

- Instämmer helt
 Instämmer delvis
 Tar avstånd delvis
 Tar avstånd helt

20. Sverige som välfärdsstat har råd att ta emot invandrare.

- Instämmer helt
 Instämmer delvis
 Tar avstånd delvis
 Tar avstånd helt

21. Så länge en person känner sig som svensk är hon/han svensk oavsett hudfärg.

- Instämmer helt
- Instämmer delvis
- Tar avstånd delvis
- Tar avstånd helt

22. Så länge invandrare kan lika bra svenska som svenskar är hon/han svensk oavsett hudfärg.

- Instämmer helt
- Instämmer delvis
- Tar avstånd delvis
- Tar avstånd helt

23. Ju mindre man märker av invandrare desto bättre.

- Instämmer helt
- Instämmer delvis
- Tar avstånd delvis
- Tar avstånd helt

24. Folkslag, kultur och religioner skall inte blandas.

- Instämmer helt
- Instämmer delvis
- Tar avstånd delvis
- Tar avstånd helt

25. Det är positivt att Malmö är mångkulturellt.

- Instämmer helt
- Instämmer delvis
- Tar avstånd delvis
- Tar avstånd helt

Nu kommer några frågor och uppgifter om ditt sociala liv. Välj det svar som passar dig bäst.

26a. Jag upplever att jag gick i grundskola med

- Mer än 90% svenskar
- Mer än 75% svenskar
- 50% svenskar/50% invandrare
- Mer än 75% invandrare
- Mer än 90% invandrare

26b. Specificera de invandrargrupper som du upplever att du gick i grundskola med. Välj "Ingen" eller välj maximum tre invandrargrupper. Välj inte fler än 3.

- Ingen
- Afrikaner
- Central/Östeuropéer
- Latinamerikaner
- Mellanösternbor
- Nordbor
- Sydeuropéer
- Syd/Östasiater
- Västeuropéer

27a. Med utgångspunkt från min huvudsysselsättning, de som jag arbetar/studerar med är

- Mer än 90% svenskar
- Mer än 75% svenskar
- 50% svenskar/50% invandrare
- Mer än 75% invandrare
- Mer än 90% invandrare

27b. Specificera de invandrargrupper som du arbetar/studerar med. Välj "Ingen" eller välj maximum tre invandrargrupper. Välj inte fler än 3.

- Ingen
- Afrikaner
- Central/Östeuropéer
- Latinamerikaner
- Mellanösternbor
- Nordbor
- Sydeuropéer
- Syd/Östasiater
- Västeuropéer

28a. De vänner jag tillbringar mest tid med är

- Mer än 90% svenskar
- Mer än 75% svenskar
- 50% svenskar/50% invandrare
- Mer än 75% invandrare
- Mer än 90% invandrare

28b. Specificera de invandrargrupper som du tillbringar mest tid med. Välj "Ingen" eller välj maximum tre invandrargrupper. Välj inte fler än 3.

- Ingen
- Afrikaner
- Central/Östeuropéer
- Latinamerikaner
- Mellanösternbor
- Nordbor
- Sydeuropéer
- Syd/Östasiater
- Västeuropéer

29a. Andra bekanta som jag håller kontakt med eller träffar vid enstaka tillfällen är

- Mer än 90% svenskar
- Mer än 75% svenskar
- 50% svenskar/50% invandrare
- Mer än 75% invandrare
- Mer än 90% invandrare

29b. Specificera invandrargrupper som dina bekanta tillhör. Välj "Ingen" eller välj maximum tre invandrargrupper. Välj inte fler än 3.

- Ingen
- Afrikaner
- Central/Östeuropéer
- Latinamerikaner
- Mellanösternbor
- Nordbor
- Sydeuropéer
- Syd/Östasiater
- Västeuropéer

30a. De som jag bjuder hem till mig är

- Mer än 90% svenskar
- Mer än 75% svenskar
- 50% svenskar/50% invandrare
- Mer än 75% invandrare
- Mer än 90% invandrare

30b. Specificera de invandrargrupper som du bjuder hem till dig. Välj "Ingen" eller välj maximum tre invandrargrupper. Välj inte fler än 3.

- Ingen
- Afrikaner
- Central/Östeuropéer
- Latinamerikaner
- Mellanösternbor
- Nordbor
- Sydeuropéer
- Syd/Östasiater
- Västeuropéer

31a. Jag har någon gång varit tillsammans med eller har haft en tillfällig relation med någon.

- Ja
- Nej

31b. Om du har svarat Ja, specificera den grupp/invandrargrupp som de personer du har varit tillsammans med eller har haft en tillfällig relation med tillhör. (Flera alternativ möjligt.)

- Adopterade afrikaner
- Adopterade latinamerikaner
- Adopterade östasiater
- Afrikaner
- Central/Östeuropéer
- Latinamerikaner
- Mellanösternbor
- Nordbor
- Svenskar
- Sydeuropéer
- Syd/Östasiater
- Västeuropéer

32a. Jag lever i parrelation (sambo eller gift) idag.

- Ja Om ja Gift Sambo
- Nej

32b. Om du har svarat Ja, specificera den grupp/invandrargrupp som den personen du lever i parrelation med tillhör.

- Adopterade afrikaner
- Adopterade latinamerikaner
- Adopterade östasiater
- Afrikaner
- Central/Östeuropéer
- Latinamerikaner
- Mellanösternbor
- Nordbor
- Svenskar
- Sydeuropéer
- Syd/Östasiater
- Västeuropéer

33a. Jag har någon gång levt i parrelation (sambo eller gift) tidigare.

- Ja Om ja Gift Sambo
- Nej

33b. Om du har svarat Ja, specificera de grupper/invandrargrupper som de personer du har levt i parrelation med tillhör. (Flera alternativ möjligt.)

- Adopterade afrikaner
- Adopterade latinamerikaner
- Adopterade östasiater
- Afrikaner
- Central/Östeuropéer
- Latinamerikaner
- Mellanösternbor
- Nordbor
- Svenskar
- Sydeuropéer
- Syd/Östasiater
- Västeuropéer

Du kommer nu att få ta ställning till ett antal påstående kring blandäktenskap. Tänk på en bild eller uppfattning du har om grupperna och svara spontant.

Fråga 34 till 36 besvaras som om du vore ensamstående.

34. Jag kan tänka mig att vara tillsammans med eller ha en tillfällig relation med någon från denna grupp/invandrargrupp.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar avstånd delvis	Tar avstånd helt
Adopterade afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Central/Östeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mellanösternbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nordbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Svenskar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sydeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Syd/Östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Västeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

35. Jag kan tänka mig att leva i parrelation (sambo eller gift) med någon från denna grupp/invandrargrupp.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar avstånd delvis	Tar avstånd helt
Adopterade afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Central/Östeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mellanösternbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nordbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Svenskar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sydeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Syd/Östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Västeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

36. Jag kan tänka mig att få barn med någon från denna grupp/invandrargrupp.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar avstånd delvis	Tar avstånd helt
Adopterade afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Central/Östeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mellanösternbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nordbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Svenskar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sydeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Syd/Östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Västeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

37. Jag skulle reagera negativt om en i min familj tar med sig sin flickvän/pojkvän från denna grupp/invandrargrupp på en familjemiddag.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar avstånd delvis	Tar avstånd helt
Adopterade afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Central/Östeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mellanösternbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nordbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Svenskar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sydeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Syd/Östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Västeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

38. Jag skulle reagera negativt om en i min familj gifter sig med en person från denna grupp/invandrargrupp.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar avstånd delvis	Tar avstånd helt
Adopterade afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Central/Östeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mellanösternbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nordbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Svenskar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sydeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Syd/Östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Västeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

39. Jag skulle reagera negativt om en i min familj får barn med en person från denna grupp/invandrargrupp.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar avstånd delvis	Tar avstånd helt
Adopterade afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Central/Östeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mellanösternbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nordbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Svenskar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sydeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Syd/Östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Västeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

40. Jag tycker det är negativt att svenskar gifter sig med någon från denna grupp/invandrargrupp.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar avstånd delvis	Tar avstånd helt
Adopterade afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Central/Östeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mellanösternbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nordbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Svenskar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sydeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Syd/Östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Västeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

41. Det är accepterat i det svenska samhället att svenskar gifter sig med någon från denna grupp/invandrargrupp.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar avstånd delvis	Tar avstånd helt
Adopterade afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Central/Östeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mellanösternbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nordbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Svenskar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sydeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Syd/Östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Västeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Du kommer nu att få ta ställning till ett antal påstående om olika invandrargrupper. Tänk på en bild eller uppfattning du har om grupperna och svara spontant.

42. Jag har en negativ bild/uppfattning om denna grupp/invandrargrupp.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar avstånd delvis	Tar avstånd helt
Adopterade afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Central/Östeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mellanösternbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nordbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sydeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Syd/Östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Västeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

43. Jag anser att den svenska kulturen hotas av denna invandrargrupp.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar avstånd delvis	Tar avstånd helt
Afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Central/Östeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mellanösternbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nordbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sydeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Syd/Östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Västeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

44. Personer från denna grupp/invandrargrupp drabbas av rasism och etnisk diskriminering i det svenska samhället.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar avstånd delvis	Tar avstånd helt
Adopterade afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Central/Östeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mellanösternbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nordbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sydeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Syd/Östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Västeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

45. Personer från denna grupp/invandrargrupp har svårigheter att integrera sig på grund av att deras utseende skiljer sig mycket från svenskarnas.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar avstånd delvis	Tar avstånd helt
Adopterade afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Central/Östeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mellanösternbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nordbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Svenskar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sydeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Syd/Östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Västeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

46. Svenskar blandas för mycket med personer från denna grupp/invandrargrupp.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar avstånd delvis	Tar avstånd helt
Adopterade afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adopterade östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Central/Östeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mellanösternbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nordbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Svenskar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sydeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Syd/Östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Västeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

47. Personer från denna invandrargrupp står för sociala och kulturella värderingar som är förenliga med det svenska samhället.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar avstånd delvis	Tar avstånd helt
Afrikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Central/Östeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Latinamerikaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mellanösternbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nordbor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sydeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Syd/Östasiater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Västeuropéer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Uppföljande intervjuer kommer att genomföras någon gång under våren 2009. Urvalet av deltagare till uppföljande intervjuer dras slumpmässigt utifrån de som har besvarat enkäten och samtidigt gett samtycke att bli kontaktad av forskaren. Om du kan tänka dig att delta i en uppföljande intervju ge gärna ditt samtycke. Tack för din medverkan!

Jag samtycker att ni kontaktar mig för en uppföljande intervju.

Appendix 1.1

Cover letter to the questionnaire on attitudes toward different immigrant groups and interracial marriage

Enkät om attityder till olika invandrargrupper och blandäktenskap

Hej!

Jag är doktorand på Internationell Migration och Etniska Relationer på Malmö Högskola och arbetar på forskningsinstitut MIM (Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare). Min doktorsavhandling handlar om svenskaras attityder till blandäktenskap. Attityder till blandäktenskap kan spegla etniska relationer i samhället. Enkäten innefattar bakgrundsfrågor och frågor om attityder till invandring, till olika invandrargrupper och blandäktenskap.

Jag har skickat ut en enkät till ett större antal slumpmässigt utvalda svenskar i åldern 18-78 som är bosatta i Malmö kommun ur SPAR (statliga personadressregistret) för att försöka kartlägga attityder till blandäktenskap. Den praktiska hanteringen av enkäten som utskick och insamling av densamma sköts av Kinmark Information AB. Det är betydelsefullt för undersökningens kvalitet att du som får enkäten besvarar den. Det finns inga rätta eller felaktiga svar på enkätens frågor men det är viktigt att du försöker svara ärligt.

Använd det bifogade kuvertet för att returnera den besvarade enkäten. Porto är betalt. Numret på enkäten är bara till för att registrera vilka som svarat så att ni inte får eventuella påminnelsebrev. Deltagandet är frivilligt. Dina svar är konfidentiella och kommer att behandlas helt anonymt och kommer absolut inte att kunna kopplas till Dig som person.

Jag kommer senare slumpmässigt att kontakta några av er som svarat på enkäten och samtidigt gett samtycke på sista sidan av enkäten till att bli kontaktad för uppföljande intervjuer. Du kan svara på enkäten utan att ge samtycke till intervjun. Intervjun är frivillig och resultatet även i denna presenteras anonymt. Du är inte bunden att delta i en intervju bara för att du svarat på enkäten och du kan också välja att avbryta ditt intervjudeltagande i studien när som helst utan närmare förklaring. Om du redan nu vill anmäla ditt intresse för att delta i en intervju, ta kontakt med mig på nedanstående telefonnummer (måndag till fredag kl. 10.00-12.00) eller per e-mail. Det finns inget samband mellan hur du har svarat på enkäten och urvalet av intervjupersoner. Du är också välkommen att kontakta mig om du har några frågor eller funderingar kring enkäten.

Tack för medverkan!

Sayaka Osanami
Doktorand
Telefon: 040-665 73 78
E-mail: sayaka.osanami@mah.se

Björn Fryklund
Professor, Handledare
Director, MIM

Appendix 1.2

Reminder 1 to the questionnaire on attitudes toward different immigrant groups and interracial marriage

Enkät om attityder till olika invandrargrupper och blandäktenskap

För en vecka sedan fick du ett enkätformulär från mig. Jag vill tacka dig som sänt in formuläret!

Om du däremot skulle ha lagt det åt sidan är jag mycket tacksamma om du fyller i formuläret och skickar in det någon av de närmaste dagarna.

Jag är doktorand på Internationell Migration och Etniska Relationer på Malmö Högskola och arbetar på forskningsinstitut MIM (Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare). Enkätstudien är en del av mitt doktorsavhandlingsarbete som handlar om svenskars attityder till blandäktenskap. Enkäten innefattar bakgrundsfrågor och frågor om attityder till invandring, till olika invandrargrupper och blandäktenskap. Du är slumpmässigt utvald att delta i denna enkät studie.

Det är betydelsefullt för undersökningens kvalitet att du som får enkäten besvarar den. Dina svar är konfidentiella och kommer att behandlas helt anonymt och kommer absolut inte att kunna kopplas till Dig som person.

Tack på förhand!

Med vänliga hälsningar
Sayaka Osanami (doktorand)
Björn Fryklund (professor, handledare)

Appendix 1.3

Reminder 2 to the questionnaire on attitudes toward different immigrant groups and interracial marriage

Enkät om attityder till olika invandrargrupper och blandäktenskap

Hej!

För några veckor sedan fick du en enkät från mig som handlar om attityder till olika invandrargrupper och blandäktenskap. Jag har noterat att du inte har skickat in din enkät. Kanske har du varit bortrest eller av andra orsaker inte haft möjlighet att svara. Du är en av ett större antal slumpmässigt utvalda personer i åldern 18-78 som är bosatta i Malmö kommun ur SPAR (statliga personadressregistret). Det är betydelsefullt för undersökningens kvalitet att du som får enkäten besvarar den. Det finns inga rätta eller felaktiga svar på enkätens frågor men det är viktigt att du försöker svara ärligt.

Jag är doktorand på Internationell Migration och Etniska Relationer på Malmö Högskola och arbetar på forskningsinstitut MIM (Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare). Min doktorsavhandling handlar om svenskars attityder till blandäktenskap. Attityder till blandäktenskap kan spegla etniska relationer i samhället. Enkäten innefattar bakgrundsfrågor och frågor om attityder till invandring, till olika invandrargrupper och blandäktenskap.

Den praktiska hanteringen av enkäten som utskick och insamling av densamma sköts av Kinnmark Information AB. Använd det bifogade kuvertet för att returnera den besvarade enkäten. Porto är betalt. Numret på enkäten är bara till för att registrera vilka som svarat så att ni inte får eventuella påminnelsebrev. Deltagandet är frivilligt. Dina svar är konfidentiella och kommer att behandlas helt anonymt och kommer absolut inte att kunna kopplas till Dig som person.

Jag kommer senare slumpmässigt att kontakta några av er som svarat på enkäten och samtidigt gett samtycke på sista sidan av enkäten till att bli kontaktad för uppföljande intervjuer. Du kan svara på enkäten utan att ge samtycke till intervjun. Intervjun är frivillig och resultatet även i denna presenteras anonymt. Du är inte bunden att delta i en intervju bara för att du svarat på enkäten och du kan också välja att avbryta ditt intervjudeltagande i studien när som helst utan närmare förklaring. Om du redan nu vill anmäla ditt intresse för att delta i en intervju, ta kontakt med mig på nedanstående telefonnummer (måndag till fredag kl. 10.00-12.00) eller per e-mail. Det finns inget samband mellan hur du har svarat på enkäten och urvalet av intervjupersoner. Du är också välkommen att kontakta mig om du har några frågor eller funderingar kring enkäten.

Tack för medverkan!

Sayaka Osanami
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Björn Fryklund
Professor, Handledare
Director, MIM

Appendix 2

Descriptive statistics of the sample

Table 1. Background characteristics of the total sample

		White European background N=461 (%)	Non- European background N=148 (%)
Age	18-44	234 (50.8)	93 (62.8)
	45-64	135 (29.3)	42 (28.4)
	65-78	82 (17.8)	11 (7.4)
	Missing	10 (2.2)	2 (1.4)
Gender	Female	242 (52.5)	84 (56.8)
	Male	218 (47.3)	63 (42.6)
	Missing	1 (0.2)	1 (0.7)
Education	Secondary and below	233 (50.5)	91 (61.5)
	Above secondary	216 (46.9)	47 (31.8)
	Missing	12 (2.6)	10 (6.8)
Occupation	Employed	253 (54.9)	76 (51.4)
	Self employed	25 (5.4)	11 (7.4)
	Studying	45 (9.8)	23 (15.5)
	Retired	98 (21.3)	16 (10.8)
	Other	17 (3.7)	12 (8.1)
	Multiple	19 (4.1)	5 (3.4)
	Missing	4 (0.9)	5 (3.4)
Income	Below 26,000 SEK	244 (52.9)	90 (60.8)
	Above 26,000 SEK	143 (31.0)	23 (15.5)
	Missing	74 (16.1)	35 (23.6)
Political preference	Alliance (center-right)	205 (44.5)	27 (18.2)
	Red-Green (social democratic-left)	170 (36.9)	67 (45.3)
	Other	33 (7.2)	1 (0.7)
	Did not vote	38 (8.2)	49 (33.1)
	Missing	15 (3.3)	4 (2.7)
Marital status	Not married or cohabitating	162 (35.1)	46 (31.1)
	Married or cohabitating	256 (55.5)	81 (54.7)
	Homogamy	184 (69)	51 (57)
Children	No children	204 (44.3)	65 (43.9)
	Children (biological, adopted or stepchildren)	253 (54.9)	80 (54.1)
	Missing	4 (0.9)	3 (2.0)

		White European background N=461 (%)	Non- European background N=148 (%)
Religion	Buddhism	6 (1.3)	9 (6.1)
	Judaism	0 (0.0)	1 (0.7)
	Christianity	298 (64.6)	50 (33.8)
	Islam	9 (2.0)	56 (37.8)
	No religion	134 (29.1)	18 (12.2)
	Other	11 (2.4)	12 (8.2)
	Missing	3 (0.7)	2 (1.4)
Municipality of origin	Malmö Municipality	176 (38.2)	85 (57.4)
	Other municipality	259 (56.2)	29 (19.6)
	Missing	26 (5.6)	34 (23.0)
Current residential area	10-19%	186 (40.3)	35 (23.6)
	20-29%	159 (34.5)	31 (20.9)
	30%+	104 (22.6)	77 (52.0)
	Missing	12 (2.6)	5 (3.4)
General Contact	Only Swedes	149 (32.3)	19 (12.8)
	Little Contact	192 (41.6)	46 (31.1)
	Lots of Contact	98 (21.3)	44 (29.7)
	Missing	22 (4.8)	39 (26.4)
Friendship	Only Swedes	182 (39.5)	22 (14.9)
	Little Contact	186 (40.3)	78 (52.7)
	Lots of Contact	87 (18.9)	43 (29.1)
	Missing	6 (1.3)	5 (3.4)
Experience of living abroad (more than 3 months)	Yes	156 (33.8)	51 (34.5)
	No	302 (65.5)	95 (64.2)
	Missing	3 (0.7)	2 (1.4)
Total		461	148

Table 2. Relationship history of the sample

		White European background N=461	Non-European background N=148
Dating	Yes	324	88
	AA	7	2
	ALA	4	1
	AEA	13	0
	A	29	4
	CEE	71	8
	LA	43	7
	ME	29	8
	SC	96	15
	SWE	219	40
	SE	61	12
	SEA	18	6
	WE	96	9
	No	128	56
	Missing	9	4
Currently married or cohabitating	Yes	256	81
	AA	0	0
	ALA	1	0
	AEA	2	0
	A	3	0
	CEE	19	2
	LA	3	1
	ME	5	1
	SC	26	6
	SWE	184	13
	SE	8	13
	SEA	2	0
	WE	12	2
	No	162	46
	HOMOGAMY TOTAL	230	51
Missing	43	21	

		White European background N=461	Non-European background N=148
Have been married or cohabitated	Yes	178	43
	AA	1	0
	ALA	0	0
	AEA	0	0
	A	3	0
	CEE	13	1
	LA	7	1
	ME	6	0
	SC	22	7
	SWE	149	12
	SE	13	8
	SEA	3	2
	WE	19	3
	No	231	80
	Missing	52	25

Table 3. Comparison of background characteristics of the white European respondents analyzed in logistic regression

		Regression sample of white European (N=330)	Total sample of white European background (N=461)	Sample (N=620)	Malmö Municipality (N=286.535)
Gender (%)	Male	47.8	47.3	46.3	49.0
	Female	52.2	52.5	53.4	51.0
Age (%)	18-44	52.9	50.8	54.0	56.6
	45-64	29.9	29.3	28.9	30.1
	65-78	17.2	17.8	15.0	13.3
Education at higher level (%)		49.3	46.9	42.7	41.0
Political preference (%)	Alliance (center-right)	46.4	48.5	44.3	43.8
	Red-Greens (social democratic-left)	37.9	40.2	45.4	46.8

Appendix 3

Descriptive statistics on contact with different groups

F26: I remember that I went to elementary school with...

F27: (Based on your current occupation) People that I work/study with are...

F28: The friends that I spend most time with are...

F29: Other acquaintances that I keep in touch with and meet occasionally are...

F30: Those who I invite home to are...

Table 1. Contact with different groups among white European respondents in % (N=461)

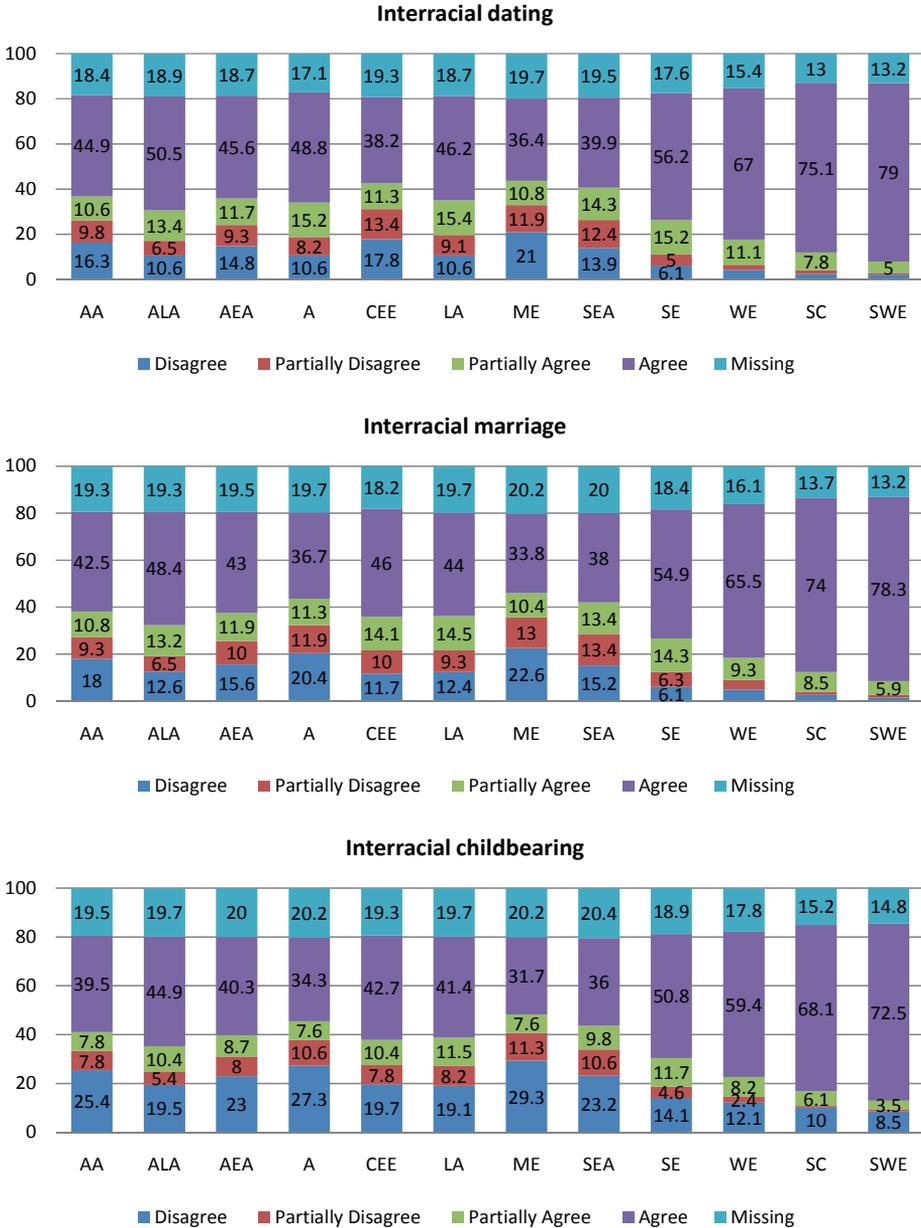
	SWE only (N)	A (N)	CEE (N)	LA (N)	ME (N)	SC (N)	SE (N)	SEA (N)	WE (N)	Missing (N)
F26	43.6 (201)	3.9 (18)	23.2 (107)	10.4 (48)	12.1 (56)	20.6 (95)	12.6 (58)	5.4 (25)	7.2 (33)	4.8 (22)
F27	26.0 (130)	7.6 (35)	35.4 (163)	11.1 (51)	24.9 (115)	24.9 (115)	15.6 (72)	6.9 (32)	18.9 (87)	5.4 (25)
F28	36.4 (168)	5.9 (27)	25.6 (118)	12.8 (59)	8.7 (40)	28.0 (129)	13.4 (62)	4.6 (21)	18.4 (85)	2.0 (9)
F29	28.9 (133)	7.6 (35)	30.8 (142)	15.8 (73)	13.4 (62)	30.4 (140)	16.7 (77)	6.3 (29)	19.7 (91)	2.0 (9)
F30	36.4 (168)	5.4 (25)	26.2 (121)	13.0 (60)	9.5 (44)	29.1 (134)	14.3 (66)	5.2 (24)	19.7 (91)	2.8 (13)

Table 2. Contact with different groups among non-European respondents in % (N=148)

	SWE only (N)	A (N)	CEE (N)	LA (N)	ME (N)	SC (N)	SE (N)	SEA (N)	WE (N)	Missing (N)
F26	18.9 (28)	8.8 (13)	32.4 (48)	9.5 (14)	31.1 (46)	10.8 (16)	11.5 (17)	7.4 (11)	9.5 (14)	26.4 (39)
F27	23.6 (35)	10.8 (16)	41.2 (61)	8.8 (13)	38.5 (57)	16.2 (24)	16.2 (24)	4.7 (7)	12.8 (19)	10.1 (15)
F28	20.9 (31)	8.1 (12)	41.2 (61)	9.5 (14)	21.6 (32)	12.2 (18)	16.2 (24)	6.8 (10)	10.1 (15)	4.7 (7)
F29	12.8 (19)	8.8 (13)	45.9 (68)	13.5 (20)	26.4 (39)	16.9 (25)	18.9 (28)	8.1 (12)	16.2 (24)	2.7 (4)
F30	14.2 (21)	8.1 (12)	41.2 (61)	8.8 (13)	23.6 (35)	16.9 (25)	20.9 (31)	9.5 (14)	11.5 (17)	5.4 (8)

Appendix 4 Descriptive statistics of attitudes among the white European respondents

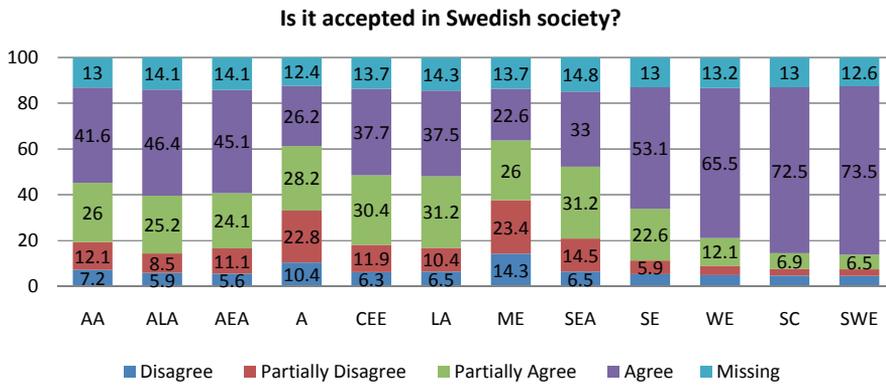
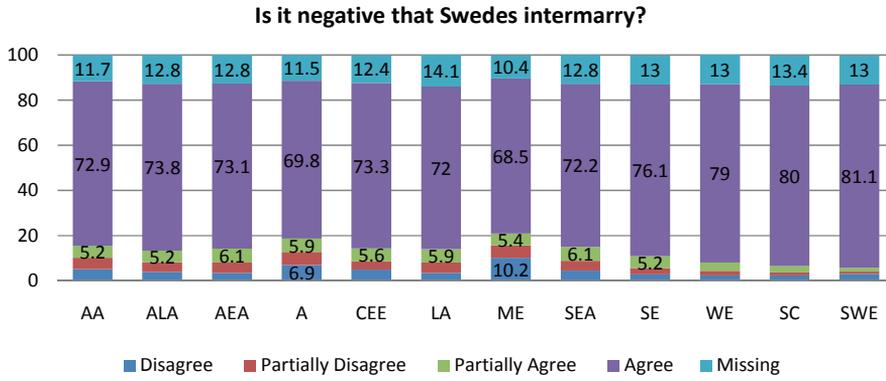
Graph 1. Descriptive statistics relating to attitudes toward interracial relationships among respondents of white European background (%)



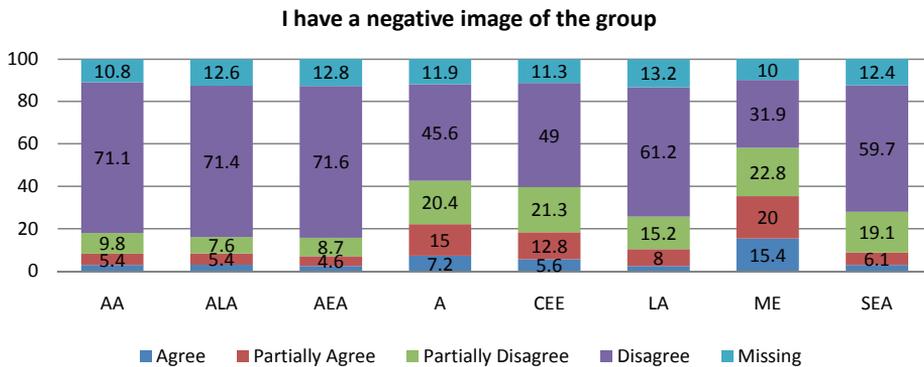
Graph 2. Descriptive statistics relating to Swedes' attitudes toward family members getting involved in interracial relationships (%)



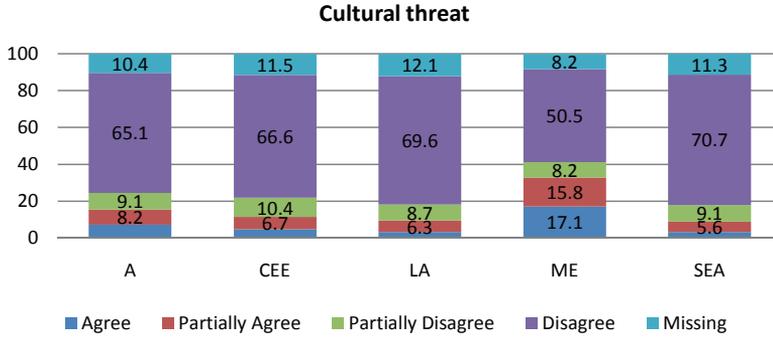
Graph 3. Descriptive statistics relating to attitudes toward interracial marriage in general (%)



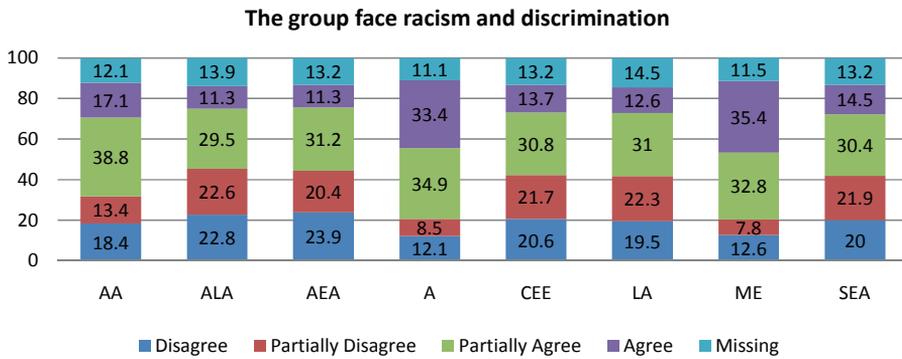
Graph 4. Descriptive statistics for statement 42 (%)



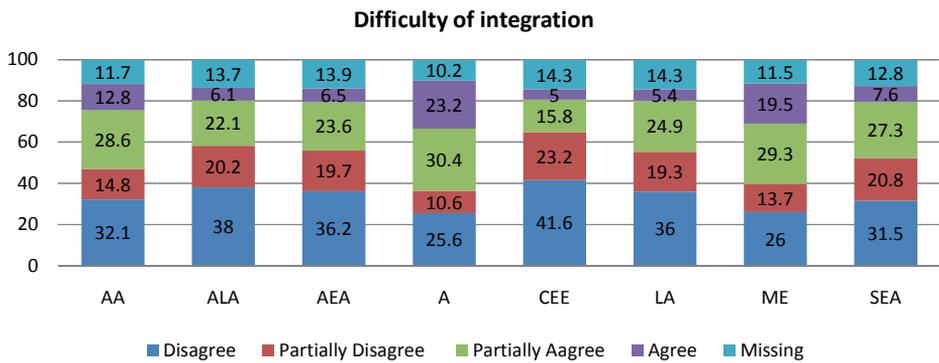
Graph 5. Descriptive statistics for statement 43 (%)



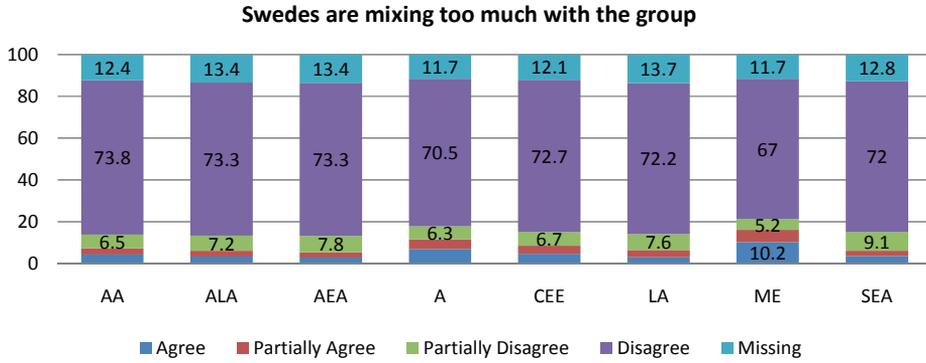
Graph 6. Descriptive statistics for statement 44 (%)



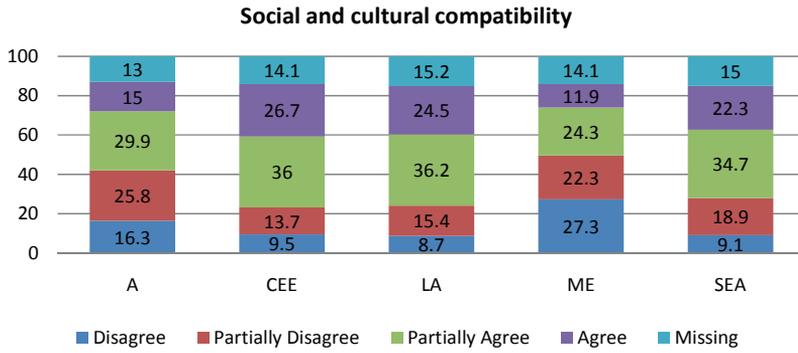
Graph 7. Descriptive statistics for statement 45 (%)



Graph 8. Descriptive statistics for statement 46 (%)

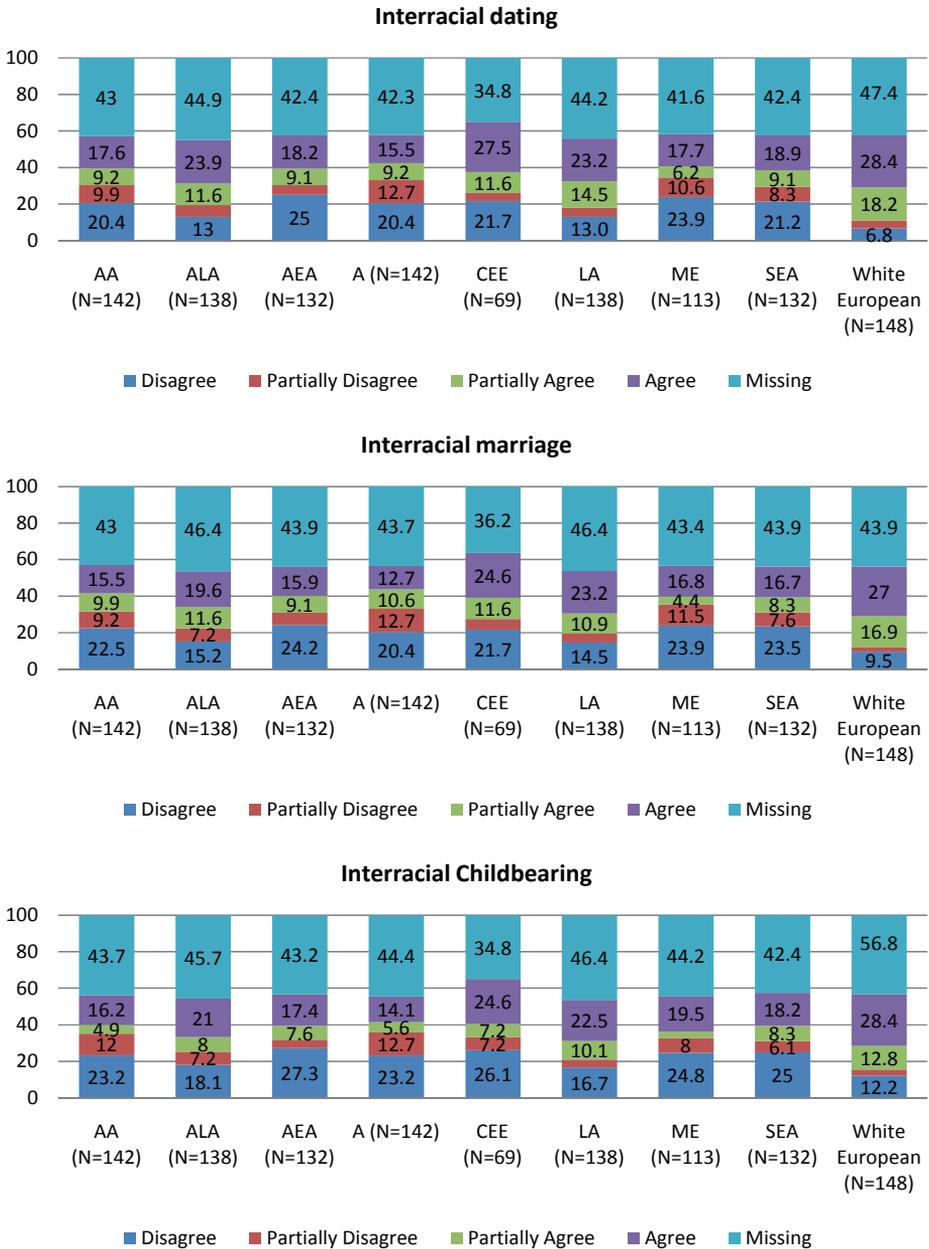


Graph 9. Descriptive statistics for statement 47 (%)



Appendix 5 Descriptive statistics of attitudes among the non-European respondents

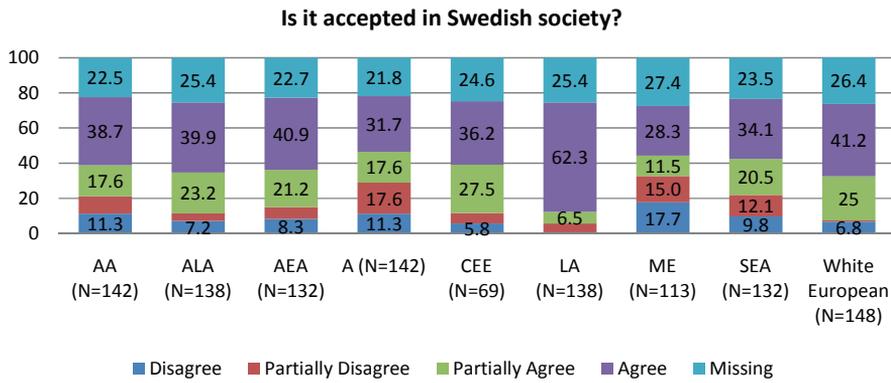
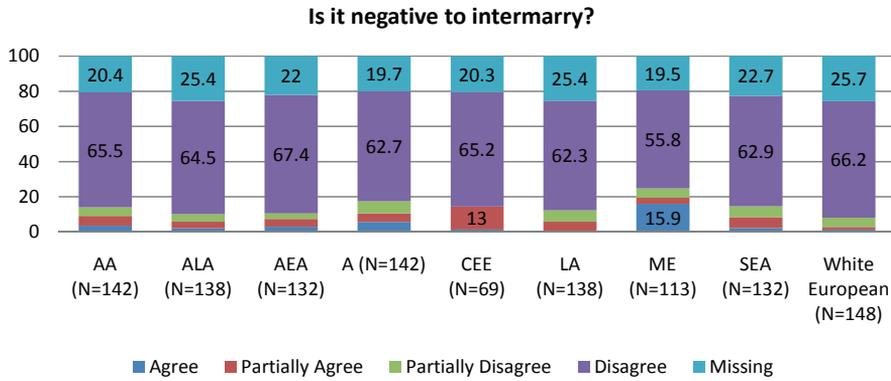
Graph 1. Descriptive statistics relating to attitudes toward interracial relationships among respondents of non-European background



Graph 2. Descriptive statistics relating to attitudes toward family members getting involved in interracial relationships among respondents of non-European background



Graph 3. Descriptive statistics relating to attitudes toward interracial marriage in general among respondents of non-European background



Appendix 6

Descriptive analysis on background variables and attitudes toward interracial relationships among the white European respondents

F34: I can imagine dating someone from the following group.

F35: I can imagine getting married to someone from the following group.

F36: I can imagine having children with someone from the following group.

Age

	18-44			45-64			65+		
	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)
F34AA	215	19	3.31 (3.16-3.46)	110	25	2.76 (2.53-3.00)	44	38	2.36 (2.00-2.72)
F34ALA	215	19	3.55 (3.44-3.67)	109	26	3.01 (2.79-3.23)	43	39	2.65 (2.28-3.02)
F34AEA	214	20	3.31 (3.17-3.46)	110	25	2.90 (2.67-3.13)	44	38	2.43 (2.07-2.79)
F34CEE	217	17	3.45 (3.33-3.58)	111	24	3.06 (2.86-3.27)	47	35	2.66 (2.31-3.01)
F34A	215	19	3.09 (2.94-3.25)	106	29	2.65 (2.41-2.89)	44	38	2.32 (1.96-2.67)
F34LA	214	20	3.42 (3.29-3.54)	110	25	3.05 (2.84-3.25)	44	38	2.52 (2.16-2.89)
F34ME	213	21	3.02 (2.86-3.18)	108	27	2.56 (2.32-2.81)	42	40	2.17 (1.81-2.53)
F34SC	215	19	3.84 (3.77-3.92)	120	15	3.78 (3.70-3.87)	59	23	3.59 (3.37-3.82)
F34SWE	216	18	3.91 (3.86-3.97)	118	17	3.89 (3.83-3.95)	58	24	3.64 (3.41-3.87)
F34SE	215	19	3.60 (3.49-3.70)	112	23	3.44 (3.27-3.60)	45	37	3.00 (2.66-3.34)
F34SEA	213	21	3.19 (3.04-3.34)	108	27	2.86 (2.64-3.08)	43	39	2.40 (2.06-2.74)
F34WE	216	18	3.75 (3.66-3.84)	117	18	3.63 (3.50-3.76)	50	32	3.42 (3.15-3.69)
F35AA	213	21	3.26 (3.11-3.42)	109	26	2.68 (2.44-2.91)	43	39	2.28 (1.92-2.64)
F35ALA	213	21	3.49 (3.36-3.62)	109	26	2.94 (2.71-3.16)	43	39	2.60 (2.25-2.96)
F35AEA	212	22	3.25 (3.10-3.41)	109	26	2.84 (2.62-3.07)	43	39	2.40 (2.04-2.75)
F35A	212	22	3.06 (2.89-3.22)	108	27	2.56 (2.33-2.80)	43	39	2.26 (1.91-2.60)
F35CEE	213	21	3.39 (3.26-3.53)	112	23	2.96 (2.76-3.17)	45	37	2.60 (2.24-2.96)
F35LA	210	24	3.37 (3.24-3.51)	110	25	2.93 (2.71-3.15)	43	39	2.51 (2.15-2.87)
F35ME	212	22	2.95 (2.79-3.12)	107	28	2.48 (2.23-2.72)	42	40	2.07 (1.75-2.39)
F35SC	215	19	3.81 (3.73-3.90)	118	17	3.81 (3.73-3.88)	58	24	3.66 (3.45-3.86)
F35SWE	215	19	3.89 (3.83-3.95)	120	15	3.85 (3.78-3.92)	58	24	3.78 (3.60-3.96)
F35SE	213	21	3.58 (3.47-3.70)	111	24	3.40 (3.23-3.57)	44	38	3.00 (2.68-3.32)
F35SEA	213	21	3.14 (2.99-3.29)	106	29	2.78 (2.55-3.01)	43	39	2.28 (1.94-2.62)
F35WE	214	20	3.72 (3.63-3.82)	117	18	3.53 (3.38-3.68)	49	33	3.43 (3.16-3.70)
F36AA	214	20	3.12 (2.95-3.28)	106	29	2.41 (2.15-2.66)	44	38	1.95 (1.58-2.33)
F36ALA	214	20	3.35 (3.20-3.50)	106	29	2.59 (2.34-2.85)	43	39	2.37 (1.98-2.77)
F36AEA	213	21	3.13 (2.96-3.29)	106	29	2.53 (2.27-2.78)	43	39	2.14 (1.76-2.52)
F36A	213	21	2.93 (2.76-3.10)	105	30	2.27 (2.02-2.52)	43	39	1.95 (1.59-2.32)
F36CEE	213	21	3.26 (3.11-3.41)	107	28	2.58 (2.33-2.83)	45	37	2.40 (2.01-2.79)
F36LA	212	22	3.25 (3.10-3.40)	108	27	2.60 (2.36-2.85)	43	39	2.30 (1.90-2.71)
F36ME	212	22	2.83 (2.66-3.00)	106	29	2.18 (1.93-2.43)	43	39	1.93 (1.58-2.28)
F36SC	215	19	3.70 (3.59-3.81)	115	20	3.35 (3.14-3.55)	54	28	3.44 (3.14-3.75)
F36SWE	215	19	3.78 (3.68-3.88)	114	21	3.45 (3.25-3.65)	57	25	3.53 (3.25-3.80)
F36SE	213	21	3.45 (3.32-3.59)	108	27	2.98 (2.75-3.22)	45	37	2.80 (2.42-3.18)
F36SEA	213	21	3.00 (2.84-3.16)	105	30	2.45 (2.19-2.70)	42	40	2.14 (1.75-2.54)
F36WE	214	20	3.60 (3.48-3.73)	111	24	3.14 (2.91-3.36)	47	35	3.19 (2.85-3.54)

Sex

	Women			Men		
	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)
F34AA	191	51	2.94 (2.77-3.12)	185	33	3.12 (2.95-3.30)
F34ALA	188	54	3.18 (3.02-3.34)	186	32	3.39 (3.24-3.53)
F34AEA	190	52	2.91 (2.73-3.08)	185	33	3.26 (3.11-3.42)
F34CEE	192	50	3.11 (2.95-3.27)	190	28	3.36 (3.21-3.50)
F34A	188	54	2.72 (2.55-2.90)	184	34	3.01 (2.83-3.19)
F34LA	189	53	3.06 (2.90-3.22)	186	32	3.33 (3.18-3.48)
F34ME	187	55	2.59 (2.41-2.78)	183	35	2.97 (2.79-3.15)
F34SC	210	32	3.71 (3.61-3.81)	191	27	3.87 (3.81-3.93)
F34SWE	207	35	3.80 (3.72-3.89)	193	25	3.91 (3.86-3.97)
F34SE	192	50	3.37 (3.24-3.50)	188	30	3.58 (3.46-3.70)
F34SEA	186	56	2.75 (2.58-2.92)	185	33	3.25 (3.09-3.40)
F34WE	201	41	3.62 (3.52-3.73)	188	30	3.71 (3.60-3.82)
F35AA	188	54	2.93 (2.75-3.10)	184	34	3.01 (2.82-3.19)
F35ALA	187	55	3.15 (2.99-3.31)	185	33	3.26 (3.10-3.43)
F35AEA	187	55	2.89 (2.71-3.06)	184	34	3.16 (2.99-3.32)
F35A	185	57	2.70 (2.52-2.88)	185	33	2.90 (2.72-3.09)
F35CEE	189	53	3.03 (2.87-3.19)	188	30	3.28 (3.12-3.43)
F35LA	185	57	2.98 (2.82-3.15)	185	33	3.26 (3.11-3.42)
F35ME	185	57	2.49 (2.30-2.67)	183	35	2.91 (2.73-3.09)
F35SC	208	34	3.72 (3.63-3.82)	190	28	3.85 (3.78-3.92)
F35SWE	210	32	3.81 (3.74-3.89)	190	28	3.90 (3.84-3.96)
F35SE	188	54	3.34 (3.21-3.48)	188	30	3.55 (3.43-3.68)
F35SEA	186	56	2.69 (2.52-2.86)	183	35	3.17 (3.01-3.33)
F35WE	200	42	3.55 (3.43-3.67)	186	32	3.68 (3.57-3.80)
F36AA	189	53	2.76 (2.57-2.95)	182	36	2.76 (2.56-2.96)
F36ALA	187	55	2.98 (2.80-3.16)	183	35	3.03 (2.83-3.22)
F36AEA	187	55	2.75 (2.56-2.94)	182	36	2.91 (2.72-3.10)
F36A	186	56	2.51 (2.32-2.70)	182	36	2.71 (2.51-2.91)
F36CEE	187	55	2.84 (2.66-3.02)	185	33	3.05 (2.87-3.23)
F36LA	186	56	2.85 (2.68-3.03)	184	34	3.02 (2.84-3.20)
F36ME	187	55	2.34 (2.16-2.53)	181	37	2.71 (2.51-2.90)
F36SC	205	37	3.54 (3.41-3.68)	186	32	3.58 (3.44-3.72)
F36SWE	205	37	3.62 (3.49-3.75)	188	30	3.66 (3.54-3.79)
F36SE	190	52	3.13 (2.97-3.29)	184	34	3.32 (3.15-3.48)
F36SEA	186	56	2.56 (2.37-2.74)	181	37	2.92 (2.73-3.11)
F36WE	195	47	3.35 (3.20-3.51)	183	35	3.44 (3.28-3.60)

Marital status

	Not married			Married or cohabitating		
	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)
F34AA	131	31	3.07 (2.87-3.27)	219	37	3.04 (2.88-3.20)
F34ALA	130	32	3.26 (3.08-3.45)	218	38	3.34 (3.20-3.48)
F34AEA	130	32	3.07 (2.87-3.27)	219	37	3.11 (2.95-3.27)
F34CEE	132	30	3.27 (3.09-3.44)	223	33	3.25 (3.11-3.39)
F34A	129	33	2.89 (2.69-3.09)	217	39	2.89 (2.72-3.06)
F34LA	130	32	3.18 (3.00-3.37)	219	37	3.25 (3.11-3.39)
F34ME	128	34	2.86 (2.64-3.08)	216	40	2.78 (2.62-2.95)
F34SC	147	15	3.76 (3.66-3.87)	224	32	3.81 (3.74-3.89)
F34SWE	144	18	3.83 (3.74-3.93)	229	27	3.87 (3.81-3.93)
F34SE	133	29	3.43 (3.27-3.58)	220	36	3.54 (3.43-3.65)
F34SEA	129	33	2.93 (2.72-3.14)	216	40	3.07 (2.92-3.22)
F34WE	138	24	3.63 (3.50-3.76)	225	31	3.72 (3.63-3.81)
F35AA	131	31	2.93 (2.73-3.14)	215	41	3.02 (2.86-3.19)
F35ALA	130	32	3.13 (2.94-3.33)	216	40	3.31 (3.16-3.45)
F35AEA	130	32	2.95 (2.74-3.15)	215	41	3.10 (2.94-3.26)
F35A	130	32	2.78 (2.57-2.98)	214	42	2.85 (2.67-3.02)
F35CEE	132	30	3.08 (2.89-3.27)	218	38	3.22 (2.07-3.36)
F35LA	130	32	3.05 (2.86-3.25)	214	42	3.21 (3.06-3.35)
F35ME	130	32	2.70 (2.49-2.91)	213	43	2.71 (2.54-2.89)
F35SC	145	17	3.70 (3.59-3.82)	224	32	3.83 (3.76-3.90)
F35SWE	144	18	3.78 (3.67-3.88)	229	27	3.90 (3.85-3.95)
F35SE	133	29	3.32 (3.16-3.49)	216	40	3.54 (3.43-3.66)
F35SEA	128	34	2.79 (2.58-3.00)	215	41	3.04 (2.88-3.19)
F35WE	138	24	3.54 (3.39-3.68)	222	34	3.70 (3.60-3.79)
F36AA	128	34	2.71 (2.48-2.94)	217	39	2.81 (2.63-2.99)
F36ALA	127	35	2.93 (2.70-3.16)	217	39	3.08 (2.92-3.25)
F36AEA	127	35	2.76 (2.52-2.99)	216	40	2.88 (2.71-3.06)
F36A	127	35	2.56 (2.33-2.79)	215	41	2.65 (2.47-2.83)
F36CEE	128	34	2.88 (2.65-3.10)	217	39	2.97 (2.80-3.14)
F36LA	128	34	2.85 (2.63-3.07)	216	40	3.00 (2.83-3.17)
F36ME	128	34	2.52 (2.28-2.75)	214	42	2.53 (2.46-2.71)
F36SC	140	22	3.39 (3.21-3.58)	224	32	3.63 (3.50-3.75)
F36SWE	139	23	3.49 (3.31-3.67)	228	28	3.70 (3.59-3.81)
F36SE	128	34	3.12 (2.91-3.33)	218	38	3.28 (3.13-3.42)
F36SEA	127	35	2.61 (2.39-2.84)	214	42	2.81 (2.64-2.98)
F36WE	131	31	3.32 (3.12-3.52)	222	34	3.44 (3.30-3.58)

Intermarriage (among respondents who are married or cohabitating)

	Endogamy (including European origin)			Homogamy		
	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)
F34AA	66	15	3.17 (2.87-3.46)	158	26	3.07 (2.89-3.25)
F34ALA	65	16	3.48 (3.25-3.71)	158	26	3.34 (3.17-3.50)
F34AEA	65	16	3.23 (2.96-3.50)	158	26	3.15 (2.97-3.32)
F34CEE	69	12	3.36 (3.12-3.61)	161	23	3.29 (3.13-3.44)
F34A	66	15	2.98 (2.70-3.27)	157	27	2.88 (2.68-3.07)
F34LA	64	17	3.36 (3.12-3.60)	160	24	3.20 (3.03-3.37)
F34ME	65	16	2.83 (2.53-3.13)	157	27	2.77 (2.57-2.97)
F34SC	68	13	3.72 (3.55-3.89)	162	22	3.83 (3.74-3.92)
F34SWE	66	15	3.74 (3.58-3.91)	167	17	3.94 (3.89-3.99)
F34SE	67	14	3.60 (3.43-3.76)	161	23	3.53 (3.39-3.66)
F34SEA	64	17	3.19 (2.93-3.45)	158	26	3.06 (2.88-3.23)
F34WE	67	14	3.75 (3.61-3.89)	163	21	3.73 (3.62-3.84)
F35AA	66	15	3.11 (2.80-3.41)	155	29	3.06 (2.88-3.25)
F35ALA	65	16	3.43 (3.18-3.68)	156	28	3.29 (3.13-3.46)
F35AEA	65	16	3.09 (2.80-3.39)	155	29	3.15 (2.97-3.33)
F35A	66	15	2.94 (2.63-3.25)	154	30	2.87 (2.67-3.07)
F35CEE	69	12	3.39 (3.16-3.62)	155	29	3.23 (3.06-3.39)
F35LA	65	16	3.37 (3.13-3.61)	154	30	3.17 (2.99-3.34)
F35ME	64	17	2.80 (2.49-3.11)	155	29	2.72 (2.51-2.92)
F35SC	68	13	3.71 (3.53-3.89)	162	22	3.86 (3.78-3.94)
F35SWE	67	14	3.73 (3.56-3.90)	167	17	3.96 (3.94-3.99)
F35SE	67	14	3.66 (3.50-3.82)	156	28	3.53 (3.39-3.67)
F35SEA	65	16	3.09 (2.82-3.37)	155	29	3.06 (2.89-3.24)
F35WE	67	14	3.72 (3.56-3.87)	161	23	3.70 (3.59-3.82)
F36AA	67	14	2.78 (2.44-3.11)	154	30	2.90 (2.70-3.11)
F36ALA	66	15	3.15 (2.85-3.45)	155	29	3.10 (2.01-3.29)
F36AEA	66	15	2.85 (2.52-3.17)	154	30	2.97 (2.77-3.17)
F36A	67	14	2.72 (2.39-3.05)	153	31	2.70 (2.49-2.91)
F36CEE	68	13	3.09 (2.79-3.38)	153	31	3.04 (2.85-3.23)
F36LA	66	15	3.14 (2.85-3.42)	155	29	3.01 (2.82-3.21)
F36ME	65	16	2.55 (2.24-2.87)	153	31	2.61 (2.40-2.82)
F36SC	69	12	3.49 (3.24-3.75)	159	25	3.72 (3.60-3.85)
F36SWE	67	14	3.51 (3.25-3.76)	165	19	3.81 (3.70-3.91)
F36SE	68	13	3.37 (3.12-3.62)	156	28	3.29 (3.12-3.47)
F36SEA	66	15	2.83 (2.52-3.14)	152	32	2.90 (2.70-3.10)
F36WE	66	15	3.47 (3.22-3.72)	160	24	3.49 (3.33-3.65)

Children

	No children			Have children		
	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)
F34AA	181	23	3.32 (3.16-3.48)	195	59	2.76 (2.59-2.94)
F34ALA	180	24	3.53 (3.40-3.67)	194	60	3.05 (2.89-3.21)
F34AEA	180	24	3.37 (3.21-3.53)	195	59	2.82 (2.65-2.99)
F34CEE	182	22	3.52 (3.39-3.65)	200	54	2.97 (2.81-3.13)
F34A	179	25	3.17 (3.01-3.34)	193	61	2.58 (2.40-2.76)
F34LA	180	24	3.47 (3.33-3.61)	195	59	2.94 (2.78-3.10)
F34ME	178	26	3.17 (3.01-3.34)	192	62	2.42 (2.24-2.60)
F34SC	184	20	3.84 (3.76-3.91)	215	39	3.74 (3.66-3.83)
F34SWE	180	24	3.92 (3.86-3.97)	219	35	3.80 (3.72-3.89)
F34SE	179	25	3.64 (3.52-3.75)	200	54	3.33 (3.19-3.46)
F34SEA	179	25	3.26 (3.09-3.42)	192	62	2.76 (2.59-2.92)
F34WE	181	23	3.77 (3.67-3.87)	208	46	3.58 (3.47-3.69)
F35AA	179	25	3.23 (3.07-3.40)	193	61	2.72 (2.54-2.89)
F35ALA	179	25	3.45 (3.31-3.60)	193	61	2.98 (2.81-3.15)
F35AEA	178	26	3.30 (3.14-3.46)	193	61	2.77 (2.59-2.94)
F35A	177	27	3.07 (2.89-3.24)	193	61	2.55 (2.37-2.74)
F35CEE	180	24	3.41 (3.26-3.55)	197	57	2.92 (2.76-3.09)
F35LA	177	27	3.38 (3.23-3.53)	193	61	2.89 (2.72-3.06)
F35ME	179	25	3.06 (2.88-3.23)	189	65	2.35 (2.17-2.54)
F35SC	182	22	3.79 (3.69-3.88)	214	40	3.78 (3.69-3.86)
F35SWE	181	23	3.86 (3.79-3.94)	218	36	3.85 (3.78-3.92)
F35SE	178	26	3.56 (3.43-3.68)	197	57	3.35 (3.21-3.48)
F35SEA	178	26	3.15 (2.98-3.32)	191	63	2.72 (2.55-2.88)
F35WE	180	24	3.71 (3.60-3.82)	207	47	3.53 (3.41-3.65)
F36AA	178	26	3.02 (2.83-3.21)	193	61	2.53 (2.34-2.72)
F36ALA	178	26	3.26 (3.08-3.43)	192	62	2.77 (2.59-2.95)
F36AEA	177	27	3.12 (2.94-3.31)	192	62	2.56 (2.37-2.74)
F36A	176	28	2.91 (2.72-3.11)	192	62	2.33 (2.15-2.52)
F36CEE	177	27	3.20 (3.03-3.38)	195	59	2.71 (2.52-2.89)
F36LA	176	28	3.19 (3.02-3.37)	193	61	2.70 (2.52-2.88)
F36ME	177	27	2.89 (2.70-3.08)	191	63	2.18 (2.00-2.36)
F36SC	182	22	3.56 (3.42-3.70)	207	47	3.56 (3.42-3.69)
F36SWE	179	25	3.63 (3.49-3.77)	213	41	3.65 (3.53-3.77)
F36SE	176	28	3.36 (3.20-3.53)	198	56	3.10 (2.93-3.26)
F36SEA	177	27	3.01 (2.82-3.19)	190	64	2.48 (2.30-2.67)
F36WE	177	27	3.52 (3.37-3.67)	202	52	3.29 (3.14-3.45)

Income

	Below 26,000 SEK			Above 26,000 SEK		
	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)
F34AA	197	47	2.95 (2.78-3.13)	127	16	3.23 (3.03-3.42)
F34ALA	195	49	3.17 (3.02-3.33)	127	16	3.48 (3.33-3.64)
F34AEA	196	48	2.95 (2.78-3.12)	127	16	3.31 (3.13-3.50)
F34CEE	200	44	3.10 (2.94-3.25)	130	13	3.43 (3.28-3.59)
F34A	195	49	2.73 (2.56-2.90)	126	17	3.06 (2.86-3.27)
F34LA	196	48	3.08 (2.92-3.24)	127	16	3.36 (3.20-3.52)
F34ME	191	53	2.66 (2.48-2.85)	128	15	2.95 (2.74-3.16)
F34SC	213	31	3.73 (3.63-3.82)	130	13	3.91 (3.85-3.96)
F34SWE	214	30	3.86 (3.78-3.93)	130	13	3.91 (3.85-3.97)
F34SE	199	45	3.37 (3.23-3.50)	127	16	3.69 (3.56-3.81)
F34SEA	194	50	2.88 (2.71-3.05)	127	16	3.19 (3.01-3.37)
F34WE	205	39	3.61 (3.50-3.72)	130	13	3.79 (3.69-3.89)
F35AA	195	49	2.88 (2.70-3.05)	127	16	3.14 (2.94-3.34)
F35ALA	195	49	3.08 (2.91-3.24)	127	16	3.42 (3.25-3.58)
F35AEA	194	50	2.86 (2.68-3.03)	127	16	3.26 (3.08-3.44)
F35A	193	51	2.68 (2.51-2.86)	127	16	2.94 (2.73-3.16)
F35CEE	198	46	3.01 (2.84-3.17)	128	15	3.37 (3.21-3.53)
F35LA	192	52	3.00 (2.83-3.17)	127	16	3.30 (3.13-3.46)
F35ME	191	53	2.60 (2.41-2.78)	127	16	2.82 (2.60-3.03)
F35SC	212	32	3.73 (3.63-3.82)	130	13	3.91 (3.85-3.96)
F35SWE	213	31	3.85 (3.78-3.93)	131	12	3.90 (3.84-3.96)
F35SE	196	48	3.33 (3.18-3.47)	128	15	3.68 (3.57-3.79)
F35SEA	193	51	2.78 (2.61-2.96)	126	17	3.16 (2.98-3.34)
F35WE	204	40	3.56 (3.44-3.68)	129	14	3.78 (3.67-3.88)
F36AA	197	47	2.64 (2.45-2.83)	124	19	2.99 (2.77-3.21)
F36ALA	196	48	2.85 (2.66-3.03)	124	19	3.27 (3.08-3.47)
F36AEA	195	49	2.69 (2.50-2.88)	124	19	3.06 (2.84-3.27)
F36A	194	50	2.48 (2.29-2.67)	124	19	2.81 (2.59-3.04)
F36CEE	196	48	2.77 (2.58-2.96)	126	17	3.20 (3.01-3.39)
F36LA	195	49	2.77 (2.59-2.96)	124	19	3.19 (2.99-3.38)
F36ME	195	49	2.39 (2.21-2.58)	123	20	2.71 (2.48-2.93)
F36SC	209	35	3.50 (3.35-3.64)	126	17	3.75 (3.62-3.87)
F36SWE	211	33	3.62 (3.49-3.75)	127	16	3.75 (3.62-3.88)
F36SE	196	48	3.08 (2.91-3.25)	125	18	3.51 (3.35-3.67)
F36SEA	195	49	2.58 (2.39-2.77)	123	20	2.98 (2.77-3.18)
F36WE	202	42	3.31 (3.15-3.47)	126	17	3.63 (3.48-3.79)

Education

	Below secondary			Above secondary		
	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)
F34AA	176	57	2.74 (2.56-2.93)	190	26	3.28 (3.13-3.44)
F34ALA	174	59	3.10 (2.93-3.27)	190	26	3.44 (3.30-3.58)
F34AEA	175	58	2.82 (2.64-3.00)	190	26	3.32 (3.16-3.47)
F34CEE	180	53	3.03 (3.20-2.86)	193	23	3.40 (3.27-3.53)
F34A	173	60	2.65 (2.46-2.84)	191	25	3.04 (2.87-3.20)
F34LA	177	56	3.03 (2.85-3.20)	189	27	3.33 (3.19-3.47)
F34ME	172	61	2.58 (2.38-2.78)	190	26	2.93 (2.76-3.10)
F34SC	191	42	3.70 (3.59-3.80)	200	16	3.88 (3.81-3.94)
F34SWE	193	40	3.82 (3.74-3.91)	197	19	3.89 (3.83-3.95)
F34SE	179	54	3.30 (3.15-3.45)	192	24	3.62 (3.51-3.73)
F34SEA	174	59	2.75 (2.57-2.93)	189	27	3.21 (3.05-3.36)
F34WE	181	52	3.52 (3.40-3.65)	199	17	3.79 (3.70-3.87)
F35AA	175	58	2.65 (2.46-2.84)	188	28	3.23 (3.07-3.40)
F35ALA	175	58	2.99 (2.81-3.17)	188	28	3.40 (3.26-3.54)
F35AEA	174	59	2.71 (2.53-2.90)	188	28	3.30 (3.14-3.45)
F35A	173	60	2.54 (2.34-2.73)	189	27	3.01 (2.84-3.17)
F35CEE	179	54	2.92 (2.74-3.10)	189	27	3.35 (3.21-3.49)
F35LA	174	59	2.93 (2.75-3.11)	187	29	3.28 (3.14-3.43)
F35ME	174	59	2.49 (2.29-2.68)	186	30	2.85 (2.67-3.03)
F35SC	189	44	3.68 (3.57-3.79)	199	17	3.88 (3.83-3.94)
F35SWE	192	41	3.82 (3.74-3.90)	198	18	3.89 (3.84-3.95)
F35SE	178	55	3.23 (3.07-3.39)	190	26	3.63 (3.53-3.73)
F35SEA	172	61	2.65 (2.46-2.83)	189	27	3.16 (3.01-3.32)
F35WE	181	52	3.45 (3.31-3.59)	196	20	3.77 (3.67-3.86)
F36AA	178	55	2.49 (2.29-2.69)	184	32	3.00 (2.81-3.19)
F36ALA	177	56	2.86 (2.67-3.05)	184	32	3.13 (2.95-3.31)
F36AEA	176	57	2.61 (2.41-2.80)	184	32	3.03 (2.84-3.21)
F36A	174	59	2.35 (2.15-2.55)	185	31	2.83 (2.64-3.02)
F36CEE	177	56	2.80 (2.60-2.99)	185	31	3.06 (2.89-3.24)
F36LA	177	56	2.80 (2.60-2.99)	184	32	3.05 (2.88-3.22)
F36ME	176	57	2.36 (2.16-2.56)	183	33	2.65 (2.46-2.84)
F36SC	188	45	3.52 (3.37-3.66)	193	23	3.60 (3.47-3.74)
F36SWE	190	43	3.69 (3.57-3.82)	193	23	3.59 (3.45-3.73)
F36SE	179	54	3.07 (2.89-3.25)	186	30	3.35 (3.20-3.50)
F36SEA	174	59	2.51 (2.32-2.71)	184	32	2.93 (2.75-3.12)
F36WE	180	53	3.28 (3.12-3.45)	189	27	3.50 (3.35-3.64)

Political preference

	Alliance			Red-Greens			Other		
	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)
F34AA	175	30	3.06 (2.88-3.23)	139	31	3.25 (3.07-3.43)	29	4	2.17 (1.68-2.67)
F34ALA	175	30	3.35 (3.20-3.50)	138	32	3.37 (3.21-3.53)	28	5	2.46 (1.97-2.96)
F34AEA	175	30	3.17 (3.00-3.33)	139	31	3.22 (3.04-3.40)	28	5	2.21 (1.70-2.73)
F34CEE	180	25	3.28 (2.14-3.44)	140	30	3.30 (3.14-3.56)	29	4	2.48 (1.99-2.98)
F34A	175	30	2.91 (2.73-3.10)	139	31	3.01 (2.82-3.19)	27	6	1.93 (1.43-2.43)
F34LA	175	30	3.25 (3.09-3.40)	140	30	3.28 (3.12-3.44)	28	5	2.43 (1.91-2.95)
F34ME	175	30	2.74 (2.56-2.93)	136	34	2.95 (2.75-3.15)	28	5	1.93 (1.45-2.41)
F34SC	185	20	3.82 (3.74-3.89)	149	21	3.83 (3.74-3.91)	29	4	3.55 (3.21-3.90)
F34SWE	186	19	3.89 (3.80-3.94)	149	21	3.89 (3.81-3.96)	31	2	3.77 (3.51-4.04)
F34SE	176	29	3.52 (3.39-3.65)	144	26	3.53 (3.41-3.66)	27	6	2.78 (2.28-3.27)
F34SEA	174	31	3.04 (2.87-3.21)	138	32	3.14 (2.96-3.32)	27	6	2.15 (1.65-2.65)
F34WE	184	21	3.72 (3.63-3.82)	144	26	3.69 (3.58-3.81)	29	4	3.14 (2.70-3.58)
F35AA	173	32	2.99 (2.81-3.17)	138	32	3.18 (2.99-3.37)	29	4	2.07 (1.58-2.55)
F35ALA	173	32	3.27 (3.11-3.43)	139	31	3.30 (3.13-3.48)	28	5	2.32 (1.83-2.82)
F35AEA	173	32	3.12 (2.95-3.29)	138	32	3.14 (2.95-3.33)	28	5	2.14 (1.64-2.64)
F35A	174	31	2.82 (2.63-3.00)	138	32	3.00 (2.81-3.19)	27	6	1.78 (1.31-2.25)
F35CEE	177	28	3.22 (3.06-3.38)	139	31	3.23 (3.06-3.40)	28	5	2.36 (1.86-2.85)
F35LA	173	32	3.16 (3.00-3.33)	138	32	3.22 (3.04-3.39)	27	6	2.37 (1.86-2.88)
F35ME	172	33	2.63 (2.44-2.83)	137	33	2.91 (2.72-3.11)	27	6	1.74 (1.27-2.22)
F35SC	185	20	3.82 (3.74-3.89)	147	23	3.84 (3.76-3.92)	28	5	3.50 (3.13-3.87)
F35SWE	186	19	3.87 (3.81-3.94)	150	20	3.89 (3.82-3.95)	30	3	3.83 (3.62-4.05)
F35SE	174	31	3.55 (3.42-3.67)	142	28	3.48 (3.34-3.62)	27	6	2.67 (2.15-3.18)
F35SEA	172	33	2.99 (2.82-3.16)	137	33	3.09 (2.90-3.27)	28	5	2.07 (1.59-2.55)
F35WE	181	24	3.71 (3.61-3.80)	144	26	3.63 (3.50-3.77)	29	4	3.03 (2.56-3.51)
F36AA	170	35	2.82 (2.63-3.02)	140	30	2.93 (2.71-3.15)	28	5	1.86 (1.37-2.35)
F36ALA	169	36	3.11 (2.92-3.29)	141	29	3.04 (2.83-3.25)	27	6	2.22 (1.71-2.74)
F36AEA	169	36	2.94 (2.75-3.13)	140	30	2.92 (2.71-3.14)	27	6	2.04 (1.52-2.55)
F36A	169	36	2.63-2.44-2.83	141	29	2.82 (2.60-3.03)	26	7	1.58 (1.11-2.04)
F36CEE	172	33	3.03 (2.85-3.22)	140	30	3.01 (2.81-3.22)	26	7	2.04 (1.55-2.53)
F36LA	169	36	3.03 (2.85-3.21)	142	28	2.99 (2.79-3.20)	26	7	2.15 (1.64-2.67)
F36ME	169	36	2.51 (2.31-2.71)	140	30	2.69 (2.47-2.91)	26	7	1.65 (1.19-2.11)
F36SC	179	26	3.64 (3.51-3.77)	147	23	3.59 (3.43-3.74)	27	6	3.26 (2.78-3.73)
F36SWE	181	24	3.69 (3.57-3.82)	149	21	3.63 (3.48-3.78)	28	5	3.68 (3.33-4.03)
F36SE	171	34	3.36 (3.21-3.52)	142	28	3.23 (3.04-3.42)	26	7	2.38 (1.84-2.93)
F36SEA	168	37	2.82 (2.63-3.01)	139	31	2.86 (2.64-3.07)	27	6	2.89 (1.41-2.37)
F36WE	176	29	3.53 (3.40-3.67)	143	27	3.38 (3.20-3.57)	27	6	2.74 (2.20-3.28)

Did not vote			
	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)
F34AA	25	13	2.92 (2.41-3.43)
F34ALA	25	13	3.36 (2.92-3.80)
F34AEA	25	13	2.92 (2.44-3.40)
F34CEE	26	12	3.38 (3.01-3.76)
F34A	24	14	2.92 (2.42-3.42)
F34LA	25	13	3.24 (2.90-3.68)
F34ME	24	14	3.00 (2.50-3.50)
F34SC	26	12	3.77 (3.50-4.04)
F34SWE	25	13	3.80 (3.52-4.08)
F34SE	25	13	3.60 (3.28-3.92)
F34SEA	25	13	3.00 (2.53-3.47)
F34WE	25	13	3.76 (3.48-4.04)
F35AA	25	13	2.84 (2.33-3.35)
F35ALA	25	13	3.24 (2.77-3.71)
F35AEA	25	13	2.76 (2.29-3.23)
F35A	24	14	2.83 (2.32-3.34)
F35CEE	26	12	3.15 (2.71-3.60)
F35LA	25	13	3.16 (2.68-3.64)
F35ME	25	13	2.88 (2.37-3.39)
F35SC	26	12	3.65 (3.31-4.00)
F35SWE	25	13	3.68 (3.33-4.03)
F35SE	25	13	3.48 (3.10-3.86)
F35SEA	25	13	2.72 (2.26-3.18)
F35WE	25	13	3.56 (3.15-3.97)
F36AA	27	11	2.63 (2.12-3.14)
F36ALA	27	11	3.07 (2.58-3.56)
F36AEA	27	11	2.63 (2.15-3.11)
F36A	26	12	2.54 (2.04-3.04)
F36CEE	28	10	2.96 (2.50-3.43)
F36LA	27	11	2.93 (2.44-3.42)
F36ME	27	11	2.59 (2.09-3.10)
F36SC	28	10	3.39 (2.96-3.82)
F36SWE	27	11	3.44 (3.00-3.89)
F36SE	27	11	3.26 (2.81-3.71)
F36SEA	27	11	2.56 (2.07-3.04)
F36WE	27	11	3.37 (2.92-3.82)

Residential area

	10-19% immigrants			20-29% immigrants			30%+		
	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)
F34AA	146	40	2.94 (2.74-3.13)	133	26	3.10 (2.90-3.30)	85	19	3.11 (2.85-3.37)
F34ALA	148	38	3.20 (3.03-3.38)	131	28	3.38 (3.21-3.56)	84	20	3.26 (3.02-3.50)
F34AEA	147	39	3.07 (2.88-3.26)	132	27	3.12 (2.92-3.32)	84	20	3.04 (2.77-3.30)
F34CEE	151	35	3.17 (3.00-3.34)	137	22	3.35 (3.18-3.52)	84	20	3.13 (2.88-3.38)
F34A	145	41	2.77 (2.56-2.97)	132	27	2.91 (2.70-3.12)	84	20	2.94 (2.68-3.20)
F34LA	148	38	3.13 (2.95-3.30)	132	27	3.26 (3.08-3.44)	84	20	3.19 (2.95-3.43)
F34ME	145	41	2.73 (2.53-2.93)	132	27	2.81 (2.59-3.03)	82	22	2.78 (2.50-3.06)
F34SC	159	27	3.82 (3.73-3.90)	143	16	3.80 (3.70-3.89)	88	16	3.70 (3.54-3.87)
F34SWE	159	27	3.89 (3.82-3.95)	143	16	3.84 (3.74-3.93)	87	17	3.80 (3.67-3.94)
F34SE	151	35	3.50 (3.37-3.63)	134	25	3.48 (3.32-3.64)	85	19	3.38 (3.16-3.59)
F34SEA	145	41	2.94 (2.75-3.12)	131	28	3.02 (2.82-3.22)	84	20	3.01 (2.76-3.26)
F34WE	156	30	3.69 (3.58-3.80)	139	20	3.70 (3.58-3.82)	84	20	3.55 (3.35-3.75)
F35AA	146	40	2.86 (2.66-3.07)	132	27	2.99 (2.78-3.21)	83	21	3.10 (2.84-3.36)
F35ALA	148	38	3.15 (2.97-3.33)	131	28	3.24 (3.05-3.44)	82	22	3.22 (2.97-3.47)
F35AEA	147	39	2.99 (2.80-3.18)	131	28	3.05 (2.84-3.25)	82	22	3.00 (2.73-3.27)
F35A	145	41	2.72 (2.51-2.92)	132	27	2.80 (2.58-3.01)	82	22	2.93 (2.66-3.20)
F35CEE	150	36	3.13 (2.96-3.31)	135	24	3.22 (3.04-3.41)	81	23	3.05 (2.79-3.31)
F35LA	149	37	3.06 (2.88-3.24)	129	30	3.18 (2.99-3.37)	81	23	3.12 (2.87-3.38)
F35ME	147	39	2.66 (2.45-2.86)	130	29	2.67 (2.45-2.89)	80	24	2.76 (2.49-3.04)
F35SC	159	27	3.84 (3.75-3.92)	141	18	3.74 (3.63-3.85)	87	17	3.76 (3.61-3.91)
F35SWE	159	27	3.90 (3.84-3.96)	143	16	3.82 (3.72-3.92)	87	17	3.83 (3.71-3.94)
F35SE	150	36	3.51 (3.39-3.64)	133	26	3.41 (3.24-3.58)	82	22	3.35 (3.13-3.58)
F35SEA	146	40	2.88 (2.69-3.07)	130	29	2.93 (2.72-3.14)	82	22	2.96 (2.71-3.22)
F35WE	155	31	3.67 (3.56-3.79)	137	22	3.60 (3.46-3.74)	84	20	3.52 (3.32-3.73)
F36AA	143	43	2.58 (2.36-2.80)	133	26	2.76 (2.53-2.99)	84	20	3.05 (2.78-3.32)
F36ALA	145	41	2.90 (2.69-3.11)	131	28	2.99 (2.77-3.22)	83	21	3.16 (2.90-3.42)
F36AEA	144	42	2.70 (2.49-2.92)	131	28	2.85 (2.63-3.08)	83	21	2.95 (2.67-3.23)
F36A	143	43	2.41 (2.20-2.63)	131	28	2.64 (2.41-2.87)	83	21	2.86 (2.57-3.14)
F36CEE	147	39	2.85 (2.66-3.06)	132	27	2.98 (2.76-3.20)	82	22	2.98 (2.70-3.26)
F36LA	147	39	2.84 (2.64-3.05)	130	29	2.93 (2.71-3.15)	82	22	3.06 (2.80-3.32)
F36ME	144	42	2.40 (2.18-2.61)	131	28	2.53 (2.29-2.76)	82	22	2.67 (2.38-2.96)
F36SC	154	32	3.55 (3.39-3.70)	138	21	3.51 (3.33-3.68)	88	16	3.64 (3.45-3.82)
F36SWE	155	31	3.62 (3.47-3.77)	139	20	3.69 (3.42-3.76)	88	16	3.73 (3.56-3.89)
F36SE	148	38	3.20 (3.02-3.38)	131	28	3.19 (2.98-3.40)	84	20	3.25 (3.00-3.50)
F36SEA	143	43	2.62 (2.40-2.83)	131	28	2.73 (2.51-2.96)	82	22	2.88 (2.60-3.16)
F36WE	150	36	3.39 (3.21-3.56)	134	25	3.37 (3.18-3.56)	84	20	3.42 (3.18-3.65)

Place of upbringing

	In Malmo			Outside Malmo		
	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)
F34AA	137	39	2.66 (2.44-2.87)	221	38	3.29 (3.15-3.44)
F34ALA	135	41	3.02 (2.82-3.22)	221	38	3.48 (3.36-3.60)
F34AEA	136	40	2.77 (2.56-2.98)	221	38	3.30 (3.16-3.44)
F34CEE	140	36	2.99 (2.79-3.18)	224	35	3.41 (3.28-3.53)
F34A	135	41	2.57 (2.35-2.79)	220	39	3.07 (2.92-3.22)
F34LA	138	38	2.94 (2.74-3.14)	220	39	3.38 (3.26-3.51)
F34ME	135	41	2.51 (2.29-2.73)	218	41	2.97 (2.81-3.13)
F34SC	147	29	3.66 (3.54-3.78)	234	25	3.88 (3.82-3.94)
F34SWE	150	26	3.83 (3.73-3.92)	230	29	3.89 (3.83-3.94)
F34SE	138	38	3.25 (3.08-3.42)	223	36	3.63 (3.53-3.73)
F34SEA	135	41	2.67 (2.46-2.87)	219	40	3.21 (3.08-3.35)
F34WE	144	32	3.46 (3.30-3.61)	226	33	3.81 (3.75-3.88)
F35AA	136	40	2.58 (2.36-2.80)	219	40	3.23 (3.08-3.38)
F35ALA	136	40	2.90 (2.69-3.11)	219	40	3.43 (3.31-3.56)
F35AEA	135	41	2.68 (2.47-2.89)	219	40	3.26 (3.12-3.40)
F35A	135	41	2.50 (2.28-2.72)	218	41	3.01 (2.86-3.17)
F35CEE	140	36	2.91 (2.71-3.11)	219	40	3.34 (3.21-3.47)
F35LA	137	39	2.88 (2.67-3.08)	216	43	3.32 (3.19-3.45)
F35ME	135	41	2.41 (2.20-2.63)	216	43	2.90 (2.74-3.06)
F35SC	145	31	3.72 (3.61-3.83)	233	26	3.84 (3.78-3.91)
F35SWE	150	26	3.83 (3.75-3.92)	230	29	3.90 (3.84-3.95)
F35SE	137	39	3.24 (3.06-3.42)	220	39	3.61 (3.52-3.71)
F35SEA	133	43	2.58 (2.37-2.79)	219	40	3.16 (3.02-3.31)
F35WE	143	33	3.39 (3.23-3.56)	225	34	3.79 (3.72-3.87)
F36AA	135	41	2.39 (2.16-2.62)	219	40	3.02 (2.85-3.19)
F36ALA	135	41	2.67 (2.45-2.90)	219	40	3.22 (3.06-3.37)
F36AEA	134	42	2.49 (2.27-2.72)	219	40	3.04 (2.87-3.21)
F36A	134	42	2.31 (2.08-2.53)	218	41	2.81 (2.64-2.98)
F36CEE	137	39	2.66 (2.44-2.89)	219	40	3.13 (2.97-3.28)
F36LA	136	40	2.69 (2.47-2.92)	217	42	3.10 (2.95-3.26)
F36ME	135	41	2.28 (2.05-2.51)	217	42	2.67 (2.50-2.85)
F36SC	143	33	3.45 (3.28-3.63)	231	28	3.62 (3.50-3.74)
F36SWE	146	30	3.61 (2.46-3.76)	230	29	3.66 (3.54-3.78)
F36SE	139	37	2.97 (2.76-3.18)	219	40	3.40 (3.26-3.54)
F36SEA	132	44	2.41 (2.19-2.63)	219	40	2.94 (2.77-3.10)
F36WE	140	36	3.16 (2.96-3.37)	223	36	3.56 (3.43-3.68)

Experience of living outside Sweden for more than 3 months

	Lived abroad			Never lived abroad		
	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)
F34AA	133	23	3.47 (3.30-3.64)	242	60	2.79 (2.64-2.95)
F34ALA	132	24	3.55 (3.40-3.71)	241	61	3.13 (2.99-3.28)
F34AEA	132	24	3.42 (3.24-3.59)	242	60	2.90 (2.75-3.06)
F34CEE	137	19	3.51 (3.36-3.66)	244	58	3.08 (2.94-3.22)
F34A	132	24	3.21 (3.03-3.40)	239	63	2.68 (2.52-2.84)
F34LA	132	24	3.43 (3.27-3.59)	242	60	3.07 (2.92-3.21)
F34ME	131	25	3.07 (2.86-3.27)	238	64	2.64 (2.47-2.79)
F34SC	136	20	3.93 (3.87-3.99)	263	39	3.73 (3.64-3.81)
F34SWE	137	19	3.93 (3.88-3.99)	262	40	3.81 (3.74-3.89)
F34SE	134	22	3.65 (3.52-3.78)	245	57	3.38 (3.25-3.50)
F34SEA	132	24	3.21 (3.03-3.40)	238	64	2.88 (2.73-3.03)
F34WE	138	18	3.85 (3.76-3.93)	251	51	3.57 (3.46-3.67)
F35AA	132	24	3.38 (3.20-3.56)	239	63	2.74 (2.58-2.91)
F35ALA	131	25	3.47 (3.30-3.63)	240	62	3.07 (2.92-3.22)
F35AEA	131	25	3.31 (3.13-3.50)	239	63	2.87 (2.71-3.02)
F35A	130	26	3.11 (2.91-3.31)	239	63	2.64 (2.48-2.80)
F35CEE	134	22	3.37 (3.21-3.54)	242	60	3.03 (2.89-3.18)
F35LA	129	27	3.33 (3.16-3.51)	240	62	3.01 (2.86-3.16)
F35ME	130	26	2.94 (2.73-3.15)	237	65	2.57 (2.41-2.73)
F35SC	136	20	3.88 (3.80-3.95)	260	42	3.74 (3.66-3.82)
F35SWE	138	18	3.91 (3.83-3.98)	261	41	3.83 (3.76-3.89)
F35SE	132	24	3.61 (3.47-3.74)	243	59	3.36 (3.23-3.48)
F35SEA	131	25	3.14 (2.95-3.33)	237	65	2.81 (2.66-2.97)
F35WE	137	19	3.80 (3.69-3.90)	249	53	3.51 (3.40-3.63)
F36AA	132	24	3.16 (2.95-3.37)	238	64	2.55 (2.38-2.72)
F36ALA	131	25	3.31 (3.12-3.51)	238	64	2.84 (2.67-3.00)
F36AEA	131	25	3.11 (2.90-3.33)	237	65	2.68 (2.51-2.84)
F36A	130	26	2.93 (2.71-3.15)	237	65	2.44 (2.27-2.61)
F36CEE	132	24	3.20 (3.00-3.40)	239	63	2.80 (2.64-2.97)
F36LA	130	26	3.16 (2.97-3.36)	239	63	2.82 (2.65-2.98)
F36ME	130	26	2.73 (2.50-2.96)	237	65	2.41 (2.24-2.58)
F36SC	135	21	3.67 (3.52-3.83)	255	47	3.50 (3.37-3.62)
F36SWE	136	20	3.71 (3.56-3.85)	256	46	3.61 (3.49-3.72)
F36SE	132	24	3.43 (3.26-3.61)	241	61	3.10 (2.95-3.26)
F36SEA	131	25	2.97 (2.76-3.18)	235	67	2.61 (2.44-2.78)
F36WE	134	22	3.62 (3.46-3.78)	244	58	3.27 (3.13-3.42)

General contact

	No contact			Little contact			Lots of contact		
	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)
F34AA	107	42	2.79 (2.55-3.03)	168	24	3.13 (2.95-3.31)	89	9	3.18 (2.94-3.42)
F34ALA	104	45	3.05 (2.82-3.27)	168	24	3.33 (3.18-3.49)	90	8	3.52 (3.34-3.71)
F34AEA	106	43	2.81 (2.57-3.05)	168	24	3.15 (2.98-3.32)	89	9	3.34 (3.12-3.55)
F34CEE	109	40	2.97 (2.75-3.20)	170	22	3.33 (3.18-3.48)	90	8	3.39 (3.19-3.59)
F34A	106	43	2.63 (2.39-2.87)	165	27	2.92 (2.73-3.10)	89	9	3.08 (2.84-3.32)
F34LA	106	43	2.95 (2.73-3.17)	166	26	3.25 (3.10-3.41)	90	8	3.42 (3.22-3.62)
F34ME	105	44	2.54 (2.29-2.79)	164	28	2.77 (2.58-2.96)	89	9	3.11 (2.87-3.35)
F34SC	123	26	3.75 (3.63-3.86)	174	18	3.83 (3.75-3.91)	91	7	3.74 (3.59-3.88)
F34SWE	124	25	3.82 (3.71-3.93)	175	17	3.89 (3.82-3.95)	89	9	3.85 (3.74-3.96)
F34SE	109	40	3.37 (3.19-3.55)	169	23	3.51 (3.38-3.64)	89	9	3.57 (3.41-3.74)
F34SEA	106	43	2.69 (2.45-2.93)	165	27	3.08 (2.91-3.24)	88	10	3.26 (3.04-3.48)
F34WE	114	35	3.62 (3.48-3.77)	174	18	3.68 (3.58-3.79)	89	9	3.72 (3.57-3.87)
F35AA	107	42	2.70 (2.46-2.94)	166	26	3.08 (2.90-3.27)	87	11	3.14 (2.89-3.39)
F35ALA	106	43	2.95 (2.72-3.18)	166	26	3.29 (3.13-3.45)	88	10	3.45 (3.24-3.66)
F35AEA	106	43	2.71 (2.47-2.95)	166	26	3.13 (2.96-3.30)	87	11	3.28 (3.04-3.51)
F35A	107	42	2.58 (2.34-2.82)	164	28	2.85 (2.67-3.04)	87	11	3.02 (2.76-3.28)
F35CEE	109	40	2.89 (2.66-3.12)	167	25	3.25 (3.10-3.41)	88	10	3.34 (3.13-3.56)
F35LA	105	44	2.89 (2.66-3.11)	164	28	3.20 (3.03-3.36)	88	10	3.35 (3.14-3.57)
F35ME	104	45	2.47 (2.23-2.72)	164	28	2.68 (2.48-2.87)	88	10	3.05 (2.80-3.29)
F35SC	122	27	3.76 (3.65-3.88)	173	19	3.80 (3.72-3.88)	91	7	3.77 (3.63-3.91)
F35SWE	125	24	3.84 (3.75-3.93)	175	17	3.87 (3.81-3.94)	89	9	3.85 (3.74-3.96)
F35SE	109	40	3.32 (3.14-3.50)	167	25	3.49 (3.36-3.62)	87	11	3.59 (3.41-3.76)
F35SEA	106	43	2.61 (2.38-2.85)	164	28	3.02 (2.85-3.19)	87	11	3.21 (2.97-3.44)
F35WE	113	36	3.58 (3.43-3.74)	172	20	3.61 (3.49-3.73)	89	9	3.72 (3.57-3.87)
F36AA	104	45	2.41 (2.15-2.68)	167	25	2.83 (2.63-3.03)	89	9	3.12 (2.87-3.38)
F36ALA	102	47	2.71 (2.44-2.97)	167	25	3.05 (2.87-3.24)	90	8	3.33 (3.11-3.56)
F36AEA	102	47	2.42 (2.16-2.68)	167	25	2.92 (2.72-3.11)	89	9	3.20 (2.95-3.45)
F36A	102	47	2.28 (2.02-2.54)	166	26	2.64 (2.44-2.85)	89	9	2.98 (2.72-3.24)
F36CEE	103	46	2.62 (2.36-2.89)	167	25	3.00 (2.82-3.18)	90	8	3.27 (3.03-3.50)
F36LA	101	48	2.60 (2.34-2.87)	167	25	2.99 (2.81-3.18)	90	8	3.28 (3.05-3.51)
F36ME	102	47	2.18 (1.92-2.43)	165	27	2.50 (2.30-2.70)	90	8	3.00 (2.74-3.26)
F36SC	115	34	3.50 (3.30-3.69)	174	18	3.56 (3.42-3.70)	92	6	3.70 (3.52-3.87)
F36SWE	117	32	3.62 (3.45-3.80)	175	17	3.63 (3.49-3.76)	91	7	3.75 (3.59-3.91)
F36SE	104	45	3.04 (2.80-3.28)	168	24	3.24 (3.08-3.41)	90	8	3.48 (3.27-3.69)
F36SEA	101	48	2.33 (2.07-2.58)	167	25	2.80 (2.60-2.99)	88	10	3.15 (2.90-3.40)
F36WE	108	41	3.32 (3.11-3.54)	170	22	3.38 (3.21-3.54)	90	8	3.60 (3.41-3.79)

Friendship contact

	No contact			Little contact			Lots of contact		
	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)	Frequency	Missing	Mean (95%C.I.)
F34AA	134	48	2.62 (2.39-2.84)	164	22	3.24 (3.08-3.41)	75	12	3.35 (3.10-3.59)
F34ALA	132	50	2.87 (2.66-3.08)	163	23	3.48 (3.34-4.62)	76	11	3.62 (3.43-3.81)
F34AEA	133	49	2.70 (2.48-2.92)	164	22	3.26 (3.09-3.42)	75	12	3.43 (3.20-3.65)
F34CEE	135	47	2.79 (2.58-3.00)	167	19	3.43 (3.30-3.56)	76	11	3.62 (3.43-3.80)
F34A	132	50	2.45 (2.23-2.67)	163	23	3.03 (2.86-3.20)	74	13	3.28 (3.04-3.53)
F34LA	133	49	2.77 (2.57-2.98)	165	21	3.35 (3.20-3.50)	74	13	3.65 (3.47-3.83)
F34ME	131	51	2.29 (2.07-2.51)	162	24	2.98 (2.80-3.16)	74	13	3.24 (2.99-3.50)
F34SC	153	29	3.73 (3.62-3.84)	169	17	3.86 (3.79-3.93)	76	11	3.74 (3.58-3.90)
F34SWE	150	32	3.84 (3.74-3.94)	171	15	3.89 (3.83-3.96)	76	11	3.83 (3.71-3.95)
F34SE	135	47	3.23 (3.05-3.41)	167	19	3.60 (3.49-3.72)	75	12	3.68 (3.51-3.85)
F34SEA	133	49	2.59 (2.38-2.81)	161	25	3.17 (3.01-3.32)	74	13	3.39 (3.16-3.62)
F34WE	141	41	3.54 (3.39-3.69)	170	16	3.78 (3.70-3.86)	76	11	3.72 (3.57-3.88)
F35AA	134	48	2.54 (2.31-2.76)	163	23	3.18 (3.01-3.35)	72	15	3.31 (3.04-3.57)
F35ALA	133	49	2.76 (2.55-2.97)	163	23	3.40 (3.25-3.55)	73	14	3.64 (3.45-3.84)
F35AEA	133	49	2.59 (2.37-2.81)	163	23	3.21 (3.04-3.37)	72	15	3.43 (3.19-3.67)
F35A	134	48	2.34 (2.13-2.56)	161	25	3.01 (2.83-3.18)	72	15	3.22 (2.95-3.49)
F35CEE	134	48	2.67 (2.46-2.88)	165	21	3.35 (3.20-3.50)	74	13	3.62 (3.44-3.80)
F35LA	131	51	2.66 (2.45-2.87)	163	23	3.29 (3.14-3.45)	73	14	3.63 (3.44-3.82)
F35ME	131	51	2.21 (1.99-2.42)	161	25	2.89 (2.71-3.08)	73	14	3.16 (2.90-3.43)
F35SC	151	31	3.74 (3.62-3.85)	168	18	3.83 (3.76-3.90)	77	10	3.75 (3.60-3.91)
F35SWE	152	30	3.84 (3.75-3.92)	170	16	3.87 (3.80-3.94)	76	11	3.86 (3.74-3.97)
F35SE	137	45	3.20 (3.02-3.38)	163	23	3.56 (3.44-3.69)	73	14	3.71 (3.56-3.87)
F35SEA	132	50	2.48 (2.27-2.70)	161	25	3.09 (2.93-3.26)	73	14	3.40 (3.16-3.63)
F35WE	140	42	3.46 (3.30-3.62)	169	17	3.70 (3.59-3.80)	75	12	3.79 (3.65-3.93)
F36AA	133	49	2.28 (2.05-2.51)	161	25	2.96 (2.76-3.15)	75	12	3.25 (2.99-3.52)
F36ALA	131	51	2.50 (2.28-2.73)	161	25	3.17 (2.98-3.35)	76	11	3.58 (3.38-3.78)
F36AEA	131	51	2.35 (2.12-2.58)	161	25	3.01 (2.81-3.20)	75	12	3.33 (3.09-3.58)
F36A	131	51	2.13 (1.90-2.36)	160	26	2.79 (2.59-2.99)	75	12	3.12 (2.85-3.39)
F36CEE	130	52	2.40 (2.17-2.63)	163	23	3.12 (2.94-3.31)	76	11	3.53 (3.32-3.73)
F36LA	130	52	2.40 (2.8-2.62)	162	24	3.10 (2.92-3.28)	76	11	3.57 (3.37-3.76)
F36ME	131	51	1.96 (1.75-2.17)	159	27	2.74 (2.54-2.94)	76	11	3.07 (2.79-3.34)
F36SC	145	37	3.42 (3.24-3.60)	166	20	3.64 (3.50-3.77)	79	8	3.68 (3.50-3.87)
F36SWE	146	36	3.58 (3.42-3.74)	168	18	3.65 (3.52-3.79)	78	9	3.76 (3.59-3.92)
F36SE	134	48	2.90 (2.68-3.12)	163	23	3.33 (3.16-3.49)	75	12	3.63 (3.44-3.82)
F36SEA	130	52	2.22 (1.99-2.44)	160	26	2.91 (2.72-3.10)	75	12	3.32 (3.08-3.56)
F36WE	135	47	3.13 (2.92-3.34)	166	20	3.51 (3.36-3.66)	76	11	3.70 (3.52-3.88)

Appendix 7

Presentation of interview informants (pseudonyms)

Interview person (age, class)	Interview mode	Date	Note
Anders (34, white-collar worker)	Telephone	September 30 th 2009	
Anna (41, white-collar worker)	Telephone	November 18 th 2009	
Brigitta (41, white-collar worker)	Telephone	October 27 th 2009	
Cecilia (32, white-collar worker)	Meeting	October 1 st 2009	
Elisabeth (65, white-collar worker)	Telephone	October 28 th 2009	Not recorded
Emma (21, student)	Telephone	October 6 th 2009	
Erik (42, blue-collar worker)	Telephone	September 28 th 2009	
Eva (65, white-collar worker)	Telephone	October 12 th 2009	Not recorded
Hans (29, white-collar worker)	Telephone	October 14 th 2009	
Helena (24, white-collar worker)	Meeting	September 30 th 2009	Volunteered
Ingrid (54, white-collar worker)	Telephone	October 29 th 2009	
Jan (64, blue-collar worker)	Telephone	November 8 th 2009	
Johan (45, blue-collar worker)	Telephone	October 26 th 2009	
Johanna (50, white-collar worker)	Meeting	September 26 th 2009	Volunteered
Karin (30, white-collar worker)	Meeting	October 26 th 2009	
Karl (48, blue-collar worker)	Meeting	September 29 th 2009	
Kristina (25, white-collar worker)	Telephone	November 4 th 2009	
Lars (35, blue-collar worker)	Meeting	September 29 th 2009	
Lennart (63, white-collar worker)	Telephone	October 26 th 2009	
Linnea (47, small business owner)	Telephone	October 20 th 2009	Volunteered
Louise (25, white-collar worker)	Telephone	October 3 rd 2009	
Margareta (60, white-collar worker)	Telephone	October 21 st 2009	
Marie (47, white-collar worker)	Telephone	November 2 nd 2009	
Mikael (32, student)	Telephone	October 28 th 2009	
Nils (53, blue-collar worker)	Telephone	November 11 th 2009	
Per (70, white-collar worker)	Telephone	October 12 th 2009	
Peter (44, white-collar worker)	Meeting	October 21 st 2009	
Ulla (71, blue-collar worker)	Telephone	September 29 th 2009	

