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DÉPARTEMENT DE SOCIOLOGIE

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**Monitoring misanthropy and rightwing extremist  
attitudes in Switzerland**  
An explorative study

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## Acknowledgements

This study reflects a double anxiety. On the one side, the increasing consciousness that pluralized societies need to find a way to cope with differences without mobilizing the evil of misanthropy and rightwing extremism; on the other side, the awareness that we have a problem – that of misanthropy and rightwing extremism – without knowing its extension.

These anxieties were at the origin of this project, which tries to develop an instrument of measuring – like Wilhelm Heitmeyer says – the “*Lage der Nation*” – the state of the nation. Or the Confederation rather.

In order to do a work like this, one needs many competences and a clear mind. The research group has taken this challenge seriously and worked, with different styles and scientific backgrounds, at the same idea: to find a way to help our society, our political and administrative elite to cope with a social pathology called misanthropy. Thanks to the group.

Thanks also to all our partners, who have given us advice and hints for the formulation of the questionnaire and the analysis, in particular Hanspeter Kriesi, Wilhelm Heitmeyer, Peter Fleissner, Hans De Witte, Inge Dahlstedt, Pieter Bevelander and the Expert Group of the Swiss National Science Foundation, which accompanied patiently this research project.

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Sandro Cattacin

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## Summary

The aim of this report is to present an instrument for monitoring rightwing extremism, xenophobia and misanthropy in the attitudes of the Swiss population that can be implemented in future surveys on attitudes and used to develop trends. We developed and tested a national survey strategy that is compatible with international surveys and adapted to the Swiss context.

Analytically, we have developed a relatively open concept, integrating contrasting points of view. We have worked on contextual variables, variables defining values and variables oriented onto the consequences of opinions.

Methodologically, we have taken three steps. We first developed and tested questions in focus groups, then we ran the questionnaire on a small sample, and finally we submitted the questionnaire to a representative sample and analysed the results.

The main outputs of this report relate to the *results* of the survey and to the *evaluation of the monitoring instrument*.

## Results

If we try to give some quantitative figures of misanthropy, xenophobia and rightwing extremism in Switzerland, we first have to report a few descriptive figures. It is clear from these figures that such attitudes are not exceptional in Switzerland, but that they are present in the core society. If antisemitism affects around 20% of the population, xenophobia is yet a majority. If islamophobia relates to around 30% of the population, sexism is still largely diffused in the Swiss population. Rightwing extremism is also not a marginal phenomenon. 6% of the population think that violence can solve problems and the “law and order” philosophy is largely diffused. There is a right-wing extremist potential in this country of about 6-7%, if we combine all the calculations done. The other figures are also relevant: a large part of the population is democratically oriented, even if they accept authority or even ask for more.

These facts are confirmed by the explanations that we have tried to develop. Indeed, fear and insecurity, prejudices and ethnocentrism are

elements, which appear as relevant for the understanding of anti-human attitudes. The filter against such attitudes is – if we follow the results of our survey – education and the daily experience of otherness. In other words, two logics could be at the centre of a strategy against the risk of increasing radical opinions: information and social relations between different people. The informational path is the focus of many campaigns and educational programmes in schools; the efforts to create experiences of differences is easy for people in a favourable position, but need to be facilitated for a large part of the population. In this perspective, programmes of revitalisation of social relations between differences in general could be a way to cope with attitudes based on prejudices and a lack of experiences.

### **Evaluation of the monitoring instrument**

The developed instrument has passed different tests. The questionnaire has been based on large sections on established international and national surveys. It has been submitted to different experts and translated by experts with bilingual competences. The validation process included focus groups, interviews with people representing minorities and discriminated groups and laboratory tests. The realization of the survey has taken place after intensive training of the interviewers and a number of quality control tests. A feedback study with the interviewers has been realized. The results of this feedback study were encouraging. In fact, the general impression is that the developed instrument is highly accepted by the interviewed people and that it was easy to administrate the questions. The survey data has finally been tested and weighted. The survey is representative and the decided numbers of around 3000 people is recommended for future surveys, but can be reduced substantially without losing quality. The overall evaluation of the instrument is in other words positive. Nevertheless, adaptations would be useful, if the instrument were to be used in future. In particular, we recommend reducing the duration from 40 to 30 minutes, eliminating questions going in the same direction and elements regarding the professional situation of the interviewed people.

### **Further development**

Misanthropy and right-wing extremism are phenomena in continuous change. Symbols of and discourses on these attitudes often alter on a regular basis, following social and political change. Scope and concerned social

areas alter as well. If policies against these attitudes have to have an impact, they must be based on systematic and long-term surveys.

Bases against misanthropy and right-wing extremism shouldn't only be morals and ethics, but also knowledge achieved by socio-scientific methods. Thus, not only the momentary observation and ad-hoc sensitisation from subjective consternation, but also the permanent observation with objective and quantifiable data would be appropriate. From the permanent observation in political fields, like environmental protection, we can see that an all-over social reporting, a combination of several methods of inquiry and thus the combination of objective and subjective indicators are the best way to approach this problem. With the help of these instruments, the aim should be to formulate concrete and effective preventive and intervention policies and guarantee useful analyses of the causes. This way, reporting gives important information about social development in an easy, understandable form and thus is an important instrument for the political planning (education, being careful with specific fields of politics).

We recommend to introduce a periodical reporting that should guarantee a variety of methods and a combination of different sources of information. Multi-dimensionality should be the principle of the researches, including the culprit as well as the victim. The permanent observation becomes more heterogeneous if three aspects are respected: the discriminating, the discriminated and the form of discrimination. Those should by all means be the constant axes of the observation parameters.

If these instruments are supposed to provide data for effective governmental measures, then surveys about misanthropy, xenophobia and rightwing extremism have to be designed as broad on the level of attitude as well as on the level of behaviour. While formulating the questions, it is very important that the questions are not politically incorrect or distort for instance racism in the public opinion. The instrument should on one side explain the discriminating views and actions in their variety and on the other side provide a basis for counter-measures.

The institutionalisation of such an instrument is useful and has to guarantee an independent analysis. That is why we recommend finding an institutional logic, which guarantees this independence. A good example of independent state subsidized monitoring is the VOX-analysis, which is done by three university institutions in a rotating logic. Such a model could be the basis of the institutionalisation of this instrument of monitoring.

## Introduction

The research on misanthropy and extremisms has a long tradition in Switzerland and also finds empirical ways to seize partially the phenomenon with authors like Kriesi and Altermatt (Kriesi and Altermatt 1995) . But we also have to underline that major researches have always focalised on aspects of misanthropy, like racism, xenophobia or sexism. In fact, these topics are related to misanthropy and rightwing extremism, but do only reflect a part of the phenomenon, which is multifaceted and certainly includes racism and xenophobia, but also sexism, homophobia, complaints against all types of lifestyles and handicaps.

That is why we have tried to combine the different aspects of misanthropy and rightwing extremism in this research. The fundamental hypothesis is that attitudes of depreciation of the human being are not an individual defect, but a sign of a pathological learning process in the society. We can in other words read the healthiness of a society through the understanding of the amount of misanthropic and rightwing extremist attitudes.

We can live with misanthropy and rightwing extremism if they are marginal phenomena. But if they grow, they can represent a real danger for the society, easily instrumentalized politically by populist movements. The core society – as Rawls says – can be menaced, if a large part of the society is not interested in finding a common solution inside a pluralist framework anymore (Rawls 1993). That is why we argue that a regular measure of this phenomenon could be an instrument to prevent, through specific programmes of consciousness-raising and persuasion, the risks of a collapsing social body, such as we have already experienced them historically.

In this report we shall present a way to measure misanthropy and rightwing extremism and discuss some ideas about how to implement such an instrument in Switzerland. The report is organised in three parts. The first one will introduce the instrument. The second one will discuss some major results of the first test of this instrument and develop a pragmatic analytical model. The third part will summarily evaluate this experience and get into the more political discussion concerning the ways to implement the

instrument. But before presenting the research in detail, we would like to introduce the context and the general framework of the analysis.

## **Analysing misanthropy and rightwing extremism – a Swiss view**

Misanthropy and rightwing extremism are phenomena in continuous change. Symbols of - and discourses on - these attitudes alter on a regular basis, often following social and political change. Scope and affected social areas alter as well. If policies against these attitudes are to have an impact, they must be based on systematic and long-term surveys<sup>1</sup>. Switzerland is not accustomed to using ongoing research instruments to measure such extremist attitudes in the population, although these are recognised in other countries.

Only a few surveys have been carried out and Switzerland is excluded from the international comparative researches on this topic. This lack is problematic for decision makers, who cannot estimate the importance of rightwing extremist attitudes, xenophobia and misanthropy in Switzerland, as well as for the research dealing with deficient data sets. In particular, the impossibility of observing the transformation of the population's attitudes in this domain creates an important gap between, on the one hand, policy development and impact knowledge and, on the other hand, social change analysis and data on values and attitudes among the Swiss population.

Essentially, for Switzerland, we can recognise three types of attitude surveys relevant to this research. Firstly, we can point to the *VOX-Analysis*, which has been carried out on a regular basis since 1977, as an initial source of the analysis of rightwing extremism in Switzerland. The *VOX-Analysis* is carried out by three universities (analysis) and the institute GfS (survey), and includes all initiatives, referendums and votes. It attempts to explain the results by interviewing a representative sample of the population. It is

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<sup>1</sup> It is clear that such surveys cannot be sufficient in analysing these attitudes. However, they may be used as a general indicator in the discussion of the topic, or as a departure point of in-depth research projects. The survey can also be partly adapted (using new and revised questions) with the integration of research results from other projects.

possible, through a *general* analysis, to identify changing values among the Swiss population (going from a left-right cleavage in the seventies and eighties in the direction of a traditional-openness cleavage in the nineties (Kriesi 1995). Through a *specific* analysis of referendums concerning migrant topics, it is possible to use this database in order to understand the development of xenophobic attitudes in the Swiss population.

Secondly, the *UNIVOX* analysis, carried out by the same institutions, regularly interchanges topics regarding tendencies in attitudes of the Swiss population with those regarding foreigners.

Thirdly, *single surveys* on a one-off basis have been carried out on the general topics of attitudes regarding migrants and forms of racism. One of the best known was conducted in Zurich in 1969 by Hans-Joachim Hoffmann-Nowotny (interviewing only men) and replicated in 1995. It gives a good orientation of the changing opinions regarding migrants and their origins (Hoffmann-Nowotny et al. 1997, Hoffmann-Nowotny 2001).

All these studies have specific orientations and cannot be used for a long-term analysis of changing attitudes. In addition, they are largely targeted towards the relationship between the Swiss population and migrants and do not construct a connection to rightwing extremism, nor to international data. Moreover, they are generally more descriptive than explanatory. Finally, they do not explain relationships between attitudes and mobilisation potentials.

Thus, in the following sections, we will try to explain what could be the content and the form of such an instrument for Switzerland.

### **Analytical approaches**

Research about misanthropy and rightwing extremism is nothing new. In the 1940s and 1950s, the “*Frankfurter Schule*”, as well as the so-called Berkley-Group, carried out such investigations about authority and extremism. The concept of the authoritarian personality was defined by the Berkley-Group (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, Sanford) and their study, which carried this definition as its title. The main characteristics of this personality are its anti-democratic views that are combined with antisemitism, ethnocentrism, conventionalism, authoritarianism, law-and-order mentality, the feeling of being threatened by something different,

cynicism and exaggerated sexuality (Adorno et al. 1950: 45ff). This concept for quite a time was only applied to the so called radical rightwing.

Despite of the early international attention (see appendix 1) and intensive studies of this phenomenon, until the 1980s and 1990s no coherent concepts of this idea can be found, as Ulrich Druwe and Susanne Mantino (Druwe and Mantino 1996) very clearly show in their analysis of the concept. Uwe Backes and Eckhart Jesse for example consider rightwing extremism as a variation of the general political extremism. *Political Extremism* as opposed to the constitutional state (Backes and Jesse 1989: 32) can be followed on four levels: (1) political views, (2) ideologies, (3) actions and strategies (4) organisations. It is based on antidemocratic, anti-individualistic views, denying the democratic fundamental axiom of the equality of all human beings, and on a position that is directed against all liberal and democratic forces (67). Rightwing extremists support an order based on origin, achievement, national, ethnic and race affiliation (based on the fundamental inequality of the individual).

In this context, the concept of rightwing extremism by Norbert Bobbio (Bobbio 1994) is very interesting, since for him it is not – as for Backes and Jesse – hostility against democracy coming from the right. Bobbio rejects the right-left axis and adds a new dimension to the concept: the connection to the political and social order-concept of equality or inequality. The main criterion here is not, whether democratic forms are respected, but rather to what extent a policy follows egalitarian objectives. According to this, rightwing extremism is a position that radically rejects the principle of equality. The anti-egalitarian position is decisive (Botsch 2004: 1292). The two elements – freedom and equality – thus are constitutive for Bobbio's model. Compared to his model, the axis authoritarian-liberal seems to be weak. The real, the deeper difference is not taken into consideration:

„Entscheidend ist, dass die extreme Rechte grundsätzlich eine politische und soziale Ordnung verwirklichen will, die auf Gewalt aufbaut, dass sie das Recht des Stärkeren propagiert und nach innen und aussen einen starken Staat anstrebt. Massgeblich ist ferner, dass die extreme Rechte die allgemeinen Menschenrechte und das Prinzip der Gleichheit vor dem Recht negiert. Entscheidend ist schliesslich, dass die extreme Rechte, ausgehend von ihrer Ideologie fundamentaler Ungleichheit, nicht bloss von Fall zu Fall undemokratisch handelt, sondern prinzipiell die demokratisch

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verfasste Gesellschaft durch eine autoritäre ersetzen will” (Botsch 2004: 1293)<sup>2</sup>.

It is this political aim that has to be taken seriously.

Jürgen Falter and Siegfried Schuhmann (Falter and Schuhmann 1988: 101) define *extreme rightwing thinking* with ten constituting elements: extreme nationalism, ethnocentrism, anti-communism, anti-parliamentarism, anti-pluralism, militarism, law-and-order-thinking, a demand for a strong political leader and/or executive, anti-Americanism and cultural pessimism.

On the other side, Willhelm Heitmeyer (Heitmeyer 1992), with his expression ”*extreme rightwing orientation*”, emphasizes the result of socio-structural, socio-interactive and individual processes of disintegration. Those factors are embedded in an ideology of inequality with traces of nationalist-”*völkisch*” over-estimation of one’s abilities, racism, eugenic division of worth and not-worth living, the thesis of natural hierarchies, stressing of the right of the stronger, unequal treatment of foreigners and others. Violence appears as the mean for solving conflicts.

Finally, Hans-Gerd Jaschke (Jaschke 2001 [1. Aufl. 1994]) always uses the term *rightwing extremism* and by this he means

„die Gesamtheit von Einstellungen, Verhaltensweisen und Aktionen, organisiert oder nicht, die von der rassistisch oder ethnisch bedingten sozialen Ungleichheit der Menschen ausgehen, nach ethnischen Homogenität von Völkern verlangen und das Gleichheitsgebot der Menschenrechts-Deklarationen ablehnen, die den Vorrang der Gemeinschaft von dem Individuum betonen von der Unterordnung des Bürgers unter die Staatsräson ausgehen und den Wertpluralismus einer

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<sup>2</sup> Translated: “It is decisive that the radical rightwing on principle wants to establish a political and social order based on violence, that they support the right of the stronger and strive – on the inside and on the outside - for a strong nation. Also important is that the extreme rightwing generally rejects human rights and the principle of equality in front of the law. But it is decisive that the radial rightwing, based on their ideology of fundamental inequality, does not act undemocratically in specific cases, but on principle wants to substitute the democratic society by an authoritarian one.”

liberalen Demokratie ablehnen und Demokratisierung rückgängig machen wollen”<sup>3</sup> (Jaschke 2001 [1. Aufl. 1994]: 31).

The aim of rightwing extremism is to abolish individualism and to create a strong nation-state with a “*völkisch*”, collectivist and ethnically homogeneous society. Thus, multiculturalism is rejected and firmly combated. Some other characteristics are: anti-modernism, social rejection of developments of the industrial society, form of protest that develops into social movements all over Europe. The crimes of National Socialism are denied (or authorized), whereas its ideology influences ideas and behaviour.

Apart from criticising the incoherent use of terms in studies of rightwing extremism, fault is found in a missing distinction between theory and hypothesis on one side, and between different aspects of rightwing extremism on the other side.

In the context of its integration into other socio-scientific researches and theoretical concepts, research about rightwing extremism is often loosely connected with theories like the anomy-theory, approach of modernisation, theories of socialisation, disintegration or learning, psychoanalytical theories, theory of authoritarian personality, fascism-, class- or mass-theories (extremism-theory). Systematic schemes and correlations are made quite seldom. Indeed, theories about rightwing extremism, referring to the area of views and behaviour, have a triple aim: Firstly, to explain from what the already stated omnipresence of extreme rightwing patterns of orientation originate, how extreme rightwing syndromes of behaviour develop on the individual level and how they are preserved on the level of aggregate. Secondly, to make understandable, where and under what circumstances extreme rightwing parties and groups are being formed and which are the secrets of their organisational success and survival. Thirdly, to predict under what circumstances extreme rightwing views can be converted into voting and other behaviours.

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<sup>3</sup> Translated: “The totality of views, behaviours and actions, organised or not, that are based on racist or ethnically caused social inequality of human beings, striving for ethnic homogeneousness of nations and rejecting the precept of equality in human-rights declarations, stressing the pre-eminence of the community over the individual, supporting subordination of the citizen under the reason of state, rejecting the pluralism of values in a liberal democracy and wanting to reverse democratisation.”

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Neglected aspects in the current rightwing extremist ideologies are profound analyses of the hatred of Jews and antisemitism. They are rather exceptions and, by the way, only noticed in debates about revisionism (Ginzel 1991). Werner Bergmann and Rainer Erb (Bergmann and Erb 1996) detect considerably less connections to rightwing extremist ideology, literature and practice (with the exception of desecrations of graveyards). Nevertheless, an all-German survey by the Ennid-institute about the correlation between antisemitic and rightwing extremist views, as well as the respective preference from December 1991, established an additive index. Recording by self-assessment left-wing/rightwing (on a scale of 10 or 100), as well as membership and voting for a rightwing extremist party, showed that the connection between an extreme rightwing orientation and the rejection of Jews was significant. 40% of the questioned persons with republican preferences were antisemitic. But Bergmann and Erb mainly criticise the correlation of antisemitism and rightwing extremism, because up to now there was little interest for the attempts to modernise the race theory, which takes up socio-biology and ethnology and form a biologist rightwing ecology (Bergmann and Erb 1996).

Winkler et al. (Winkler et al. 1996) for example find that American surveys about ethnic conflicts and racism, which in the US are the central area of interest in social-scientific studies, as well as papers about the fundamental-religious new right have scarcely been noticed over here.

### **Conceptualisation: misanthropy, rightwing mobilisation and its potential**

In Germany there is a group of scientists, which has been working since 1999 on structuring regular reports on misanthropic attitudes and behaviour. A few research institutes as well as a private research fund have started co-operating on a “civil society”-project (GMF-Survey 2002 of Wilhelm Heitmeyer and colleagues). The basis of this study seems to be very interesting for our purposes. It can also be adapted to the Swiss realities to build the base of our feasibility study.

The hypothetical starting points were the central values of a modern and human society: the equality of all human beings and the protection of their physical and psychological freedom. The positive achievements of a modern society are the functional differentiation accompanied by supporting equal opportunity structures in many different ways; the plurality of value

concepts together with more free spaces; the individualisation and self-conceptualisation of one's way of life as well as the possibility of choosing different forms of lifestyles. According to the results of Heitmeyer (Heitmeyer 2003a: 16) it is optimistic to consider the human being's social and cultural existence in various groups as conflict-free. There has been an underestimation of the social impact of structural and regulatory crises (subjective experiences of senselessness and vulnerability of feelings towards equality), as well as the changing of social relationships and networks (crises of cohesion) within the society. In the long run, especially when misanthropic situations and attitudes come together, the negative aspects of modernisation create a destructive impact on the individual, the liberal and the human society. Various scientists have contested the hypothetical connection between modernisation and the potential for violence in the nineties, which has been formulated by Heitmeyer in earlier studies in the more narrow field of rightwing extremism (Heitmeyer 1993; Heitmeyer 1992). In the following pages, we shall reformulate these concerns to reconsider them and also take them into account for the conceptualisation of our instrument.

Firstly, there is no doubt that inequality and propensity to violence shape rightwing thinking, but it is not enough to be scientifically precise on the definition of the political direction as a whole, which is itself constituted out of diverse groups, organisations and parties. Breyvogel (Breyvogel 1994) for example thinks that the connection of ideological elements with forms of political orientation is problematical. On the one hand, rightwing ideologies do not inevitably combine with violence, on the other hand it is not only rightwing extremists who represent ideologies of inequality. Conservative ideologies for example are also taking stand against a levelling-out of social differences (Stenke 1993: 91f.).

Secondly, it is criticised that disintegration and paralysis through the process of modernisation could be reasons for suicide as well, or, for example, reckless driving on the highway (Breyvogel 1994: 24).

Thirdly, Rommelspacher (Rommelspacher 1998 [1.Aufl.1995]: 80ff.) for example fears that rightwing extremist youth could be seen as the victims of a risk society, and would be exonerated by science from their responsibility. Leiprecht (Leiprecht 1993: 69) argues further against the mystification of earlier "traditional" lifestyles as superior.

Fourthly, Eckert (Eckert 1993: 358) takes into consideration that no disintegration is necessary to unleash human aggressions. Many rightwing

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extremists are socially and economically well integrated in the society (see D'Amato and Gerber 2002 2001). Willems (Willems 1994) supports this perspective by analysing preliminary studies and court records. By comparing the number of drop-outs at school, the incidence of unemployment, of deficient family structures or of social disconnection, he states that there is no higher disintegration among rightwing extremists than among other social groups. But he sees on the other hand a most striking overlap between xenophobic violence and other non-politically motivated violence. The tendency towards violent offences is a general characteristic of subcultural groups, which includes aggressive youth. The study of Kriesi and Altermatt (Kriesi and Altermatt 1995) shows a similar picture. Violent rightwing extremists are mostly young men with average or little education; only few of them have an experience of unemployment; mostly they have a low income, but still come from the lower middle or working classes, which means that they are not a priori marginalized or anti-social.

As a group they are characterised in Switzerland by the following: the main themes of their (rather undifferentiated) political discussions are policies towards foreigners, social, drug and environmental policies. They take a sceptical stand towards the media and the political administration. Historical concepts of enemies they find in the Bolsheviks, communists, "*Rote Front*" and Jews, today it is the so-called fake asylum-seekers and migrants. The skin colour – called "culture" and the concept of ethnopluralism are important from this point of view. This concept of the enemy (as mentioned in Kriesi and Altermatt 1995: 224) is based on pseudo-scientific arguments such as "they take things away from us" or "they drive expensive cars and do not work", on prejudices concerning social politics such as "they are only here to profit from our social security", "just hang around" and/or "are criminal", or on cultural prejudices such as "they take our women". They are stereotyped for all kinds of social "evil" as dealers/junkies or homosexuals, and are blamed for spreading AIDS in our society.

Typical mechanisms are heavy drinking, specific group dynamics and very personal experiences. Main maxims are the stylisation of violence and "self-defence" i.e. "solidarity" (the latter is seen as an unspecific characteristic also represented in other peer groups). No regional specifics were found in Switzerland, but on the other hand a strong connection between the politics of the political elites on subjects like immigration, order and security, as well as the mediation of the rightwing discourses in

general, and the effect of the governmental system of repression (Kriesi and Altermatt 1995).

Concerning the question of the possible potential of rightwing mobilisation we have to take into further consideration various concepts and discussions of social science. The declaration of rightwing extremism as a form of youth protest or a category of social movement is strongly criticised by Butterwegge (Butterwegge 2001: 31). According to him, and against the argumentation of Koopmans and Rucht (Koopmans and Rucht 1996: 268) who do not want to limit the use of “social movement” to noble causes, we are in this case speaking of an “unsocial” movement. The implementation of current norms, the judgement of a person according to his/her effectiveness or conformism are aspired, rather than the defence of the rights of the disabled people, of asylum seekers and of homeless people. On the one hand, Kriesi and Altermatt (1995: 224) take specific characteristics of social movements in the sense of Gamson (Gamson 1992) on a structural level into their concept, like the process of building, maintenance and changing of collective identities and their impact on the personality structure of the members. On the other hand, they adapt certain parts of the typology of Koopmans (Koopmans 1992), which seem to be interesting for our conceptualisation as well. In a continuum of instrumental (effects by repression of the state) to “counter-cultural” types (no effects through repression of groups), they conceptualise rightwing extremism placing it in the middle. Participation in referendums, pressure on political authorities, struggle for their identity as already stated above. It has been demonstrated that rightwing ideologies and their organisations are only successful when they are able to mobilise unsatisfied people in times of crisis and change.

The role of the government and the media is important. Last but not least, a clear position against racism and rightwing extremism by the society itself could be observed as having a great impact on violent expressions of those groups (Bielefeld 1994, Gerber 2003). The most efficient remedy seems to be empathy, critical faculties and democratic civil courage (Butterwegge 2001: 36).

Carrying out with brutal violence what the silent majority thinks? Osterkamp's (Osterkamp 1996: 129f.) and other researchers' opinions are that racists conform to the mainstream. Racist juvenile violence always comes about as a result of a missing or inappropriate education, as if the violent skinhead stands opposed to a peaceful adult world. Butterwegge (2001: 36) refers in this context to the fact that there is a close connection between the growth of the rightwing extremism and the rebirth of the elite

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discourse, of ideologies about efficiency and nationalism. (In Germany this is part of the “*Wende*”-program, set up by the liberal conservative federal government at the beginning of the 1980s). Furthermore, there is privatisation, deregulation, more flexibility of employment structures and the enforcement (i.e. re-invention) of the so called “secondary” virtues, such as manly or military discipline, truth and honour, obedience and readiness, glorification of the free market, the philosophy of social Darwinism within neo-liberalism and local nationalism. Kriesi and Altermatt (1995) also presume that the tolerance with regard to rightwing extremism is growing because of the state of the society. And it seems that xenophobic statements are more and more socially acceptable. Jäger (Jäger 1996: 300) refers to similar tendencies in a study about racist attitudes and emphasises the importance of considering the inter-discourse. This aspect has been correctly taken into account by the recent GMF-survey in 2002 (Heitmeyer 2003b). In this sense it is important to include a similar category in surveys, which could be called the “group-focused humanophobia”.

### **Set of variables**

Following this review of the “state of the art”, we shall try to develop a relatively open analytical concept, also integrating contrasting points of views. In a first glance, we shall work on contextual variables, variables defining values and variables oriented to the consequences of opinions (like the mobilisation potentials). Table 1 illustrates this set of variables. Each general level will be differentiated in a logical way:

- The contextual level contains two sub-divisions, one concerned with macro-social indications related to the context of residence of the interviewed person. The other indicates “hard facts” linked to the specific experience of life of the interviewed.
- The level regarding values is divided into those oriented towards one’s own traditions and those values defining rules regulating the relation between humans and groups (dimensions referring to values-related socialisation and social integration).
- The third level focuses on potential consequences of the contextual and value-oriented dimensions. It’s organised by opinions and their potential or achieved mobilisation.

It is clear that the simple analysis model (context, values, opinions/mobilisations) is only a heuristic one that must be selectively differentiated, tested and adapted during the repeated use of the monitoring instrument.

*Table 1: General orientation of variables*

Level	Main dimensions	Secondary dimension	Areas of mobilisation (indicators)
Contextual (explanatory)	Macro-social context within which the individual is living (place of residence)	Social and economic environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Foreigner population</li> <li>• Economic situation</li> </ul>
		Political environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political structure</li> <li>• Political themes</li> </ul>
	Micro-social context within which the individual was/is living	Socialisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Socio-cultural capital</li> <li>• Work environment</li> </ul>
		Exposure to « being different »	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Multi-culturalism (cosmopolitanism)</li> </ul>
		Social insertion and integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Belonging in the community</li> <li>• Type of collective identification</li> <li>• Religiousness</li> <li>• Social commitment</li> </ul>
		Situational context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peer group dynamics</li> <li>• Leisure and non-professional activities</li> <li>• “Risky” situations</li> </ul>
Value system	Personal value system linked with socialisation: Humanism and satisfaction	Acceptance and esteem for humanistic values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Equality</li> <li>• Respect for difference</li> <li>• Tolerance</li> <li>• Altruism</li> </ul>
		Sense of satisfaction with self (self-esteem)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Handling one’s existence, Building personal identity</li> </ul>
	Collective value system linked with social order : Ideology of inequality, compassion and respect	Perception of social order	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individuality and distress due to one’s situation</li> <li>• Plurality of ways of living</li> <li>• Exclusion</li> <li>• Law and order</li> <li>• Elitist thought</li> </ul>
		Perception of society’s evolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Laxity</li> <li>• Threats</li> <li>• Anomia, loss of direction</li> </ul>
		Perception of social justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sentiment of social justice</li> <li>• Norms of justice : making people responsible,</li> </ul>
		Racism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stereotypes and arguments</li> </ul>

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Consequ- Consequ- ences	Attitudes: Group-focused	Racism	• Stereotypes and arguments
	Attitudes: Group-focused enmity	Antisemitic	• Idem
		Anti-islamic	• Idem
		Homophobia	• Idem
		Sexism	• Idem
	Behavioural tendencies: Violence	Acceptance	• Minimising • Explaining
		Readiness to take action	• Threshold of tolerance • Prohibited behaviours
	Behavioural tendencies: Mobilisation	Activism	• Political
			• Via associations • Outside existing frameworks

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## The research design

The principal goal of the project consisted in the developing and validating a research instrument – a large national survey on the basis of a structured questionnaire, which, via repeated and comparable research waves over time, could become a tool for anticipating and monitoring the evolution of misanthropic and rightwing attitudes and opinions within the Swiss population.

This instrument, which is designed as a monitoring tool, was aimed at measuring the evolution and changes in misanthropic and rightwing attitudes and opinions and related mobilisation potentials. In overall terms it wasn't aimed at identifying specific individuals or groups constituting a risk, but rather at measuring how misanthropic attitudes are evolving and to what extent « racist » or « extremist » discourse and phenomena find an echo within the population.

The development of the instrument was based on a process involving several stages.

On the one hand we needed an instrument, compatible with existing international research tools in order to allow a proper comparability. To achieve this, we had foreseen a preliminary evaluative phase aimed at gathering together and reviewing the research tools that have been tried out and tested in foreign studies. A contact was established with those who have developed and used these tools in order to take their experience and expertise on board. This phase has yielded the preliminary basic instrument (a questionnaire) and a range of potential themes and dimensions have been

developed. It should be noted that the contacts with the foreign organisations have been maintained throughout the research so as to benefit from their comments and criticisms during the formulation and finalisation of the key research instrument, i.e. the questionnaire.

The second stage involved exploring and validating the potential themes, dimensions and questions among reduced samples of the Swiss population. For this purpose we undertook a series of group discussions in the two main linguistic regions of Switzerland. The aim was to take an in-depth look at the themes, which were pertinent to the whole problem (value systems, misanthropic attitudes, the situation of foreigners in Switzerland, the mobilisation and political activity), and to validate question formulation and the used vocabulary.

The third stage consisted in undertaking a national survey among a representative sample of the Swiss population. The questionnaire used has been developed on the basis of the two previous steps, but, nonetheless, we undertook a number of pilot interviews for the purpose of questionnaire validation before carrying out the national survey.

The different stages of this research design were necessary in order to avoid an inadequate questioning strategy in the survey, to ensure the proper execution of a national survey and to construct a valid and reliable research instrument. A more detailed description of the different stages of the project is given in the appendix 2.

## **Some major results of the survey**

In this chapter, we shall sum up the major results of the accomplished survey. We shall proceed in three steps, adding each time a statistical complexity. This means that the descriptive results presented in the first part of this chapter hold a higher statistical value, whereas the concepts (second part) and the model hold a higher analytical value. We have selected some aspects of the survey with the intention to test its validity and to illustrate the analytical potential of the collected data. It is only the beginning of an analysis, which will be completed by articles on specific topics coming out of the survey (see appendix 7 for the topline).

With a sample size of  $N = 3056$  people, the margin of error is  $\pm 1.8\%$  at the national level and for the general results. With the smaller samples at the level of the linguistic regions, the margin of error is  $\pm 2.6\%$  in the German-

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speaking part of Switzerland (n = 1599),  $\pm 3.1\%$  in the French-speaking part (n = 1035) and  $\pm 5.0$  in Tessin (n = 418)<sup>4</sup>.

The presentation of significant relations between qualitative variables is based on the chi-square test of independence. The relations between variables of interest (attitudes, behaviour, etc.) and explicative variables (socio-demographic or group characteristics) are mentioned if they are significant, i.e. if the chi-square test of independence is lower than 0.05 (the chi-square test of independence indicates then that there is a significant difference between the various categories of the explicative variables). The analysis and the tests have been realized with the data analysis software SPSS.

### **Meeting differences as normality in Switzerland**

Contacts between people with different backgrounds and life experiences are – since the seminal work of Allport (Allport 1954) – a key issue in the research on prejudices. His hypothesis is that “equal status contacts” can change prejudices (Allport 1954: 281)<sup>5</sup>. The population living in Switzerland<sup>6</sup> has largely met differences in their life<sup>7</sup> and this through longer stages outside Switzerland, through their migrant background or through personal contacts. In fact, 24.6% were not born in Switzerland (7.9% live in Switzerland since 1 to 15 years, 7.8% since 16 to 30 years and

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<sup>4</sup> With the oversampling of the French-speaking part of Switzerland and the Tessin, the reported results can be judged as reliable because they are based on subgroups of a consistent size. Nevertheless, the results concerning the Tessin have to be considered with caution, because they are based on a smaller subsample and the margins of error are higher. The associations are often insignificant in this case.

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of the concept and a comparison of the results with Germany, see: Wagner et al. 2002.

<sup>6</sup> We use the term “the population living in Switzerland” and the “population” to indicate that the survey represents partially also the foreign population.

<sup>7</sup> Which confirms the high heterogeneity factors for Switzerland in international comparative research, see for instance: Lijphart 1984.

8.8% since more than 30 years). The proportion of people claiming to be Swiss citizens only is of 74.6% and 5.6% declare that they are double citizens (Swiss and another). Finally, 11.5% of respondents have been naturalized (compared to the 68.7% being Swiss since they were born and the 19.8% foreigners). If we figure out how many people have had contacts with other people whom they perceived as being different outside the family context, we can see that

- 55% of the sample often and regularly meet people with other religious backgrounds (Q35.2);
- 59% of the Swiss part of the sample often and regularly meet people with a foreign passport (Q35.5), from which 32% do not have a European or a North-American passport (Q35.5).

Concerning other differences, like homosexuality, handicaps or class differences, the survey again reveals that in Switzerland meeting differences is normal for larger parts of the population. Indeed, 32% meet homosexuals (Q35.7), 44% meet people having a physical handicap (Q35.8) and as much as 87% are both often and regularly in contact with people having considerably different financial resources than themselves.

## **Otherness**

The analysis of the people's experience of contact with the otherness can be done in two ways, asking first if discriminations related to a group affiliation are reported and checking what kind of opinions people have about otherness.

Concerning discriminations, the survey revealed that 14% of the population have experienced discrimination themselves (Q38). The most frequent factors of discrimination are nationality (37%) and sexual identity (19%), followed by religion (8%), a subordinated position at the workplace (8%), handicap (5%), ethnic origin (4%), age (4%) and political affiliation (4%) (Q39).

The most important area of discrimination is the workplace (34%), followed by public meeting places (e.g. restaurants, discos, clubs; 34%) and spare-time activities like sports (15%). School (8%), public administration

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(7%), employment (7%) or housing (2%) are not indicated as relevant fields of discrimination (Q40)<sup>8</sup>.

Concerning stronger forms of discrimination, such as violence against someone because of his characteristics, the survey first of all indicates that this type of experience is rare (4% of the sample indicate that they have experienced violence in the last five years because of a group affiliation, Q41) and mainly concern sexual identity (22%) or nationality (22%).<sup>9</sup>

Concerning the opinions on otherness, we can summarize some results concerning stereotypes:

- The Jewish people living in Switzerland are still victims of stereotypes. Indeed, 18% of the population in Switzerland think that Jews have too much influence in the country and 24% affirm that Jews are partially responsible for their persecutions during World War II (Q67.1 and 2).<sup>10</sup> This important percentage has probably to be contextualised into the Swiss debate around the position of Switzerland during the Second World War and the critics formulated by a part of the Jewish community, which has here and there created, as the GFS-Survey also states (Longchamp et al. 2000), an antisemitic climate.
- In the family and among friends, it appears that the Jewish people are often named negatively at 4%, from time to time at 8% (Q69.4). The main topic of this discussion varies. 49% refer to the Israeli-Palestinian

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<sup>8</sup> Discrimination during discussions (8%) also seems to be relevant (Q40). In other words, some people engaged in communication felt they were not recognized by their communication partner. This may appear as a very soft discrimination, but, in fact, as the communication theory tells us, not to be taken seriously in a discussion can be experienced as a strong denial (or non-respect).

<sup>9</sup> This finding has to be interpreted with precaution. Most likely the percentage found about experienced violence is lower than in reality. First because it is a very sensitive question in a general context and secondly, because the question itself has been formulated in a very general and little precise way. As a matter of fact, it has been shown in other studies that this reduces the amount of "yes" responses.

<sup>10</sup> In Germany (GMF-Survey), the figures are similar: in fact, 22% of the population think that Jews have too much influence and 17% that they are responsible for their persecution (Heitmeyer 2003c: 26).

conflict (new antisemitism), 27% to their presumed power and wealth, 10% to their religious behaviour and 7% to their relations to the United States (Q70).

- Muslims in Switzerland are in an even more often discriminated. 36% of the population think that Muslims don't have the right to live in Switzerland following their proper religious rules and 30% consider that it is a humiliation for Muslim women to wear the veil (Q67.3 and 4). The survey also informs us that in the families and among friends, Muslims are often discussed negatively at 14%, from time to time at 21% (Q69.3).
- Concerning homosexuality, 39% of the population are against marriages between people of the same sex and 32% admitted feeling bad in front of people of the same sex kissing each other in the public sphere. A large majority is in other words indifferent or have a positive mood on this question.
- Homeless people who beg on the streets are rejected by 36% of the population and 27% think that they have to be taken away from pedestrian zones (Q67.9 and 10).
- Women also suffer from standardized ideas. Indeed, 42% of the population think that women have to recover their role as conscious mothers and housewives (Q67.13)
- Concerning the age groups, the survey reveals that 42% of the answering persons think that young people below 20 have no interest for the community (in other words, that they are only individualistically oriented Q67.13) and that 21% of the population agreed with the statement "people older than 65 are a problem for the whole society" (Q67.14).
- The less stereotyped group is the one with visible handicaps. Even if 31% of the population declare feeling embarrassed in presence of people with handicaps, 94% think that people with handicaps have to have the same chances on the labour market (Q67.5 and 6).

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## Foreigners in Switzerland

A special point of the survey is the analysis of the stereotypes concerning the generic category of foreigners<sup>11</sup>. The results of the survey indicate that foreigners are more seen as a problem than as a resource.

- 59% agreed with the statement that Switzerland has arrived to its limits concerning its foreign population and that the number of foreigners in Switzerland cannot anymore increase without creating problems for the society (Q68.9).
- 54% of the population agreed with the statement that foreigners abuse the welfare benefits (Q68.1).
- 43% agreed with the statement that the high number of foreigners in the schools is an obstacle to a good education for the Swiss children (Q68.7).
- 41% agreed with the statement that foreigners are responsible for the growing unemployment (Q68.6).
- 32% agreed with the statement that foreigners do not respect the environment (Q68.10).
- 29% agreed with the statement that foreigners are responsible for the insecurity in the streets (Q68.3).

The opinions expressed on the role of migrants in the Swiss society contrast with these xenophobic feelings. It seems like a fatality to feel on the one side that foreigners are a problem, but that they are at the same time extremely useful for the society.

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<sup>11</sup> On Q75, we asked what people associated with the word “foreigner” (three items maximum per person). The result of this explorative question is quite differentiated. In fact, we have a first group of answers relating fear with the foreigners, followed by negative attitudes about foreigners, in contrast to the second group expressing positive feelings and empathy. Two other important groups consider foreigners as something exotic, hard to understand and questioning the way a society has to cope with differences (integration and assimilation issues).

In fact, 69% of the population think that the strong differences in Switzerland (concerning nationality, culture, religion) are a part of its wealth (Q68.8) and 82% are convinced that foreigners do the work the Swiss do not want to do (any longer) and that they are nevertheless discriminated on the labour market (57%, Q68.2). From this perspective, it is not surprising that the state – *deus ex machina* – is called to solve the problems. Indeed, 61% of the people argue that the state authorities have to act in favour of a better inclusion of foreigners in the Swiss society (Q68.4).

These figures are confirmed by other questions concerning the discussion about foreigners in the family or friendship context. 36% of the answers indicate that in these contexts it is usual to speak negatively about foreigners (Q69.1) in general and in 39% of the cases these discussions concern asylum seekers. In these discussions, people normally react by defending these groups: at 45% concerning foreigners in general, at 36% concerning asylum seekers. 26%, respectively 35%, agreed with the negative statements and 21% reacted in neither case (Q71.1 and Q71.6).

If we report the opinions regarding inclusion and acculturation processes of the migrant population, we find a similar fatalistic attitude. The population in Switzerland in fact both accepts and denies differences. They accept for instance the cultural liberty of foreigners at 81% (Q72.1), but require at 70% that the population with a migrant background have to give up the part of their culture or religion, which is not in harmony with the Swiss laws (Q72.2). Finally, 63% of the population consider some foreigners simply too different to ever be fully accepted as members of the Swiss society.

The opinions differ, if we include the legal status of the foreigners in Switzerland.

- The principle of family reunification in the case of foreigners with residence permits is accepted by 65% (Q73.1).
- Of political interest is the fact that 55% of the population agreed for facilitated naturalisation practices for resident foreigners (Q73.3).
- 54% of the population are in favour of sending immediately out of Switzerland foreigners without a legal permission to live in Switzerland (Q73.4) and 83% think that employers of illegal migrants should be punished more severely (Q73.5). Illegal migrants are also seen from a humanitarian perspective, since 76% of the population consider that they have got to receive the chance of an examination of their personal

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situation before deciding to put them out or giving them the right to stay (Q73.6).

- In the case of serious delinquency, 85% of the surveyed think that foreigners should be sent out of Switzerland, even if they have a residence permit (Q73.2). 20% agreed with the idea to send away foreigners with a resident permit when the job offer is diminishing (Q73.8).
- Finally, concerning the right of asylum in Switzerland, 24% assume that it should be easier to obtain the refugee status (Q73.7).

To summarize these results, we can say that xenophobic attitudes in Switzerland are important, but also that they are relayed by a pragmatic view of the “usefulness” of migrants, on the one side, and a desire to improve their integration on the other. These tendencies of the survey do not only go parallel with a general political climate of closure of the frontiers and *integration inside the territory* (Cattacin et al. 2005), but also appear as stable throughout the time, as other partial surveys seem to confirm it, like the one done by Stolz (Stolz 1998, see also the comment on xenophobia and learning process in Cattacin 2005).

At the first glance, these results appear contradictory. But, in fact, we have to deal here with a typical situation of ambiguity, in which people cannot contrast xenophobia and integration for instance. Such an ambiguity is often found in contexts measuring prejudices and confronting them to concrete policies (in this case: integration policies) or everyday experiences of meeting differences (Endrikat and Stroble 2005). In our survey, having a xenophobic attitude or not does not affect the opinion concerning the relevance of integration policies.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Measured by the correlation between “too much foreigners in Switzerland” (Q68.9) and the “necessity to improve integration policies by the State” (Q68.4) which is very low: 0.17, Pearson’s 0.01. The coherence is in other words small between xenophobia and the will to do nothing for the integration; the ambiguity is more important and 33% of the population who indicate that there are too many foreigners in Switzerland want nevertheless doing something for them.

## **Measures in favour of a pluralistic society**

These figures can be completed with the opinions concerning the measures that could be taken to improve the living together in Switzerland. The role of the school in the process of bringing together diversity is generally accepted. 97% of the population are convinced that the school has to improve the education of the children in regard to respect and tolerance (Q74.2). The scores are also high for other measures that we asked to appreciate:

- 91% want to encourage the medias to do more honest reports (Q74.3);
- 90% of the population want to improve equal opportunities in all spheres of the society (Q74.5);
- 85% are in favour of prosecuting people who incite to racism (Q74.1);
- 77% support the idea of better including minorities in the political process in Switzerland (Q74.8).

From the organisational point of view, the survey results indicate that the population in Switzerland expects more from Churches and trade unions in terms of work against racism (75%, Q74.9). The score for the established antiracist organisations is even higher. 80% of the population want to give them a more important role in the fight against racism (Q74.7). In general, the population encourages the creation of organisations aiming at fostering the contacts between groups with different nationalities, religions and cultures (Q74.4).

## **Intermediary conclusions**

These first descriptions of the survey results already indicate that the analysed topic is particularly controversial and that realities coming from the last century, like antisemitism and sexism, are still important today. Added to these positions, we also discover new subjects like islamophobia and generational issues. The society is divided and seems to progress in these divisions. Even if the contact with otherness is important in the Swiss society, the empathy for this otherness is always relatively small and - if we think about antisemitism - hard to understand. All these descriptions also indicate that the positions against otherness do not concern a small part of

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the population, but often even correspond to the majority. The fatality expressed in the opinions regarding the foreign population in Switzerland – “we do not like them (are afraid of them), but we need them”; “we use them, so we cannot discriminate them” – is also an indicator of an immature public discussion of these issues. It is not surprising that the society asks to improve learning processes, through schools, through better medias. But how to change an old learning process indicating in the minorities the problem of the society (Cattacin 2005)? The population seems to expect more from the state than from themselves.

### **Contextualisation of xenophobia and misanthropy**

The survey permits to correlate demographic, social and political data with xenophobia, misanthropy and rightwing extremist attitudes. In this chapter, we shall try to further elaborate the descriptive results presented earlier on. We shall focalise on the different dimensions composing the general idea of anti-human attitudes.

#### **Xenophobia**

Different questions speak about xenophobic attitudes, which are operationalised as non-acceptance of the others’ culture and fear of foreigners. The “cultural” questions concern the fact to accept in Switzerland the cultural diversity coming in with foreigners (72.1) and the idea that many foreigners might never be accepted by the Swiss population because of their fundamental difference (72.3). Correlations with demographic data first indicate that *men and women* react significantly differently to these questions. If men rather think that the cultural difference is problematic for Switzerland (19.2% against 14.8%), women are more sceptical about the possibility to find a *modus vivendi* with people coming from abroad with another cultural background (59% against 66%)<sup>13</sup>. This figure is confirmed by questions referring directly to xenophobia. Indeed, women rather think that foreigners are responsible for the increasing

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<sup>13</sup> Q72.1: Chi2,  $p < 0.006$ ;  $df = 2$ ; Cramer’s V = 0.058,  $p < 0.006$ ; Q72.3: Chi2,  $p < 0.000$ ;  $df = 2$ ; Cramer’s V = 0.096,  $p < 0.000$ .

unemployment (43% women, 38% men, Q68.6), that Switzerland can no longer accept more foreigners without facing strong problems (32% of women against, 28% of men agree totally, Q68.9)<sup>14</sup>. In general, it seems that men would be more against the cultural diversity in the sense that they do not like differences, but simultaneously less xenophobic, because they accept the presence of foreigners more easily, meanwhile women would be less against diversity as such but more xenophobic, because they relate social problems to foreigners.<sup>15</sup>

Age is a second demographic variable that can be analysed concerning the recognition of cultural diversity and xenophobia. Again we have, concerning the two dimensions of cultural diversity (difference, tolerance and assimilation barriers) a result appearing contradictory at first sight. Table 2 shows the results.

We find in fact significance (bold numbers) concerning the youngest and the oldest age categories. Young people first seem to be more critical about differences in the society than older people (Q72.1). Concerning the assimilation barriers, we find two types of results:

- On the one side young and old people are more divided on this item than the middle ages. That means that we have inside these generations strong conflictual lines on this topic.
- On the other side, the figure is exactly inverse between old and young people. The younger seem to accept, but do not like – as we have seen earlier – the fact to live in a society with incommensurable cultural positions, whereas an important part of the older people experiences this situation as problematic.

Age also determines xenophobia. But concerning this dimension, we find the expected distribution, i.e. older people are stronger against foreigners than younger people. The Table 3 contains two opposite items. Q68.1 measures xenophobia and Q68.2 xenophilia. The figures are exactly

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<sup>14</sup> Q68.6: Chi2,  $p < 0.021$ ;  $df = 4$ ; Cramer's V = 0.062,  $p < 0.021$ ; Q68.9: Chi2,  $p < 0.000$ ;  $df = 4$ ; Cramer's V = 0.102,  $p < 0.000$ .

<sup>15</sup> Compared to Germany, our results confirm the higher level of xenophobia of women, but it is in contrast to Germany not a systematic, but a differentiated figure (for Germany, see Küpper and Heitmeyer 2005).

inverse, which confirms the trend of more xenophobic attitudes the older one gets.

*Table 2: Age and agreement to cultural diversity*

Age categories	Agreement in %	18-29	33-44	45-60	60+
Q72.1 Foreigners can only be accepted if they leave completely their culture	Totally	5%	-3%	5%	6%
	Partially yes	<b>+15%</b>	13%	12%	<b>-10%</b>
	Partially no	29%	32%	29%	30%
	Not at all	49%	51%	53%	51%
	Don't know	-1%	1%	2%	+4%
Total answers		595 (100%)	988 (100%)	717 (100%)	755 (100%)
Q72.3 Some foreigners are culturally so different that they would never be accepted by the Swiss society	Totally	<b>-23%</b>	30%	32%	<b>+37%</b>
	Partially yes	33%	32%	31%	31%
	Partially no	<b>+26%</b>	21%	18%	<b>-16%</b>
	Not at all	15%	15%	14%	-9%
	Don't know	3%	-3%	5%	+8%
Total answers		595 (100%)	988 (100%)	717 (100%)	755 (100%)

Q72.1: Chi2,  $p < 0.00$ ;  $df = 12$ ; Gamma = 0.053,  $p < 0.021$ ; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%); - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

Q72.3: Chi2,  $p < 0.00$ ;  $df = 12$ ; Gamma = -0.090,  $p < 0.000$ ; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%); - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

*Table 3: Age and xenophobia*

Age categories	Agreement	18-29	33-44	45-60	60+
Q68.1 Foreigners take advantage from welfare benefits	Totally	-17%	-16%	+25%	+29%
	Partially yes	-30%	33%	32%	+37%
	Partially no	+30%	+29%	22%	-15%
	Not at all	+18%	14%	11%	-6%
	Don't know	5%	10%	10%	+12%
Total answers		563 (100%)	894 (100%)	648 (100%)	662 (100%)
Q68.2 Foreigners are discriminated on the labour market	Totally	+24%	+24%	-16%	-13%
	Partially yes	+46%	+41%	38%	-27%
	Partially no	-16%	-17%	22%	+24%
	Not at all	-8%	-11%	+17%	+19%
	Don't know	-6%	-7%	8%	+16%
Total answers		562 (100%)	920 (100%)	662 (100%)	631 (100%)

Q68.1: Chi2,  $p < 0.00$ ;  $df = 12$ ; Gamma = -0.148,  $p < 0.000$ ; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%); - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

Q68.2: Chi2,  $p < 0.00$ ;  $df = 12$ ; Gamma = 0.245,  $p < 0.000$ ; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%); - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

If we enlarge the analysis to *territorial factors*, we can notice a clear difference between the three linguistic areas and between urban, agglomeration and peasant contexts. Concerning the language barriers, the survey strongly indicates that the French- and Italian-speaking parts of Switzerland are less against cultural diversity and less xenophobic than the German-speaking one. The figures are stronger concerning xenophobic attitudes (Table 4 and Table 5).

If we add the distinction between the concentration of population (from larger cities to the countryside), the territorial dimension confirms what is already known from electoral studies. In fact, the zone where xenophobia is the most present is not the city. Agglomerations and the countryside are in other words less open to differences and to foreigners. Table 6 indicates for the dimensions “assimilation barriers” and “the boat is full” a clear distinction in the percentages of agreement: For cities, the agreement reaches 14.7%, for agglomerations 18.2% and for the countryside 21.5% concerning the assimilation barriers; 55.6% (cities), 64.4% (agglomerations) and 66.6% (countryside) are the rates of agreement concerning the questions about the limits of Switzerland’s possibility to accept foreigners.

*Table 4 : Linguistic region and agreement to cultural diversity*

Linguistic region	Agreement in %	Swiss German	Swiss French	Swiss Italian
Q72.1 Foreigners can only be accepted if they leave completely their culture	Totally	<b>+5%</b>	4%	3%
	Partially yes	<b>+13%</b>	<b>-9%</b>	10%
	Partially no	<b>+32%</b>	28%	<b>-19%</b>
	Not at all	<b>-48%</b>	<b>+56%</b>	<b>+65%</b>
	Don't know	<b>-1%</b>	<b>+20%</b>	<b>+4%</b>
Total answers		2143 (100%)	729 (100%)	130 (100%)
Q72.3 Some foreigners are culturally so different that they would never be accepted by the Swiss society	Totally	<b>+33%</b>	<b>-25%</b>	<b>-25%</b>
	Partially yes	31%	32%	30%
	Partially no	20%	19%	<b>-15%</b>
	Not at all	<b>-11%</b>	<b>+17%</b>	<b>+23%</b>
	Don't know	<b>-3%</b>	<b>+7%</b>	<b>+7%</b>
Total answers		2097 (100%)	696 (100%)	126 (100%)

Q72.1: Chi2, p<0.00; df = 8; Cramer's V = 0.116, p<0.000; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%) ; - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

Q72.3: Chi2, p<0.00; df = 8; Cramer's V = 0.137, p<0.000; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%) ; - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

*Table 5 : Linguistic region and xenophobia*

Linguistic region	Agreement in %	Swiss German	Swiss French	Swiss Italian
Q68.1 Foreigners abuse welfare benefits	Totally	<b>+23%</b>	<b>-16%</b>	<b>-14%</b>
	Partially yes	<b>+35%</b>	<b>-28%</b>	30%
	Partially no	24%	26%	21%
	Not at all	<b>-11%</b>	<b>+15%</b>	<b>+19%</b>
	Don't know	<b>-7%</b>	<b>+15%</b>	<b>+16%</b>
Total answers		2018 (100%)	637 (100%)	113 (100%)
Q68.9 Switzerland has reached its limits and can no longer accept new foreigners without risks	Totally	<b>+35%</b>	<b>-19%</b>	<b>-24%</b>
	Partially yes	29%	29%	30%
	Partially no	18%	20%	15%
	Not at all	<b>-13%</b>	<b>+23%</b>	<b>+19%</b>
	Don't know	<b>-5%</b>	<b>+10%</b>	<b>+12%</b>
Total answers		2070 (100%)	674 (100%)	118 (100%)

Q68.1: Chi2, p<0.00; df = 8; Cramer's V = 0.164, p<0.000; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%) ; - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

Q68.9: Chi2, p<0.00; df = 8; Cramer's V = 0.138, p<0.000; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%) ; - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

*Table 6 : Agglomerations, agreement to cultural diversity and xenophobia*

Agglomeration density	Agreement in %	Cities (more than 20'000)	Agglomerations (between 10'000 and 19'999)	“Country-side” (less than 9999 inhabitants)
Q72.1 Foreigners can only be accepted if they leave completely their culture	Totally	3.9%	5.7%	4.7%
	Partially yes	9.7%	11.0%	13.8%
	Partially no	29.5%	28.3%	31.1%
	Not at all	54.4%	54.1%	48.7%
	Don't know	2.5%	0.9%	1.7%
Total answers		813 (100%)	527 (100%)	1715 (100%)
Q68.9 Switzerland has reached its limits and can no longer accept new foreigners without risks	Totally	28.0%	31.5%	31.2%
	Partially yes	23.3%	32.0%	31.9%
	Partially no	22.1%	18.8%	16.3%
	Not at all	19.4%	13.3%	14.8%
	Don't know	7.1%	6.3%	5.9%
Total answers		813 (100%)	527 (100%)	1715 (100%)

Q72.1: Chi2,  $p < 0.008$ ;  $df = 8$ ; Gamma = -0.095,  $p < 0.000$

Q68.9: Chi2,  $p < 0.000$ ;  $df = 8$ ; Gamma = -0.085,  $p < 0.000$

We also want to test two kinds of socio-economic variables: education and salary. Concerning these two items, we find a significant correlation between salary and education<sup>16</sup>, which is also reflected in similar ways to answer the questions submitted to the interviewed people. We shall continue to use the two leading questions, which are related to the items of cultural diversity and xenophobia. It appears that between professional educated people and people with only a basic school background, the answers are similar. The fact that foreigners have to give up their culture is largely refused, but the difference between higher educated and lower educated people is 7.1%, respectively 9%. Relating to the “boat is plenty” issue, the difference is higher. In fact, a majority of higher educated people does not agree with this vision of Switzerland, meanwhile large majorities of lower skilled or professional skilled people consider this limitation as necessary (Table 7).

<sup>16</sup> Chi2 > 95%.

*Table 7 : Education and agreement to cultural diversity and xenophobia*

Education	Agreement in %	Obligatory school	Professional education	Higher education
Q72.1 Foreigners can only be accepted if they leave completely their culture	Totally or partially yes,	18.8%	20.7%	11.7%
	Partially no or not at all,	76.8%	77.5%	87.4%
	Don't know	4.4%	1.8%	0.9%
Total answers		292 (100%)	1439 (100%)	1212 (100%)
Q68.9 Switzerland has reached its limits and can no longer accept new foreigners without risks	Totally or partially yes,	69.7%	69%	46.5%
	Partially no or not at all,	18.8%	25.4%	48.2%
	Don't know	11.5%	5.5%	5.3%
Total answers		292 (100%)	1439 (100%)	1212 (100%)

Q72.1: Chi2,  $p < 0.000$ ;  $df = 4$ ; Gamma = 0.177,  $p < 0.000$

Q68.9: Chi2,  $p < 0.000$ ;  $df = 4$ ; Gamma = 0.314,  $p < 0.000$

*Table 8 : Salary, agreement to cultural diversity and xenophobia*

Salary bracket	Agreement in %	Salary less than 4000.-	Salary between 4000.- and 8000.-	Salary higher than 8000.-
Q72.1 Foreigners can only be accepted if they leave completely their culture	Totally or partially yes,	15.5%	18.1%	16.5%
	Partially no or not at all,	82.1%	80.6%	82.8%
	Don't know	2.4%	1.2%	0.6%
Total answers		580 (100%)	1399 (100%)	716 (100%)
Q68.9 Switzerland has reached its limits and can no longer accept new foreigners without risks	Totally or partially yes,	62.8%	61.7%	51.6%
	Partially no or not at all,	28.7%	32.9%	45.2%
	Don't know	8.5%	5.5%	3.2%
Total answers		580 (100%)	1398 (100%)	716 (100%)

Q72.1: Chi2,  $p < 0.028$ ;  $df = 4$ ; Gamma = -0.042,  $p > 0.307$

Q68.9: Chi2,  $p < 0.000$ ;  $df = 4$ ; Gamma = 0.102,  $p < 0.001$

*Table 9: Party affiliation and xenophobia*

Political affiliation	Agreement in %	Nationalist right	Liberal	Christian Centre	Left, ecological	No affiliation	Others
Q72.1 Foreigners can only be accepted if they leave completely their culture	Totally or partially yes, Partially no or not at all, Don't know	32.9% 65.8% 1.3%	16.9% 83.0% 0.2%	11.5% 87.5% 1.0%	7.9% 91.0% 1.1%	18.8% 78.7% 2.5%	16.8% 80.4% 2.8%
Total answers		338 100%	324 100%	214 100%	664 100%	962 100%	546 100%
Q68.9 Switzerland has reached its limits and can no longer accept new foreigners without risks	Totally or partially yes, Partially no or not at all, Don't know	85.0% 13.0% 2.0%	61.1% 34.0% 4.9%	61.7% 31.9% 6.4%	38.8% 56.1% 5.1%	64.1% 27.6% 8.2%	60.3% 31.9% 7.8%
Total answers		338 100%	324 100%	214 100%	664 100%	961 100%	546 100%

Q72.1: Chi2, p<0.000; df = 10; Cramer's V = 0.142, p<0.000

Q68.9: Chi2, p<0.000; df = 10; Cramer's V = 0.207, p<0.000

*Table 10: Left-right scale (political affinity) and xenophobia*

Lift-right scale	Agreement in %	Left	Moderate Left	Centre	Moderate Right	Right	Don't know
Q72.1 Foreigners can only be accepted if they leave completely their culture	Totally Partially yes Partially no Not at all Don't know	<b>-2%</b> 9% <b>-23%</b> <b>+65%</b> 1%	<b>-3%</b> <b>-6%</b> 28% <b>+62%</b> <b>-1%</b>	4% 13% 32% 49% 1%	4% <b>+17%</b> 33% <b>-45%</b> 1%	<b>+14%</b> 15% 32% <b>-37%</b> 2%	5% 15% 29% <b>-47%</b> <b>+5%</b>
Total answers		264 100%	631 100%	1019 100%	430 100%	246 100%	465 100%
Q68.9 Switzerland has reached its limits and can no longer accept new foreigners without risks	Totally Partially yes Partially no Not at all Don't know	<b>-12%</b> <b>-20%</b> <b>+27%</b> <b>+36%</b> 5%	<b>-13%</b> 27% <b>+31%</b> <b>+25%</b> 5%	<b>+39%</b> 29% <b>-15%</b> <b>-12%</b> 5%	33% <b>+39%</b> 15% <b>-10%</b> <b>-4%</b>	<b>+52%</b> 31% <b>-7%</b> <b>-5%</b> 4%	32% 28% <b>-14%</b> <b>-11%</b> <b>+15%</b>
Total answers		264 100%	631 100%	1019 100%	430 100%	246 100%	465 100%

Q72.1: Chi2, p<0.000; df = 20; Gamma = -0.154, p<0.000; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%) ; - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

Q68.9: Chi2, p<0.000; df = 20; Gamma = -0.226, p<0.000; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%) ; - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

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The figure changes a little bit concerning the salary level. In fact, the differences are not so important. As Table 8 shows, remarkable differences exist only on the item of the “boat is plenty”. People living in households with a high salary score 10.1%, respectively 11.2% less.

Finally, we can consider political attitudes and agreement to cultural diversity, respectively xenophobia as a variable to be analysed. With reference to political attitudes, we can distinguish two kinds of relations. First on the left-right scale, second concerning party affiliation. Table 9 gives an overview of the answers concerning political affiliation, Table 18 concerning the left-right scale. We can first of all notice that the more one belongs to the left (politically), the more one opens up to foreigners and cultural differences. Notably on the question of xenophobia, the differences between left and right are important. It is worth noting that the positions of the political centre are closer to the right than to the left on topics regarding foreigners and that people feeling close to the moderate left and to the left have very similar positions on this topic.

### **Islamophobia and Antisemitism**

Islamophobia and antisemitism are two further dimensions of anti-human attitudes that we have measured in our survey. Two key questions have been meant to refer to each one of these dimensions. Islamophobia can be measured by two questions concerning the attitudes regarding religious liberty (“Muslims do not have the right to live in Switzerland following their proper religious rules”; Q67.3) and the wearing of the veil (“it is humiliating that Muslim women wear the veil”; Q67.4). Antisemitism has been measured by two questions concerning the national-socialistic persecutions (“Jews were partially responsible for their persecutions during World War II”; Q67.1) and their influence in Switzerland (“Jews have too much influence in this country”; Q67.2). We note, first of all, that islamophobia and antisemitism do not correlate. In contrast, between the two questions on antisemitism, a strong correlation does exist<sup>17</sup>. The correlation is less important between the two questions on islamophobia<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> Pearson’s R: 0.503.

<sup>18</sup> Pearson’s R: 0.314.

This means that different dimensions influence the opinion concerning the wearing of the veil or the religious liberty of Muslims.

Combining these questions, we can easily create an indicator for antisemitism, but not for islamophobia, which has to be differentiated into two sorts of opinions. The resulting figures are quite different on the different variables.

- On the political left-right scale, the correlation between antisemitism and rightwing positions is stronger<sup>19</sup> than between rightwing positions and islamophobia<sup>20</sup>.
- Age influences only antisemitism, and this in particular concerning the question related too the second World War (“Jews were partially responsible for their persecutions during World War II”; Q67.1<sup>21</sup>). This means that islamophobia is not age sensitive.

*Table 11 : Linguistic regions, xenophobia and islamophobia*

Linguistic region	Agreement in %	Swiss German	Swiss French	Swiss Italian
Q67.1 Jews were partially responsible for their persecutions during World War II	Totally	8%	7%	8%
	Partially yes	11%	11%	<b>+16%</b>
	Partially no	<b>+28%</b>	<b>-21%</b>	<b>-18%</b>
	Not at all	36%	36%	<b>-28%</b>
	Don't know	<b>-17%</b>	<b>+25%</b>	<b>+30%</b>
Total answers		2171	749	135
		100%	100%	100%
Q67.2 Jews have too much influence in this country	Totally	<b>-6%</b>	8%	<b>+14%</b>
	Partially yes	<b>-16%</b>	<b>+20%</b>	<b>+22%</b>
	Partially no	<b>+23%</b>	20%	<b>-13%</b>
	Not at all	<b>+43%</b>	<b>-37%</b>	<b>-31%</b>
	Don't know	<b>-12%</b>	<b>+15%</b>	<b>+20%</b>
Total answers		2171	749	135
		100%	100%	100%

<sup>19</sup> Pearson's R: 0.248.

<sup>20</sup> Pearson's R: 0.209 for the veil, 0.217 for the religious liberty.

<sup>21</sup> Pearson's R: 0.198.

Q67.3 Muslims have the right to live in Switzerland following their proper religious rules	Totally	+29%	-16%	23%
	Partially yes	34%	-29%	+38%
	Partially no	22%	24%	18%
	Not at all	-11%	+23%	14%
	Don't know	-4%	+8%	6%
Total answers		2171	749	135
		100%	100%	100%
Q67.4 It's humiliating that Muslim women wear the veil	Totally	+17%	-13%	-7%
	Partially yes	15%	14%	13%
	Partially no	25%	26%	-20%
	Not at all	-39%	41%	+56%
	Don't know	-4%	+6%	4%
Total answers		2171	749	135
		100%	100%	100%

Q67.1: Chi2,  $p < 0.000$ ;  $df = 8$ ; Cramer's V = 0.085,  $p < 0.000$ ; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%) ; - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

Q67.2: Chi2,  $p < 0.000$ ;  $df = 8$ ; Cramer's V = 0.087,  $p < 0.000$ ; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%) ; - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

Q67.3: Chi2,  $p < 0.000$ ;  $df = 8$ ; Cramer's V = 0.136,  $p < 0.000$ ; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%) ; - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

Q67.4: Chi2,  $p < 0.001$ ;  $df = 8$ ; Cramer's V = 0.066,  $p < 0.001$ ; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%) ; - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

- The regional dimension has again an incidence on the opinions. Table 11 indicates that the German-speaking part of Switzerland is in general less antisemitic than the French-speaking part, which again is less antisemitic than the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland.
- The French-speaking part of Switzerland is also less tolerant than the German- or Italian-speaking parts concerning the acceptance of the religious difference towards Muslims. On the other side, the wearing of the veil is less accepted in the German-speaking part than in the French- or Italian-speaking parts of Switzerland.

### Sexism and homophobia

Sexism and homophobia are two other dimensions of the concept of misanthropy. These two dimensions are measured through four questions, which refer to the position of women and homosexuals in the society (Q67.5, Q67.6, Q67.11 and Q67.12). The opinions referring to women and their role in the society on one side and to homosexuality on the other do correlate in a significant way (Table 12). Only the correlation between these

variables and the question whether women are still discriminated in Switzerland (Q67.11) is relatively low. This means that we cannot combine the “traditional” and the “modern” sexism expressed in the questions concerning the actual discrimination and the traditional role of women in our society.<sup>22</sup>

*Table 12: Correlation coefficients between sexism and homophobia*

	H1	H2	H3	S1	S2
Tolerance of marriage between homosexuals (H1)	1	<b>.530</b>	.884	.125	<b>.374</b>
Kisses in the public sphere between homosexuals are disgusting (H2)	<b>.530</b>	1	.865	.126	<b>.387</b>
<i>Homophobia (H1+H2=H3)</i>	.884	.865	1	.147	<b>.433</b>
Discrimination of women in Switzerland still exists (S1)	.125	.126	.147	1	.158
Traditional rule of women in Switzerland has to be reinforced (S2)	<b>.374</b>	<b>.387</b>	<b>.433</b>	.158	1

Pearson correlation. All correlations are significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). Relevant correlations in bold.

These correlations indicate that explicative factors of sexism and homophobia are partially similar. In fact, homophobia correlates well with traditional sexism (S2), but not with what we could call modern sexism.

Actually, we only find in our test of different factors small differences and some general trend (Table 13):

- people from the left side of the political spectrum are less sexist and homophobic than people from the right;
- the older the interviewed people are, the more homophobic and traditional sexist is their opinion; relevant for this dimension is, that older people are more homophobic than sexist, which reflects certainly the stronger emancipation of women compared to homosexuals.
- Education also influences – these are very weak correlations – sexism and homophobia in the sense that the more people are educated, the less homophobic or sexist attitudes are to be found;
- We have also correlated the religious background with homophobia and sexism and found a weak correlation between the Muslim background and homophobia. Atheism is positively correlated with anti-sexism and

<sup>22</sup> On this distinction see Endrikat 2003.

anti-homophobia. Other religious backgrounds do not influence opinions strongly.

*Table 13: Homophobia and sexism – some explicative factors (Correlation Coefficient)<sup>23</sup>*

	H1 <sup>°</sup>	H2 <sup>°</sup>	H3 <sup>°</sup>	S1 <sup>°</sup>	S2 <sup>°</sup>
Left-Right scale	-.211**	-.220**	-.246**	-.163**	-.247**
Age	-.256**	-.278**	-.307**	.012	-.274**
Education	.154**	.190**	.194**	.084**	.270**
Muslim religion	-.156**	-.210**	-.216**	-.088**	-.059**
Catholic religion	.056**	.023	.046	.000	.041
Protestant religion	-.026	.019	-.002	-.047	-.061**
Without religious affiliation	.156**	.141**	.171**	.115**	.138**

<sup>°</sup> Tolerance of marriage between homosexuals (H1); Kisses in the public sphere between homosexuals are disgusting (H2); Homophobia (H1+H2=H3); Discrimination of women in Switzerland always exists (S1); Traditional rule of women in Switzerland has to be reinforced (S2); Sexism (S1+S2=S3).

\*\* Pearson correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

### **Other anti-human attitudes**

Finally, the last group of anti-human attitudes we want to analyse is based on a set of questions on the opinion about young and old people (Q67.13 and Q67.14), about homeless (Q67.9 and Q67.10) and disabled people (Q67.7 and Q67.8). The correlation between the different variables is low, except for the two questions concerning homelessness. The differences of opinion are important about these topics from one linguistic region to the other (Table 22).

Indeed, we observe that Swiss-Germans are significantly less embarrassed by disabled people than people living in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. This reality has no consequence on the principle of giving disabled people the same chances on the labour market. For this item,

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<sup>23</sup> For the creation of the indicator “homophobia” see also the confirmation through the factor analysis on Table 22.

the Italian- and French-speaking parts of Switzerland are keener on the guarantee of equal chances on the labour market for people with handicaps.

Concerning the homeless, we find less tolerance for them in the German-speaking part than in the French-speaking part. The Italian-speaking part is in between. Different again is the attitude concerning youngsters and elderly. Young people are better acknowledged in the Swiss-German part of Switzerland since they are less criticized in the sense of having no interest for the community than in the French- or Italian-speaking parts<sup>24</sup>.

Other variables do not explain the opinion concerning people with different ways of life.

*Table 14: Linguistic region and opinions on different ways of life*

Linguistic region	Agreement in %	Swiss German	Swiss French	Swiss Italian
Q67.7 Disabled people make me feel embarrassed	Totally	6%	8%	4%
	Partially yes	<b>-21%</b>	<b>+32%</b>	20%
	Partially no	<b>+24%</b>	<b>-18%</b>	<b>-12%</b>
	Not at all	48%	<b>-41%</b>	<b>+61%</b>
	Don't know	1%	1%	<b>+2%</b>
Total answers		100%	100%	100%
Q67.8 Disabled people have to have the same chances on the labour market	Totally	<b>-65%</b>	<b>+70%</b>	<b>+72%</b>
	Partially yes	27%	27%	<b>-21%</b>
	Partially no	<b>+5%</b>	<b>-3%</b>	<b>-2%</b>
	Not at all	2%	<b>-1%</b>	<b>+3%</b>
	Don't know	1%	1%	<b>+2%</b>
Q67.9 Homeless people have to be taken away from pedestrian zones	Totally	<b>+12%</b>	<b>-4%</b>	<b>+15%</b>
	Partially yes	<b>+19%</b>	<b>-12%</b>	<b>-12%</b>
	Partially no	<b>+30%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>-19%</b>
	Not at all	<b>-35%</b>	<b>+49%</b>	<b>42%</b>
	Don't know	<b>-4%</b>	<b>+7%</b>	<b>+12%</b>
Total answers		100%	100%	100%
Q67.10 Homeless people in cities are unpleasant	Totally	<b>+13</b>	<b>-5%</b>	<b>+14%</b>
	Partially yes	<b>+29%</b>	<b>-15%</b>	<b>-20%</b>
	Partially no	28%	28%	<b>-17%</b>
	Not at all	<b>-25%</b>	<b>+45%</b>	29%
	Don't know	<b>-6%</b>	7%	<b>+20%</b>

<sup>24</sup> The living place – cities, agglomerations or the countryside – does not influence the opinions on these topics. Only concerning homelessness in the city centre, we find a low correlation between living in agglomerations and the desire to put homeless people out of the city (Chi2 > 96%).

Total answers		100%	100%	100%
Q67.13 Young people below 20 have no interest for the community	Totally	<b>-11%</b>	<b>+14%</b>	<b>+16%</b>
	Partially yes	30%	32%	27%
	Partially no	<b>+31%</b>	28%	<b>-19%</b>
	Not at all	23%	<b>-19%</b>	<b>+28%</b>
	Don't know	<b>-5%</b>	7%	<b>+10%</b>
Total answers		100%	100%	100%
Q67.14 People older than 65 are a problem for the whole society	Totally	<b>+6%</b>	5%	4%
	Partially yes	16%	15%	12%
	Partially no	<b>+29%</b>	<b>-23%</b>	<b>-16%</b>
	Not at all	<b>-46%</b>	<b>+54%</b>	<b>+65%</b>
	Don't know	3%	3%	3%
Total answers		100%	100%	100%
N for each question		2171	749	135

Q67.7: Chi2,  $p < 0.000$ ;  $df = 8$ ; Cramer's V = 0.101,  $p < 0.000$ ; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%) ; - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

Q67.8: Chi2,  $p < 0.005$ ;  $df = 8$ ; Cramer's V = 0.060,  $p < 0.005$ ; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%) ; - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

Q67.9: Chi2,  $p < 0.000$ ;  $df = 8$ ; Cramer's V = 0.135,  $p < 0.000$ ; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%) ; - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

Q67.10: Chi2,  $p < 0.000$ ;  $df = 8$ ; Cramer's V = 0.181,  $p < 0.000$ ; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%) ; - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

Q67.13: Chi2,  $p < 0.001$ ;  $df = 8$ ; Cramer's V = 0.066,  $p < 0.001$ ; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%) ; - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

Q67.14: Chi2,  $p < 0.000$ ;  $df = 8$ ; Cramer's V = 0.078,  $p < 0.000$ ; + positive significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%) ; - negative significant correlation (Chi2 > 95%)

### Intermediary conclusions

The exploration of "explanatory variables" shows that in general the profile of a misanthropic or potentially rightwing extremist person is not clearly visible. There are certainly many factors, which permit to create a differentiated view of the reality, but in general we have more contradictions than clear tendencies, with some exceptions. In fact, we have regularly pointed out a difference between the opinions in the Swiss-German part of Switzerland compared to the French- or Italian-speaking parts. Xenophobic attitudes, fear of cultural differences (i.e. wearing a veil), are characteristics that are more present in the Swiss-German part of Switzerland, while the French-speaking part has more reserves about religious difference (islamophobia), young people and are, together with the Italian-speaking part, more anti-Semite. In general, the French- and Italian-

speaking parts are also more keen about state intervention to correct inequalities of all sorts, while we find in the Swiss-German part an attitude going in the direction of a higher individual responsibility. From the territorial point of view, it is also relevant to underline that people living in agglomerations have more difficulties to accept or to understand otherness than the ones in cities.

Age is the second important differentiation, with older people closer to misanthropic attitudes than younger, but also with some exceptions. If the middle ages are pragmatic in their appreciations of otherness, the older people are more open to anti-human opinions, the younger ones give signs of fear and difficulties to understand the cultural difference. As a matter of fact, the survey indicates that the younger people accept differences, but they feel frustrated in their efforts to develop empathy, in particular regarding people with a different cultural background.

Fear is also a factor of difference between men and women. Women feel insecure, but believe that otherness has to be accepted, while men have a pragmatic view on differences and accept the reality of otherness, without trying to understand them.

### **Rightwing Extremist Potential (REP)**

We have tried to combine some answers forming an indicator measuring attitudes that represent a certain potential to adopt rightwing extremist attitudes. There are in particular two types of questions that have been used by Heitmeyer in this purpose. One type of questions concerns the “Law and Order” orientation, the second type of questions the “Acceptance of Violence”. Table 15 indicates the questions and the frequencies of the answers on this two logics as we can find it in Switzerland.

*Table 15: Rightwing extremist potential (REP)*

Questions	Agreement	Agreement in %
<b>Law and order</b>		
Q60.1 Criminal acts have to be punished more strongly.	Totally	39.8%
	Partially yes	31.4%
	Partially no	13.3%
	Not at all	8.5%
	Don't know	6.9%
	Total	100%
Q60.2 To maintain law and order, it is important to act stronger against marginal	Totally	31.0%
	Partially yes	29.1%

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people and rioters.	Partially no	19.7%
	Not at all	15.5%
	Don't know	4.7%
	Total	100%
Q60.3 Obedience and respect of the superior hierarchic position are among the most important characteristics.	Totally	24.8%
	Partially yes	34.5%
	Partially no	21.8%
	Not at all	15.8%
	Don't know	3.1%
	Total	100%
Q60.4 We have to be grateful to leaders who tell us what we have to do.	Totally	9.2%
	Partially yes	24.4%
	Partially no	32.3%
	Not at all	30.0%
	Don't know	4.1%
	Total	100%
<b>Acceptance of violence</b>		
Q60.1a To realise my purposes, I need from time to time to use violence.	Totally	2.1%
	Partially yes	4.9%
	Partially no	17.8%
	Not at all	74.0%
	Don't know	1.3%
	Total	100%
Q60.2a To maintain law and order, the State does not have to hesitate to use violence.	Totally	10.0%
	Partially yes	17.2%
	Partially no	28.7%
	Not at all	41.1%
	Don't know	3.0%
	Total	100%
Total answers for all questions		3044
		100%

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To deepen this analysis, we have added some questions related to the idea that the combination of authority, disaffiliation, meritocracy and violence could give a good insight to catch REP. In particular, we have realized a factor analysis with these variables, which is presented in Table 16.

*Table 16: Factor analysis of Right-Wing Extremism and REP (rotated component matrix)*

Questions	Component		
	1	2	3
Q60.1: Criminal acts have to be punished more strongly	.727	.215	-.015
Q60.2 Act stronger against marginal people and rioters. er: the State has to act strongly against marginal people and riots	.790	.114	.023
Q60.3: Obedience and respect of the superior hierarchic position	<b>.706</b>	-.064	.067
Q60.4: Recognition of leaders	<b>.657</b>	-.303	.155
Q60.5: Violence as justifiable way to act	.048	.074	<b>.868</b>
Q60.6: To maintain law and order, the State does not have to hesitate to use violence.	.452	-.003	<b>.537</b>
Q57.1: Mistrust to the government	-.132	<b>.736</b>	-.009
Q57.2: Political representatives follow their own interests	.187	<b>.718</b>	-.023
Q57.3: Mistrust regarding the effectiveness of Swiss democracy	-.140	<b>.632</b>	.209
Q57.4 Administration is far away from citizens	.335	<b>.556</b>	-.009
Q66.1: We have to help only people who deserves	<b>.528</b>	.034	.193
Q66.2: Who is responsible for his difficulties do not merit help	<b>.383</b>	.086	.272

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a Rotation converged in 4 iterations.

Table 16 indicates three factors that are clearly distinguished. The first factor combines elements of authoritarianism and meritocracy. The third one loads on violence as an accepted means and the second one indicates distrust regarding the Swiss political system. This last factor is insofar interesting that it signals that distrust is not related to authoritarianism and violence. That is why we think that we can limit the number of items to be integrated in the concept of REP and create an indicator that combines the stronger related items.

In particular we have combined four questions (Q60.1-4) in order to create an indicator for "Law and Order" attitudes (RW1-authority) as well as one in regards of attitudes towards violence and its legitimate use (RW2-violence – Q60.1a+2a)<sup>25</sup>. Finally we have put these two indicators together (RW1 + RW2 = RW3) in order to combine all the different items measuring attitudes that potentially lead to political rightwing extremist attitudes and therefore show the rightwing extremist potential (REP).

<sup>25</sup> We have simply summed up the answers and eliminated the "Don't know" answers.

Now what correlates with REP? Table 17 indicates the most relevant correlations. It is first of all the political orientation on the left-right scale that correlates the most with the orientation toward authority (RW1) and the acceptance of violence (RW2); the closer you are to the political right, the more you are potentially accepting rightwing extremist attitudes. Other factors in correlation with rightwing extremist positions are: low education and older age. Concerning religious affiliations, we can see a certain potential for rightwing extremist positions among people with a Muslim background. Atheism is a sign of non-affiliation to such positions. Interesting to note is that men accept violence better than women, but that otherwise there are no significant differences between men and women.

*Table 17: Indicators of "Law and Order" and "Acceptance of Violence" in correlation with various socio-demographic variables (Correlation Coefficient)*

	RW1 <sup>o</sup>	RW2 <sup>o</sup>	RW3 <sup>o</sup>
Education	<b>-.376**</b>	-.129**	<b>-.318**</b>
Left-Right scale	<b>-.409**</b>	<b>-.213**</b>	<b>-.381**</b>
Age	<b>-.170**</b>	-.055**	<b>-.147**</b>
Sex	-.036	<b>-.164**</b>	-.063**
Muslim religion	<b>-.116**</b>	-.121**	<b>-.126**</b>
Catholic religion	-.076**	-.058**	.082**
Protestant religion	-.014	-.085**	-.027
Atheist	<b>.235**</b>	.091**	<b>.210**</b>

<sup>o</sup> RW1 = authority is important; RW2 = violence is accepted. RW3 = RW1 + RW2 = rightwing extremist potential.

\*\* Pearson correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed). Relevant correlations in bold.

In order to concretely measure the potential, we have finally tried to indicate a distribution of the REP over the two dimensions of “authoritarianism” and “violence acceptance”, which we have transformed into a bivariate variable indicating combinations of these two attitudes (Table 18)

*Table 18: Authoritarianism (RW1) and violence acceptance (RW2)*

			RW1		Total
			Low*	High*	
RW2	Low*	Count	1714	689	2403
		% of Total	67.1%	27.0%	94.1%
	High*	Count	54	97	151
		% of Total	2.1%	3.8%	5.9%
Total	Count	1768	786	2554	
	% of Total	69.2%	30.8%	100.0%	

\* The values of the indicator have been grouped in the following way: violence acceptance (RW2: 0 to 5 = low; 6 to 8 = high); Authoritarianism (RW1: 0 to 12 = low; 13 to 16 = high).

The Table 18 indicates four different types of attitudes corresponding to our sample. Trying to conceptualize these groups (Table 19), we can see that the group combining “authoritarianism” and “violence acceptance” indicating a right-wing potential is composed of 3.8% of the sample. The other cases indicate

- a group of people which is more against violence as a means and not authoritarian (67.1% of the sample that we can call liberal democrats);
- a group of people which combines “authoritarian” values with non-violence (27% of the sample which we can call conservative democrats) and finally;
- a group composed by violence accepting anti-authoritarian people (2.1% of the sample we can refer to as having an anarchistic potential).

*Table 19: Authoritarianism (RW1) and violence acceptance (RW2) – conceptual scheme*

		Authority acceptance	
		Low	High
Violence acceptance	Low	Liberal democrats 67.1%	Conservative democrats 27.0%
	High	Anarchistic Potential 2.1%	Right-Wing Extremist Potential 3.8%

It is clear that the four labels have to be used with attention and only as an indication of the type of logic governing the opinion of the people. Table 19 sums up the categories, which have to be submitted to a further analysis that we shall initiate in the concluding paragraphs of this chapter.

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## Misanthropy

Until now, we have tried to give descriptions and some elements of explanation concerning attitudes. In this last paragraph about the results, we try to develop conceptually the relations and put together the different variables. This is certainly not an easy task, because the history and the individual life cycle indicate that difference is the normality in our society on such complex attitudes.

The first question that we shall take up concerns the different elements composing misanthropy and rightwing extremist potential (REP). If the indicator for REP that we have created earlier on is unproblematic, it is another story to put the different elements of misanthropy together. As Table 20 indicates, the correlation between the different dimensions<sup>26</sup> indicating anti-human attitudes, are extremely different. In particular, these correlations are rather insignificant in two cases (sexism and handicap, xenophobia and handicap). It is therefore accurate not to consider difficulties with people having visible handicaps as an element of misanthropy. The table indicates also that many correlations are weak and that the conceptual generalization is not possible.

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<sup>26</sup> We have combined for each indicator two questions.

*Table 20: Correlation between anti-human attitudes*

	Young- Old people	Home- less people	Disabled people	Sexism	Homo- phobia	Islam- phobia	Anti- semitism	Xeno- phobia
Young-Old	1	.204	.149	.103	.131	.128	.217	.235
Homeless	.204	1	.154	.079	.187	.174	.245	.290
Handicap	.149	.154	1	<b>.032</b>	.107	.093	.088	<b>.023</b>
Sexism	.103	.079	<b>.032</b>	1	.386	.117	.217	.347
Homophobia	.131	.187	.107	.386	1	.155	.319	.263
Islamophobia	.128	.174	.093	.117	.155	1	.231	.287
Antisemitism	.217	.245	.088	.217	.319	.231	1	.357
Xenophobia	.235	.290	<b>.023</b>	.347	.263	.287	.357	1

All correlation (Pearson correlation) are significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), with the exception of the bold number.

\*\*The indicator combines the question on “the are to many foreigners” (Q69.9) and “foreigners are responsible for the high unemployment rate” (Q69.6)

Combining different anti-human attitudes into a general concept is in other words impossible and requires a further analysis. That is why we have tried to combine our perspectives on anti-human attitudes with the intention to find – through a factor analysis – which kind of answers are related to which kind of factor. We have combined our key questions on xenophobia, islamophobia, sexism, homophobia and attitudes against homeless and disabled people to verify on which factors the items load. In a first step, we have run a factor analysis and tried to extract the principal components (Table 21). To this first analysis, we have then applied the rotation technique “Varimax”, which permits to simplify the saturation of variables on the different extracted dimensions. From this statistical analysis six different factors result (Table 22).

*Table 21: Factor analysis of anti-human attitudes (component matrix)*

Questions	Component					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Q67.1: Antisemitism - Jews have to much influence	<b>.596</b>	-.019	-.236	-.288	.034	-.398
Q67.2: Antisemitism - Jews are responsible for their persecution	<b>.602</b>	-.021	-.276	-.224	-.014	-.355
Q67.3: Islamophobia (cultural) - Muslims have the right to live following their own culture	.316	-.187	<b>.494</b>	-.186	.515	-.115
Q67.4: Islamophobia (republican) - It’s humiliating that Muslim women wear the	.455	.137	<b>.442</b>	-.246	.279	-.191

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veil”;						
Q67.5: Homophobia - Permission of marriage between women or men	<b>.524</b>	-.468	-.256	.252	.082	.023
Q67.6: Homophobia - Kisses in the public sphere between homosexuals are disgusting	<b>.640</b>	-.243	-.309	.257	-.026	.002
Q67.7: Disabled people - Disabled people make me feel embarrassed	.197	.330	-.252	.052	<b>.475</b>	.366
Q67.8: Disabled people - Disabled people have to have the same chances on the labour market	.181	-.008	.181	<b>.599</b>	.332	-.175
Q67.9: Homeless people - Homeless people have to be taken away from pedestrian zones	.466	<b>.465</b>	.091	.256	-.292	-.237
Q67.10: Homeless people - Homeless people in cities are unpleasant	.446	<b>.568</b>	.063	.306	-.216	-.087
Q67.11: Sexism (modern) - Discrimination of women in Switzerland still exists	.179	-.338	.407	<b>.458</b>	-.072	.124
Q67.12: Sexism (traditional) - Traditional rule of women in Switzerland has to be reinforced	<b>.552</b>	-.320	-.196	-.029	-.046	.315
Q67.13: Generational problems - Young people below 20 have no interest for the community	<b>.432</b>	.084	-.102	-.142	.150	.223
Q67.14: Generational problems - People older than 65 are a problem for the whole society	.145	<b>.521</b>	-.179	.054	.292	.290
Q68.9: Xenophobia - Switzerland has reached its limits	<b>.661</b>	.001	.270	-.141	-.273	.238
Q68.6: Xenophobia - Foreigners are responsible for the growing unemployment	<b>.464</b>	.028	.335	-.244	-.297	.383

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Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. 6 components extracted.

The first factor analysis permits to cluster the questions in different groups. It appears, that

- a first factor loads on antisemitism, homophobia, traditional sexism, young people and xenophobia.
- A second factor groups attitudes against homelessness.
- A third factor groups islamophobia.
- A fourth factor groups modern sexism and attitudes against more rights for disabled people.

- A fifth factor groups on cultural islamophobia, embarrassment in presence of disabled people and generational problems with older people.
- A sixth factor has no clear load.

This first analysis gives us already some interesting insights, first of all that a group of questions clearly indicates the existence of a combined set of anti-human attitudes (like a partial misanthropy). Secondly that islamophobia seems to be different from misanthropy and xenophobia<sup>27</sup> (third factor) and that there is a “rights perspective” (fourth factor) in this field grouping people who think that we have already done enough for women and disabled people. Furthermore, we can see that there is a sort of “order in the cities” perspective (second factor) and finally, that sexism on the dimensions of traditional and modern sexism has to be differentiated. The other factors are not clear and that is why we have tried to improve the clarity of the table through the Varimax method of rotation (see Table 22)

*Table 22: Factor analysis of anti-human attitudes (rotated component matrix)*

Questions	Component					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Q67.1: Antisemitism - Jews have to much influence	<b>.521</b>	.248	.021	.341	-.053	-.448
Q67.2: Antisemitism - Jews are responsible for their persecution	<b>.552</b>	.270	.033	.258	-.042	-.411
Q67.3: Islamophobia (cultural) - Muslims have the right to live following their own culture	.067	-.154	.085	<b>.792</b>	.033	.166
Q67.4: Islamophobia (republican) - It's humiliating that Muslim women wear the veil";	.013	.199	.200	<b>.714</b>	.060	-.044
Q67.5: Homophobia - Permission of marriage between women or men	<b>.763</b>	-.050	.033	.029	-.004	.209
Q67.6: Homophobia - Kisses in the public sphere between homosexuals are disgusting	<b>.755</b>	.187	.092	-.020	.075	.107

<sup>27</sup> Contrasting the results of Stolz based on older survey data who links xenophobia and islamophobia (Stolz 2005).

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Q67.7: Disabled people - Disabled people make me feel embarrassed	.100	-.013	-.025	.048	<b>.748</b>	-.002
Q67.8: Disabled people - Disabled people have to have the same chances on the labour market	.169	.253	-.322	.238	.107	<b>.548</b>
Q67.9: Homeless people - Homeless people have to be taken away from pedestrian zones	.093	<b>.789</b>	.120	.047	.016	.009
Q67.10: Homeless people - Homeless people in cities are unpleasant	.043	<b>.780</b>	.137	-.004	.200	.061
Q67.11: Sexism (modern) - Discrimination of women in Switzerland still exists	.151	.039	.176	.078	-.209	<b>.661</b>
Q67.12: Sexism (traditional) - Traditional rule of women in Switzerland has to be reinforced	<b>.603</b>	-.104	.395	-.023	.125	.042
Q67.13: Generational problems - Young people below 20 have no interest for the community	.272	.038	.265	.151	.343	-.106
Q67.14: Generational problems - People older than 65 are a problem for the whole society	-.069	.190	.010	-.015	<b>.672</b>	-.060
Q68.9: Xenophobia - Switzerland has reached its limits	.264	.256	<b>.696</b>	.198	-.003	.036
Q68.6: Xenophobia - Foreigners are responsible for the growing unemployment	.053	.114	<b>.769</b>	.126	.016	.019

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Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Rotation converged in 14 iterations.

The rotation clarifies some of the factors found earlier. In fact, a combined set of anti-human attitudes continues to exist (first component), but it is now differentiated from xenophobia (factor 3). It includes:

- Antisemitism,
- Homophobia,
- Traditional sexism.

The second component combines devaluation of homeless people in the public space and is related to attitudes, which we can summarize as attitudes against disorder.

The third one indicates a xenophobic group of people and a fourth one, confirming a distinction between topics regarding anti-human attitudes and topics regarding migration (the new and the old), is islamophobia.

The last two factors are interesting:

In fact the fourth component indicates people feeling bad in presence of human weakness, represented by disabled and old people. This feeling of embarrassment has certainly to be analyzed in further researches following the hypothesis that, in a society in which weakness is seen as a risk, the perception of such weakness can create negative feelings by projection of a situation in which we can or will inevitably be ourselves during the course of life.

The last one (component 6) reappears also more clearly through the rotation. In fact, we notice an attitude of people who are against privileges for specific groups, in particular, disabled people and women. This “rights perspective” for others reminds the deeper analyzed factor of Heitmeyer of “precedent rights of established” (Heitmeyer 2005: 26).

To verify if these groups are consistent, we can adopt a multivariate analysis.

### **Multivariate analysis of Rightwing Extremist Potential and Misanthropy**

We have until now compared some indicators of REP and misanthropy with social characteristics. This first steps of the analysis remains partial. That is why we have decided to realise a multivariate analysis, trying at the same time to relate the general indicators of REP and misanthropy with individual and social characteristics to better understand and explain the observed tendencies.

We have privileged a multivariate analysis combining an analysis of multiple correspondences and a typological analysis instead of a regression analysis trying to develop a model because:

- We want to use a set of indicators which define misanthropy and REP to better understand the logics relating these indicators. In fact, the proposed type of analysis permits to integrate a large number of variables while regression analysis requires to work either with individual indicators, or to group different indicators into an index, losing the possibility to understand the relations or logics between the used indicators.

- 
- The multivariate analysis permits to discuss observed logics related to an important number of independent variables and to explain the relevance of these variables. Regression analysis constrains to a selection of a small number of independent variables to test and optimise a model.
  - The multivariate analysis allows to group individuals and their opinion on the basis of strictly statistical considerations, based on similarities of response profiles to the questionnaire, while regression analysis is based on a priori hypotheses of the researchers.
  - The multivariate analysis allows verifying typologically factors identified in the previous factor analysis, while regression analysis simplifies the reality into a general model.

These arguments are particularly relevant for our research project, which tries to explore a large number of variables and their impact. This comprehensive approach allows to describe the reality of our survey in a more differentiated way.

Methodologically, we shall, in a first step, realize a multiple correspondence analysis on the different indicators that we have chosen to understand REP and misanthropy. This correspondence analysis permits to identify – on the basis of more or less strong correlations – different modalities of answers.

In a second step, the chosen approach classifies through grouping – and this on a pure statistical ground – the individuals and the expressed opinions. The groups are based on the proximity between the answers on the defined questions<sup>28</sup>. We have in particular used the typological and classificatory analysis produced by the data analysis software SPAD-N (Lebart and Morineau 1982). The groups are constituted by variables that are called active. The variables are our indicators of REP and misanthropy.

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<sup>28</sup> The statistical analysis generalizes the calculation of proximity and on this ground the groups that satisfy two conditions: minimizing the distances between individuals belonging to the same group and maximizing the distance between these groups. The analysis is first based on the chosen variables, then on the calculation mode of the distances between the unities and the groups.

Through this choice we can qualify the groups on the ground of the relations between the different chosen variables. The groups are then described using in addition to the active variables what is called illustrative variables. These are variables, which we have chosen on the basis of their presumed explicative force (independent variables describing characteristics of people or situations). These variables do not interfere in the constitution of the groups. They are elaborated according to their level of association with the active variables (proximity of answers given by the individuals).<sup>29</sup>

The factor analysis described earlier (Table 16, Table 21 and Table 22) permits the selection of pertinent indicators operationalizing the logic behind REP and misanthropy. These indicators are used as active variables based on dichotomised questions. For each factor, we have chosen a key question, thus simplifying the reference system (number of variables), without simplifying the analysis.

### **The logic of misanthropy**

Concerning misanthropy, the typological analysis can be based on the following questions (already grouped following the before identified factors):

- Misanthropy: Sexism (traditional sexism; women have to recover their role as conscious mothers and housewives), Antisemitism (Jews are partially responsible for their persecutions), Homophobia (permitting marriages between people of the same sex);
- Xenophobia (number of foreigners in Switzerland cannot anymore increase without creating problems);
- Islamophobia (Muslims should not have the right to live in Switzerland following their proper religious rules);

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<sup>29</sup> The analysis of the classification tries to constitute groups, using as a rule Ward's method, which minimizes the intra-categorical dispersion. The use of this method is useful when the variables are dichotomised. The groups are created by the method of hierarchy consisting in the successive grouping of individuals, which are close from the point of view of the variables' load, until reaching a specific number of groups (Ward 1963). For the complete analysis, see appendix 6.

- 
- Devaluation of homeless people (homeless people who beg on the streets should be taken away from the pedestrian zones).

The typological analysis differentiates four principal aggregations constituting 84.75% of the population and four smaller groups, which we will not analyse any further. These smaller groups are distinguished by the fact that the individuals have not given an answer to the key indicators. The description of these groups through the illustrative variables permits nevertheless to have some insights on the composition of the non-respondents.

The profile analysis is orientated on the active variables and tries to identify significant constellations of variables including also the illustrative (independent) variables. A group can then be specifically identified when major active and illustrative variables are overrepresented in the group.

The first most important group (representing 37.26% of the sample) that we can distinguish can be described as open regarding differences and systematically against anti-human attitudes. Some relevant characteristics of this group are that it is against authority and violence, left wing voters (socialists and ecologists) with regular political activities. From the socio-demographic point of view, it is a group with a higher education and a middle class salary, without any religious affiliation. It is a young, urban and Swiss group (with a higher representation in the Swiss German part of the country). The group is also characterized by its openness to the rest of the world and the future. It is a group in which the expectations from leaders are low, indicating that inside the group, there is an entrepreneurial attitude. It can be called the “creative class”<sup>30</sup> – using here the class term only to indicate that a common feature concerning the attitudes and the behaviour characterises the group, i.e. an orientation towards the future in a pluralistic society. Table 23 resumes some major characteristics of this group.

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<sup>30</sup> Using the terminology that Florida (Florida 2004) has developed to describe similar characteristics.

*Table 23: The creative class*

Group 1 (37.26%)		
Active variables	% in the group	% in the whole population
Not against homeless people in the inner-city	100	67.82
Jews are not responsible for their persecution	94.66	63.19
More foreigners in Switzerland are not a problem	59.65	34.01
Women have not to recover their role as conscious mothers and housewives	78.12	54.06
Permission of marriages between people of the same sex	78.60	56.95
Muslims have the right to live in Switzerland following their proper religious rules	65.13	58.15
Illustrative variables (explaining)	% in the group	% in the whole population
Not violent and not authoritarian	80.47	60.54
Do not recognise leaders	77.00	62.30
Left-right scale (2-4 from 0 to 10)	38.33	24.93
Affinity to the Socialist Party	26.36	17.55
No difficulties to find an orientation in a uncertain and changing world	43.12	32.43
Education: University and higher school	22.34	15.64
Has trust in people	57.63	48.65
Salary: higher than 8000 CHF / month	30.86	23.43
Participation at political activities (2 and more/year)	20.27	14.54
No religious affiliation	16.41	11.96
Political engagement: sympathising with a party	34.15	28.21
Affinity to the Green Party	6.80	4.20
Left-right scale (0-1 from 0 to 10)	6.85	4.38
No preference for Switzerland compared to other countries	32.41	25.6
Age: 30-34	12.99	9.55
No religious practice, no religiosity	21.29	16.95
Age: 40-44	14.47	10.96
Position: studying	7.97	5.48
Nationality: Swiss	84.00	80.27
Position: manager in the public sector	8.61	6.34
Does not feel attached to Switzerland	16.17	13.22
Has not fear to lose the job	55.24	58.43
Is Swiss-German	74.65	71.08
Is naturalised	71.91	68.59
Lives in an urban context, in an agglomeration	73.48	70.59

The second largest group (22.45%) is largely contrasting the first one. It is composed by people who are on our active variables clearly misanthropic (antisemitic, sexist, homophobic) and xenophobic, but do not act against homeless people in the inner-city. At the first glance different characteristics come out from the socio-demographic point of view. In this group, religious people are overrepresented. Leadership and authority are positively recognized, less violence accepted. Nationalistic elements are strongly represented in the group and the future is seen as a problem and distrust as its consequence. Politically, the group is on the right side of the scale with a preference for the Swiss popular party (SVP). The group is also characterized by the presence of older people, low education and salaries. The French-speaking part of the country is overrepresented in this group. We can call this group the conservative nationalists. One specific characteristic has to be discussed, i.e. the fact that in this group Muslims are also overrepresented. Ironically, we find in the same group, voters for the SVP and Muslims. This clearly indicates a relation between the belonging to the Muslim religion and conservative attitudes. We shall analyze this relation later on. Table 24 summarizes the main characteristics of this group

*Table 24: Conservative nationalists*

Group 2 (22.45%)		
Active variables	% in the group	% in the whole population
Jews are responsible for their persecution	75.62	24.07
Women have to recover their role as conscious mothers and housewives	77.87	42.75
No permission of marriages between people of the same sex	70.86	39.45
More foreigners in Switzerland are a problem	88.74	59.68
Muslims have not the right to live in Switzerland following their proper religious rules	43.85	36.75
Not against homeless people in the inner-city	72.44	67.82
Illustrative variables (explaining)	% in the group	% in the whole population
Strong religious practice and religiosity	38.21	24.91
Recognition of leaders	47.63	33.61
Not violent and but authoritarian	41.76	28.72
Preference for Switzerland compared to other countries	55.45	44.01
Retired	31.64	22.02
Difficulties to find an orientation in a uncertain and changing world	32.85	24.04
Does feel attached to Switzerland	62.15	52.71

Education: obligatory school	20.50	13.92
Declared religion: Islam	8.47	4.63
Left-right scale (9-10 from 0 to 10)	5.84	2.85
Violent and authoritarian	8.44	4.78
Mistrust in people	25.85	19.39
Left-right scale (5 from 0 to 10)	40.56	33.36
Affinity with the Swiss Popular Party (SVP)	15.26	10.63
Age: 55-79	41.40	28.98
Age: 80 and more	6.82	4.06
Violence as accepted mean to reach some purposes	10.43	6.99
Men	54.25	48.35
Salary: 4000 - 8000 CHF / month	51.33	45.78
Religious affiliation: catholic	48.39	43.75
Is Swiss-French	28.53	24.51

The third group represents 16.06% of the sample. It is composed by people who like to have order in the city and are xenophobic, but not at all misanthropic. A political position on the moderate right, an affiliation to Protestantism, respect of leadership and authority, management positions in the private sector and trust in people are some characteristics of this group. The group is overrepresented in the Swiss-German part of the country. It is interesting to note that young people are overrepresented in this sample and that no political activity is relevant, indicating a market orientation, but also a choice to invest in the society in another way than through politics. We call this group the liberal entrepreneurs, because they combine openness and the research for a stable order in the society guaranteeing their proper reproduction (Table 25).

*Table 25: Liberal entrepreneurs*

Group 3 (16.06%)		
Active variables	% in the group	% in the whole population
Against homeless people in the inner-city	100.00	27.06
Jews are not responsible for their persecution	87.93	63.19
Women do not have to recover their role as conscious mothers and housewives	67.53	54.06
More foreigners in Switzerland are a problem	70.37	59.68
Permission of marriages between people of the same sex	65.42	56.95
Illustrative variables (explaining)	% in the group	% in the whole population

Is Swiss-German	85.96	71.08
Left-right scale (6-8 from 0 to 10)	29.91	19.28
Recognition of leaders	41.94	33.61
Position: manager in the private sector	16.04	10.61
Not violent, but authoritarian	36.03	28.72
Declared religion: Protestant	42.89	35.30
No political activity	70.44	63.45
Age: 18-24	15.17	10.83
Affinity to the Swiss Liberal-Radical Party (FDP)	12.82	9.08
Men	53.97	48.35
No religious practice, no religiosity	21.15	16.95
Trust in people	54.11	48.65
Affinity to the Swiss Popular Party (SVP)	14.16	10.63

The last – fourth group – represents 8.98% of the sample. It is a xenophobic group with traditional values (traditional sexism, homophobic) but without a clear position. Anomic elements like a political difficulty to take position, no answers on many questions and fear of the future characterise this group, which also accepts authority and violence. It has a low education. Women, people from the former Yugoslavia, older people and inhabitants of the Tessin are overrepresented in this group. We call this group “disoriented traditionalists” (Table 26).

*Table 26: Disoriented traditionalists*

Group 4 (8.98%)		
Active variables	% in the group	% in the whole population
Jews are responsible for their persecution – no answer	80.82	12.74
Homeless people in the inner-city	27.41	5.12
More foreigners in Switzerland are a problem	82.16	59.68
Women have to recover their role as conscious mothers and housewives	64.99	42.75
No permission of marriages between people of the same sex	50.06	39.45
Illustrative variables (explaining)	% in the group	% in the whole population
Left-right scale – no position is taken	31.70	15.2
No party affinity	67.01	47.96
Education: obligatory school, professional training	81.37	63.56

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Women	62.39	51.65
Violent and authoritarian	38.11	28.72
Retired	31.14	22.02
Difficulties to find an orientation in a uncertain and changing world	33.12	24.04
Non violent but authoritarian	38.11	28.72
Salary: less than 4000 CHF	25.77	18.98
Age: 70-74	8.39	4.49
Preference for Switzerland compared to other countries	51.35	44.01
Nationality: former Yugoslavia	7.13	4.09
Linguistic Region: Tessin	7.76	4.41
No political activity	70.12	63.45

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The four identified groups are in general coherent in their characteristics, except the fact that the second and fourth contain an ambivalent result, i.e. the overrepresentation of Muslims and people from the former Yugoslavia, which is in contrast with the general xenophobic trend of the two groups. A further analysis of the sample excluding foreigners permits to foster some characteristics, in particular, the *fourth group* (disoriented traditionalists) is without foreigners, older and a little less violent. The second group (conservative nationalists) also changes, integrating more visibly the party affiliation to the Christian democrats (9.28% in this group compared to the 6.63% of the sample). On the active variables, the homeless people in cities are no more tolerated by this group. An unexpected fact is that the third group (of liberal entrepreneurs) is (foreigners excluded) less open to differences, nearer to the Swiss popular party than to the Liberal-Radical Party and religious, but without any practice. This means that the entrepreneurial world is opened by foreigners, having largely the same values, but who are clearly more oriented to a tolerant Switzerland than their Swiss homologues.

In a certain way, the exclusion of foreigners does not have any relevant consequences on the group logic. It nevertheless permits to improve the coherence of the variable constellation in the group and to realize that the dimension of acceptance of violence also exists in the foreign population with an Islamic or Yugoslavian background.

As a conclusion to this analysis, we can state that the first and the third groups represent together more than the half of the population. Following this survey, we can easily see that their role is fundamental for the renewal

of our society as an open, future-oriented civilization. While the first group is on the left and in central positions inside the state, the second group is on the moderate right and acting as entrepreneurs and managers in the private sector. Together they are motors of our society and seem to contribute to a societal model of recognition of differences and against misanthropy. The conservative nationalists on the right who act consciously against the integration of difference in this country, but also against modernity and modernization processes, contrast with these groups. The fourth small group is the most problematic, because it has a number of characteristics indicating that it is more outside than inside the society. It is different from the third group by the fact that it is not possible to reach it through the public space and political debates.

### **The logic of Rightwing Extremist Potential**

We have adopted the same logic of analysis to Rightwing Extremist Potential in Switzerland (REP). The chosen active variables are again justified through the factor analysis done earlier. We have in particular chosen the following dichotomised questions:

- Law and order: Q60.1 Criminal acts have to be punished more strongly; Q60.2 To maintain law and order, it is important to act stronger against marginal people and rioters; Q60.3 Obedience and respect of the superior hierarchic position are among the most important characteristics; Q60.4 We have to be grateful to leaders who tell us what we have to do.
- Acceptance of violence: Q60.1a To realise my purposes, I need from time to time to use violence; Q60.2a To maintain law and order, the state does not have to hesitate to use violence.

Four groups can be identified covering more than 84% of the sample and which partially confirms our conceptual framework (Table 19). The largest group (38.06%) is close to the position of the liberal entrepreneurs and can be characterised on the active variables as a group searching for order in the society, also through consequent punishment of crimes and interventions against rioters, but without imploring the state, violence or authoritarian measures. It is a liberal right that can be identified (Table 27).

*Table 27: Liberal democrats - right*

Group 1 (38.06%)		
Active variables	% in the group	% in the whole population
We do not have to be grateful to leaders who tell us what we have to do	94.99	62.30
Criminal acts have to be punished more strongly	95.44	71.26
To realise my purposes, I do not need violence	99.70	91.73
To maintain law and order, it is important to act stronger against marginal people and rioters	69.11	60.04
To maintain law and order, the state does not have to use violence	76.45	69.79
Obedience and respect of the superior hierarchic position are among the most important characteristics	44.43	37.61
Illustrative variables (explaining)	% in the group	% in the whole population
No violence and no authoritarianism	83.80	60.54
Nationality: Swiss	85.71	80.27
Muslims do not have the right to live in Switzerland following their proper religious rules	43.19	36.75
Left-right scale; 6-8 in a scale from 0 to 10	23.08	19.28
Permission of marriages between people of the same sex	61.12	56.95
Education: higher professional education	18.96	15.90
A little bit religious, but without practice	25.33	22.16
Not against homeless people in the inner-city	71.18	67.82
Salary: higher than 8000 CHF	26.53	23.43
Education: professional school	53.22	49.64
Party affiliation: liberal-radical party (FDP)	11.13	9.08
Never lived outside Switzerland more than 6 months	67.64	64.43
Age: 45-49	10.24	8.39
Jews are not responsible for their persecution	66.31	63.19
Position: independent with employees	3.57	2.60
Not religious, no religious practice	18.75	16.59

The second group of 23.28% is close to the conservative nationalists, accepting authority and law and order policies, without accepting violence as a mean to solve problems. This democratic group is close to the Swiss Popular Party, nationalist, with low education and salaries. Stronger among Swiss-Germans and older people, more religious and male, this group mistrusts people and is oriented backwards, seeing in the future more trouble than solutions. Conceptually, we can call it conservative democrats

(Table 28). The same figure as before can be found concerning foreigners, who are overrepresented in this conservative group.

*Table 28: Conservative democrats - right*

Group 2 (23.28%)		
Active variables	% in the group	% in the whole population
We have to be grateful to leaders who tell us what we have to do	100.00	33.61
Obedience and respect of the superior hierarchic position are among the most important characteristics	95.65	59.30
To maintain law and order, it is important to act stronger against marginal people and rioters	89.41	60.04
Criminal acts have to be punished more strongly	95.77	71.26
To maintain law and order, the state has to use violence	47.65	27.18
To realise my purposes, I do not need violence	99.69	91.73
Illustrative variables (explaining)	% in the group	% in the whole population
No violence, but authoritarianism	70.25	28.72
Against homeless people in the inner-city	41.20	27.06
Preference for Switzerland compared to other countries	58.71	44.01
Retired	32.21	22.02
Age: over 70	23.41	13.51
Education: professional school	60.68	49.64
No political activities	73.96	63.45
No permission of marriages between people of the same sex	50.09	39.45
Party affiliation: Swiss popular party (SVP)	17.59	10.63
Living in small municipalities (2000-4999)	19.13	11.92
Swiss-Germans	79.91	71.08
Religious and religious practice	56.79	44.29
Left-right scale; 6-8 in a scale from 0 to 10	26.47	19.28
Rural environment	37.45	29.41
Jews are responsible for their persecution	31.53	24.07
Men over 60	16.20	10.93
Left-right scale; 5 in a scale from 0 to 10	40.58	33.36
From the former Yugoslavia	7.24	4.09
Education: obligatory school	18.82	13.92
Women over 60	20.30	15.17
Muslim	7.25	4.63
Salary: between 4000 and 8000 CHF	51.16	45.78

Difficulties to find an orientation in a uncertain and changing world	28.15	24.04
Mistrusting people	23.08	19.39
Foreigner	23.41	19.73
Salary: less than 4000 CHF	22.49	18.98
Party affiliation: Liberal-radical Party	11.35	9.08

Closer in the positions to the “creative class” identified before, but smaller (17.06%), this group lives in the cities, votes left or ecological, without religious practice, it is young, studying or in a good position as independent and is politically active (Table 29).

*Table 29: Liberal democrats - left*

Group 3 (17.06%)		
Active variables	% in the group	% in the whole population
Criminal acts have not to be punished more strongly	100.00	21.78
To maintain law and order, it is not important to act stronger against marginal people and rioters	92.85	35.29
Obedience and respect of the superior hierarchic position are not among the most important characteristics	81.11	37.61
To maintain law and order, the state does not have to use violence	96.96	69.79
We do not have to be grateful to leaders who tell us what we have to do	88.08	62.30
To realise my purposes, I do not need violence	98.14	91.73
Illustrative variables (explaining)	% in the group	% in the whole population
No violence and no authoritarianism	99.48	60.54
Left-right scale; 2-4 in a scale from 0 to 10	59.25	24.93
Education: higher education and university	37.65	15.64
Party affiliation: Socialist Party	39.45	17.55
Jews are not responsible for their persecution	84.80	63.19
Not against homeless people in the inner-city	86.69	67.82
Permission of marriages between people of the same sex	76.57	56.95
Trust in people	68.72	48.65
Not religious, no religious practice	32.16	16.95
Participation in political activities (since at least 2 years)	27.56	14.54
Affinity to the Green Party	12.03	4.20
No declared religion	23.67	11.96
No preference for Switzerland compared to other countries	23.85	20.88
No difficulties to find an orientation in a uncertain and changing	53.23	23.93

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world		
Muslims have the right to live in Switzerland following their proper religious rules	70.99	58.15
Political engagement: sympathising with a party	40.33	28.21
Lives in cities (more than 200'000 inhabitants)	49.77	37.28
Left-right scale; 0-1 in a scale from 0 to 10	9.81	4.38
Salary: higher than 8000 CHF	32.71	23.43
Position: studying	9.44	5.48
Does not feel attached to Switzerland	45.56	38.35
Men between 30 and 44	21.51	16.08
Lived outside Switzerland for more than 6 months	42.34	35.57
Does not fear to lose one's job	38.91	32.89
Independent without employees	9.23	6.08
Nationality: Swiss	84.57	80.27
Men	54.54	48.35
Age: 25-34	22.71	18.21

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The last small group (6.14%) is conservative and nationalistic, clearly in a right-wing position with a high acceptance of a strong state and a law and order orientation. It accepts violence as an option of acting. Compared to the group of disoriented traditionalists, the individuals in this group are more conscious about their political position on the right side. Socio-demographic data inform us that the group is young, is stronger in the Italian- and French-speaking parts of Switzerland, without any higher education or good economic positions – and has more fear of losing its jobs. There are more young men inside this group and Italians and people from the former Yugoslavia are overrepresented (Table 30). This group has the highest rightwing extremist potential.

*Table 30: Nationalist conservatives – violence oriented*

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Group 4 (6.14%)		
Active variables	% in the group	% in the whole population
To realise my purposes, I accept violence	94.86	6.99
To maintain law and order, the state had to use violence	57.84	27.18
We have to be grateful to leaders who tell us what we have to do	54.79	33.61
Obedience and respect of the superior hierarchic position are among the most important characteristics	78.01	59.30

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Criminal acts have to be punished more strongly	87.40	71.26
To maintain law and order, it is important to act stronger against marginal people and rioters	72.75	60.04
Illustrative variables (explaining)	% in the group	% in the whole population
Violence and authoritarianism	37.99	4.78
Violence, but no authoritarianism	27.83	3.51
French-speaking part of Switzerland	44.90	24.51
Education: obligatory school	30.23	13.92
Catholics	64.99	43.75
Against permission of marriages between people of the same sex	59.36	39.45
Tessin	12.69	4.41
Italians	12.84	4.59
Jews are responsible for their persecution	37.72	24.07
Mistrust in people	31.12	19.39
Left-right scale; 9-10 in a scale from 0 to 10	7.74	2.85
Against homeless people in the inner-city	38.03	27.06
Difficulties to find an orientation in a uncertain and changing world	33.96	24.04
Party affiliation: no answer	50.70	39.53
Muslims do not have the right to live in Switzerland following their proper religious rules	46.78	36.75
Fear to lose the job	17.08	10.71
Men between 18 and 29	15.54	9.82
Nationality: former Yugoslavia	8.22	4.09
Age: 18-24	16.41	10.83

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To sum up this analysis we can easily state that there is a right-wing extremist potential in this country of about 6-7%, if we combine all the calculations done. The other figures are also relevant: a large part of the population is democratically oriented, even if they accept authority or even ask for more.

### **Summary of the main results of the inquiry**

If we try to give some quantitative figures of misanthropy and rightwing extremism in Switzerland, we have to return to our descriptive figures in the first part of our presentation of the main results. It is clear from these figures that such sorts of attitudes are not exceptional in Switzerland, but present in

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the core society. If antisemitism affects around 20% of the population, xenophobia is yet a majority. If islamophobia relates to around 30% of the population, sexism is still largely diffused in the Swiss population. Rightwing extremist potential is not a marginal phenomenon either. 7% of the population think that violence can solve problems and the “law and order” philosophy is largely diffused.

These facts are confirmed by the explanations that we have tried to develop. Indeed, fear and insecurity, prejudices and ethnocentrism are elements, which appear to be relevant for the understanding of anti-human attitudes. The filter against such attitudes is – if we follow the results of our survey – education and the daily experience of otherness in a positive way. In other words, two logics could be at the centre of a strategy against the risk of increasing radical opinions: information and social relations between different people. The informational path is the focus of many campaigns and educational programmes in schools; the efforts to create experiences of differences is easy for people in a favourable position, but would need to be facilitated for a large part of the population. In this perspective, programmes of revitalisation of social relations between differences in general could be a way to cope with attitudes based on prejudices and a lack of experiences.

### **Forms of implementation of a regular monitoring in Switzerland and synergies to other instruments**

Misanthropy and right-wing extremism are phenomena in continuous change. Symbols of and discourses on these attitudes alter on a regular basis, often followed social and political change. Scope and concerned social areas alter as well. If policies against these attitudes are to have an impact, they must be based on systematic and long-term surveys<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup> It is clear that such surveys cannot be sufficient in analysing these attitudes. However, they may be used as a general indicator in the discussion of the topic or as a departure point of in-depth research projects. The survey can also be partly adapted (using new and revised questions) with the integration of research results from other projects.

Bases against misanthropy and right-wing extremism should not be only morals and ethics, but also the knowledge achieved by socio-scientific methods. Thus, not only the momentary observation and ad-hoc sensitisation from subjective consternation, but also the permanent observation with objective and quantifiable data would be appropriate. From the permanent observation in political fields, like environmental protection, we can see that an all-over social reporting, a combination of several methods of inquiry and thus the combination of objective and subjective indicators are the best way to approach this problem. With the help of these instruments, the aim should be to formulate concrete and effective preventive and intervention policies and guarantee useful analyses of the causes. This way, reporting gives important information about social development in an easy, understandable form and thus is an important instrument for the political planning (education, being careful with specific fields of politics).

The periodical reporting should guarantee a variety of methods and a combination of different sources of information. Multi-dimensionality should be the principle of the researches, including both the culprit and the victim. The permanent observation becomes more heterogeneous if three aspects are respected: the discriminating, the discriminated and the forms of discrimination. Those should by all means be the constant axes of the observation parameters.

If these instruments are supposed to provide data for effective governmental measures, then surveys about misanthropy and right-wing extremism have to be designed broad, both on the level of attitude and on the level of behaviour. While formulating the questions, it is very important that the questions are not politically incorrect or distort misanthropy and right-wing extremism in the public opinion. The instrument should on one side explain the discriminating views and actions in their variety and on the other side detect anti-racist actions and provide a basis for counter-measures.

Levy (Levy 1998) for example had the idea to organize the observation parameter thus that it reacts quickly to a new victim and allows to recognize certain categories of victims, who are often bound to the situation. This we consider as being very useful. Discrimination should possibly be documented in great detail and not only in individual and selected cases. The central criterion should be the unequal treatment, because of the affiliation to a category, without considering individual characteristics.

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As we have seen it with the face-to-face studies, the questions of attitude have to be handled with care. The example of one question of the famous environmental survey ALLBUS<sup>32</sup> (Germany, with adaptations also Switzerland, 1994), “Wenn Arbeitsplätze knapp werden, sollte man die in der Bundesrepublik lebenden Ausländer wieder in die Heimat zurückschicken” [“If there is too much unemployment, foreigners should be sent home”, Heitmeyer (Heitmeyer 2001)], shows very impressively the difficulties of questioning on attitudes. There is the danger that such questions could lead to a normalisation of misanthropy and right-wing extremism, because these answers are not recognized as for instance racist-coloured items that should prevent certain answers, but as a mirror of the views of the society. Thus, there should be objections in what concerns the technique of questioning. Here, the science of cognition gives a warning to the science of opinion, because there is a tendency to answer questions that request a personal position positively. Rejecting a statement requires more examination of the presented statement and thus requires more cognitive abilities than a simple agreement. Agreeing with a presented statement is intellectually a much simpler process than rejecting it. In reality, this means that a questionnaire with too many racist coloured questions, exposed to agreement, would distort the results. To control this directing effect of social desirability and agreeing tendencies in researches about misanthropy and right-wing extremism, we need a combination of different forms of questions with different scales and statements. Last but not least, beside the “agree” and “reject” questions, there should be more so called *forced-choice-questions*, where the questioned persons are asked to choose between two (ore more) statements and alternatives. Thus, the problem of the tendency of agreeing could be avoided and the respective reproach counteracted. In addition, positive anti-racist statements should be included.

It is quite central in our proposition of reporting that the results of the permanent or punctual surveys should be synthesised and passed on to a practice-orientated public. This would be possible on condition that a vast public takes part in a survey and thus it becomes clear, which aspects could be interesting.

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<sup>32</sup> ALLBUS (Allgemeinen Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften) is done by GESIS in Mannheim.

The systematic collection of misanthropy and right-wing extremist views and positions will surely be basic for further researches. Long-term surveys have the following advantages: errors in measuring become visible on a longer term, the validity of the analysis is higher, changes are more clearly visible and they give the possibility of measuring the effect of campaigns. A yearly repetition of the survey is important. Thus, a repetitive survey (a repeated questioning of the same *panel study* – same person or household panel) could be of advantage, since panels make it possible to survey patterns of life and changes in opinion in a very detailed way. The panel design is technically sophisticated, because it needs a good administration of addresses and the corresponding structure and keeping of databases, as well as specific strategies of evaluation. It would be even more convenient to build discrimination modules into other repeated surveys or telephone questioning.

For a long-term monitoring, there is the idea of developing a simpler instrument, i.e. to reduce the questions from the present 90 down to 60, which would be easier to handle. To be representative, 1400 persons should be questioned (including Tessin; without Tessin 1200). According to our results, specific groups of foreigners could be neglected, which would only create additional problems because of the size of the sample survey. The question remains open, whether bigger specific foreign populations could be raised to permit a differentiated observation of sub-groups<sup>33</sup>. If the questions are only about the length of stay, then certain conclusions could be drawn. The all-over costs of such a light instrument would amount to roughly estimated 80'000.- to 100'000.- CHF per year, if the analysis is done by a university institute (survey: 50-60'000.- CHF, analysis 20-30'000.- CHF).

The institutionalisation of such an instrument is useful and has to guarantee an independent analysis. That is why we recommend finding an institutional logic, which guarantees this independence. A good example of independent state subsidized monitoring is the VOX-analysis, which is done

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<sup>33</sup> Second problem: In Switzerland there is no national or cantonal register for the citizens. BfS – sample surveys are normally based on telephone registers. Relevant sub-groups such as persons seeking asylum, people living abroad but working in Switzerland, people who work in Switzerland only for a season, second-generation foreigners and naturalized people will probably create specific problems concerning language and affection in such a survey.

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by three university institutions in a rotating logic. Such a model could be the basis of the institutionalisation of this monitoring-instrument.

Establishing a pool of information – a supervision group – would be necessary. The ideal holder of such a pool would be a department of the EDI (Ministry of the interior). As for technical aspects and content, a close cooperation with the BfS (Federal department for statistics) would be useful. As a partner for a cooperation that goes further than the mentioned two departments, the BfM (Federal department for migration) could be a possibility. The support and the integration of NGOs, work groups and other organisations is important. Often, they are well informed about possible tendencies from the press and could serve as a component in the early warning system.

In addition, the integration of several secondary sources of data would be important for a regular reporting and an extensive observation of the social development. This means that a monitoring of misanthropy and right-wing extremism definitely must include police statistics about convictions and should be embedded in international data inquiry like Eurobarometer or the International Survey Program (ISSP)<sup>34</sup>. But other partial studies on national level should be included as well, as for example the survey made by CICAD. This NGO collects data about Swiss antisemitism since 1990<sup>35</sup>.

Very often there is a big discrepancy between position, perception and values, which are easy to establish and reliable data about actual racist actions. In this context, the question is whether the instrument of opinion polls is enough. The chronology “*Rassistische Vorfälle in der Schweiz*” (racist incidents in Switzerland), kept by the society GMS (Society Minorities in Switzerland) and the trust against racism and antisemitism, GRA, which are published since 1991 and edited by Hans Stutz since 1994,

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<sup>34</sup> European Social Survey (ESS) 1998 Religion and 1999 social inequality, 1997 work. National Coordinator: Dominique Joye from SIDOS. Funding organisation: Schweizerischer Nationalfonds zur Förderung der Wissenschaftlichen Forschung, Survey organisation: MIS-Trend.

<sup>35</sup> In September 2003 CICAD carried out a telephone survey in which 52% of the Swiss stated that they think Jews “still talk to often about the Holocaust”. (“Alle mit Allah?”, NZZ am Sonntag, 7.12.2003).

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could provide an interesting addition to this theme. The above mentioned chronology is a documentation of attacks, discrimination and defamations with racist motivations. Another publication of interest is the survey ADL about the press in the German-speaking part of Switzerland that looks into Antisemitism and Islamophobia<sup>36</sup> and has been first provided by the “Forschungsinstitut “*Öffentlichkeit und Gesellschaft*” at Zurich University. Its aim is the detection of ethnic or religious “dynamics of exclusion” in public communication at an early stage, because every physical war is preceded by a war of communication.

The “Sozialbericht 2000” (social report) describes and explains the current situation and forms of life of the Swiss population as well as the most important changes that have occurred in the last 30 to 50 years. The report deals with basic questions and tendencies of development in five areas: distribution of goods – cultural variety – social integration – political structuring – ecologic integration<sup>37</sup>. The “Sozialbericht 2004” depicts today’s Switzerland with the help of systematically collected data and indicators. The following questions have been discussed: “In what way did the labour market change as a result of globalisation and economic crisis in the 1990s?”; “Which are the consequences for salaries and social

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<sup>36</sup> Result of the survey: About Jewish participants a mainly positive picture that produces empathy is painted. The analysis about Muslims was primarily seen as a comparison. While classic antisemitic stereotypes in the media are mainly taboo, reporting about Muslims is unleashed: in the reality of the press, Islam and Muslims are “ignorant, hostile towards democracy and a threat to Western values”. Talking about the “Muslim threat” became socially acceptable. The step from such sweeping statements to complete exclusion is not very big. Apart from the analysis of newspapers, between December 2002 and 2003 there was an analysis of 1100 letters from readers as well. „*Forschungsbereich Öffentlichkeit und Gesellschaft, Universität Zürich – Typisierung jüdischer Akteure in den Medien, März 2004*“. „*Am liebsten als Bösewichte*“ WoZ Nr. 13/ 25.5.2004 S.2; see as well in, NZZ „*Gute Juden, böse Muslime*“? Eine Antisemitismus-Studie mit unerwartetem Resultat“ 26.3.2004.

<sup>37</sup> Main themes: social indicators and social reporting, poverty and social inequity, technical sociology, political sociology in Latin America, health sociology. Publications in these fields: effectiveness of governmental support, social networking, conditions of life for single mothers, amateur help and voluntary neighbourly help, social support and health.

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inequality?"; "What kind of relations exist between the native and the foreign population?"; "Which problems of integration does the Swiss society have to face?"; "How big is the confidence of the population in politics and government? How did this confidence change lately?"; "In what way did the ecologic behaviour of the population change?" (Suter et al. 2004). This survey, as well as individual sectional analyses as for example the report "SIREN" about Switzerland, provided by ILO, could represent important synergies (Poglia Mileti et al. 2002, Plomb et al. 2004). We have to explore them.

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