

Sacha Irene de Raaf

Situational variables and outgroup negativity:

To what extent do cultural values moderate the explicit expression of prejudice?

“Nothing in the world is more dangerous than sincere ignorance and conscientious stupidity”.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Master’s thesis in Risk Psychology, Environment and Safety

Spring, 2011

Preface

Being an immigrant in a country with different cultural values, language, ethnicity and religion can be challenging in itself. Many immigrants face difficulties in adjusting to a new country and the values it holds. However, these difficulties can be enhanced with the suspicion of being treated differently *as a result* of their cultural, religion or ethnic background. From the immigrants point of view the suspicion of being treated with prejudice can be devastating and confusing. Immigrants might question: *Did I not get the job for reason of my skin colour?* Eventhough it might seem easier for the immigrant to think that they did not get the job by reason of their skin colour or their religious background, is there any validity to this assumption? My personal experiences, as an immigrant, in applying for work often made me wonder if my name had anything to do with the fact that I was never called in for an interview. This assumption greatly confused me as Norway is identified as a country that holds egalitarian values highly. Thus, to answer these questions, I needed to study to what extent stereotyping and prejudice is observed. Additionally, are individuals consciously aware that they are stereotyping? If yes, are they able to control this? If individuals are able to control their stereotypic thoughts, to what extent do cultural values influence this control? The following thesis aims at answering the questions surrounding the complexity of prejudice and stereotyping with the aid of my completed empirical study.

As a young scientist, trying to feel her way around the world of research, writing this thesis has enriched my life emotionally and intellectually, especially in my understanding of empirical work. Firstly, I would like to sincerely thank my supervisor, Dr. Christian Klöckner. His gentle criticisms and guidance, always encouraged me to do better and challenged me to lift this thesis to a level consistent with the best of my abilities. Moreover, I would like to thank the participants for taking the time to take part in my study. Further, a special thank you to my confederates, Kim, Lene, and Hamisi for taking on the role of discussion leader. Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends, especially Marius Kalseth for supporting me through times of frustration and celebrating my success.

Moelv, 2011

Sacha Irene de Raaf

Abstract

Implicit racial attitudes are automatic while explicit racial attitudes are controlled. Situations imposing normative constrain can motivate individuals to moderate the expression of their racial attitudes, especially in relation to stereotyping and prejudice. Data was collected from 97 participants living in Hedmark and Oppland, Norway. The purpose of the study was to examine if a correlation between implicit and explicit attitudes exists using a response latency and self-report measurement. Additionally, the presence of normative control was tested using focus group discussions intended at encouraging participant's behavioural expressions of their racial attitudes. Three group discussion leaders with different racial backgrounds were used to measure the social control exerted by participants. ANOVA, factor and regression analysis were performed; evidence has been found in support of a correlation between implicit and explicit attitudes. Individuals indicated rather positive attitudes during the self-report measure while simultaneously revealing negative attitudes during the response latency measurement. Compliance to normative constrain was observed during group discussions led by the European and African leader resulting in decreased numbers of negative statements. On the other hand, group discussions led by the Norwegian leader generated decreased saliency for egalitarian values, which in turn resulted in less compliance induced by normative control from participants and an increase of negative statements.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	I
Abstract	II
Table of contents	III-IV
Tables and Figures	V-VI
1. Introduction	1
2. Theory	3
2.1 The chain from social categorisation to discrimination	4
2.1.1. Definitions of key concepts	4
2.1.2. Social categorisation and how it relates to social identity and social comparison	4
2.1.3. Stereotyping	6
2.1.4. Attitudes and prejudice	8
2.1.5. Discrimination	10
2.1.6. An integrated perspective	10
2.2. The value-norms-attitude chain	11
2.2.1. Definitions of the key concepts	11
2.2.2. Values	11
2.2.2.1 Egalitarianism	13
2.2.3. Norms	14
2.2.3.1 Group Norm Theory (GNT)	15
2.2.4. Social attitudes	16
2.2.5. An integrated perspective	17
2.3. Internal versus external control	18
2.3.1. Situational dependency of the expression of prejudice	20
2.3.2. Implicit versus explicit attitudes	21
2.4. An integrated model	24

2.5. The present study	27
2.5.1. Application of the framework model	27
2.5.2. The special case of Norway	28
2.5.2.1 Immigration situation	28
2.5.2.2 Egalitarianism in Norway	29
2.5.3. Hypotheses	30
3. Method	33
3.1. Participants	33
3.2. Procedure and Experimental design	33
3.2.1. NSD and NESH	35
3.3. Measures	36
3.4. Coding of verbal and non-verbal expression of prejudice in the focus group discussions	44
4. Results	49
5. Discussion	59
5.1 Methodological reflections	59
5.1.1 Reliability of questionnaire scales	59
5.1.2 Validity of IAT	60
5.1.3 Reliability of coding schema	61
5.2 Relating findings to theory and hypotheses	61
5.3 Weaknesses and improvements	69
5.4 Future research	70
6. Conclusion	72
Reference list	73
Appendix A. Exploratory factor analysis for questionnaire prejudice scale	81
Appendix B. Exploratory factor analysis for questionnaire egalitarian scale	86
Appendix C. Exploratory factor analysis for coding schema	89
Appendix D. Information and debriefing sheet	91
Appendix E. Standardized formats for confederates during focus group discussions	94
Appendix F. IAT items	95
Appendix G. Standardized format used to code behaviour from video recordings	96
Appendix H. The blatant and subtle prejudice scales	97

Tables and Figures

Figure 1. Overview of components believed to comprise a stereotype	7
Figure 2. Overview of components believed to comprise an attitude	9
Figure 3. Overview of components believed to comprise prejudice	9
Figure 4. The relationship between categorisation, stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination	12
Figure 5. The relationship between values, norms and social attitudes	19
Figure 6. The moderating relationship between prejudice and social norms	26
Figure 7. Groups IAT score for names	44
Figure 8. Groups IAT score for values	44

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations and Cronbach's Alpha for prejudice scale	38
Table 2. Rotated pattern matrix for 11 prejudice items	39
Table 3. Means, Standard Deviations and Cronbach's Alpha for egalitarian value scale	40
Table 4. Rotated pattern matrix for 9 values items	40
Table 5. Means, Standard Deviations for implicit attitude measure	43
Table 6. Main, sub-categories and coding for group discussions	45
Table 7. Interrater reliability results between category counts of rater one and rater two	48
Table 8. Rotated pattern matrix with 6 subcategories for rater one	47
Table 9. Rotated pattern matrix with 6 subcategories for rater two	49
Table 10. Means, Standard Deviations and t-test results for implicit attitude measure (IAT)	49
Table 11. Means, Standard Deviations for explicit attitude measure (questionnaire)	50
Table 12. One-sample t-test for explicit attitude measure (questionnaire)	51
Table 13. One-sample t-test for explicit attitude measure (subtle prejudice subcategory)	52
Table 14. Frequency analysis for statements given during focus group discussions	52
Table 15. Frequency for number of negative, positive and integration/differentiation statements for each group	53
Table 16. Levene's test results for a violation of equal variance in the discussion groups	54
Table 17. Negative and integration/differentiation statements tested with Welch's and Browne-Forsythe's F-ratio	54
Table 18. One-way ANOVA for number of statements between Norwegian and European/African group	54
Table 19. Correlation measure table	56
Table 20. Hierarchical regression analysis summery for variables predicting explicit prejudice	57
Table 21. Hierarchical regression analysis summery for variables predicting statements in group discussions	58
Histogram 1. Bar chart indicating IAT-scores for participants preference for Norwegian and non-Norwegian names	43
Histogram 2. Bar chart indicating IAT-scores for participants preference for egalitarian and hierarchical values	43

1 Introduction

I remember one particular day I was walking home around seven in the evening when 12 guys surrounded me with the intention of assault. I ran but they caught up and continued to assault me. They kicked, spat at me and called me names. Two days later a much larger group of 20 came to my home, with the same intention, only on a larger scale. My mother told them to leave, but they returned at one in the morning and set our house on fire. We escaped the fire but my mother had enough and moved to another area.

(Sudanese man; Personal communication, February 23, 2010).

The example presented, although extreme, demonstrates that there are native Norwegians¹ who are not afraid of expressing negative attitudes and behaviour toward minority outgroups consisting of immigrants and/or refugees. Usually, however it is more common to observe indirect forms of prejudice, such as unfriendliness towards immigrants (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). Fifty years ago it was acceptable to openly differentiate between racial groups resulting in distinctions between out-groups and in-groups, stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination (Allport, 1954). However, over time most contemporary societies have adopted values and norms that promote the suppression of negative attitudes toward ethnic minority groups. As research relating to prejudice and discrimination expanded and evolved, it became clear that the expression of ethnic prejudice seems to be sensitive to norms in the immediate social context (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Sherif, 1973; Sherif & Sherif, 1969; Crandall, Eshleman & O'Brien, 2002; Monteith, Deneen & Tooman, 1996; Blanchard, Lilly & Vaughn, 1991; Zitek & Hebl, 2006; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson & Howard, 1997), and individuals motivation to either respond with prejudice or not (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Crandell, et. al., 2002; Rutland, Cameron, Milne & McGeorge, 2005; Fiske & Taylor, 1991). The norm egalitarianism is emphasised in most European countries today and promotes values that motivate individuals to recognise each other as being morally equal, generally promoting the welfare of everybody (Schwartz, 2007; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). These norms conflict directly with the preservation of prejudice resulting in prejudice becoming less socially acceptable. However, the promotion of social norms suppressing prejudice and discrimination was in itself not successful, complete eradication was difficult, and the expression of it simply shifted. Modern forms of prejudice and discrimination became subtle and indirect, suggesting that individuals are able to control the expression of their racial attitude under certain situations (Crandell et. al., 2002; Rutland et. al., 2005; Tjelmeland & Brochmann, 2003; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Ekehammar, Akrami & Araya, 2000; Devine, 1989). Finding

¹ Throughout this thesis I will refer to white Norwegians born in Norway as: native Norwegians. This distinction is needed in order to differentiate native Norwegians from immigrants and other foreigners born in Norway as well as indicating that this group has the highest-status in Norway.

evidence of the ability to control the expression of an attitude, made researchers wonder under what kind of social situations one is not able to control the expression of one's attitude, resulting in a shift of focus to implicit attitudes. The differentiation between implicit and explicit attitudes has demanded researchers to develop new measures to assess prejudice. This development has resulted in researchers using self-report measures such as questionnaires to measure explicit attitudes and automatic response measures such as the Implicit Association Test (IAT) to measure implicit attitudes (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Greenwald, McGhee & Schwartz, 1998). Consequently, many studies have discovered that individuals can explicitly accept the egalitarian values of society, yet simultaneously carry implicit negative feelings toward ethnic minorities (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Blanchard, et. al., 1991; Dovidio et. al., 1997; Myrdal, 1962; Sherif, 1973; Plant & Devine, 1998, 2009; Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones & Vance, 2002).

Norway, with its welfare state model, is considered to hold its fundamental value-orientation in egalitarianism more highly than any other country in Europe (Schwartz, 2007; Tjelmeland & Brochmann, 2003; Hernes & Knudsen, 1992; Kommunal of regionaldepartementet, 1998). Thus, it provides a particularly interesting context in which to study the phenomenon of simultaneously carrying implicit negative attitudes while explicitly accepting egalitarian values. During the past years there have been a number of cases in the news suggesting that Norwegians are especially sensitive to normative constraint, yet negativity continues toward an (increasing) number of immigrants and asylum seekers, suggesting that implicit and explicit attitudes are dissimilar (Brustad, 2010; Eisenträger 2007; Nielsen, Johnsen, Helgesen, 2010; Skevik, 2010; Åsebø, Engan, Solem, 2010). According to representatives of 96 immigrant-organisations throughout Norway indirect forms of prejudice and discrimination can occur almost daily while direct forms of discrimination like the one reported by the Sudanese man occur relatively seldom (Ekollo, Halvorsen & Headstveit, 2003). These reports have been the initiator for this thesis. It seems that most native Norwegians truly want to comply with egalitarian norms and suppress their expression of prejudice, yet are unaware that their negative implicit attitudes are impeding on their good intentions. This unawareness continues to influence the behaviour of individuals (unconsciously and automatically) when first meeting immigrants (Devine et. al., 2002; Dovidio, Gaertner & Kawakami, 2002; Plant & Devine, 2009). The initial goal of this thesis is to provide evidence supporting the notion of implicit and explicit attitudes. Second, to provide evidence of how social influence in the form of normative constraint can influence behaviour and moderate the impact of negative

implicit attitudes on the expression of prejudice. Third, the thesis likes to explore if the presence of an immigrant alters the situational context so that expression of prejudice is more likely repressed than if no immigrant is present.

2 Theory

There are a number of social psychological processes mediating the source of prejudice and discrimination arising from interactions between individuals, and groups of individuals (Tajfel, 1978a). Such social psychological processes are threats (symbolic or realistic and anxiety), and social dominance orientation. Symbolic threats are perceived value and belief differences between ingroups (native Norwegians) and outgroups (immigrants) and the failure of immigrants to adopt to these cultural norms and lifestyles of the host country, while realistic threats are threats to the welfare of the host country (Stephan, Stephan, Dimitrakis, Yamada and Clason, 2000; Verkuyten, 2001; Paxton & Mughan, 2006). Anxiety may arise from the anticipation of interacting with an ethnic outgroup member (Stephan, et. al., 2000). Higher levels of social dominance orientation explain how some individuals and powerful social institutions (schools, financial houses, governments) have a tendency to embrace group-based hierarchies and the domination of 'inferior' groups by 'superior' groups (Morrison & Ybarra, 2008; Sidanius, Pratto, van Laar & Levin, 2004). As a function of the complexity that surrounds prejudice and discriminatory behaviour it is important that I explain the central concepts first. These concepts are defined in a continuous order from the initial phases of social categorisation to discriminatory behaviour respectively. After discussing the key concepts that lead to discrimination I continue to discuss the chain of values-norms-attitudes. This chain is of particular importance in understanding the consecutive section. Thus, chapter 2.3 should bring a deeper understanding of how values and norms influence behaviour in such a way that it motivates an individual to either consciously or unconsciously suppress or express their stereotypical thoughts.

Group Norm Theory (GNT) has been influential on the empirical research of this thesis. It supports the notion that social norms moderate the expression and suppression of prejudice and explains how this is achieved. Influential researchers in the field have also used GNT to build on their empirical research, indicating the importance of the theory (Devine et. al., 2002; Dovidio et. al., 1997).

GNT also relates to the situation observed in Norway, as egalitarian norms are highly valued yet prejudice and discrimination are continuously observed. This brings us to the final

section of this chapter. Chapter 2.5 introduces the present study and why Norway makes such a special case for the notion of social norms moderating the expression of prejudice.

2.1 The chain from social categorisation to discrimination

Paragraphs 2.1.2 until 2.1.5 will discuss the chain from social categorisation to discrimination. To conclude, an integrated perspective is discussed in paragraph 2.1.6. and a figure is presented to help the reader conceptualise the relationship between the different processes that lead to stereotyping and prejudice.

2.1.1 Definitions of the key concepts

In order to understand how prejudice and discrimination arises it is important to understand where this process begins. Therefore I start by discussing *social categorisation* which Tajfel defines as categorising oneself and others as belonging to a particular group based on the appearance of shared similarities (1978a). When categorising oneself into a particular group, one develops a *social identity*, provided that the individual perceives this group to have some value of significance (i.e., high-status) (Tajfel, 1978a). Once an individual perceives to be a member of a particularly high-valued group *social comparisons* arise. Group members tend to compare their social group to others (Tajfel, 1978a). This in turn will either confirm their status or alternatively, make them feel deprived. Feeling threatened that their status and resources might be deprived provides an acceptable justification to express this feeling in the form of stereotyping, prejudice or even discrimination (Allport, 1954; Aberson & Gaffney, 2008). *Stereotyping* is the cognitive process of ascribing personal qualities (e.g. social roles) and semantic info (e.g. trait info) generally considered to be possessed by members of a racial or ethnic group (Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson & Gaertner, 1996; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010; Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick & Esses, 2010). Stereotyping turns to prejudice when the ascribed characteristics turn to beliefs with affective tones (e.g. dislike). In turn, one may be behaviourally predisposed to avoid the ethnic group in question. This behavioural expression can be considered discrimination, the final phase in the social categorisation to discrimination chain (Jones, 1986; Dovidio et. al., 1996, 2010).

2.1.2 Social categorisation and how it relates to social identity and social comparison

The activation and implementation of categorical thinking is crucial for individuals when simplifying and structuring the individual perception process, thus assisting as a guide for

action (Allport, 1954). In relation to intergroup behaviour, in-group members do not consider out-group members in terms of their unique attributes, instead they are defined on the basis of the social categories (e.g. race, gender, age, role) to which they belong (Macrea & Bodenhausen, 2000). Tajfel (1978a) referred to the categorisation of oneself and others as belonging to a particular group based on the appearance of shared similarities: *social categorisation*. This enables individuals to process information in a top-down manner, relying on their category-based expectations informing them of the expected behaviour from the out-group member when interacting (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996).

Individuals generally prefer belonging to a group that compares positively (high-status) to other groups, as this can contribute to positive self-evaluation giving them a higher status than the comparative group. However, the division of individuals into social categories with associated affective components (i.e., positive or negative associations), enhances the subjective division *between* categories in addition to the subjective similarities *within* categories (Tajfel, 1978a). Thus, individuals will subjectively associate more positive characteristics to their own group (in-group) and more negative characteristics to the out-groups.

Once an individual perceives herself/himself as belonging to a certain social group resulting from some emotional and value significance (goods and conditions of life individuals believe they are entitled to), a social identity is provided. Tajfel (1978a) defines *social identity* as: “*That part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership*” (p.63). These memberships can change over time and some will be more salient than others, however these memberships influence the behaviour of an individual, which can be observed during intergroup interactions and relations (Tajfel, 1978a).

The social identity attached to the membership of a social group creates divisions between “us” and “them” or in-groups and out-groups. Distortions of these categories increase as a function of the saliency of the group membership (Tajfel, 1978a). Often, these distortions are perceived to be innate to each group and easily become generalised to other dimensions (e.g., character traits) (Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). In principle Tajfel (1978b) believes any characteristics shared by a group, have the capability of acquiring some form of significant value, even though they might be neutral in the first instance. Immediately after

these characteristics have acquired a socially relevant value they gain power to determine social differentiations.

A social group will protect the social identity of its members, until it loses its positively valued distinctiveness from other groups (Tajfel, 1978a). When this occurs a group member will either opt for group strategies to improve group status, or decide to cognitively and emotionally distance him/herself from the group, possibly seeking membership in another group (Ellemers, Barreto, Pagliaro & Leach, 2008).

When in-group members perceive an out-group to be unworthy of an existing acquirement in status, power, domination or any other differential, *social comparison* will arise. These social comparisons are crucial in the development of the self-image of individuals. This comparison could result in possible feelings of deprivation within the in-group (Tajfel, 1978a). The shared perceived unworthiness (symbolic or realistic) of a social group by another group, provides a socially and psychologically acceptable motive for social action and change in intergroup behaviour (Tajfel, 1978a). Thus, when a group feels deprived of status and resources, or perceives their group status to be threatened by an out-group, it is perceived more acceptable to express this deprived feeling in the form of stereotyping, prejudice or even discrimination (Allport, 1954; Aberson & Gaffney, 2008).

2.1.3 Stereotyping

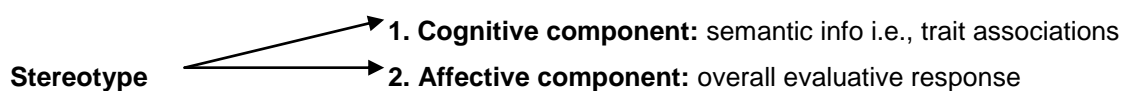
It is assumed that merely categorising individuals on the base of their race automatically elicits stereotypical thoughts (Tajfel, 1978a). Thus, the content of the activated category (e.g. Black individual, pastry baker) contains trait information and behavioural expectancies which in turn will bias the way we, process information, organise and store it in memory, guiding evaluations and impressions about members of those social categories (e.g. Black individual). This process is suggested to give rise to stereotyping (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). Greenwald and Banaji (1995) define stereotyping as: “*A socially shared set of beliefs about traits that are characteristic of members of a social category*” (p.14). They suggest stereotypes to include beliefs based on shared assumptions. However, also consider stereotypes to be flexible, as they can be altered and adjusted as a function of newly acquired information and in-group saliency.

Allport hypothesised in 1954 that the function of stereotyping was to rationalise our behaviour and to prevent differential thinking in relation to the descriptive category of the stereotype. Thus the stereotype in itself is not the core of the concept, the category containing

the cognitive and semantic information is. A recent study performed by Stapel and Lindenberg (2011) discovered that individuals stereotype and discriminate in order to bring structure to their environment. When individuals find themselves in a disordered environment, either physical or symbolic, they are temporarily more motivated to focus on achieving structure. This goal is achieved through stereotyping and can lead to the behavioural expression of distancing oneself from people of a different ethnicity. Stapel and Lindenberg suggest that stereotyping is an effective mental way to satisfy the need for structure, thus helping individuals cope with physical chaos.

Stereotyping is comprised of a *cognitive component* consisting of semantic information, such as trait associations and personal qualities (i.e., social roles). Additionally, there seems to exist an *affective component* in the form of affective reactions by the perceiver such as disgust and dislike (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). This latter component however, has sparked debates amongst social scientists as some have argued that if a stereotype acquires an affective component it becomes an attitude (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). Yet, Fiske & Taylor (1991) believe the affective component to be a part of stereotype activation as both cognitive and affective information become accessible from memory during the time of activation. Similarly, Dovidio et. al. (1996, 2010) believes that the affective aspects of stereotypes are represented primarily by overall *evaluative* responses. Eventhough Dovidio et. al. (1996, 2010) recognise that cognitive information (e.g., perceived characteristics) can also be valenced, they use the term “cognitive” mainly as a representation of semantic information (i.e., trait associations), see figure 1.

Figure 1. Overview of components believed to comprise a stereotype



Whether stereotypes include an affective component or not is beyond the scope of this thesis to study. However, throughout this thesis I will take the position that stereotypes contain an affective component. Yet, emphasis must be granted to the consideration that stereotypes are cognitive components filled with categories of individuals we believe share common attributes. Through the process of categorisation we learn to associate certain beliefs with these categories, constituting the essence of stereotypes (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). In turn, this creates a readiness by the perceiver to observe behaviours and characteristics

consistent with the stereotype. In short, stereotypes influence how people perceive, process, and respond to information about group members (Dovidio & Gaertner; Dovidio et. al., 2010, 1996). Note that stereotyping is a matter of degree: An individual who has a highly differentiated cognitive representation of members of an ethnic group, will have less stereotypic thoughts about that group (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986).

2.1.4 Attitudes and Prejudice

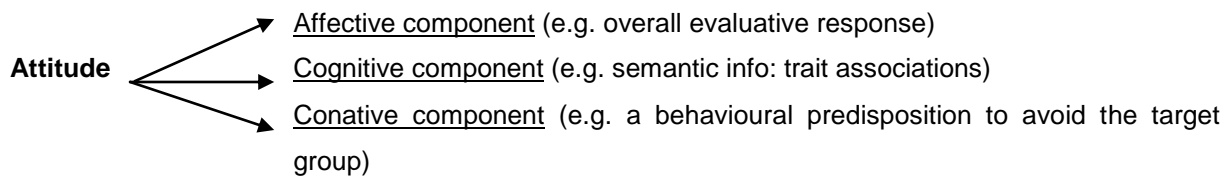
The following paragraph discusses attitudes and prejudice. Prejudice is defined as a negative attitude (Dovidio et. al., 2010, 1996). Consequently, I commence this paragraph by discussing general attitudes in order to understand the concept in more detail. Following this, I discuss how maintaining a negative attitude toward immigrants can lead to prejudice.

Attitude

An attitude can be defined as; “*Favourable or unfavourable dispositions towards social objects, such as people, places, and policies*” (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995 p.7). Attitudes stem from an individual’s set of beliefs toward social objects. Beliefs relating to social objects are formed by associations with various characteristics, qualities and attributes. By adding a dimension of favourability or unfavourably to these beliefs we develop an attitude which is based on how much we like or dislike the characteristics associated with the social object in question (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980).

At first, it was considered that the most crucial component of an attitude was its bipolar affective dimension (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). However, Allport later introduced the more generally accepted explanation that an attitude comprises of both: a cognitive, affective, and conative component as shown in figure 2 (Allport, 1935). The *cognitive component* relates to the activation of the category that contains trait information (e.g. personality differences, qualities and attributes) while the *affective component* indicates that the perceiver might have a converse affective reaction (e.g. like, dislike, disgust) toward the social object in question (Hamilton & Troler, 1986; Fiske & Taylor, 1991). The *conative component* indicates that attitudes have a strong predictive validity towards behaviour, in particular when they are strongly activated and/or when the individual in question becomes conscious of the particular link between their attitude and behaviour (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977).

Figure 2. Overview of components believed to comprise an attitude

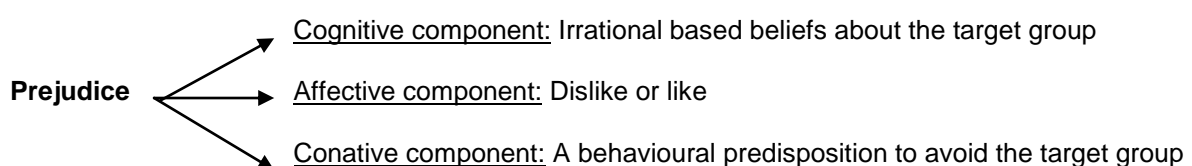


Prejudice

Prejudice can be defined as; “*A negative evaluation of a group or of an individual on the basis of group membership*” (Crandall, et. al., 2002 p.359). An individual will ascribe characteristics, qualities and attributes to a particular ethnic group, based on their own semantic knowledge and affect towards this group (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977) which in turn form beliefs (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). It is these beliefs relating to a particular ethnic group that automatically determine the obtainment of our attitude. Over time we learn to *like* (favourable attitudes toward) individuals we have associated with positive characteristics and tend to *dislike* (unfavourable attitude toward) individuals we have associated with negative characteristics (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). Thus, if one associates negative characteristics to individuals based on their ethnic group membership, prejudice arises.

Moreover, once an unfavourable attitude (prejudice) toward an ethnic individual or group is formed in memory it can become more easily accessible. By making an attitudinal judgement one strengthens recall of attitude-relevant evidence, and creates attitude-consistent inferences (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Once the attitude becomes more easily accessible through memory it becomes more stable and will influence perceptions of the attitude object, i.e. ethnic minority. Consequently it is more likely that, attitude-consistent judgments will be made, one is less persuaded by contradictory information, and merely observing the object in question triggers an automatic response of strong evaluation (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Similarly to other attitudes, prejudice is also generally conceptualised as having both a cognitive, affective and conative component as shown in figure 3 (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986).

Figure 3. Overview of components believed to comprise prejudice.



2.1.5 Discrimination

The previous paragraph describes how negative attitudes toward immigrants are formed and strengthened over time. A possible consequence for individuals that hold prejudiced attitudes may be discrimination. Discrimination can be defined as: *“A selectively unjustified negative behaviour toward members of the target group or less positive responses to an outgroup member than would occur for an ingroup member in comparable circumstances”* (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010 p.1085). Allport believed that discrimination arises when we deny *“individuals or groups of people equality of treatment which they may wish”* (1954, p. 51). Racial discrimination thus involves the differential treatment of individuals based on their ethnical group membership and can result in direct harm, failure to help, nonverbal behaviours and overt derogatory evaluations of outgroup members (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986, 2010).

2.1.6 An integrated perspective

The relationship between categorisation, stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination is illustrated in figure 4. I created this figure to assist the reader understand how these concepts build on each other. It is important to understand that categorical thinking is an innate human reaction needed to simplify and structure the perception process of an individual. Without categorical thinking we would suffer informational overload (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). That said, it is also our downfall when relating to intergroup behaviour.

It prevents us from considering the unique attributes of an individual, inadvertently defining them on the basis of the social categories (e.g., race, gender, age, role) to which they belong. From this point on, as a function of categorical thinking, the individual is biased. Persistent activation of the social category, for example “African immigrant”, strengthens recall of the categorical information (i.e., trait information, behavioural expectancies). Bias influences the way this information is processed, organised and stored in memory (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010).

Memberships to particular groups create an invisible distance between groups of people (in-groups and out-groups) (Tajfel, 1978a; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996). To uphold a positive self-evaluation and hence self-esteem, individuals prefer belonging to a group that compares positively (high-status) to others (Tajfel, 1978a). Subsequently, the subdivision between these categories (i.e. in-groups and out-groups) enhances as a function of group membership saliency (Tajfel, 1978a). Group membership saliency further increases the individuals need to both compare and protect their group from threats (symbolic or realistic)

or perceived deprivation (Stephan et. al., 2000; Tajfel, 1978a; Stephan & Stephan, 1996). The in-group uses these negative feelings as an acceptable justification to stereotype, show prejudice or even discriminate (Allport, 1954; Aberson & Gaffney, 2008; Sherif, 2006). It additionally affects our expectancies toward out-group members (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010).

2.2 The value-norms-attitudes chain

The following chapter discusses how values and norms play a role in the formation of our social attitudes.

2.2.1 Definitions of key concepts

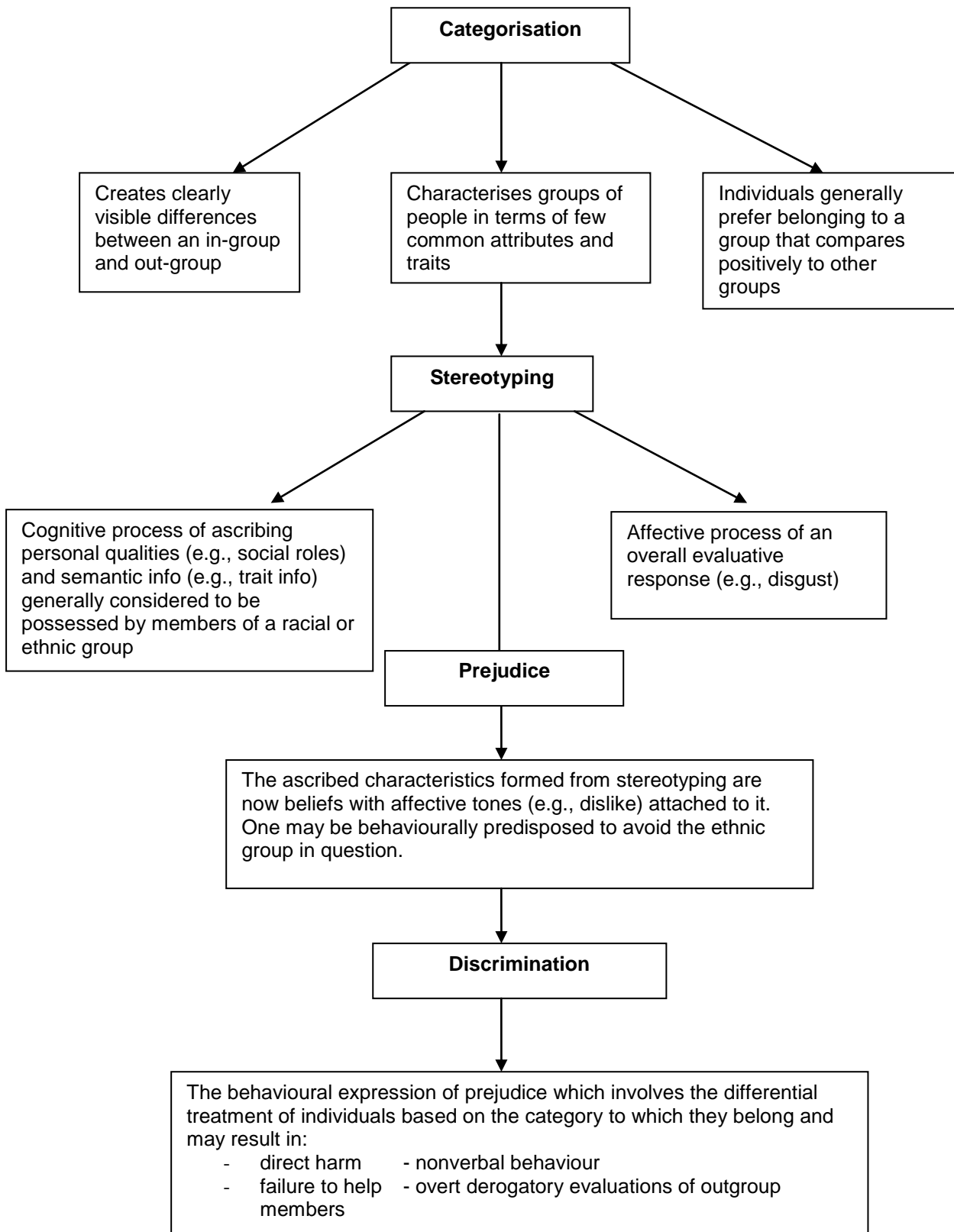
The chain from values to norms to attitudes is of interest to this thesis as it explains the moderating role involved in motivating individuals to either suppress or express their prejudice. Social values are considered to be life goals that help guide our behaviour (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). Norms, on the other hand, are considered an evaluative scale describing a latitude of acceptable and unacceptable behaviours for members of a social unit (Sherif & Sherif, 1969). The internalisation of both social values and norms are considered to influence our social attitude, which in turn may guide our behaviour. Social values and norms pertaining to universalism, and egalitarianism in particular, are considered to relate to stereotyping and prejudice, in that they promote behaviour such as tolerance and protection of the welfare of all. Internalising these values and norms enhances the motivation of individuals to *suppress* stereotypical thoughts and prejudice. Conversely, not internalising these norms can motivate individuals not to *suppress* their prejudice, resulting in a larger likelihood of observing the *expression* of prejudice (Paluck, 2009; Sherif & Sherif, 1973; Lowery, Hardin & Sinclair, 2001; Monteith et. al., 1996; Blanchard et. al., 1991; Zitek & Hebl, 2006).

2.2.2 Values

Schwartz and Bardi define values as: “*Desirable, transsituational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people’s lives*” (2001, p. 3). An individual will hold a number of values, although the degree of importance these values have may vary according to personal experiences, his/her social structure, culture and the motivational goal the value expresses (Schwartz, 2007; Schwartz & Bardi 2001, 2003).

Values assist group survival by promoting and maintaining positive social interaction and relations.

Figure 4. The relationship between categorisation, stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination



Values additionally motivate individual group members to contribute to group goal achievement. One such value is *universalism*, recognised by Schwartz as being one of ten basic value types universally endorsed by humans at the individual level. These ten basic value types, i.e. power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity and security, are consciously and unconsciously transferred through high-status social actors such as teachers, leaders, parents, and governments to elicit and define desirable behaviour (Schwartz, 2007; Schwartz & Bardi 2001, 2003). During the socialisation process individuals embrace the values promoted by the dominant culture as these are socially desirable. Consequently, the process of internalisation is initiated, which in turn assists an individual in functioning effectively in society (Sherif, 1973; Schwartz, 2004). Note that each basic value type represents a different motivational goal, depending on the importance to the individual and the dominant culture of the country in which they live. Differences in the importance assigned to the values that constitute the value types, will occur².

Through the identification of the 10 basic value types, Schwartz additionally identified seven cultural value orientations, i.e., conservatism, intellectual autonomy, affective autonomy, hierarchy, mastery, egalitarianism and harmony (Schwartz, 1999, 2004). In relation to this thesis the cultural value orientation of interest is egalitarianism, which refers to the individual level values, benevolence and universalism. The bipolar dimension of egalitarianism is hierarchy and is consequently included in the following paragraph.

2.2.2.1 Egalitarianism

According to Schwartz, (2004) cultural value orientations implicitly evolve as societies confront societal problems in the regulation of human activity and find expressions in the norms, practices and institutions of a society. One such societal problem is motivating individuals to behave in a responsible manner that encourages preservation of the social structure. Egalitarianism is a cultural value orientation that encourages individuals to preserve the social structure of their society by promoting values such as, equality, social justice, responsibility, help and honesty. These values promote moral equality amongst one another, and a shared perception of basic human interests. Once an individual has internalised egalitarianism they are induced to voluntarily commit to cooperation and the promotion of welfare to everybody in society. Western European cultures in particular emphasise

² This paragraph relates to the analysis of this thesis. The particular value type Norway has embraced will be discussed in section 2.6

egalitarianism, more so than any other region and is consistent with welfare and democratic states (Schwartz, 2004).

The bipolar dimension of egalitarianism is *hierarchy*. Hierarchy refers to the individual level values of achievement and power (Schwartz, 2004). It reinforces group inequality by maintaining hierarchical roles and the disproportionate allocation of desired resources to high-status groups and undesired resources to lower-status groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Hierarchy is also closely related to conservatism and opposes intellectual autonomy. Western European cultures correlate low with hierarchy, mastery and embeddedness (Schwartz, 2004).

2.2.3 Norms

The previous paragraph discussed social values and their importance for group survival, and the maintenance of positive social interaction. The following paragraph will define norms. There are a number of different types of norms. *Descriptive norms* are explained as perceptions of how others are actually behaving, whether this behaviour is acceptable or not. *Personal norms* on the other hand, are explained as personal standards we adhere to. However, in relation to this thesis the norm of interest is the subjective norm, more generally referred to as *social norms* (Paluck, 2009; Sherif & Sherif, 1973; Lowery et. al., 2001; Monteith et. al., 1996; Blanchard et. al., 1991; Zitek & Hebl, 2006).

Social norms are defined as: “An evaluative scale (e.g. yardstick) designating an acceptable latitude and an objectionable latitude for behaviour, activity, events, beliefs, or any other object of concern to members of a social unit” (Sherif & Sherif, 1969 p.141). Social norms consists of social values and beliefs. Values imply evaluations, “value-judgments”, and beliefs hold expectations valued others have as to how we should behave (Sherif, 1973; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). Ajzen & Fishbein suggest that these beliefs can either be salient or not, are subjective and deal with the *perceived* social pressure placed on individuals to either perform a behaviour (e.g. discrimination) or not (1980). According to Paluck (2009), it is precisely this socially shared cognition, namely beliefs of prevalent or prescribed behaviour, that forms the basis for a social norm.

Schwartz on the other hand, believes that cultural values alone (e.g., freedom, security, universalism) form the basis of specific norms describing appropriate behaviour. Evidence of this notion can be found in the cultural value orientations of societal institutions. For example, societies that value the welfare of others, promote equality and honesty, are likely to express

this value through democracy, freedom to vote and political self-determination (e.g., democratic and welfare states). In contrast one may find societies that value authority, power and wealth, finding its expression through capitalists markets and oppression (Schwartz, 1999). In accordance with Schwartz, Sherif believes that over time high-status groups will attribute much importance to specific social values and communicate this through contact with group members. Consequently, these values become standardised to such an extent that they become common property of the group and serve as a typical example of events, behaviour, objects or persons (i.e., social norms). Thus, Sherif believes social norms arise at group level (Sherif & Sherif, 1969, 1973).

Social norms require some form of conformity or compliance from members living within its borders (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Sherif, 1973). Considering social norms are communicated through social interaction and upheld by members of high-status groups, most individuals are highly motivated (at least explicitly) to endorse these normative principles (Crandell et. al., 2002; Paluck, 2009; Sherif & Sherif, 1969). According to Sherif and Sherif (1969) this kind of normative regulation for social interaction is inevitable. To assist in the achievement of satisfying individual needs, it is necessary to work together as a group. This in turn creates a demand to socially regulate the behaviour, in order to solve problems and obtain the satisfaction of the goal being attained. Thus, for the required satisfaction of needs and desires within the group, it ‘pays’ for members of a social unit to be aware of social norms prescribing appropriate behaviour needed to perform productive work as a group.

2.2.3.1 Group Norm Theory (GNT)

Group norm theory posits that social norms “*are the products of contact with members of a group; they are standardised and become common property within a group*” (Sherif, 1936 p.124). This notion is explained with the proposition that members develop their attitudes, to a great extent, toward objects, music, relationships to individuals/groups and aesthetics, as a function of the dominant norms, customs or conventions of the society in which they live. These norms and customs may change through time as the structure of society changes (Sherif & Sherif, 1969).

In relation to the expression of prejudice and discrimination, GNT posits that the social norms, usually functional for group cooperation and the attainment of superordinate goals, can also create social distance. Social distance is created through the establishment of different groups in society. A product of group formation is a representation of “*we*” (in-group members) and “*they*” (out-group members). Harmony between groups will exist when

the in-group feels their interests and goals are being protected. However, if the out-group places these goals and interests under threat, i.e., interfering with the attainment of goals, prejudice and discrimination may arise to justify the position of the in-group (Sherif, 2006).

In reference to the suppression of prejudice, GNT states that a non-prejudice social norm prevails in contemporary societies, defining a latitude of acceptable and non-acceptable behaviours (Sherif & Sherif, 1969). These social norms are at first just an encouragement leading us toward acceptable behaviour, however over time become incorporated in our identity and can change, depending on our contact with others (Tajfel, 1978a). Thus, racial prejudices in children develop as a matter of adopting the established norms of the group rather than through direct contact with members of the race in question (Sherif, 1973).

2.2.4 Social attitudes

Katz and Hass assume that: “*values—conceived as generalized standards of the goals and goal-directed behaviours of human existence—are more central and fundamental components of a person’s make up than attitudes and, moreover are determinants of attitudes as well as behaviour*” (Katz & Hass, 1988; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). According to Dovidio & Gaertner, social attitudes can only develop from social values that are affectively charged. By placing value in a particular object (i.e., favourite pair of shoes), act (i.e., bringing flowers) or situation (i.e., on holiday), basically anything can become affectively charged (1986). The paragraph on stereotyping discussed how evaluations involve affective qualities and attributes when once established in the individual indicate personal attachments. In relation to this thesis, as an example, I will use one of the seven cultural value orientations recognised by Schwartz as being universally endorsed by humans, i.e. *egalitarianism* (Schwartz, 1999, 2007). Egalitarianism contains different components describing its characteristics, i.e. the promotion of individual level values such as tolerance, welfare protection for all, social justice and equality (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986).

Members of cultures emphasising the value orientation egalitarianism, are expected to comply to these social values and norms in order to gain membership. Thus, during the process of gaining membership, social norms are particularly salient to the individual. Considering the great value individuals attach to their membership of high-status groups, it will be explicitly necessary to accept and conform to the groups values and norms (Crandall et. al., 2002). It is the great emotional value significance attached to the group membership that will eventually help the individual to identify him/herself as a member, and initiate the process of internalising the social values and norms of the group; most often this happens

unconsciously (Tajfel, 1978a; Crandall et. al., 2002). As a result of social norm internalisation, our social attitudes are developed. The stronger one identifies with these norms, the more they become internalised and eventually turn from an explicit social attitude to an implicit social attitude (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Crandall et. al., 2002). The acceptable and non-acceptable behaviour defined by the group norms are now incorporated and perceived by the individual group member as their own reference point of acceptable behaviour (Sherif, 2006). Thus, socially standardised values have the power to create lasting social attitudes as long as they are internalised by the individual (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Crandall et. al., 2002).

2.2.5 An integrated perspective

As shown by figure 5, the relationship between values, norms and social attitudes are illustrated to help the reader understand how these concepts influence one another and how they can eventually influence the behaviour of an individual.

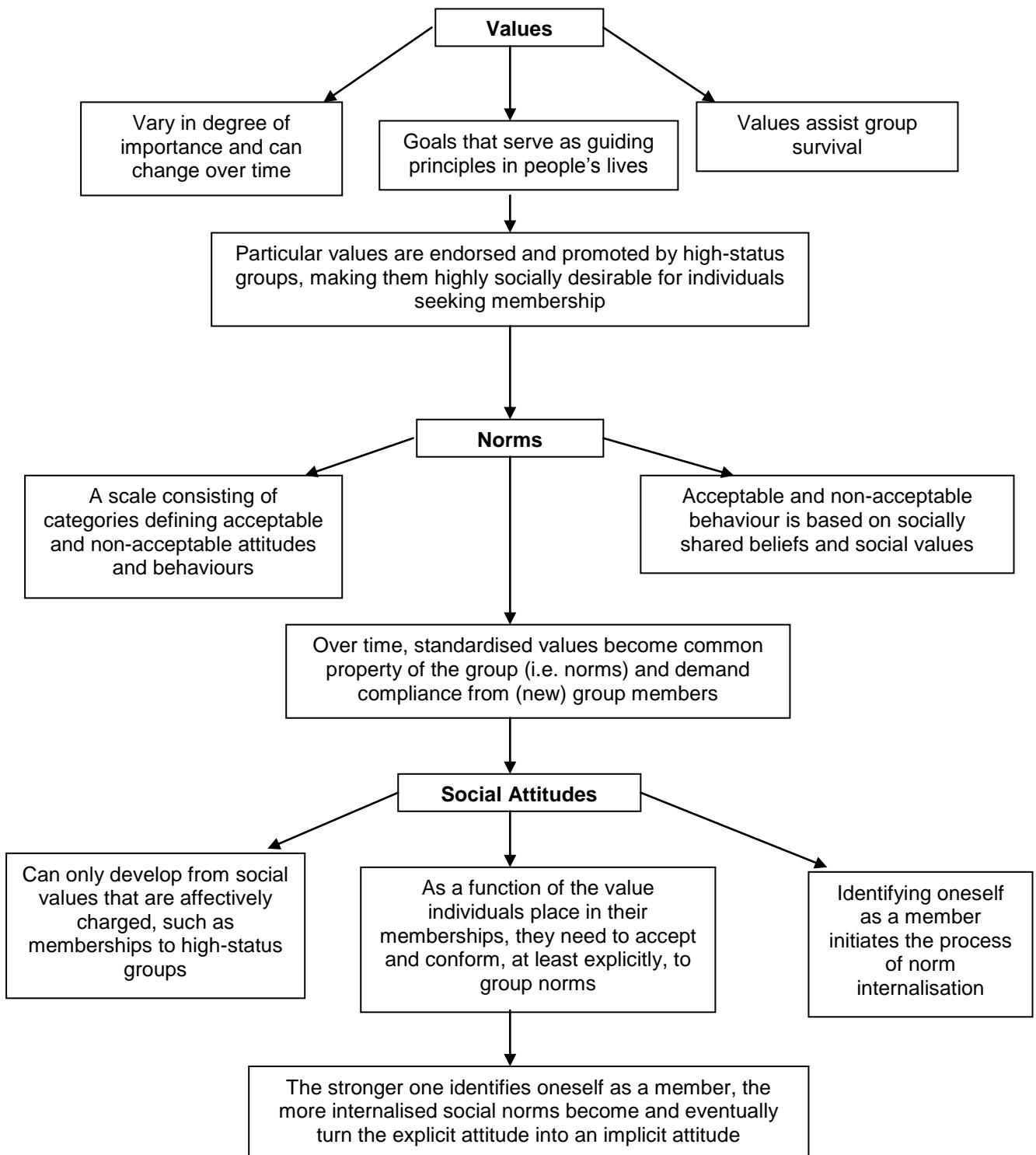
Social values are important for group survival as they serve as guiding principles that motivate and control the behaviour of group members. However, some values are more salient than others resulting in more successful shaping of group members behaviour (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). Values promoted and instilled by high-status groups are particularly socially desirable (Crandall et. al., 2002; Paluck, 2009; Sherif & Sherif, 1969). Over time these values can become common property (i.e. standardised) of the group (Sherif & Sherif, 1969). The standardised value orientation itself represents a motivational goal, and will differ depending on the importance cultures and individuals attach to the particular values composing the value orientation. For example, egalitarianism promotes values which, once pursued, will motivate individuals to initiate actions intended to encourage tolerance and the welfare protection of all (Schwartz, 1999, 2007; Schwartz & Bardi 2001, 2003). Note that when individuals are motivated to pursue these values, they are complying or conforming. To gain membership, individuals are required to be highly motivated in the compliance relating to the standardised values of high-status groups, i.e. group norms. Thus, group norms describe and define acceptable and non-acceptable behaviour based on the social values constituting the value orientation (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Sherif, 1973; Schwartz, 1999). Beliefs consisting of our perception valued others hold in our behavioural expectations reinforce the acceptable and non-acceptable behaviour, thus deals with *perceived* social pressure (Sherif, 1973; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980).

Social attitudes develop from social values that are affectively charged (e.g., group memberships) (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). However, to gain membership an individual must be aware of the group norms (saliency), and accept and conform (at least explicitly) to them. Over time, the affectively charged membership will assist the individual in identifying him/herself as a member, initiating the process of internalisation (Tajfel, 1978a; Crandall et. al., 2002). Social norm internalisation promotes the development of our social attitude. Group membership saliency will encourage an even stronger identification with these norms. Over time, an individual will have internalised the norms to such an extent that they will comply implicitly as well as explicitly, suggesting these norms are now part of ones implicit social attitude (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Crandall et. al., 2002). Social attitudes in turn, can serve as frameworks of references in different situations (Sherif, 2006) When egalitarianism is internalised, democratic and humanitarian rules of conduct will be followed (Schwartz, 1999, 2007; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). The individual complies explicitly with these rules by behaving in an understanding, tolerant, broad-minded, social justice and equality promoting manner (Schwartz, 2001).

2.3 Internal versus external control

Previous paragraphs have presented evidence in support of the notion that stereotyping and prejudice affect behaviour. However, under which circumstances can an attitude influence behaviour? A number of studies have suggested that situational variables and individual differences moderate the degree of prejudice expressed (Dovidio & Fazio, 1992; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Devine et. al., 2002; Plant & Devine, 2009; Dovidio et. al., 1997; Greenwald and Banaji, 1995). More specifically, amongst situational variables one may find: *normative constraints*, such as an anti-prejudice norm. Individual differences may be: *self-monitoring control* to answer in a socially desirable way. The degree of situational and self-monitoring control suggests the need for an effective regulatory strategy. Furthermore, individual differences seem to play a role in the level of ambivalence felt during the conflict of negative feelings versus embracement of egalitarian values (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). Researchers in support of normative constraint propose that societal and self- imposed demands of the anti-prejudice norm moderate the expression of prejudice and discrimination (Sherif, 1973; Sherif & Sherif, 1969; Crandall et. al., 2002; Monteith et. al., 1996; Blanchard et. al., 1991; Zitek & Hebl, 2006; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Dovidio et. al., 1997). The following paragraphs will discuss in more detail how these factors moderate the expression of prejudice.

Figure 5. The relationship between values, norms and social attitudes



2.3.1 Situational dependency of the expression of prejudice

Amongst the factors which have been suggested to moderate the expression of prejudice, situational variables have been of particular interest to a number of studies (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Devine et. al., 2002; Plant & Devine, 2009).

Amongst situational variables we find normative constrain. In previous paragraphs it was discussed how high-status groups promote social norms that can serve as typical events, behaviour, objects or persons (Sherif & Sherif, 1969; Sherif, 1973). In relation to prejudice there seems to be a prevailing social norm opposing it, more so than favouring it. This particular social norm has been referred to by Sherif and others as the anti-prejudice norm or the non-prejudice norm (1973; Sherif & Sherif, 1969; Monteith et. al., 1996; Blanchard et. al., 1991; Zitek & Hebl, 2006; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Evidence supporting the anti-prejudice norm is depicted in most Western European societies, emphasizing *egalitarianism*, and socialising individuals to recognize others as moral equals. Additionally, societies with democratic political systems emphasize freedom and equality as the natural rights of an individual, punishing people who break these laws (Schwartz, 2007). Consequently, racial prejudice is regarded as a socially undesirable trait or behaviour (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). Accordingly, most individuals have developed self-regulatory strategies to regulate and control their responses when situational variables are perceived to impose anti-prejudice behaviour (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Dovidio et. al., 1997; Monteith et. al., 1998).

For example, Zitek and Hebl (2006) discovered that individuals were much more inclined to favour or oppose discrimination immediately after hearing someone else favour or oppose discrimination. This effect in particular was observed when the anti-prejudice norm was inexplicit or ambiguous. These results suggest that individuals are more inclined to justify their behaviour on the basis of another factor other than race (i.e., guidance from people around them), when in an ambiguous situation. Conversely, when the norm was clearly defined, knowledge of the anti-prejudice norm was activated and assisted in guiding the individual to the correct form of behaviour, e.g., condemning discrimination.

Lott and Maluso (1995) obtained similar results. They discovered that Whites behave differently when placed in an ambiguous situation compared to an unambiguous situation of interaction with minorities. During the ambiguous situation Whites have no social norms to guide appropriate behaviour resulting in a greater inclination to express racial bias. The unambiguous situation generates a salient anti-prejudice norm motivating Whites to control their explicit attitudes in order to avoid social disapproval.

Blanchard et. al., (1991) discovered that subjects opposed racism more strongly when normative influence (i.e., a confederate) also opposed it. Once the normative influence condition was changed to a no-influence condition (i.e., participants were asked to respond privately), results became contrary to the first. Participants opposed racism to a lesser degree during an unfavourable normative influence, compared to the favourable and non normative influence. Both results support the notion that normative influence moderates the expression of our racial attitudes, publicly and privately.

Likewise, Monteith et. al. (1996) found evidence suggesting that merely hearing a confederate speak favourably on ratings about anti-prejudice expression was enough to activate the anti-prejudice norm. While others again, investigated if race saliency during a legalistic verdict, with a Black defendant accused of a crime, could reduce White legalistic racial bias. Indeed it did, with 50% of Black defendants being convicted when race was made salient, compared to a conviction rate of 66% when race was not made salient (Cohn, Bucolo, Pride & Sommers, 2009).

The inclination that Whites are able to control or regulate their racial biases and stereotypes on the basis of anti-prejudice norm saliency, supports Gaertner and Dovidio's (2005) aversive racism theory. Simply by categorising people on the basis of their race, Whites can elicit evaluative racial biases and stereotypes automatically and unconsciously. Only during anti-prejudice norm saliency can people control this automated response and consciously decide not to react in a prejudiced manner (Crandall et. al., 2002). These results support the growing body of research that assumes people are strongly motivated to follow normative principles (Monteith et. al., 1996; Blanchard et. al., 1991; Zitek & Hebl, 2007; Ellemers et. al., 2008). However these studies also suggest that there are individual differences in the degree of motivation to comply with these normative constraints. Researchers have, in more recent years, focused their attention on this question. The following paragraph will discuss research on individual differences suggested to also moderate the expression of prejudice.

2.3.2 Implicit versus Explicit attitudes

The previous paragraph discussed how individuals are able to control their responses to prejudice when either race or the anti-prejudice social norm is made salient, while ambiguous social situations make it more difficult to control ones attitude. This has resulted in researchers considering behavioural decisions to either involve conscious deliberation or occur as a spontaneous reaction (Dovidio et. al., 2002; Cunningham, Preacher & Banaji,

2001; Hoffmann et. al., 2005). These underlying processes have prompted researchers to view the concept of attitude as being twofold:

1. ***Controlled attitudes:*** Involve controlled and conscious deliberation to respond to situations and attitude objects, also referred to as *explicit attitude* (Dovidio & Fazio, 1992).
2. ***Spontaneous attitudes:*** Involves automatic and unconscious responses to situation and attitude objects, also referred to as *implicit attitude* (Dovidio & Fazio, 1992).

Both these attitudes are related to behaviour, however different types of behaviour. This has elicited researchers to consider the relationship between racial attitudes and behaviour to be effected by both the measurement itself (e.g., response latency or self-report measures) and the type of behaviour being measured (e.g., automatic or controlled behaviour) (Dovidio et. al., 1997; Cunningham et. al., 2001; Hoffmann et. al., 2005). Subsequently, studies concerning racial attitudes started to explore unobtrusive attitude measures besides self-report measures used thus far. The Implicit Association Test³ (IAT) is one such measure that seeks to measure underlying automatic evaluations by using a response latency measure and inexplicit priming in order to capture spontaneous attitudes (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Greenwald et. al., 1998). Self-report measures on the other hand, contain explicit priming and have no time pressure, capturing controlled attitudes.

The following paragraph explains how internally motivated individuals differ from externally motivated individuals in their search to control prejudice. Implicit and explicit attitudes are defined and explained in more depth giving the reader a better insight into why internally motivated individuals are better at controlling their prejudice.

Explicit attitudes work on a conscious level. Controlling the expression of this attitude can occur only with deliberate cognitive work, involving the scrutiny of available information. These reflections will form the basis of a behavioural intention and ultimately, behaviour. Considering explicit attitudes work on a conscious level, they are easily influenced by others when new information is presented. Thus, for an attitude to guide and predict deliberate behaviour an individual needs to be, *highly motivated* and have the *opportunity* to cognitively process information (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). According to Plant and Devine (1998, 2009) individuals can be *internally or externally motivated* to control

³ The Implicit Association Test will be introduced in more detail in paragraph 3.3.

their prejudice. *Externally motivated* individuals control their prejudice *only* in the presence of public pressure, i.e. anti-prejudice norm (Crandall et. al., 2002; Rutland et. al., 2005). They hide their implicit attitude to avoid social disapproval and being categorised as prejudiced. In private these individuals continue to embrace stereotypic beliefs and negative feelings toward ethnic minorities (Plant & Devine, 1998, 2009). As a result, many studies have discovered that individuals can explicitly accept the fundamental egalitarian values of society, yet simultaneously carry implicit negative feelings toward ethnic minorities (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Blanchard et. al., 1991; Dovidio et. al., 1997; Myrdal, 1962; Sherif, 1973). From Plant & Devine's studies it becomes clear that those who are externally motivated to control their prejudice are particularly sensitive to situational circumstances. However, these situational circumstances do not encourage long-term attitude change. Externally motivated individuals show significantly higher levels of implicit race bias, compared to internally motivated individuals (Plant & Devine, 1998, 2009; Plant et. al., 2002).

Implicit attitudes are activated automatically from memory upon encountering the attitude object. They are created based on beliefs and evaluations, similar to stereotypes. As a function of automatic activation one strengthens recall of attitude-relevant evidence and create attitude-consistent inferences. Consequently, implicit attitudes have the ability to work at an unconscious level, making them harder to control during ambiguous situations (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Devine et. al., 2002; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Dovidio & Fazio, 1992; Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Implicit attitudes are considered to be more influential to behaviour when the opportunity to control is lacking (e.g., time pressure), or when the motivation to control is absent (e.g., unimportance of the task itself) (Dovidio et. al., 2002).

Plant and Devine (1998, 2009) suggest that *internally motivated* individuals have embraced and internalised the anti-prejudiced norm as personal standards, important to their self-concept, ergo their identity. To continue having a positive self-concept and be free of prejudice, they are highly personally motivated to actively try to control their prejudice across all spheres of life, public and private. However, this does not guarantee that they are completely free of bias across all domains. They too are "victims" of automated responses filled with stereotypic information gained through participation in society. Yet, they are more aware of these automated responses and actively try to replace these with personal beliefs (i.e., egalitarian values), suppressing the activation of stereotyping. With their personal motivation to overcome prejudice, internally motivated individuals seem to respond more effectively without bias, both in an easily controlled situation (i.e., self-report measure) and a

less easily controlled situation (i.e., implicit association test). These results suggest that over time, the inhibition of race bias is initiated preconscious (Devine, 1989; Plant & Devine, 1998, 2009; Devine, et. al., 2002).

Monteith et. al. (1996) in contradiction, discovered that when confederates spoke positively about non-prejudice, all participants reported less prejudiced opinions, including those internally low in prejudice. These results suggest that Plant and Devine's (1998, 2009) notion of low-prejudiced individuals being better at internalising their egalitarian values than those high in prejudice, could be faulty. Instead they suggest that social norm saliency generally seems to moderate expressions of prejudice for most individuals, regardless of their level of prejudice (i.e., high or low) (Monteith et. al., 1996).

Similar results were found by Crandall et. al. (2002). Although they agree with Plant and Devine's (1998) notion of differentiating between internal and external motivations to suppress prejudice, they disagree with the statement that internally motivated individuals receive their motivation from contact with other low-prejudiced individuals, using this specific reference group as a standard for their own behaviour. Crandall et. al. (2002) suggest instead that internally motivated individuals are more sensitive and concerned to fit the social norms, albeit more motivated to comply. Thus, the primary motivation to suppress prejudice is one's relationship to group norms. The stronger one identifies with these norms, the more they become internalised and eventually turn from an explicit attitude to an implicit attitude (Crandall et. al., 2002). Accordingly, if an individual rejects these social norms implicitly, (i.e., only allow these social norms to moderate their explicit attitude) the possibility to observe prejudice through nonverbal behaviour, unaware to the individual, increases (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005).

2.4 An integrated model

As shown in figure 6, the moderating relationship between prejudice and social norms has been created to help the reader conceptualise how norms can moderate the expression or suppression of prejudice.

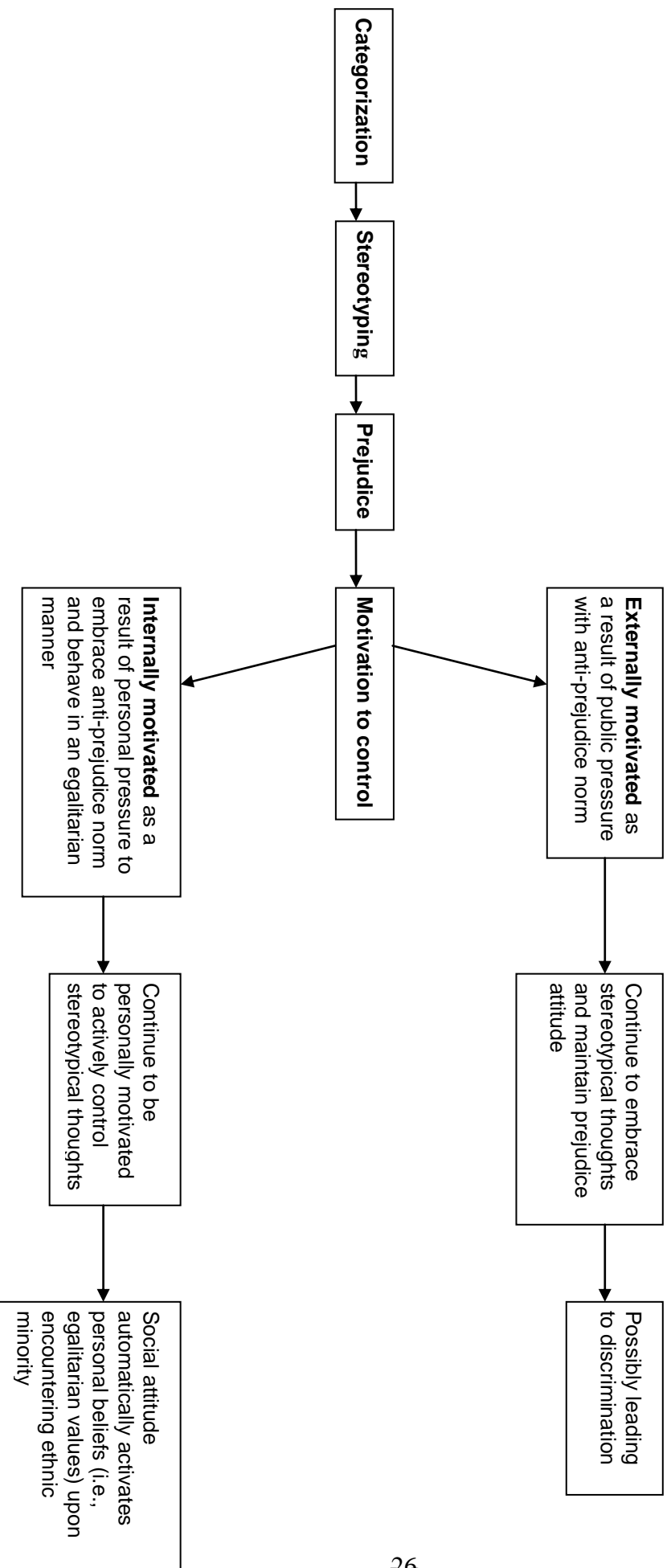
In paragraph 2.2.2 I discussed how categorisation is an inevitable process for humans. It is crucial in relation to simplifying and structuring the perception process, without it the result is information overload (Allport, 1954, Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Thus, categorising individuals and oneself on the basis of the social categories to which one belongs is unavoidable.

However, these memberships also lead to subdivisions between groups (in-group and out-group). This in turn leads to the creation of stereotypes concerning ethnic group members (Tajfel, 1978). Stereotyping, in turn, can lead to prejudice (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980), which may lead to discrimination (Dovidio et. al., 1996, 2010; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010). It may seem that the chain of categorising to prejudice is inevitable, however it is not. With the recognition of attitudes being twofold, automatic (implicit) and controlled (explicit), new measures began to capture evidence supporting the notion that individuals are able to control their behaviour during particular situations (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995).

The *motivation* behind the level of control seems to be the key factor in suppressing prejudice. While some individuals are *externally* motivated to control their prejudice, others are *internally* motivated (Crandell et. al., 2002; Rutland et. al., 2005). Evidence shows that internally motivated individuals, over time, experience attitude change that is long-lasting, even inhibiting race bias preconsciously (Devine, 1989; Plant & Devine, 1998, 2009; Devine, et. al., 2002). Such individuals are personally motivated to behave according to the egalitarian norms of society and have accepted the anti-prejudice norm as an internal reference point (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Sherif, 2006). Thus, the stronger one identifies with the egalitarian norms of society, the more they become internalised (Crandall et. al., 2002). Over time one will develop an implicit social attitude with the ability to affectively and automatically control race bias, even during situations where control is difficult to execute (i.e., time pressure) (Devine, 1989; Plant & Devine, 1998, 2009; Devine, et. al., 2002).

On the contrary, externally motivated individuals do not enjoy the long-lasting attitude change witnessed amongst internally motivated individuals. Considering evidence suggests such individuals control their prejudice only as a result of societal pressure (Crandell et. al., 2002; Rutland et. al., 2005), their attitude change lasts as long as the situation imposing public pressure (Plant & Devine, 1998, 2009; Plant et. al., 2002). In private, these individuals continue to embrace stereotypical thoughts and negative attitudes toward ethnic minorities (Plant & Devine, 1998, 2009). Consequently, internalisation of egalitarian norms fail to occur or become a part of ones implicit social attitude (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Blanchard et. al., 1991; Dovidio et. al., 1997; Myrdal, 1962; Sherif, 1973). As a result such individuals have difficulty controlling their prejudice under circumstances with limited cognitive work and ambiguous situations (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005).

Figure 6. The moderating relationship between prejudice and social norms



2.5 The present study

The following paragraph introduces the details of the present study. Firstly, I will explain how the integrated model presented in the previous paragraph connects to the present study, before explaining why Norway is interesting as a case study. My hypotheses will be described in detail in the final paragraph before proceeding with the method section.

2.5.1 Application of the framework model

The present study uses the framework model described in the previous paragraph to help explain how participants behave during the empirical study I executed. My empirical study tests the assumption of a potential difference between implicit and explicit attitudes by using different types of measures intended at capturing these differentiated attitudes. Thus, one research question is “does the introduction of time pressure and an inexplicitness of the prime used to measure racial attitudes (i.e., IAT) change responses observed during the no-time pressure and explicit priming (i.e., questionnaire)?”, indicating the presence of a difference between implicit and explicit attitudes. Furthermore, both IAT and the questionnaire aim at measuring the embracement of egalitarian values in order to control a possible interaction between attitudes (implicit and explicit) and egalitarian value orientation. Thus, a second research question is “to what extent does the embracement of egalitarianism influence the motivation of participants to either suppress and/or express prejudice?”. Research described earlier indicates that individuals are more highly motivated to embrace egalitarianism explicitly. Accordingly I tried to measure egalitarianism both as an implicit (IAT) and explicit (questionnaire) value orientation to see if a difference could be observed.

Moreover, I test the moderating relationship of normative influence on the expression or suppression of prejudice. Thus, a third research question is “to what extent do situational variables influence individual’s behaviour in the suppression and/or expression of prejudice?”. Unique to my study is the use of discussion groups using three different confederates of different nationalities and immigration backgrounds. My motivation for the use of confederates with different ethnicities is that research has revealed that native Norwegians view minority groups differently, depending on their religious background, perceived cultural differences, the position of the group as refugees or asylum seekers, etc. (Bratt, 2002, 2005). According to the position of their group, African minority groups are often viewed more negatively (many arrive in Norway as refugees or asylum seekers). In total, 46 % of Norwegians are of the opinion that it should be made more difficult for refugees

and asylum seekers to attain a residence permit, compared to the level of difficulty today (SSB (13.12) Holdninger til innvandrere og innvandring (2010), retrieved July 4, 2011).

Accordingly, the first confederate is a native Norwegian, the second an European immigrant, and the third an African asylum seeker; the goal is to activate different stereotypes. Participants were asked to discuss a topic with the intention of leading them into discussing the immigrational situation of Norway, without explicitly expressing it in the discussion topic. Normative influence was measured by changes in the number of statements given about immigrants (either positive, negative or neutral) in addition to non-verbally agreeing with statements made by other participants.

Thus, I will investigate the relationship between implicit and explicit attitudes by assigning participants to two types of attitude measures: one unobtrusive intended to capture implicit attitudes, and one self-report measure intended to capture explicit attitudes. Moreover, measuring the embracement of egalitarianism both on an explicit and implicit level could be an indication of participants motivational level behind the suppression or expression of their ethnic attitude.

Furthermore, I will measure the behavioural expression of prejudice after placing individuals in a group discussion intended at activating their ethnic attitudes and stereotypes relating to the racial categories to which the confederates belong. By manipulating the social situation using different confederates, I hope to find evidence for normative influence.

2.5.2 The special case of Norway

Egalitarianism is considered common practice in West European countries, and particularly in Scandinavia (Schwartz, 2007). Measuring levels of individual prejudice in relation to egalitarianism in Norway, is a particularly interesting case. The potential deviation between norms and prejudice is higher in Norway than in countries where egalitarian norms are less distinct. The following paragraphs will explain in short the immigrational situation of Norway and how egalitarian values socialise individuals to behave in a manner supportive of the cultural value orientation *egalitarianism*.

2.5.2.1 Immigration situation

The history of Norway has permitted it to stay fairly homogeneously “white” for a very long time (Hernes & Knudsen, 1992; Gullestad, 2005). After World War II, Norway recruited labour immigrants from Turkey, Morocco, and Pakistan, resulting in the fact that these groups accounted for 40% of newcomers. Native Norwegians were forced to put their egalitarian

ideology into practice, although in reality this was witnessed to be challenging (e.g., exploitation by employers, bad living conditions, indifference toward differential treatment) (Tjelmeland & Brochmann, 2003; Hagelund, 2002). From 1985 until this present day, Norway has seen an increase in refugees and asylum seekers. Chileans, Vietnamese, and Somalis were first to arrive, later Bosnians and Kosovo Albanians (Hernes & Knudsen, 1992; Hagelund, 2002; Bratt, 2005). In more recent years, Polish, Swedish and German labour immigrants and Irakian refugees have become the largest minority groups in Norway. In total, 460.000 immigrants reside in Norway comprising about 10% of the population (SSB (2010), *Innvandring og innvandrere*, retrieved April 14, 2011). Evidence seems to suggest that a more negative attitude is held by native Norwegians towards non-Western ethnic groups determined by their background (e.g., labour immigrant or refugee, perceived cultural differences, religion and lack of contact) (Bratt, 2005). The study of general attitude trends towards immigrants observed by SSB, state however, that attitudes toward minority groups have improved over the last year (SSB, 12.10), *Holdninger til innvandrere og innvandring 2010*, retrieved April 14, 2011).

2.5.2.2 *Egalitarianism in Norway*

In paragraph 2.2.2. I explained how Schwartz identified seven cultural value orientations recognised across societies (Schwartz, 1999). In relation to the present study, the cultural value orientation of interest is *egalitarianism*. Egalitarianism is emphasized by individual values such as benevolence and universalism and expressed through the promotion of helpfulness, loyalty, social justice, responsibility, tolerance, and equality (Schwartz, 2007; Schwartz & Bardi 2001, 2003). Norway in particular emphasises values constituting *egalitarianism* (Schwartz, 2007; Gullestad, 2002). Accordingly, through the process of socialisation, native Norwegians are motivated to cooperate and promote the welfare of others. The source of this motivation comes from societal institutions that promote egalitarian values (e.g., family, education, economic, political, democratic, and religious systems, Christianity) (Schwartz, 2004, 1999).

On the other hand, some scientists have considered the possibility that the promotion of egalitarianism could in itself be part of the problem of racial inequality as it may lead to a society of individuals with an increased sense of in-group saliency. For example, Myrdal (1964) considered that commitment to egalitarianism led white Americans to ignore and avoid the problem presented by racial inequality because they did not identify themselves with it. Myrdal argued that Americans need race prejudice to defend against their own national creed,

against their own most cherished ideals. “*And race prejudice is, in this sense, a function of equalitarianism*” (Myrdal, 1964 p. 89). Likewise, Gullestad (2002) argues that the value *equality* (e.g., likhet) in itself encourages commonality, encouraging individuals to support people who are like or compatible to themselves. As a result, problems are created and avoidance occurs when others are perceived ‘too different’.

Similar observations have been made in Norway. Many native Norwegians commit to egalitarianism, yet practice inequality by for example supporting lower wages for immigrants and avoiding/ignoring immigrants in social settings due to perceived cultural differences (Gullestad, 2002; SSB retrieved, 25.02.10; Valenta, 2007; Knudsen, 1997). However, one may argue that these conscious, self-reported commitments to egalitarianism represent explicit attitudes while alternatively, the practice of inequality represents unconscious negative beliefs representing implicit attitudes.

2.5.3 Hypotheses

Evidence has been presented supporting the notion that an individual has the ability to simultaneously embrace egalitarianism and negative evaluations toward ethnic minorities. It has also been suggested that both explicit and implicit racial attitudes are related to behaviour, however to different types of behaviour. As a result, researchers consider the concept of attitudes to be twofold and consider behavioural decisions to either involve conscious deliberation or occur as a spontaneous reaction. In order to capture any one of these racial attitudes correctly, one needs to consider the measures used. Subsequently, researchers have continued to use self-report measures (i.e., questionnaire) to capture controlled or *explicit attitudes* and have introduced the use of unobtrusive measures, aimed at measuring underlying automatic evaluations (i.e., IAT) to capture automatic or *implicit attitudes*.

The questionnaire used in the current study measures prejudice and egalitarian values. I expected participants to disagree with items referring to blatant prejudice as these items are direct, activating the anti-prejudice norm and motivating most participants to perform in a way that portrays socially desirable attitudes such as, tolerance and protection of the welfare of all. Items referring to subtle prejudice are less explicit. Considering these items are more ambiguous they should not activate participants anti-prejudice norm immediately, consequently they will be more inclined to respond in a manner more in line with their implicit attitude. Considering Norway supports and promotes egalitarianism I expected the

majority of participants to explicitly embrace egalitarianism. The following hypotheses have been formulated based on the notions described above.

Questionnaire (explicit attitude measure)

- H 1: Participants will strongly support egalitarian values while disagreeing with prejudice scales
- H 2: The explicit expression of prejudice is negatively correlated with the embracement of egalitarian values
- H 3: Participants will strongly disagree with blatant prejudice scales
- H 4: Participants will support negative statements more in the subtle prejudice scale

The use of unobtrusive measures aimed at measuring underlying automatic evaluations (i.e., IAT) to capture automatic or *implicit attitudes* has been a valuable tool in finding support for the notion that prejudice has shifted in its expressive form, i.e., more inexplicit. On the other hand, research has found evidence that the support of egalitarian values can counteract the activation of stereotyping and prejudice, however only for individuals who manage to internalise these values. Thus, egalitarian values can only correlate negatively with implicit attitudes if an individual internalises them.

Implicit Association Test (implicit attitude measure)

- H 5: Participants can prefer both egalitarian values and Norwegian names: there is no correlation between the implicit embracement of egalitarian values and implicit pro-Norwegian attitudes
- H 6: The majority of participants will support Norwegian names more strongly than egalitarian values
- H 7: The implicit and explicit attitude measure will only correlate moderately
- H 8: The implicit attitude measure and the explicit value measure will have a weak negative correlation as results are determined by individuals ability to internalise values
- H 9: Explicit and implicit values only correlate weakly

Evidence has also been presented that in order for an attitude to guide and predict deliberate or *explicit* behaviour, one needs to be *highly motivated* and have the *opportunity* to cognitively process the information. In relation to the focus group discussions, *motivation* amongst participants was induced by the social setting (newly formed

groups), intended at activating their *normative constraint* (i.e., anti-prejudice norm). In section 2.2.4 I discussed how social attitudes develop when an individual is willing to comply to societies norms, initiating the process of internalisation. In contrast, those who do not implicitly accept these social norms will encompass a *struggle* for internalisation. This struggle is presumed to be observed most prominently during the process of movement by individuals from one social group to another (Crandall et. al., 2002). Crandall and his colleagues were surprised at the amount of predictive power social norms had within a group—individual tolerances solidly reflected group tolerances (2002). Thus, when an individual enters into a new group they will need to learn the social norms of the group and adapt to them. During this phase norms are salient to individuals and the struggle to internalise them begins. In order to find acceptance within the group the individual will need to, at least explicitly, accept and conform to the new group norms (Crandall et. al., 2002).

Participants were given a topic intended at initiating their racial attitudes (a sensitive topic to discuss). The experimental manipulation was the ambiguous social setting and the use of confederates. The ambiguous social setting was achieved by forming new groups. As a result, norms became very salient to the participants and increased their willingness to explicitly conform and accept to the new group norms in order to find acceptance. Moreover, the use of confederates with different ethnicities intended to make the anti-prejudice norm ambiguous (Norwegian confederate) or unambiguous (African and European confederate) and accordingly affect the number of positive and/or negative statements made during the discussion. Participants had enough *opportunity* to process the information needed to control their attitudes as they lack time pressure. Based on this information I formulated the following hypotheses.

Group Discussion

H 10: The discussion group leader affects the amount of positive and negative statements

H 11: Participants who embrace egalitarian values produce less negative statements and more positive statements

H 12: A correlation exists between the prejudice scale and the amount of negative and positive statements produced

H 13: Egalitarian values moderate the explicit expression of implicit negative attitudes

3 Method

3.1 Participants

The study is based on a convenience sample due to limited resources for recruiting participants. In total, 97 individuals aged 18-81 participated in the study, with almost 50% of participants being male and the other half female, although gender is not differentiated as a variable in my experiment. Half (49) of the participants were recruited by requesting individuals in Moelv for participation by registering to a sign-up sheet, while the other half (48) were recruited through a University collage (Høgskole i Lillehammer) by requesting students and employees to register to a sign-up sheet. All participants received a small note stating the date, time and location of the study (more information on the locations see below). It is important to note that as a function of the convenience sample, it will not be possible to generalise results to the entire population of Norway, although some inferences may be made. The study therefore, will tell us something about the racial attitudes of individuals in two specific groups of people in Norway. The camera for the discussion group led by the African confederate malfunctioned during the first round, but the questionnaire and IAT scores for these participants were recorded, I therefore do not have behaviour related measures for this discussion group, resulting in a smaller number of participants for the African confederate group (22), in comparison to the other 2 groups (Norwegians (31) and European (34) confederate).

Three participants were eliminated from the study. One participant walked out before the group discussions started, due to a previously agreed appointment. One participant used such a long time on the questionnaire and IAT that group discussions needed to continue without this person. One participant withdrew consent after the group interview⁴. Consequently, my total number of participants was 94 with a mean age of 38.03 ($M = 38.03$; $SD = 19.83$).

3.2 Procedure and Experimental Design

In the first two sections of the experiment the participants worked individually, and in the third and final part of the experiment as a group. The first two parts were used to administer the explicit (questionnaire) and implicit (IAT) measure. The final part was used to observe possible verbal and non-verbal expressions of prejudice. The experiment was carried out on six separate days over the course of eight weeks during the months of October and November,

⁴ The study was accepted by NSD and the ethical committee. The procedure consisted of participants being only partly informed before the start of the study. Participants were however, explicitly informed that they had the possibility to withdraw their consent after the debriefing and the study was completed.

2010. Two locations were used to carry out the study. The first location was a secondary school in Moelv, Hedmark, and the second location was a university collage in Lillehammer, Oppland. Both were chosen in regard to the number of rooms available (I needed at least 3 rooms, preferably 4), number of computers available (I needed access to a computer room with at least 25 computers) and, easy access for participants (besides from volunteering their time, I wanted arrival to the location to be as convenient as possible for participants). Each location was used to carry out three days or three rounds. Firstly, participants arrived at the location, and upon allocation of the test room, waited until all participants had arrived. They were given an information sheet to read and sign if in agreement with content (see appendix D). Participants were randomly assigned to the different experimental conditions by sending a box of numbered stickers (001-120) through the room for them to pick one. In order for me to secure equal numbers of participants for each discussion group I prepared three piles with 40 stickers (001-040, 041-080, 081-120). The number of participants arriving each experimental day was divided by three and only stickers relating to the number of participants were placed in the box. The individual number drawn from the box would be the identification number for each participant throughout the three different measures, and secure their anonymity. Secondly, the first two parts of the experiment were conducted at a computer in the computer room⁵. I was present during this time to assist participants in need of help. The third part was done by forming three discussion groups based on the number of participants for that day. *The implicit measure* aimed at measuring participants uncontrolled attitudes toward immigrants and egalitarian values by administering a response latency measure (IAT). *The explicit measure* aimed at measuring their controlled attitudes toward immigrants and egalitarian values by giving participants as much time as needed to answer (questionnaire). *The focus group discussion* aimed at measuring the verbal and non-verbal expression of participants racial attitude. The possibility to expose participants expressions of prejudice was emphasized by introducing a discussion topic. The topic selected was Siv Jensen and the role she and her party play in controversial societal discussions. I wanted participants to discuss how they perceived her and her Progressive party Fremskrittspartiet (FrP). The topic was selected with the intention to initiate a discussion around immigrants and the associated issues faced by society, indirectly triggering participants' racial attitudes and possibly observing the moderating effect of social values, in particular the anti-prejudice social value or norm.

⁵ To deliver the IAT-tests and the questionnaire the web experiment software "inquisit" was used.

After completion of the first two parts of the experiment participants were asked to return to the meeting room until all participants had completed. They were then divided into three separate groups depending on the number they pulled at the beginning of the experiment (Group A, 081-120, Group B, 041-080, Group C, 001-040). Each group indicated a different confederate (confederates remained anonymous until it was time to start focus group discussions), participants were not aware of this experimental manipulation until after the focus group discussions were completed. Participants were told which numbers belonged to each group and then asked to find the room that included their number and walk in. They were met by the confederate who asked them to sit down. The video cameras were turned on and the confederate explained what was going to happen and what topic they were going to discuss. In total, approximately 8,5 hours of video were recorded. Each confederate followed a standardized format to secure consistency amongst the three discussion groups (see appendix E). At this point, I left the room and waited for the discussions to finish. After approximately 20 minutes confederates were instructed to round off the discussion and come back to the meeting room. Finally, participants were given a debriefing sheet explaining the experimental conditions (see appendix D). I ensured that participants did not have serious adverse reactions to the newly acquired information by answering any questions they had. The experiment lasted approximately an hour. The procedure had not been pretested.

3.2.1 NSD and NESH

To be able to perform my study I needed to acquire permission from NSD (Norwegian Social Science Data Service). After consultation with NSD it was concluded that my study was implicating ethical questions. The case was sent to NESH (The National Research Ethical Committee for Social Science and Humanities). NESH concluded that I could run the experiment even if fully informed consent could not be given without compromising the results if I followed their recommendations. The recommendations included, explicitly offering participants the option to withdraw from the study after the debriefing, securing anonymity and preparing for adverse reactions felt by participants after completion. However, informing participants more than initially planned before starting the experiment was still a potential source of error. I finalised the information sheet in reference to the purpose of the study, including only the bear minimum of information that both NSD and NESH would allow me to include. As a result of informing participants that their racial attitudes would be measured, participants may have been especially sensitive and alert to the statements involved

in the questionnaire and their verbal and non-verbal reactions during the focus group discussion.

3.3 Measures

This experiment is a between-groups design as all participants involved were assigned to one condition. Both implicit and explicit measures have been used for the current experiment. In total the experiment consists of three parts, explicit attitude measurement, implicit attitude measurement and the observation of behavioural expressions of racial attitudes. The first part includes the use of a questionnaire⁶. The second part includes the use of IAT⁷. In the third part systematic variation was created using three focus group discussions intended to measure how social values are able to moderate the participants verbal and non-verbal expression of prejudice. ‘Noise’ in the form of unsystematic variation was attempted minimized by randomly assigning participants to the experimental condition (three different confederates). The following paragraphs will describe in detail which measures have been used during the experiment and how they have been developed. In order to provide evidence of the strength and validity of the different measures used, descriptive statistics are included.

Questionnaire

With the use of a cognitive attitude scale (questionnaire) I aimed at measuring the explicit attitudes of the participants. The questionnaire was divided into two parts. The first part measured the participants’ explicit attitude toward immigrants (prejudice). The second part of the questionnaire measured the participants’ explicit attitude toward egalitarian values. Both scales were developed using pre-existing scales. For the measurement of prejudice I used the “Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale” developed by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995). It was developed to test racial attitudes of Europeans and consequently fits well with my experiment. In order to fit this scale to Norwegian society I used a pre-existing Norwegian version of the scale (Haugen, 2002). For the measurement of egalitarian values I used Katz and Hass (1988) Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism scale.

⁶ The order of the items in the questionnaire was randomized for each participant

⁷ Both the IAT and the questionnaire were reversed in order after half of the groups had completed the experiment. Counterbalancing the order ensures no systematic variation between our conditions.

Prejudice scale

The prejudice scale consisted of 18 items relating to both blatant and subtle prejudice and the total scale had a mean score of 3.06 ($SD = .507$) and Cronbach's α was .70⁸ (see appendix I). The answer format was a 7-point Likert-scale ranging from either 1= "strongly disagree" to 7= "strongly agree", or 1="never" to 7="very often" and 1="completely alike" to 7="totally different". Receiving a high score on the scale indicated a high degree of prejudice and visa versa. Before calculating the mean score and Cronbach's α , items referring to intimacy and cultural differences were reversed.

An initial factor analysis was conducted with all 18 items. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin⁹ measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, KMO= .65 (mediocre). Bartlett's test of sphericity indicate a significant result $p < .001$, correlations between items are sufficiently large for PCA. Eigenvalues, communalities and a scree plot were obtained to determine which components would be suitable for extraction (Field, 2009). Six factors had eigenvalues over Kaisers criterion of 1¹⁰ and in combination explained 60.95% of the variance (Appendix A, 1.1a). The communality column indicates that item three and four have a value below .5 indicating that these items may need to be removed (Appendix A, 1.1c). The scree plot showed inflexions that would justify retaining five factors (Appendix A, 1.1b). All two initial criteria (Kaisers and scree plot) indicate different solutions, thus further analysis is needed. After applying oblique rotation¹¹ the pattern matrix revealed that the 18 items belonged to 5 underlying dimensions loading on 6 factors (Appendix A, 1.2a) referring to, intimacy, cultural differences, traditional values, threat and positive emotions, but the structure was not entirely simple. Traditional values items were not loading clearly on one factor, subsequently they were deleted from the analysis. Amongst the intimacy items 1, 2 and 4 were retained. Item 3 was loading only weakly on factor one (below .4) and was deleted from the analysis. All items referring to cultural differences were loading strongly on factor two and retained. Both positive emotion items were retained as these were clearly loading on factor 5. Threat items 2 and 4 were strongly loading on factor 6 and consequently retained. Item 1 was loading on

⁸ Cronbach's alpha (α) is the most common measure of scale reliability. A α value of .7 is considered an acceptable value although this value depends on the number of items on the scale. The value of α increases with the number of items in the scale, consequently the scale can falsely be interpreted as being reliable (Field, 2009).

⁹ The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) demonstrates if the patterns of correlations are relatively compact enough in order for a factor analysis to yield distinct and reliable factors. Values to accept should be above .5, indicating the bear minimum and .9 indicating the top-best (Field, 2009).

¹⁰ Kaiser's criterion recommends to only retain factors with an eigenvalue of 1 or more as factors lower than 1 explain so little of the variance in the observed variables, and there is no gain by keeping them, subsequently these factors are discarded (Field, 2009).

¹¹ Factor rotation is needed to simplify the classification of the factors as it helps variables load maximally to only one factor. Oblique rotation allows factors to correlate while rotating (Field, 2009).

factor 4 while item 3 was only weakly (below .4) loading on factor 6 and were subsequently deleted from the analysis. With the remaining 11 items a simple structure was obtained with two of the subscales referring to blatant prejudice scale (threat and intimacy) and two referring to the subtle prejudice scale (positive emotions and cultural differences).

The remaining 11 items had a KMO value of .64 (mediocre), and all KMO values for individual items were $> .52$, which is above the acceptable limit of .5 (Field, 2009). Bartlett's test is significant $p < .001$. Four factors now have eigenvalues over Kaisers criterion of 1 and in combination explain 65.24% of the variance (Appendix A. 1.2b). All items now have communalities exceeding .5, indicating that the retained items are accurate to remain in the analysis (Appendix A, 1.2c). The scree plot shows inflexions in accordance with Kaiser's criterion, justifying the retainment of four factors (Appendix A, 1.2d). Table 2 shows the factor loadings after rotation in accordance with both the scree plot and Kaiser's criterion. The remaining 11 items now load clearly on four factors compared to six when all 18 items were retained. Table 1 reports the mean, standard deviation and Cronbach's α for the prejudice scale. Cronbach's α ¹² for the intimacy and cultural differences subscales are satisfactory, Chronbach's α for threat and positive emotions subscales are low. However, both scales consist of only two items, thus low Cronbach's α have to be expected.

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations and Cronbach's Alpha for prejudice scale (N=96)

<i>Dimensions</i>	Number of items	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α
Intimacy	3	5.65	1.53	.78
Cultural Differences	4	4.85	0.98	.68
Threat	2	2.20	1.24	.56
Positive Emotions	2	3.71	1.25	.53
Total	11	3.22	0.74	.69

¹² When a questionnaire has subscales, such as the questionnaire used in the current analysis, it is important to apply Cronbach's α to each separate subscale in order to avoid the interpretation of α measuring 'unidimensionality'.

Table 2. Rotated pattern matrix for 11 prejudice items

Items	Factor			
	1. Intimacy	2. Cultural differences	3. Threat and rejection	Positive emotions
1. Det gjør ingenting å ha et seksuelt forhold til en innvandrere.	.892	-.011	.064	.062
2. Det gjør ingenting om mitt barn får en sønn eller datter med en innvandrere.	.740	.110	-.064	-.166
4. Jeg ville ikke ha noe imot at innvandrere med samme faglige og sosiale bakgrunn gifte seg i min familie.	.799	-.064	-.071	-.060
1. Hvor forskjellig eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til religiøse troer og adferd?	-.106	.669	-.224	-.097
2. Hvor forskjellig eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til seksuelle verdier og adferd?	.135	.791	.128	.221
3. Hvor forskjellig eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til språk de bruker?	.051	.616	.187	-.276
4. Hvor forskjellig eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til verdiene som de lærer sine barn?	-.043	.769	-.071	.043
1. Hvor ofte har du følt beundring over innvandrere som bor i Norge?	-.254	-.026	.761	-.144
2. Hvor ofte har du følt sympati overfor innvandrere som bor i Norge?	.133	-.004	.832	.126
2. Det er mer sannsynlig at innvandrere som eier butikker eller andre typer av forretninger lurer folk enn norske butikkeiere eller forretningsfolk.	.036	-.006	-.041	.873
4. Nordmenn og innvandrere er ikke i stand til å komme overens, selv om de kjenner hverandre godt.	-.247	.017	.076	.688

Egalitarian scale

The egalitarian scale consisted of 10 items relating to egalitarian values. These items were originally in English, however were translated by two separate individuals to Norwegian¹³. The answer format was a 7-point Likert-scale ranging from 1= “strongly disagree” to 7= “strongly agree”. Receiving a high score on the scale indicated an agreement to egalitarian values and visa versa. Mean score for the complete scale was 5.96 ($SD = .73$). Cronbach’s α for the complete scale was .75. An initial analysis was conducted with all 10 items, $KMO = .74$ (good). Bartlett’s test was significant $p < .001$.

¹³ Two native Norwegians were asked to translate the English statements of the Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism scale, independently of each other. Once they had completed, two other native Norwegians were requested to translate the now Norwegian translated scales back to English, independently of each other. The last request was given in order to secure that their translated Norwegian version would still be able to be translated back to English with the same results as the original version.

The initial principle component analysis indicated three components with eigenvalues over Kaiser's criterion of 1 and in combination explained 56.43% of the variance (Appendix B, 3.cb). The scree plot showed inflexions that would justify retaining only two components (Appendix B, 3.1c). Communalities indicate that item three has a value below .5 indicating that this item possibly could be removed from the analysis (Appendix B, 3.1a). The rotated pattern matrix from the initial analysis indicated that the 10 statements loaded on three underlying factors, and was not unidimensional as initially was thought. Item 6 loaded on all three factors and was subsequently deleted from the analysis. Oblique rotation (direct oblimin) with the remaining 9 factors indicated strong loadings on two factors and not three as the initial Kaiser's indicated. The retained items loaded well on the two dimensions explaining over 63% of the variance in combination (Appendix B, 3.2b). Scree plot results were consistent with the initial analysis indicating the retaining of 2 factors. Communalities still indicate a number of items below .5 (Appendix B, 3.2a). However, the final rotated pattern matrix indicates that component 1 refers to equal distribution of resources and component 2 refers to general equality, see table 4. Cronbach's α indicates that the scale used has a satisfactory internal reliability, see table 3.

Table 3. Means, Standard Deviations and Cronbach's Alpha for egalitarian value scale (N=96)

<i>Dimensions</i>	Number of items	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α
Equal distribution of resources	6	6.04	0.83	.68
General equality	3	6.28	0.92	.61
Total	9	6.12	0.73	.75

Table 4. Rotated pattern matrix for 9 value items

Items	Factor	
	Equal dis. of resources	General of equality
2. De som ikke klarer å sørge for sine grunnleggende behov, burde få hjelp av andre	.591	-.036
4. En person bør være opptatt av andres velbefinnende	.554	.318
5. Et godt samfunn er et samfunn hvor folk føler ansvar for hverandre	.693	-.030
7. Å beskytte rettighetene of interessene til andre medlemmer i samfunnet er en viktig plikt for alle mennesker	.686	-.156
8. Man bør finne måter å hjelpe andre som er mindre heldige enn seg selv	.690	-.036
10. Velstående nasjoner har en moralsk plikt til å dele noe av deres velstand med fattige nasjoner	.614	.185
1. Alle burde ha lik sjanse og like mye å si i det meste	-.031	.819
3. Det bør være likestilling for all fordi vi er alle mennesker	.247	.594
9. Man burde være snill med alle mennesker	-.087	.750

Implicit Association Test

The IAT intends to measure automatic evaluations (implicit attitudes) by assessing the association between a *target concept* and an *attribute dimension* in a timed sorting task. Consistent with the questionnaire, IAT also measures attitudes toward both immigrants and egalitarian values. I will start by explaining the target concept and attribute dimension in relation to measuring prejudice, before continuing to explain egalitarian values.

Norwegian names

Firstly, the target dimension consists of discriminating (categorising) between 10 Norwegian and 10 immigrant names. These names were chosen from the top 20 lists of names popular in 2009 for both Norwegian and immigrant boys and girls (see appendix F). Participants were able to categorise between these names by placing their index fingers on the E and I keys of the keyboard. Words appeared one by one and participants had to decide if they belonged to the left category, Norwegian names (E) or the right category, immigrant names (I).

Similarly, the attribute dimension task consists of discriminating between two categories, however this time words are intended to activate *evaluations* by using words that are either positive or negative in meaning. The list of 10 positive and 10 negative words were adapted from a master thesis written by a student at NTNU (Nordtug, 2008). Again, words appeared one by one and participants decided if they belonged to the left, positive words (E) or right, negative words (I) category (see appendix F).

After participants familiarised themselves with both the target dimension names and the attribute dimension words, the two were combined in the third step on alternate trials. In the left corner, participants discriminated between Norwegian names or positive words. In the right corner, participants discriminated between immigrant names or negative words. To help participants distinguish between the categories, names and words they were given a different colour (green and white). During the fourth step, participants again had to categorise between Norwegian names and immigrant names, only this time the categories were reversed (right-left). The fifth step, again asked participants to categorise between positive and negative names, reversed (right-left). The final step, again combined the target dimension names and the attribute dimension words, only they were reversed again. Each task had 4 trials.

Considering that IAT intends to measure underlying automatic attitudes that participants are unaware of, or in denial of, during an explicit attitude measure (e.g., questionnaire), it is expected to reveal any hidden negative attitudes toward immigrants. Accordingly, participants are expected to have a short response latency on the combined tasks

where the target and attribute dimensions are in line with their attitude. For example, if a participant has associated Norwegian names with more with positive words there will be a faster response to the combined task of Norwegian names with positive words. On the other hand, if a participant has associated immigrant names with negative words, there will be a slower response time during the combined task of immigrant names with positive words. The response latency measure provides the measurement of implicit attitudinal differences between the target categories (Greenwald, et. al., 1998).

Egalitarian values

The measurement of egalitarian values through IAT worked in the same way as discussed in the previous section on prejudice. This time, however, the target dimension consists of categorising between 5 words egalitarian in value and 5 words hierarchal in value (see appendix F). These words were chosen from Schwartz work on the theory of cultural values (Schwartz, 1999). The attribute dimension task consisted of having to categorise between words that are either positive or negative in meaning. These 10 negative and positive words were the same used for the prejudice IAT (Nordtug, 2008).

Table 5 shows that the mean for Norwegian/immigrant names is .66 indicating a *strong preference* according to Greenwald, et. al., (1998) cut-off points for low, medium and strong preferences. Egalitarian/authoritarian values has a mean of .54 indicating a *medium preference*.

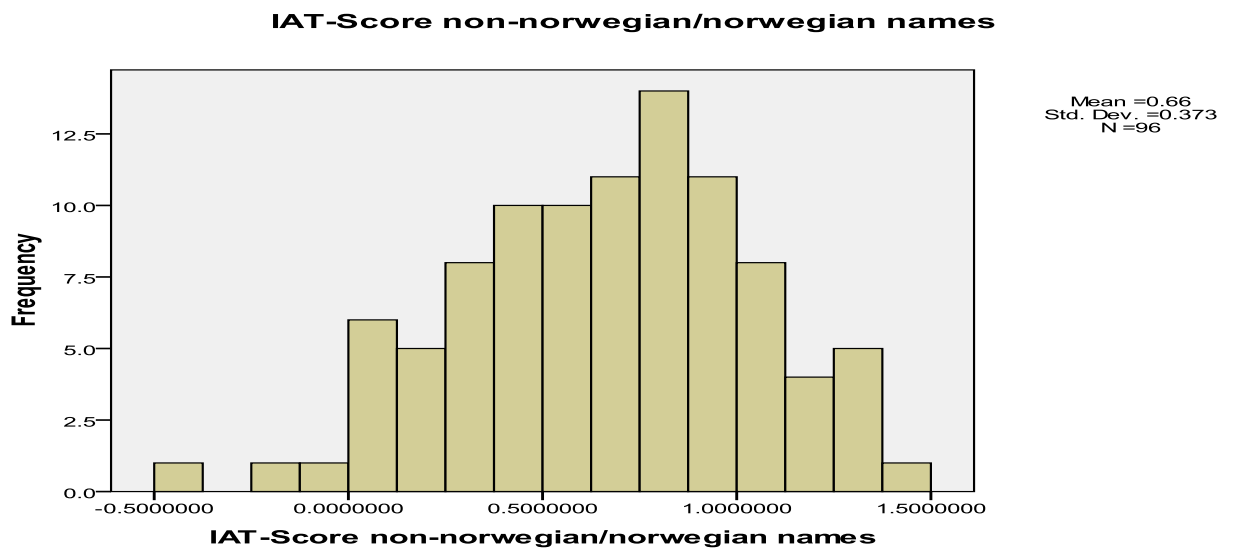
Frequency distributions were used to screen the initial “raw” IAT data and check for anything unusual (see histogram 1 and 2), such as one-dimensional outliers¹⁴. An outlier was suspected and consequently removed from the analysis, however results remained stable indicating that the suspected outlier was in fact not an outlier and placed back in to the analysis. Histogram 2 (values) revealed an unusual high peak at zero possibly indicating that a sub-group of participants answered randomly as a result of not understanding the underlying categories. Figure 7 shows that the majority of participants, i.e., 78, moderately to strongly prefer Norwegian names. While figure 8 shows that the majority of participants also prefer egalitarian values although not as strongly as they prefer Norwegian names. In total 66 participants either moderately or strongly preferred egalitarian values compared to five participants that preferred authoritarian values.

¹⁴ Outliers are observations very different from the others. Outliers can bias the mean and should therefore be removed from the analysis. The rule states to exclude anybody that is 3 standard deviations from the mean (Field, 2009)

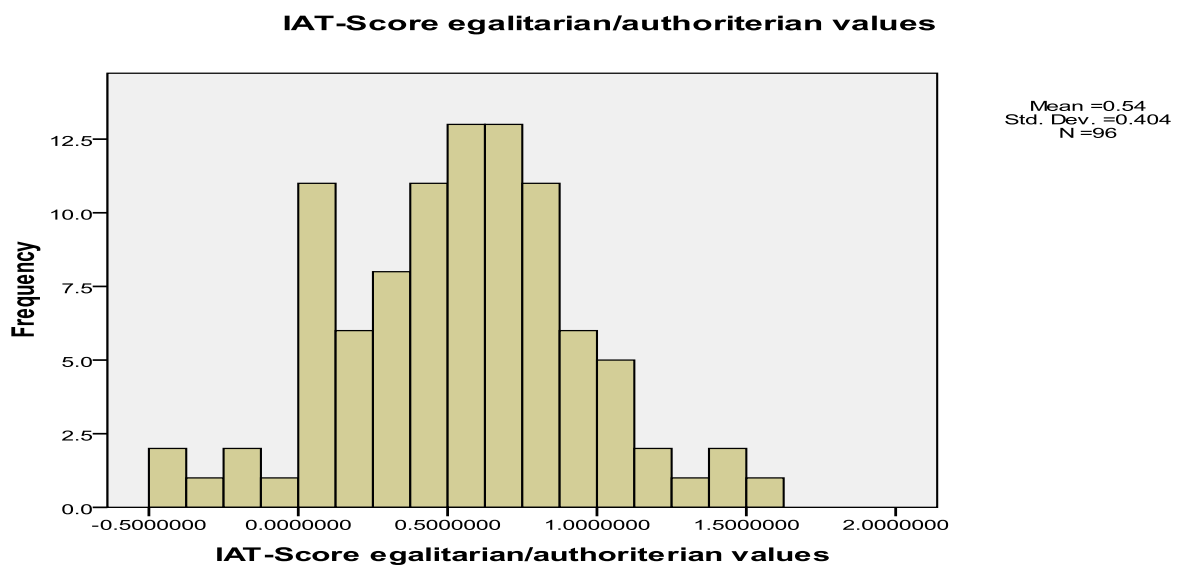
Table 5. Means, Standard Deviations for implicit attitude measure (IAT) (N=96)

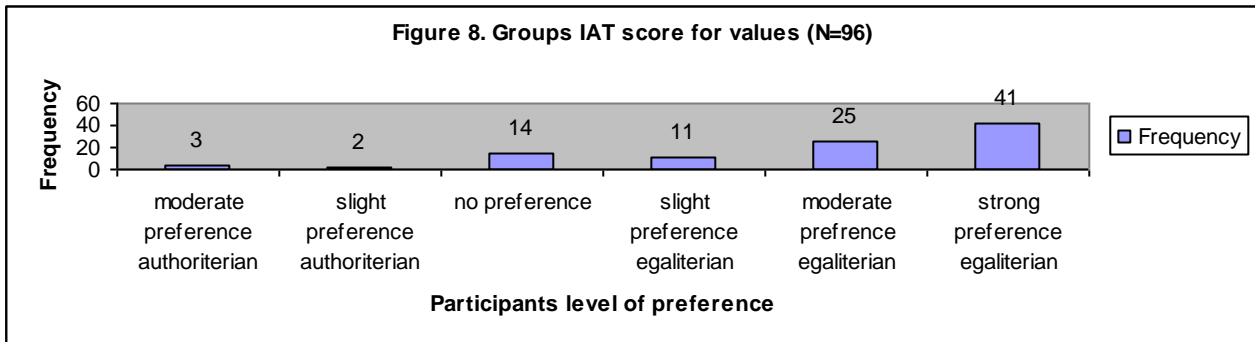
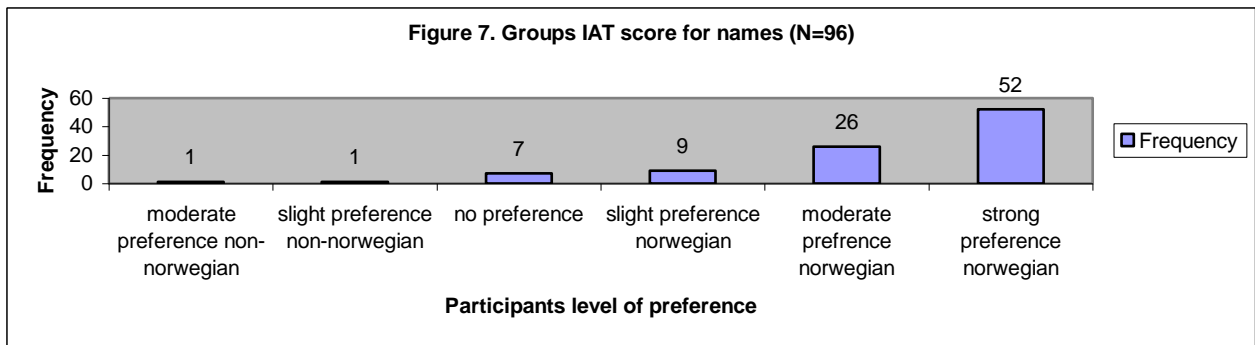
Measure	M	SD
IAT-Norwegian/immigrant names	.66	.37
IAT-Egalitarian/authoritarian values	.54	.40

Histogram 1. Bar chart indicating IAT-scores for participants preference for Norwegian and non-Norwegian names



Histogram 2. Bar chart indicating IAT-scores for participants preference for egalitarian and hierarchical values.





3.4 Coding of verbal and non-verbal expression of prejudice in the focus group discussions

The focus group discussions intended to observe verbal and non-verbal expressions of prejudice.

Firstly, I started the coding process by going through the video's one by one, noting comments that were relevant to the expression of racial attitudes. Many participants in different groups discussed many of the same issues. After typing 19 pages of comments, an initial formation of categories started to emerge. Some categories were formed strictly from comments and statements repeated by participants, such as *placing demands on immigrants*. Yet, other categories were formed using the Subtle and Blatant Prejudice Scale developed by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995; Haugen, 2002) as a reference, such as *threat and rejection* and the *exaggeration of cultural differences*. Comments referring to egalitarianism were categorised with the help of Katz and Hass (1988) Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism scale as a reference. On conclusion of this process, I differentiated between three broad categories, i.e., negative statements, positive statements and better integration policy/differentiation between immigrants statements. For each category, I wrote a short description and added the best examples of comments that belonged here making it more transparent for myself and the second rater to discriminate between the comments when coding the video's later, see table 6 for a general view of the main and sub-categories and their coding rules.

Table 6. Main, sub-categories and coding rules for group discussions

Main categories	Sub-categories	Coding rules
Negative Statements	<i>Threat and Rejection</i>	<i>Immigrants threaten Norwegian nation and culture why participats reject immigrants</i>
	Labour market	Immigrants take our jobs or danger of not enough jobs
	Criminals	Many immigrants turn to crime
	Loss of Norwegian culture	Cultural/religious differences threaten Norwegian culture
	Societies resources	Imm. take advantage of the welfare system and many asylum seekers are unreturnable
	<i>Place demands on immigrants</i>	<i>Obligatory demands on immigrants to be granted residence</i>
	Language lessons	Learning Norwegian
	Integration	Immigrants must participate in cultural lessons and show a personal intereset in adjusting to N. values and customs <i>Unacceptable perceived cultural differences must be clarified to immigrants and</i>
	<i>Place demands on government</i>	<i>government needs to make imm. laws stricter and function better</i>
	Stricter immigration laws	Stricter boarder control/harsher punishment for imm. breaking the law
How gov. deals with integration	Expressing doubt toward gov. way of discussing immigrational problems and actions take to integrate imm.	
Less benefits for imm.	Immigrants are receiving to many resources <i>How we should behave, and what is perceived to be the correct way to behave</i>	
Positive Statements	<i>Social norms</i>	
	Egalitarian values	Indicating a feeling of equality (work, humanly treatet) Wanting to help others less fortunate
	Sympaty	Feeling sorry for immigrants and asylum seekers
	Empathy	Placing themselves in the shoes of the immigrant or asylum seeker in order to understand their behaviour <i>Insight into how immigrants can be a positive resource for the country and people</i>
	<i>Resources</i>	
	Workers	Imm. have skills and educations Norway can benefit from
	To learn from	Imm. have different views and new/fresh ideas Norway could benefit from
Breaks down xenophobia	Having contact with imm. can help Norwegians become more accepting Also helps break down prejudice and fear toward imm.	
Integration and	<i>Better integration policies</i>	<i>Government should deal with immigrants in more human manner</i>
Differentiation policy	<i>Differentiation between imm. groups</i>	<i>Reflections on the concept of immigrant, by which criteria to define immigrants</i>

Secondly, I created a coding schema table, one sheet for positive statements and one sheet for negative and better integration policy/differentiation statements (see appendix G). Subsequently, the coding schema was ready to be applied.

Thirdly, I (rater one) started the rating process and applied the coding system to the video's. Upon completion, the second rater and I went through the video-recordings together (three rounds). During our meeting, I instructed the second rater how to rate the statements according to my categories. When coming across statements that were unclear, we discussed my reasoning behind placing it in a particular category. Consequently, we both learned to discriminate and rate the statements and comments made by participants according to the standardized coding schemas to secure consistency. Unfortunately, I had already finished my rating process and the knowledge gained during my meeting with the second rater came too late for me.

Next, a bivariate correlation analysis was performed to test if a correlation between the category counts of the first rater and the second rater exists. Each of the 22 categories was individually correlated for both raters and tested for inter-rater reliability. Using Pearson's correlation coefficients as an effect size measure, values should lie between 0 (no effect) and 1 (perfect effect), more specifically values should lie in the range of .7 to .8 (Field, 2009). As shown in table 7, results demonstrate that the categories can be grouped together as they are now with the majority indicating a strong effect, although some disagreement arose between rater one and two. Amongst the different categories and subcategories, most disagreement arose for the subcategory *place demands on government*. Because this subcategory was very similar to the main category of integration and differentiation statements, rater two placed more statements into the main category while rater one placed them in the subcategory. However, the coding schema is reliable to use for further analysis.

Further, a separate factor analysis was performed for both raters (one and two) in order to test which rater had more consistent counts. Considering the small number of participants (87) it was not possible to perform a factor analysis on all the categories, however a factor analysis with oblimin rotation of the 6 categories (Social norms, Resources, Threat and Rejection, Place demands on immigrants, Place demands on government, Integration/differentiation) belonging to the 3 broad categories (positive, negative and integration/differentiation) was performed.

I will begin by showing the factor analysis results of the first rater before presenting results of the second rater. Scree plot results, total variance explained, communalities and the pattern matrix on rater one are discussed before considering results of the second rater.

KMO values for the first rater were .717, well above the acceptable limit of .5. Considering KMO results are above the acceptable limit of .5, Bartlett’s test also showed a significant result $p < .001$. The initial principle component analysis with oblique rotation indicated two components with eigenvalues above Kaiser’s criterion of 1 and in combination explained 54.90% of the variance (Appendix C, 4.1b). The scree plot also showed inflexions that would justify retaining only two components (Appendix C, 4.1a). Considering that I want the variables tested to load on three factors (positive statements, negative statements and integration/differentiation statements), this is the first indicator that results of rater 1 are not satisfactory for further analysis. Communalities indicate that social norms have an extremely low value (Appendix C, 4.1c). The final evidence that results for rater one are not beneficial for further analysis can be found in the pattern matrix (see table 8). Results indicate that the six subcategories are not loading correctly on the three main categories (positive, negative and differentiation statements) but instead are loading on two. Variables relating to integration/differentiation statements are loading on factor one. Simultaneously, you can see that variables relating to both positive and negative statements are also loading on factor one in addition to the variable social norms loading only weakly on factor 1.

Table 8. *Rotated pattern matrix with 6 subcategories for rater one*

Subcategories	Factor	
	1.	2.
Social norms	.321	-.019
Resources	-.046	.953
Threat and rejection	.650	.356
Place demands on imm.	.689	.220
Place demands on gov.	.770	-.158
Differentiation between imm. Groups	.738	-.132

Table 7. Interrater reliability results between category counts of rater one and rater two.

Categories	Interrater Reliability^a
Positive statements	.800***
<i>Social norms</i>	.692***
Egalitarian values	.609***
Sympathy	.696***
Empathy	.629***
<i>Resources</i>	.699***
Workers	.660***
To learn from	.566***
Breaks down xenophobia	.615***
Negative statements	.879***
<i>Threat and Rejection</i>	.838***
Labour	.861***
Criminality	.572***
Loss of culture	.805***
Societies resources	.688***
<i>Place demands on immigrants</i>	.831***
Language	.787***
Integration	.801***
<i>Place demands on government</i>	.679***
Stricter immigration laws	.393***
How government deals with integration	.356**
Less benefits for immigrants	.029 ns
Integration and differentiation policy	.854***
<i>Better integration policies</i>	.640***
<i>Differenetiation between immigrant groups</i>	.727***

*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; ^aPearson correlation between category count rater one and two

Now that the exploratory factor analysis has been discussed for rater one and results were not beneficial for further analysis we can look at results from rater two. The same exploratory factor analysis has been conducted for rater two.

KMO values for the second rater were mediocre .548, although still within the acceptable limit. Bartlett's test was significant, $p < .001$. The initial principle component analysis with oblique rotation indicated three components with eigenvalues above Kaiser's criterion of 1 and in combination explained 76.33% of the variance (Appendix C, 4.2b). This percentage is not only higher than results presented for rater one, they are relatively high for all three factors. The three factors with Eigenvalues above 1, explain a high percentage of variance within the variables. The scree plot shows inflexions that would justify retaining two factors (Appendix C, 4.2a). The initial analysis suggests that results from rater two are beneficial for further analysis. The final analysis is to discover if the underlying variables are correlated to

the three underlying factors (positive statements, negative statements and differentiation statements). The rotated pattern matrix, shown in table 9, reveals the factor loadings and indicates that the underlying variables are, in fact correlated to three factors (i.e., the three main categories, positive, negative and differentiation statements) with strong loadings on each factor. High factor loadings should be above .4, thus the loadings presented in table 9 are strong. Together these results indicate that the ratings made by the second rater are more in line with the theoretical structure, consequently I selected the coding by the second rater for further analysis.

Table 9. Rotated pattern matrix with 6 subcategories for rater two

Subcategories	Factor		
	1.	2.	3.
Social norms	.176	.763	.410
Resources	.195	.860	.285
Threat and rejection	.828	.057	.050
Place demands on imm.	.834	.050	.092
Place demands on gov.	.802	.087	.184
Differentiation between imm. Groups	.178	.012	.887

4 Results

IAT-tests

A one sample 2-tailed *t*-test was used to reveal whether the mean IAT-scores for both Norwegian/non-Norwegian names and egalitarian/hierarchal values are significantly different from .0. Both *t*-tests indicate a significant result with values above the critical values of the *t*-distribution of 1.98 for 95 degrees of freedom, indicating that participants simultaneously prefer Norwegian names and egalitarian values, although Norwegian names are preferred more than egalitarian values (paired-samples *t*-test: $t=2.22$, $df=95$, $p<.05$), see table 11. Effect size (*r*) confirms that results are statistically significant with $r= .98$ indicating a large effect (above .5 is the threshold for a large effect).

Table 10. Means, Standard Deviations and T-test results for implicit measure (IAT) (N=96)

Measure	M	SD	t
IAT-Norwegian/immigrant names	.66 [CI 58.73]	.37	($t=17.32$; $df=95$; $p<.001$), $r=.98$
IAT-Egalitarian/authoritarian values	.54 [CI 46.62]	.40	($t=13.08$; $df=95$; $p<.001$), $r=.98$

Questionnaire

All six dimensions of the questionnaire were tested against neutral statements. Note that two of these six underlying dimensions are testing for the support of egalitarian values, i.e., *general equality* and *equal distribution*. The remaining four underlying dimensions are testing for prejudice, i.e., *threat* and *intimacy* relate to the blatant scale, and *positive emotions* and *cultural differences* relate to the subtle scale.

The histogram indicates that statements are measured from one to seven. Statements with means between 1 and 3 indicate disagreement, 4 indicates neutral statements, while statements above four indicate agreement. Results are displayed in table 11.

Both egalitarian value scales indicate means above the value of 6 indicating that participants strongly agree with both equal distribution and general equality, thus supporting the preference of egalitarian values.

Results from the blatant prejudice scale indicate that the majority of participants disagree with statements indicating that they feel threatened by immigrants as mean results are below the neutral value of 4. Intimacy results have a mean of 5.65 indicating that the majority of participants strongly agree with statements that indicate that being intimate or their children being intimate with immigrants is acceptable for them.

Results from the subtle prejudice scale reveal that the majority of participants slightly believe that there are cultural differences between immigrants and native Norwegians with a mean just above the neutral value of 4. On the other hand, participants felt that they not very often feel positive emotions toward immigrants with a mean of 3.71.

The total value scores indicate that the majority of participants strongly agree with egalitarian values. Additionally, the majority of participants disagree with prejudice.

Table 11. Means, Standard Deviations for explicit attitude measure (Questionnaire) (N=96)

Scale	Dimensions	M	SD
Egalitarian values	Equal distribution	6.04	0.83
	General equality	6.28	0.93
Blatant Prejudice	Threat	2.20	1.25
	Intimacy	5.65	1.53
Subtle Prejudice	Cultural differences	4.85	0.98
	Positive emotions	3.71	1.25
Total value score		6.12	0.73
Total prejudice score		3.22	0.74

Following these descriptive statistics, I performed a one-sample *t*-test to test against neutral statements on the values used in the questionnaire and investigate if the results displayed in table 11 are significant. The four subcategories equal distribution, general equality, threat and intimacy are tested against a value of four because this is the neutral category in the questionnaire. Effect size (*r*) confirms that results are statistically significant with $r = .97$ indicating a large effect (.5 is the threshold for a large effect). These mean score items indicate that people agree with egalitarian values and disagree with the prejudice items. The egalitarian scales are strongly agreed with. Participants rather disagreed with the blatant prejudice scale. The intimacy questions are almost equally far away from the neutral value of four than the threat questions, indicating that participants almost disagree with threat questions as much as they agree with the intimacy questions. Results are displayed in table 12.

Table 12. One-sample *t*-test for explicit attitude measure (Questionnaire) (N=96)

Scale	Dimensions	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>
Mean score value items		6.12	.73	28.21
Means score prejudice items		3.22	0.74	-16.87
Egalitarian values	Equal distribution	6.04	0.83	23.94
	General equality	6.28	0.93	24.09
Blatant prejudice	Threat	2.20	1.25	-14.15
	Intimacy	5.65	1.53	10.52

df=95; $p < .000$

Next, I ran another dependent one-sample *t*-test for the subtle prejudice scale dimensions, positive emotions and cultural differences. The test value was set at 7 as the questionnaire questions for positive emotions and cultural differences did not have a neutral option (value 4). Instead cultural differences had option 1= really different (indicating large perceived difference) to 7= the same (perceiving immigrants and native Norwegians to have no cultural differences) for agreement, while positive emotions had 1=really often (feel positive emotions) and 7=never (feel positive emotions). Effect size again confirms that results are statistically significant with $r = .97$. Results confirm initial analysis that participants have moderate positive emotions toward immigrants while simultaneously moderately supporting statements relating to cultural differences. Thus, even though participants have moderate positive affect toward immigrants they also seem to moderately believe that there are cultural differences between immigrants and native Norwegians. Results are presented in table 13.

Table 13. One-sample *t*-test for explicit attitude measure (Questionnaire) (N=96)

Scale	Dimensions	M	SD	t
Subtle prejudice	Positive emotions	3.71	1.25	25.6
	Cultural differences	4.85	.98	38.4

df=95; *p*<.001

Focus group discussions

To test if on average there were more negative than positive statements a frequency analysis was performed. Results indicate that on average participants expressed more negative statements than positive (see table 14).

Table 14. Frequency analysis for statements given during focus group discussions (n=87)

Statements	M	SD
Positive statements	2.71	2.18
Negative statements	3.47	4.14
Integration/Differentiation statements	1.41	1.55

In order to test for significance a paired-samples *t*-test was performed for positive and negative statements. Results indicate no significant effect between the number of positive and negative statements according to the critical values of the *t*-distribution for 86 degrees of freedom (1.99), *M*=-.75 [CI -1.72 .20]; *SD*=4.52; *t*= -1.56; *df*=86; sig. .122; *p*=.122

Next, I investigated if participants produced more positive or negative statements depending on the discussion leader they had in their group. See table 15 for descriptive statistics. Results provide evidence that participants more frequently made negative statements when in the discussion group with a Norwegian leader, than when in the discussion group with either the European leader or African leader. Statements referring to integration and differentiation between native-Norwegians and immigrants were also more frequent in the discussion group with a Norwegian leader, than in the European and African group. The European group has less negative statements than the Norwegian group, while the African group is in between – this might partly be caused by the smaller number of participants in the African group (one group missing).

Table 15. Frequency for number of negative, positive and integration/differentiation statements for each group

Discussion leader	N	Positive statements		Negative statements		Integration/Differentiation statements	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Norwegian	31	3.35	2.18	5.64	5.16	3.57	1.29
European	34	2.05	1.84	1.64	2.13	1.00	.88
African	22	2.81	2.48	3.22	3.57	1.63	2.40

Moreover, I investigated for a violation of equal variance in the discussion groups by using Levenes test. Levene's test is similar to a *t*-test in that it tests the hypothesis that the variances in the three groups are equal. If Levene's test indicates significance ($p \leq .05$) I can be confident in the hypothesis that the variances are significantly different and that the assumption of homogeneity of variances has been violated. From Levene's test results I discovered that only the positive statements can be used for a variance analysis with standard *F* as the significance level is larger than .05. Both negative statements and statements referring to integration/differentiation show a significant level (i.e., $p < .05$) indicating that variances are unequal. Results for the positive statements that were used for a variance analysis with standard *F* indicate no significant effect $p = .054$. From this result it is possible to conclude that the discussion leader does not affect the amount of positive statements within each group. See table 16 for results.

With negative statements and statements referring to integration/differentiation the homogeneity of variance assumption was violated and therefore needed to be tested with an alternative robust *F*-ratio (Welch's and Browne-Forsythe's *F*-ratio). Results shown in table 17 indicate that the type of discussion leader does affect the number of negative statements. For integration/differentiation statements the picture is more ambiguous with the Welch's *F*-ratio indicating that statements are affected by type of discussion leader while Brown-Forsythe's *F*-ratio indicates no significant effect. Both techniques control the Type I error rate well, however the Welch test is better at detecting an effect when it exists (Field, 2009). Thus, I am confident to say that negative statements are affected by the discussion leader, however it is not yet clear which type of leader. Statements referring to integration/differentiation seem to be affected by the type of discussion leader, however further analysis is needed to confirm if this result is significant. In order to test for significant differences between subgroups, a *post hoc* test (Games-Howell) was used. A significant difference was discovered between the Norwegian and European discussion group leader ($p = .001$).

Table 16. *Levene's test results for a violation of equal variance in the discussion groups*

	<i>Levene Statistic</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Positive statements	2.705	2.84	.073
Negative statements	5.846	2.84	.004
Integration/Differentiation statements	3.234	2.84	.044

Table 17. *Negative and integration/differentiation statements tested with Welch's and Browne-Forsythe's F-ratio*

	<i>Test statistics</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Positive statements	$F=3.013$	2/84	.054 ns
Negative statements	Welch=8.698	2/43	.196
	Brown=8.864	2/60	.377
Integration/Differentiation statements	Welch=3.523	2/42	.383
	Brown=1.640	2/37	.050

Moreover, I tested the number of positive, negative and integration/differentiation statements between the Norwegian and African/European groups by using a planned comparison in a one-way ANOVA. Equal variances were not assumed. Results indicate that the Norwegian groups have more negative statements than the African and European groups, see table 18.

Table 18. *One-way ANOVA for number of statements between Norwegian and European/African group*

<i>Statements</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Positive statements	1.837	59.438	.071 ns
Negative statements	3.149	41.980	.003
Integration/Differentiation statements	1.105	51.925	.274 ns

The second final analysis consisted of carrying out a two-tailed correlation measure table with Pearson's correlation coefficient to explore if the different variables of the three parts of the analysis (i.e., IAT-scores, questionnaire scores and behavioural scores) are associated. Considering that the questionnaire is divided between measuring prejudice and egalitarian values with both dimensions containing subdimensions, both the mean for the prejudice and values scales have been included, in addition to the individual subscales. Table 19 illustrates the relationships between the individual variables and all significant scores are highlighted.

There is a significant positive relationship between the preference for Norwegian names and levels of prejudice, indicating that the more participant's support prejudice implicitly, the more they are also likely to support prejudice explicitly. A significant negative relationship between the preference for Norwegian names and levels of intimacy was found. These results indicate that the more participants support prejudice implicitly, the more likely they are to

disagree with the thought of being intimate with an immigrant or have any of their family members be intimate with an immigrant explicitly. Moreover, the support of prejudice in the IAT does not correlate with behaviour. This could be an indication that participants were completely controlling their racial expressions during the focus group discussions.

The IAT-value score does not correlate with any other variable indicating that it is probably not measuring what it was intended to. If it was measuring correctly I would at least expect to see a correlation with the mean value score of the questionnaire.

The mean value and prejudice questionnaire scales are correlated to each other, however also to behaviour. Egalitarian values are negatively correlated to prejudice. Thus, the more one explicitly supports egalitarian values, the more one explicitly disapproves prejudice. Converse results are found for the support of prejudice, resulting in decreased support for both equal distribution and general equality, i.e., egalitarian values. Further, a moderately significant relationship is also found between the agreement of egalitarian values and the perception of threat, indicating that the more participants agree with egalitarian values explicitly, the less threat they perceive immigrants to pose. Supporting egalitarian values, additionally, correlated with the perception of cultural differences and the agreement of being intimate with an immigrant, thus the more one supports egalitarian values explicitly the more likely participants are to perceive cultural differences to be small and support the idea of being intimate with an immigrant. The negative relationship between egalitarian values and positive emotions, indicates, that more positive emotions are felt toward immigrants amongst participants who explicitly agree with egalitarian values. Moreover, egalitarian values impacted on both negative and positive statements during the focus group discussions, resulting in increased numbers of positive statements and reduced numbers of negative statements being observed. Conversely, the prejudice scales only reduced the number of positive, not increase negative statements.

Amongst the questionnaires subdimensions for both prejudice and egalitarian values a consistent pattern of correlations is observed. The explicit support for equal distribution is correlated to both reduced levels of threat, an increased willingness to be intimate with an immigrant, increased positive emotions toward immigrants and the perception of there being little cultural differences between native Norwegians and immigrants. Moreover, supporting equal distribution reduced the number of negative statements observed during the focus group discussions, however did not increase numbers of positive statements.

Interestingly, the support for general equality did not reduce the perception of threat, although this was almost significant, however increased levels of positive emotions toward

immigrants. Moreover, the support of general equality did affect both positive and negative statements during the focus groups discussions, reducing negative statements and increasing positive statements.

Amongst the subdimensions of the prejudice questionnaire scale, only threat had a significant correlation to intimacy, indicating that the feeling of threat reduces the inclination of being intimate with an immigrant.

Further, supporting the idea of being intimate with an immigrant reduced the numbers of negative statements during the focus group discussions. On the other hand, feeling positive emotions toward immigrants increased number of positive statements and decreased statements referring to integration and differentiation during the focus group discussions.

Table 19. Correlation measure table

	IAT scores		General quest. results		Subdimensions value questionnaire		Subdimensions blatant questionnaire		Subdimensions subtle questionnaire		Behaviour in group discussion statements		
	IAT names	IAT values	Mean values	Mean prejudice	Equal dis.	General equality	Threat	Intimacy	Pos. em.	Cult. diff.	Positive	Negative	Int./Diff.
IATnames	1												
IATvalues	.96	1											
Mean Values	-.035	.96	1										
Mean Prejudice	.759	-.008	.941	1									
Equal Distribution	-.050	.625	.941	-.475**	1								
General Equality	.283**	-.083	.419	.000	.923**	1							
Threat	.005	.062	.749	.000	.000	.398**	1						
Intimacy	-.223*	.041	.690	-.381**	.000	.000	-.215*	1					
Positive Emotion	.029	.058	.577	.016	.683**	.000	.035	.052	1				
Cultural Differences	.119	.194	.058	.001	-.688**	.000	.288**	.285**	-.339**	1			
Positive Statements	.175	-.154	.135	.003	.581**	.000	-.280**	-.217*	.116	-.189	1		
Negative Statements	.088	.135	.003	.000	.000	.000	.034	.034	.261	.064	.96		
Int./Diff. Statements	-.105	-.097	.348	.022	-.486**	.000	.210*	.179	-.171	.140	-.054	1	
	.307	.348	.022	.000	.000	.040	.080	.097	.097	.174	.602	.96	
	-.119	.059	.212*	-.378**	.131	.257*	-.129	.198	-.129	.198	-.368**	.224*	1
	.272	.586	.049	.000	.225	.016	.236	.066	.236	.066	.000	.037	.87
	.063	.074	-.270*	.142	-.240*	-.211	.134	-.234*	.134	-.234*	-.161	-.224*	.080
	.559	.495	.011	.188	.025	.050	.216	.029	.216	.029	.136	.037	.459
	-.049	.040	.117	-.053	.090	.113	.106	-.115	.106	-.115	-.360**	-.054	.213*
	.652	.710	.279	.629	.405	.296	.329	.290	.329	.290	.001	.617	.047
												.320**	1
												.003	.87

The final analysis consisted of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis to investigate if levels of explicit prejudice (questionnaire) are dependent on the implicit support of prejudice (IAT-names) and/or the explicit support of egalitarian values (questionnaire). A possible interaction effect between IAT-names and explicit egalitarian values was also explored. Considering that IAT-values did not correlate with any other variable (see table 19) only the explicit values measure was used for the regressions analysis. The Durbin-Watson test

confirmed that residuals are uncorrelated with a score of 1.440. Additionally, collinearity tolerance values confirmed that the independent values do not correlate highly with a score of .976 (high above 0.1). These tests confirm that there is a difference between the independent variables and that they can be tested against the dependent variable.

Results are displayed in table 20 and indicate that there is a significant main effect of the IAT-names, meaning that participants with a higher preference for Norwegian names also express more prejudice explicitly in the questionnaire. A second main effect, negatively, was found for egalitarian values (questionnaire), meaning that participants with higher preference for egalitarian values express less prejudice explicitly in the questionnaire. In total, the preference for both IAT-names and egalitarian values explained 30,3% of the variation in the questionnaire prejudice score. The interaction between IAT-names and egalitarian values did not have a significant effect indicating that they are independent of each other.

I also explored if the support of prejudice and/or egalitarian values predicted number of positive, negative and/or integration/differentiation statements in the focus group discussions. Results only partly indicate a main effect. A higher preference for IAT-names or egalitarian values did not predict positive statements significantly.

Table 20. Hierarchical regression analysis summary for variables predicting explicit prejudice (N=96)

Variable	B	SE B	β	t	Sig.
Step 1					
IAT-score non-Norwegian/Norwegian names	.56	.17	.28	3.22	.002
Total values score	-.43	.08	-.43	-4.91	.000
Step 2					
IAT-score non-Norwegian/Norwegian names	.56	.17	.28	3.19	.002
Total values score	-.43	.09	-.43	-4.74	.000
IAT-names x values	-.009	.24	-.003	.03	.970

Note: $R^2 = .30$ for step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .30$ for step 2 ($p > .05$)

The R-square is very low .05, indicating that 5% of the variation in positive statements can be predicted by IAT-names and egalitarian values, however this could be random. The number of negative statements are predicted by the degree of preference for egalitarian values, however only in a small degree. These results indicate that participants who embrace egalitarian values explicitly, are able to control or suppress the explicit expression of prejudice during the focus group discussions. Around 8% of the variation in negative

statements can be predicted by the preference for egalitarian values. This is not a satisfactory variation, however better than for the other two statements (positive, integration/differentiation). IAT-names did not have a significant effect on the number of negative statements. No main effect was found for integration/differentiation statements, indicating that the preference for prejudice or egalitarian values did not result in an increase or decrease in statements referring to integration or differentiation of immigrant groups. The interaction effect between IAT-names and egalitarian values was not significant for any of the statements made during group discussions, although it is leaning in the right direction, i.e., negative effect. A larger sample size may yield more significant results.

Table 21. Hierarchical regression analysis summary for variables predicting statements in group discussions (N=86)

Positive statements						
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	Sig.	
Step 1						
IAT-score non-Norwegian/Norwegian names	-.472	.627	-.08	-.75	.45	
Total values score	.657	.339	.20	1.93	.05	
Step 2						
IAT-score non-Norwegian/Norwegian names	-.475	.630	-.08	-.75	.45	
Total values score	.657	.341	.20	1.93	.05	
IAT-names x values	-.550	1.02	-.05	-.53	.59	
Note: $R^2=.05$ for step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .05$ for step 2 ($p>.05$)						
Negative statements						
Step 1						
IAT-score non-Norwegian/Norwegian names	1.01	1.16	.09	.86	.38	
Total values score	-1.59	.633	-.26	-2.54	.01	
Step 2						
IAT-score non-Norwegian/Norwegian names	1.00	1.17	.09	.85	.39	
Total values score	-1.59	.636	-.26	-2.50	.01	
IAT-names x values	-.89	1.91	-.04	-.468	.64	
Note: $R^2=.08$ for step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .08$ for step 2 ($p>.05$)						
Integration/Differentiation						
Step 1						
IAT-score non-Norwegian/Norwegian names	-.04	.45	-.01	-.10	.91	
Total values score	.26	.24	.11	1.07	.28	
Step 2						
IAT-score non-Norwegian/Norwegian names	-.04	.45	-.01	-.10	.91	
Total values score	.26	.24	.11	1.06	.28	
IAT-names x values	-.09	.74	-.01	-.12	.89	
Note: $R^2=.01$ for step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .01$ for step 2 ($p>.05$)						

5 Discussion

The following paragraphs will discuss the findings of the presented study in relation to the hypotheses and theory presented earlier. To make it clearer for the reader I will discuss methodological reflections and the results in three different paragraphs in the same manner as the experiment was divided by, i.e., questionnaire, IAT and focus group discussions. Later I will briefly discuss weaknesses of the study and ways to improve these weaknesses for future research. Finally I will discuss how future research can build on this study. I end the discussion with a general conclusion.

5.1 Methodological reflections

The following paragraphs will discuss the reliability and validity of the measures used for the analysis.

5.1.1 Reliability of the Questionnaire scales

Prejudice

The scale measuring prejudice had a blatant and subtle prejudice scale comprising of 18 items total. A factor analysis revealed that the 18 items can be sufficiently described by six underlying dimensions referring to intimacy, cultural differences, traditional values, threat and positive emotions. After removing items that were not loading clearly, the remaining 11 items formed a simple structure with the blatant scale comprising of two subscales, threat and intimacy and the subtle scale comprising of two subscales, positive emotions and cultural differences. General Cronbach's α levels for the questionnaire prejudice scale are acceptable with only 11 items (.69), compared to the 20 used in the original scale developed by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995). Cronbach α were measured individually for each subscale and were moderately in line with results presented by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995). Amongst Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) results the subscale *threat* scored an α between .73 and .81, compared to .56 scored on the present study. These results are lower than Pettigrew and Meertens (1995), however, that can be attributed to the lower number of items, half to be exact. The subscale *intimacy* on the other hand, indicates an α of .78 much inline with results observed in Pettigrew and Meertens study ($\alpha = .70 - .93$) (1995). The *intimacy* subscale for the current study has one item less than the original version. For the subtle scale I found that the Cronbach's α value for *cultural differences* is strongly inline with results from the original version with .68 compared to .57 - .72 respectively. All 4 items were retained indicating that this subscale was replicated perfectly. Finally, the subscale *positive emotions* is only weakly

inline with results by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995). Lower values of Cronbach's α can be attributed to the low number of items used (only two), both in the present study and the original version. However, Pettigrew and Meertens had a Cronbach's α between .61-.73 compared to .53 scored on the present study. Considering that scales with few items are notoriously prone to produce lower alpha values these reliability coefficients are moderately pointing in the same direction as earlier research in both empirical and theoretical terms (Field, 2009). Accordingly, I am confident that the reliability of the prejudice scale, on average is adequate.

Egalitarian values

The scale measuring support for egalitarian values comprised of 10 items in total. After a factor analysis it became clear that these 10 items were loading on two underlying factors, not one as was initially expected. After removing item 6 a simple structure was obtained. Thus, the remaining items were divided amongst two dimensions, equal distribution and general equality. Cronbach's α for the entire scale is satisfactory with an acceptable value of .75. Katz and Hass (1988) alpha coefficients of the humanitarianism-egalitarianism scale were .84, comparably my results are lower but pointing in the same direction.

5.1.2 Validity of IAT

The implicit association test measured levels of prejudice by comparing participants' preference for either Norwegian names or immigrant names (non-Norwegian). Additionally, it also measured participants' preference for egalitarian values versus hierarchical values. The use of IAT to test for egalitarian or hierarchical preference has not been tested before and was not pre-tested before the start of the experiment.

Many participants' commented that the categories egalitarian and hierarchical were unfamiliar to them. This unfamiliarity may have confused participants when pairing the target dimensions to the correct category. I was familiar with this problem after performing a number of test rounds (approximately 10), however thought to have bypassed this problem by writing equality (likhet) next to the word egalitarian before the study started. IAT is developed in such a way that participants undergo a number of test trials before their final results are used for analysis. During these test trials participants can familiarise themselves with the attribute items and target dimensions to avoid ambiguous classification.

Additionally, some participants commented that a few of the names used to indicate immigrant names could also be considered Norwegian. Thus, the ambiguous classification of

immigrant names may have confused participants. On the other hand, this problem should have been bypassed with the use of multiple trials essential to the IAT. Moreover, the use of IAT to test for egalitarian values did not correlate with any other measures, indicating that it is not measuring what it was intended to measure. Thus, the unfamiliarity of the categories measuring egalitarian values may have resulted in participants reacting randomly, consequently the IAT values did not correlate with other measures used.

5.1.3 Reliability of coding schema

The coding schema was firstly tested using a bivariate correlation analysis to test for interrater reliability between the category counts of rater one and two. Variables for the three main categories (positive, negative and integration/differentiation statements) indicated a strong correlation between rater one and rater two. This indicated that the main categories were well understood by both rater one and two. For the subcategories on average, correlations are a little weaker. These results indicate that some misunderstandings of the different subcategories have occurred during the coding of the videos. Especially the subcategory referring to *place demands on government* has low correlations. These low correlations may be attributed to the fact that the main category of integration/differentiation also has a subcategory referring to *better integration policies*. Both subcategories relate to the same concerns, i.e., how the government deals with immigrants and may have confused both raters in coding statements belonging to either one of these subcategories correctly.

Secondly, an exploratory factor analysis was used to determine if the variables belonging to the three broad categories, positive, negative and integrations/differentiation statements were loading clearly on three factors. Results show that the codings for the second rater had a higher correlation than for the first rater. Consequently, only these codings were used for further analysis. In sum, results indicate a rather strong interrater reliability of the coding schema.

5.2 Relating findings to theory and hypotheses

Methodologically I am confident that most scales used are reliable and useful for further testing. It is now important to interpret results and hopefully provide evidence in support of results revealed by other research similar to mine. Additionally, interpreting results should give an insight as to whether my hypotheses are confirmed or not. Again, to help the reader I

will divide the results discussions in three parts accordingly, questionnaire, IAT and focus group discussions.

Questionnaire

Interpreting the mean test results from the questionnaire scales a number of conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, the total value scores indicate that the majority of participants' strongly support egalitarian values, while the total prejudice results indicate that the majority of participants' condemn prejudice. Regression analysis confirms that the embracement of egalitarian values explicitly also correlates negatively with the explicit expression of prejudice, indicating that the more participants embrace egalitarian values the less prejudice they will express in the questionnaire. These results are consistent with research presented earlier stating that most individuals will want to explicitly present themselves in a socially desirable way. Participants support for egalitarian values indicates that they live in an egalitarian value orientated society (Schwartz, 2007; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; 2003). The egalitarian value orientation socialises individuals to act in accordance with it, hence they are more likely to support statements regarding equal distribution of resources and general equality while condemning statements regarding prejudice (Sherif, 1973). However, have participants internalised these egalitarian values? And to what extent? Those who have internalised the egalitarian values of society, consequently making them a part of their social identity, will be most successful at inhibiting explicit prejudiced responses, both in the blatant and subtle prejudice scale. In sum, it seems appropriate to conclude that there is sufficient empirical evidence to support both the theory presented earlier and the first and second hypothesis stating that participants will strongly support egalitarian values while disagreeing with prejudice scales and that the explicit expression of prejudice is negatively correlated with the embracement of egalitarian values.

Secondly, participants continue to strongly support egalitarian values by condemning statements indicating that they feel threatened by immigrants. Research studying how various types of threat play a central role in prejudice have suggested that there are two types of threat that seem to impact levels of prejudice, i.e., symbolic threat (immigrants in Norway teach their children values and skills different from those required to be successful in Norway) and realistic threat (immigrants have jobs that the Norwegians should have) (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Hernes and Knudsen (1992) found evidence in line with the threat theory, suggesting competition for jobs and housing is a predictor for attitudes toward immigrants in Norway.

The fact that individuals indicated that they do not feel threatened may suggest that they are controlling their explicit attitude.

Moreover, the majority of participants feel that they could be intimate or have their children be intimate with an immigrant. Both results indicate that statements from the blatant prejudice scale may have activated the anti-prejudice norm guiding participants to the “correct” way to answer (Schwartz, 2004). Alternatively, the fact that participants condemn prejudice statements may also indicate that they have internalised these norms and values. In sum, it seems appropriate to conclude that these results support both the theory presented and the third hypothesis stating that participants will strongly disagree with the blatant scales.

Results presented by the subtle scale are not as clearly defined. It seems that participants’ may have responded with ambiguousness as a function of the subtle scale having less explicit statements. The subtle prejudice scale intends to measure the support of positive emotions toward immigrants in addition to participants exaggerated perception of cultural differences. Previously, I discussed that the majority of participants do not explicitly want to support negative statements, however results from the subtle scale indicate that they do not want to support subtle statements either. In fact, both results indicate a more neutral attitude toward both the perception of cultural differences and positive emotions. Participants only slightly indicated that they believe there to be cultural differences between immigrants and native Norwegians. Additionally, most participants did not very often feel positive emotions toward immigrants either. Thus, participants do seem to perceive cultural differences between immigrants and native Norwegians, however they were able to partly inhibit this response. On the other hand, participants also indicated that they feel positive emotions toward immigrants, although this result was only slightly indicating that they may have had less positive emotions however were able to control this response to a certain extent. These results support research stating that there are motivational differences between individuals in their ability to explicitly control prejudice (Plant & Devine, 1998, 2009; Dovidio et. al., 1997; Monteith et. al., 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Note that those who have internalised the egalitarian values of society are more successful in controlling their prejudice both in relation to the blatant and subtle prejudice scale (Devine, 1989). Conversely, bigots are unsuccessful in controlling their prejudice under any condition (Crandall et. al., 2002). Others are somewhere in between egalitarians and bigots (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Plant and Devine (1998, 2009) refer to this group of individuals as being externally motivated, while Pettigrew and Meertens refer to them as being subtles. However, both infer that these individuals inhibit automatically activated prejudiced responses when under public scrutiny.

As a result they are inclined to condemn blatant prejudiced stimuli however, are slower to inhibit their prejudiced responses when subtle prejudiced stimuli is presented. Thus, subtles are more inclined to accept items of the subtle scale. These results do not support my fourth hypothesis that participants will support more negative statements in the subtle scale. Nevertheless, these results indicate a struggle for the internalisation of egalitarian norms and values resulting in the continuation of negative attitudes toward immigrants.

IAT

Results from the IAT indicate that most participants strongly support Norwegian names implicitly, compared to immigrant names. These results may suggest that the majority of participants have a strong preference for their own group (in-group) and supports hypothesis six that participants will support Norwegian names more than egalitarian values. However, participants also implicitly support egalitarian values, although to a lesser degree. Later, the correlation measure table indicated that egalitarian values were not correlating anywhere, consequently it was not measuring what I intended it to measure. Unfortunately this makes it impossible for me to provide evidence in support or rejection of hypotheses five and nine. Nonetheless, research might help provide inferences. The fact that participants prefer Norwegian names contradicts directly with the support of egalitarian values. Research indicates that the internalisation of egalitarian values, over time promotes the development of our social attitude (Tajfel, 1978; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). However, only through the process of group membership saliency will these internalised egalitarian values become a part of ones social implicit attitude and create long-lasting attitude changes (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Crandall et. al., 2002). Thus, if participants had internalised egalitarian values to the extent that they were incorporated in their social attitude, giving them an internal motivation to respond without prejudice, this would have assisted them to effectively respond without bias (Devine, 1989; Plant & Devine, 1998; 2009; Devine, et. al., 2002). Considering that the majority of participants preferred Norwegian names suggests that they implicitly still carry negative attitudes toward immigrants and have not yet internalised egalitarian values to the extent that they can influence their implicit attitude.

Further, the correlation measure table confirmed that the implicit and explicit attitude measure correlate moderately, confirming hypothesis seven. The regression analysis provided additional support for the hypothesis that the implicit and explicit measures correlate. A main effect was found between the preference for prejudice in the IAT and the expression of prejudice in the questionnaire. This result brings us to the question of whether implicit and

explicit measures of attitudes are *associated* or *dissociated*. It would seem obvious to assume that a dissociation exists as it has been repeatedly demonstrated that individuals indicate positive attitudes during a self-report measure (i.e., questionnaire), while showing negative attitudes after completion of an implicit attitude measure (i.e., IAT) (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Cunningham et. al., 2001). Cunningham et. al. (2001) found support for an *association* between implicit and explicit attitude measures of race. A consistently strong correlation between three implicit attitude measures (including IAT) and a self-report measure (Modern racism scale) was found. Similar results were obtained by Hoffman and colleagues (2005). They found a small but significant positive mean population correlation of .24 between self-report measures and IAT. Additionally, correlations between IAT and explicit self-report measures increased both as a function of increased spontaneity of self-reports and increased conceptual correspondence. In contradiction, Dovidio et. al. (1997) found weak correlations between measures of response-latency and explicit self-report measures. Overall, stronger evidence has been presented in favour of an association between response-latency and explicit self-report measures. In sum, it seems possible to conclude that there is sufficient empirical and theoretical evidence in support of my hypothesis that a correlation exists between implicit and explicit attitude measures.

Moreover, a weak negative correlation was found between the implicit attitude measure and the sub dimensions in the explicit value measure, i.e., general equality. Although these results do not include the entire explicit value measure (i.e., the sub dimension equal distribution had a non-significant result) the hypothesis is supported considering a correlation is observed. The regression analysis provided additional support for hypothesis eight. A main effect was found between the preference for prejudice in the IAT and the expression of prejudice in the questionnaire. However, no interaction effect was found between the implicit support of prejudice and the explicit support for egalitarian values. This indicates that the two measures are independent of each other and only partly confirms hypothesis eight. The explicit embracement of egalitarian values reduced the explicit expression of prejudice, however no specific suppression effect was measured for individuals both high in their levels of support for Norwegian names and egalitarian values. These results firstly support earlier research stating that an association exists between self-report measures (questionnaire) and response latency measures (IAT) (Cunningham et. al., 2001). Secondly, the fact that only a weak correlation exists and only with one of the sub dimensions of the explicit value measure, may suggest that individuals have not yet effectively internalised the egalitarian values. It has been suggested that normative constrain moderates the explicit expression of our racial

attitudes (Blanchard et. al., 1991). However, normative constrain, either through societal or self-imposed pressure to comply, can only create long-lasting implicit attitude changes when an individual adopts these values as their own personal reference points, i.e., creating internal motivation (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Plant & Devine, 2009; Dovidio et. al., 2002). Thus, it seems appropriate to conclude that the majority of participants for the current study are aware of the egalitarian values promoted in Norwegian society, however only comply to them when under public pressure (externally motivated). This gives them low internal control and suggests that values are predominantly a part of their explicit attitude. Consequently, results support the growing body of research stating that prejudice has not disappeared, however has shifted its expression to a more subtle form (Crandall et. al., 2002; Rutland et. al., 2005; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005).

Finally, no interaction effect was found between the implicit support of prejudice and explicit support for egalitarian values. This indicated that the two measures are independent of each other and only partly confirms hypotheses eight. The explicit embracement of egalitarian values reduced the explicit expression of prejudice, however no specific suppression effect was measured for individuals both high in their levels of support for Norwegian names and egalitarian values.

Focus Group Discussions

Overall, results from the focus group discussions indicate that participants generally produced more negative statements and statements referring to integration policy and exaggerated perceived cultural differences when in the Norwegian led discussion group, confirming hypothesis ten. Regression analysis provides additional evidence that the number of negative statements are predicted by the degree of preference for egalitarian values. Thus, the more participants embrace egalitarian values explicitly, the more they are able to control or suppress the explicit suppression of prejudice during the focus group discussions. These results support theoretical research in favour of normative constrain, and partly supports hypothesis eleven stating that people with stronger values state less negative and more positive things. Egalitarian values impacted on the number of negative statements, however not positive statements.

Considering that participants made more negative statements and statement referring to integration policy and exaggerated perceived cultural differences when in the Norwegian discussion group suggests that ambiguousness was achieved. The ambiguous situation would have made participants search for a reference point or guidance to assist them in defining

acceptable and unacceptable behaviour (Crandall et. al., 2002; Sherif & Sherif, 1969). Accordingly, hearing someone else in the group favour prejudice (i.e., by talking negatively about immigrants) would have given other group members the inclination to justify their own negativity, more so than in the other two discussion groups where social norms were more salient as a function of the confederate's immigrational background (Zitek & Hebl, 2006). Also, the Norwegian discussion group would have consisted of all White participants suggesting that the anti-prejudice norm was not activated, possibly weakening the motivation and control to suppress the expression of racial attitudes even more, especially for those externally motivated to comply to normative constraint. Conversely, participants in the European or African led discussion group would have also felt ambiguous at first (i.e., newly formed group), however seeing the confederate would have activated their anti-prejudice norm, accordingly guiding them to the correct form of behaviour and resulting in lower numbers of negative statements.

Another important point to discuss is the fact that the number of positive statements produced was not affected by the type of discussion leader, nor was it predicted by the IAT-prejudice or the preference for egalitarian values. These results only partly confirm hypothesis ten stating that the type of discussion leader will impact on both positive, negative and integration/differentiations statements. The type of discussion leader impacted only on the number of negative statements. One explanation for this result could be that internally motivated participants (internalised egalitarian values implicitly) may have reacted to the prejudice expressions of other participants during discussions. In order for these internally motivated participants to continue having a positive self-concept they may have been especially sensitive to express positive statements in order to demonstrate their commitment to egalitarian values to the other participants. More than likely they would have made positive statements regardless of the confederate's ethnicity however may have been more inclined to do so in the Norwegian led discussion group as the larger number of negative statements would have activated their category of egalitarian commitment. Therefore, number of positive statements would not have been reliant on the confederates ethnical background, but on participants internal commitment to egalitarian values. This particular explanation would support hypothesis 11.

The discussion groups led by the European confederate were intended to feel some form of ambiguity as a result of the confederate being European (Dutch), yet difficult to categorise in relation to physical appearance (Dutch/Indonesian). The fact that she is European should have led to her acceptance by the native Norwegian participants (also

Europeans), possibly leading to more negative statements, while her physical appearance would have activated the anti-prejudice norm (light brown skin and dark eyes) and guide appropriate behaviour, possible leading to more positive statements. Results indicated that the European group made less negative statements than the Norwegian group, while the number of positive statements were unaffected by the confederate. These results suggest that the majority of participants categorised her as an immigrant, resulting in the activation of the anti-prejudice norm, inadvertently producing less negative statements. Again, these results partly confirm hypothesis ten that the type of discussion leader did impact on statements produced during group discussions, however only on the negative statements.

The presence of confederates with a different ethnical background certainly resulted in less negative statements being produced by participants. The fact that less negative statements were produced, however did not automatically increase the number of positive statements. Results from the African group were in between those of the European and Norwegian. This is unexpected, however may be in part caused by a random effect due to the smaller number of participants. If the African group had similar numbers of participants to the European or Norwegian group, results may have been different. As a function of more participants, more statements would have been measured than were done in the present study and may have resulted in a clearer picture of the number of negative and positive statements. However the current results, again lead to the partial confirmation of hypothesis ten. These results are, however in line with findings presented by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995). They discovered that the rejection of negative statements in the blatant prejudice scale did not lead to the expression of more positive feelings toward immigrants in the subtle scale. Thus, it seems that participants did control the expression of prejudice by producing less negative statements, conversely they did not produce more positive statements, indicating that few feel positive affect toward immigrants.

Moreover, a correlation was found between the prejudice scale and the amount of negative and positive statements, confirming hypothesis twelve. Participants who expressed the least amount of positive emotions also produced fewer positive and integration/differentiations statements during the focus group discussions. On the other hand, participants who perceived few cultural differences between immigrants and native Norwegians produced more positive and less negative statements. Additionally, those who were more inclined to be intimate with an immigrant also produced fewer negative statements, indicating that participants who embrace egalitarian values generally are more positive toward immigrants.

Finally, no interaction effect was found between the implicit support of prejudice and/or the explicit support of egalitarian values and produced statements, although the regression weight of the interaction effect is pointing in the right direction with a negative sign. A larger sample size may yield more significant results if a similar study were to be replicated in future.

5.3 Weaknesses and improvements

The current study has produced some very interesting results, however also some weaknesses. In order to discuss these weaknesses in a chronological order I will start from the beginning. With every weakness discussed I will also immediately discuss improvements. Future research will be discussed in a separate paragraph.

First, the fact that it took a long time to acquire permission from NSD and NESH for my study was not only very stressful to me, however may have also influenced results presented. I was unable to complete a pre-test during the time NSD and NESH needed to consult. The moment permission was acquired I was eager to start the experiment in order to complete my master's thesis as fast as possible. The opportunity to perform a pre-test would have informed me of the uncorrelation of the IAT value measure to any of the other measures. Additionally, NSD and NESH concluded that I could run the experiment without receiving full informed consent from the participants, although the information that they did require me to include may have restricted my results. Participants will have been alerted to the knowledge of their racial attitudes being measured and will have consciously responded with *self-monitoring control* to answer in a socially desirable way and avoid being categorised as being prejudice (Sherif, 1973; Sherif & Sherif, 1969; Crandall et. al., 2002; Monteith et. al., 1996; Blanchard et. al., 1991; Zitek & Hebl, 2006; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005, 2010; Dovidio et. al., 1997). This type of self-imposed control is exactly what I wanted to avoid and may have influenced the results in such a manner that participants were generally perceived to have more positive attitudes towards immigrants than they in fact would have had without the initial pre-information. Not informing participants of the purpose of a sensitive study is common practice within the field of psychology, exactly for the reasons discussed throughout this thesis (i.e., self-preservation). Moreover, performing a pre-test would have improved the quality of the IAT-value measure used.

Due to the convenience sample of participants it is not possible to generalise findings to the entire population of Norway. Results presented would therefore have stronger validity if a more generalisable sample had been used. However, with the limited resources for recruitment it is still a reasonable sample with ages spread out from 18-81 and almost 50% of participants being male and the other half female. Thus, having a larger sample of participants generalisable to the entire population would have improved results.

Throughout all the different measures used, I have referred to the general terminology of people that are not native Norwegians as: immigrants. Many participants argued both amongst themselves and with the confederates and me how to define an immigrant. Some participants referred to immigrants as all the people that come from outside of Norway, others referred to them as people coming from Africa, while others again referred to them as people with a different cultural or religious background. The fact that the category immigrants was ambiguous for participants might have influenced their responses. Through Bratt's (2005) research we know that native Norwegians differentiate between immigrant groups and that they generally hold more negative attitudes toward non-Western ethnic groups as a function of their background (e.g., labour immigrant or refugee, perceived cultural differences, religion and lack of contact). Instead of referring to the general term, immigrants I maybe should have been more specific of one particular minority group such as asylum seekers or African immigrants, this may have initiated the expression of more negative attitudes. By using the general term immigrants I may have confused participants and received ambiguous responses.

Moreover, interrater-reliability of the coding schema was dependent on my explanations of the different categories. As indicated earlier, instructing rater two of the rules for categorisation improved my understanding also. However, by this time I had already completed my coding and did not have the time to repeat it again. If we had met before I started coding the videos there may have been stronger interrater-reliability between rater one and two.

5.4 Future Research

Recommendations for future research are related to the weaknesses described above. Firstly, a study similar to the present one should be replicated without fully informing participants beforehand. This may yield more complete results. Furthermore, focus should turn to the development of a scale that measures implicit egalitarian values more validly, in future. The development of such a scale will need time and a number of tests to check for validity and

strength. Unfortunately, I did not have this time. However, future research should focus on developing a scale that measures both implicit and explicit attitudes toward the support of egalitarian values specific to Norwegian culture. Moreover, future research should build on the study of Bratt (2005). His work has been one of very few in Norway related to how native Norwegians perceive different ethnic minority groups residing in Norway. Learning more about native Norwegians perceptions toward different minority groups may yield information on how to improve relationships between them.

6 Conclusion

The present research addresses some key issues important to our understanding of normative influence on the expression of racial attitudes. The overall picture indicates that native Norwegians do have negative attitudes toward immigrants, both implicitly and explicitly and that normative influences motivate individuals to control and suppress their expressions. The majority of participants are aware that blatant prejudice is unacceptable, supportive of the notions presented in Group Norm Theory. The subtle prejudice scales made it harder for participants low in internal control to inhibit their automatically activated prejudice responses. These results indicate that not all participants have internalised the egalitarian values promoted in Norwegian society. Focus group discussions helped in our understanding of the behavioural expression of prejudice and how sensitive participants are to normative influences. The fact that subtle prejudice continues to flourish, despite the active promotion of egalitarian values and norms, should be a reminder to both the Norwegian government and the people that live within its borders, that immigrants do not have a 100% responsibility in improving relationships between native Norwegians and ethnic minority groups. Together, these results may help native Norwegians become more aware of the fact that they have automated responses that affect their behaviour when interacting with individuals belonging to an ethnic minority group. In future I hope that this awareness will inhibit native Norwegians to judge ethnic minorities based on their cultural, religious or ethnic background but by the content of their character and improve relationships between native Norwegians and immigrants. Remember what Dr. Martin Luther Kings jr. said: *I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal."*

Reference list

- Aberson, C. L. and Gaffney, A. M. (2008). An integrated threat model of explicit and implicit attitudes. *European journal of social psychology*. Vol. 39, pp 808-830
- Ajzen, I. & Fishbein, M. (1980). *Understanding Attitudes and Predicting Social Behaviour*. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632
- Allport, 1935 in Ajzen, I. & Fishbein, M. (1980) *Understanding Attitudes and Predicting Social Behaviour*. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading Mass, Addison-Wesley
- American Psychological Association (2001). *Publication manual of the American Psychological Association* (5th ed.). Washington, DC: British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
- Blanchard, F. A., Lilly, T. and Vaughn, L. A. (1991). Reducing the expression of racial prejudice. *Psychological science*. Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 101-105
- Bratt, C. (2002). Contact and attitudes between ethnic groups: A survey-based study of adolescents in Norway. *Acta sosiologica*. Vol. 45, pp. 107-125
- Bratt, C. (2005). The structure of attitudes toward non-western immigrant groups: Second-order factor analysis of attitudes among Norwegian adolescents. *Group processes & intergroup relations*. Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 447-469
- Brustad, L. (2010, Mai 29). Mener intergreringen er mislykket. *VG*, p. 4
- Cohn, E. S., Pride, M. and Sommers, S. R. (2009). Reducing white juror bias: The role of race salience and racial attitudes. *Journal of applied social psychology*. Vol. 39, No. 8, pp. 1953-1973

Crandall, C. S., Eshleman, A. and O'Brien, L. (2002). Social norms and the expression and suppression of prejudice: The struggle for internalization. *Journal of personality and social psychology*. Vol. 82, No. 3, pp. 359-378

Cunningham, W. A., Preacher, K. J. and Banaji, M. R. (2001). Implicit attitude measures: Consistency, stability, and convergent validity. *Psychological science*. Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 163-170

Devine, P. G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. *Journal of personality and social psychology*. Vol. 56, No. 1, pp. 5-18

Devine, P. G., Plant, E. A., Amodio, D. M., Harmon-Jones, E. and Vance, S. L. (2002). The regulation of explicit and implicit race bias: The role of motivations to respond without prejudice. *Journal of personality and social psychology*. Vol. 82, No. 5, pp. 835-848

Dovidio, J. F., Brigham, J., C., Johnson, B. T. & Gaertner, S. L. (1996). Stereotyping, Prejudice and Discrimination: Another look. In C. N. Macrae & C. Stangor (Eds.), *Stereotypes and stereotyping* (pp. 277-319). New York, The Guilford Press.

Dovidio, J. F. & Fazio, R. H. (1992). New technologies for the direct and indirect assessment of attitudes. In Tanur, J. M. *Questions about questions : inquiries into the cognitive bases of surveys* (pp. 204-233). New York: Russel Sage Foundation

Dovidio, J., F. & Gaertner S. L. (1986) *Prejudice, Discrimination and Racism*. Academic Press. Inc. (London) LTD.

Dovidio, J., F. & Gaertner S. L. (2010). Intergroup Bias. In S. T. Fiske, D. T. Gilbert & G. Lindzey, *Handbook of social psychology: Vol. 2*. (5th ed., pp. 1084-1121). New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Dovidio J. F., Hewstone, M., Glick, P. & Esses, V. M. (2010). Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination: Theoretical and Empirical overview. In J. F. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick

and V. M. Esses (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination* (pp. 3-29). SAGE publications Ltd.

Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K. and Gaertner, S. L. (2002). Implicit and explicit prejudice and interracial interaction. *Journal of personality and social psychology*. Vol. 82, No. 1, pp. 62-68

Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K., Johnson, C., Johnson, B. and Howard, A. (1997). On the nature of prejudice: Automatic and controlled process. *Journal of experimental social psychology*. Vol. 33, pp. 510-540

Eisenträger, S. (2007, August 6). Slått til blods - fikk ikke være med ambulansen. *VG*. Retrieved March 4, 2010, from <http://www.vg.no>

Ekehammer, B., Akrami, N. & Araya, T. (2000). Development and validation of Swedish classical and modern sexism scales. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*. Vol. 41, pp. 307-314

Ekollo, J., Halvorsen, J., Headstveit, K. 2003. *Rapport om Rasisme og diskriminering i Norge 2001-2002*. UDI Utlendingsdirektoratet Integreringsavdelingen Oslo

Ellemers, N., Pagliaro, S., Barreto, M. and Leach, C. W. (2008). It is better to be moral than smart? The effects of morality and competence on the decision to work at group status improvement. *Journal of personality and social psychology*. Vol. 95, No. 6, pp. 1397-1410

Field, A. (2009). *Discovering Statistics using SPSS (third edition)*. SAGE publications Ltd.

Fiske, S., T. & Taylor, S. (1991). *Social Cognition*. McGraw-Hill, Inc.

Gaertner, S. L. and Dovidio, J. F. (2005). Understanding and addressing contemporary racism: From aversive racism to the common ingroup identity model. *Journal of social issues*. Vol. 61, No. 3, pp. 615-639

Greenwald, A. G. and Banaji, M. R. (1995). Implicit social cognition: Attitudes, Self-esteem, and stereotypes. *Psychological review*. Vol. 102, No. 1, pp. 4-27

Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E. and Schwartz, J. L. K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The implicit association test. *Journal of personality and social psychology*. Vol. 74, No. 6, pp. 1464-1480

Gullestad, M. (2002). Invisible fences: Egalitarianism, nationalism and racism. *Institute for social research*. Vol. 8, pp. 45-63

Hagelund, A. (2002). Problematizing culture: Discourses on integration in Norway. *Journal on international migration and integration*. Vol. 3, No. 3&4, pp. 401-415

Haugen, K. (2002). *On the concept of racial prejudice. A theoretical and empirical assessment*. Unpublished master's thesis, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway.

Hernes, G. and Knudsen, K. (1992). Norwegian's attitudes toward new immigrants. *Acta Sociologica*. Vol. 35, pp. 123-139

Hofmann, W., Gawronski, B., Gschwendner, T., Le, H., and Schmitt, M. (2005). A meta-analysis on the correlation between the implicit association test and explicit self-report measures. *Society for personality and social psychology*. Vol. 31, No. 10, pp. 1369-1385

Hogg, M. A. & Vaughan, G. M. (2005). *Social Psychology*. Pearson Education Limited

Katz, I. and Hass, R. G. (1988). Racial ambivalence and American value conflict: Correlational and priming studies of dual cognitive structures. *Journal of personality and social psychology*. Vol. 55, No. 6, pp. 893-905

Knudsen, K. (1997). Scandinavian neighbours with different character? Attitudes toward immigrants and national identity in Norway and Sweden. *Acta Sociologica*. Vol. 40, pp. 224-243

Kommunal og Regionaldepartementet. (August 19). *1998 Kommunaldepartementet 1948-1998, lokal og velferd*. Retrieved April 10, 2010, from http://regjering.no/Upload/KRD/Vedlegg/KE/KRD_50_ar.pdf

Kroger, J. (2007). *Identity development, Adolescence through adulthood*. SAGE publications Ltd.

Lott, B. & Maluso, D. (1995). *The social psychology of interpersonal communication*. The Guilford press.

Lowery, B. S., Hardin, C. D. and Sinclair, S. (2001). Social influence effects on automatic racial prejudice. *Journal of personality and social psychology*. Vol. 81, No. 5, pp. 842-855

Monteith, M. J., Deneen, N. E. and Tooman, G. D. (1996). The effect of social norm activation on the expression of opinions concerning gay men and blacks. *Basic and applied social psychology*. Vol. 18, No. 3, pp. 267-288

Morrison, K. R. and Ybarra, O. (2008). The effects of realistic threat and group identification on social dominance orientation, *Journal of experimental social psychology*. Vol. 44, pp. 156-163

Myrdal, G. (1962). *An American Dilemma The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. Harper & Row, publishers New York, Evanston, and London.

Nielsen, A., Johnsrud, I. & Helgesen, K. (2010, Februari 18). Burka-nekt på offentlige steder. *VG*, p. 9

Nordtug, H. (2008). *Implicit prejudice against Arab immigrants*. Unpublished master's thesis Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway.

Paluck, E. L. (2009). What's in a norm? Sources and processes of norm change. *Journal of personality and social psychology*. Vol. 96, No. 3, pp. 594-600

Paxton, P. and Mughan, A. (2006). What's to fear from immigrants? Creating an assimilationist threat scale. *Political Psychology*. Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 549-568

Peacock, J. L., Thornton, P., M., Inman, P. B. (2007). *Identity matters. Ethnic and sectarian conflict*. Berghahn books.

Pettigrew, T. F. and Meertens, R. W. (1995). Subtle and blatant prejudice in western Europe. *European Journal of Social Psychology*. Vol. 25, pp. 57-75

Plant, E. A. and Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of personality and social psychology*. Vol. 75, No. 3, pp. 811-832

Plant, E. A. and Devine, P. G. (2009). The active control of prejudice: Unpacking the intentions guiding control efforts. *Journal of personality and social psychology*. Vol. 96, No. 3, pp. 640-652

Rutland, A., Cameron, L., Milne, A. and McGeorge, P. (2005). Social norms and self-presentation: Children's implicit and explicit intergroup attitudes. *Child development*. Vol. 76, No. 2, pp. 451-466

Schwartz, S. H. (1999). A theory of cultural values and some implications for work. *Applied psychology: an international review*. Vol. 48, No. 1, pp. 23-47

Schwartz, S. H. (2007). Universalism values and the inclusiveness of our moral universe. *Journal of cross-cultural psychology*. Vol. 38, No. 6, pp. 711-728

Schwartz, S. H., and Bardi, A. (2001). Value hierarchies across cultures. *Journal of cross-cultural psychology*. Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 268-290

Schwartz, S. H., and Bardi, A. (2003). Values and behaviour: Strength and structure of relations. *PSPB*. Vol. 29, No. 10, pp. 1207-1220

Sherif, M. (1966). *Group conflict and co-operation*. Their Social psychology. London Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Sherif, M. (1973). *The psychology of social norms*. Octagon Books. A division of Ferrar, Straus and Giroux, New York.

Sherif, M. (2006). *Social interaction*. Process and Products. Transaction Publishers.

Sherif, M. & Sherif, C. W. (1969). *Social psychology*. Harper & Row, New York

Sidanius, J., Pratto, F., van Laar, C., and Levin, S. (2004). Social Dominance Theory: Its Agenda and Method. *Political Psychology*. Vol. 25, No. 6, pp. 845-880

Skevik, E. (2010, Januari 7). En fortvilt pårørende til kvinnen som døde på Tøyen i helgen skjelte ut ambulansesentralen på det groveste da de forsøkte å skaffe en ambulanse til den døende kvinnen. *VG*. Retrived March 4, 2010, from <http://www.vg.no>

Stapel, D. A. & Lindenberg, S. (2011). Coping with chaos: How disordered contexts promote stereotyping and discrimination. *Science*. Vol. 332, pp 251-253

Statistisk Sentralbyrå (2010). *Holdninger til innvandrere og innvandring*. Retrieved 2010, from http://www.ssb.no/emner/00/01/30/rapp_hold_innv/rapp_201056/rapp_201056.pdf

Statistisk Sentralbyrå (2010). *Innvandring og innvandrere 2010*. Retrieved 2010, from http://www.ssb.no/emner/02/sa_innvand/

Stephan, C. W., Stephan, W. G., Dimitrakis, K. M., Yamada, A. M. & Clason, D. L. (2000). Women's attitudes toward men: An integrated threat theory approach. *Psychology of women quarterly*. Vol. 24, pp. 63-73

Stephan, W. G. and Stephan, C. W. (1996). Predicting prejudice. *International Journal International Relations*. Vol. 20, No. 3/4, pp. 409-426

Sidanius, J. & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance : an intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Tajfel, H. (1978a). *Differentiation between Social Groups. Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. Academic Press. Inc. (London) LTD.

Tajfel, H. (1978b). *The social psychology of minorities*. Report no. 38
Minority Rights Group Britain

Thorund, E. (1998) Kommunal og Regionaldepartementet. *Kommunal-departementet 1948-1998 – localdemokrati og velferd*. Grytting Trykkeri. Personal Communication, 28 April 2010

Tjelmeland, H., Brochmann, G. (2003). *Norsk innvandringshistorie, Bind 3 I globaliserings tid 1940-2000*. Pax Forlag A/S, Oslo

Valenta, M. (2007). Daily life and social integration of immigrants in city and small town-evidence from Norway. *International journal on multicultural societies*. Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 284-306

Verkuyten, M. (2001). 'Abnormalization' of ethnic minorities in conversation. *British Journal of Social Psychology*. Vol. 40, pp. 257-278

Vinken, H., Soeters, J. & Ester, P. (2004). *Comparing cultures. Dimensions of culture in a comparative perspective*. Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands

Zitek, E. M., and Hebl, M. R. (2007). The role of social norm clarity in the influenced expression of prejudice over time. *Journal of experimental social psychology*. Vol. 43, pp. 867-876

Åsebø, S., Engan, Ø., Solem, L. K., Welhaven, L. & Støtvig, A. (2010, Februari 18) Hyller Terror. *VG*, pp. 6-7

Appendix A. Exploratory factor analysis for questionnaire prejudice scale

Table 1.1a Total variance explained eigenvalues for 18 items

Factor	Eigenvalue	% of variance explained
1	3,670	20,387
2	2,021	11,230
3	1,483	8,237
4	1,379	7,659
5	1,356	7,531
6	1,063	5,904
7	0,972	5,401
8	0,886	4,922
9	0,809	4,492
10	0,759	4,215
11	0,658	3,655
12	0,596	3,313
13	0,516	2,865
14	0,462	2,566
15	0,419	2,327
16	0,401	2,229
17	0,328	1,821
18	0,224	1,245

Figure 1.1b Sample line graph of Eigenvalues possible for extraction

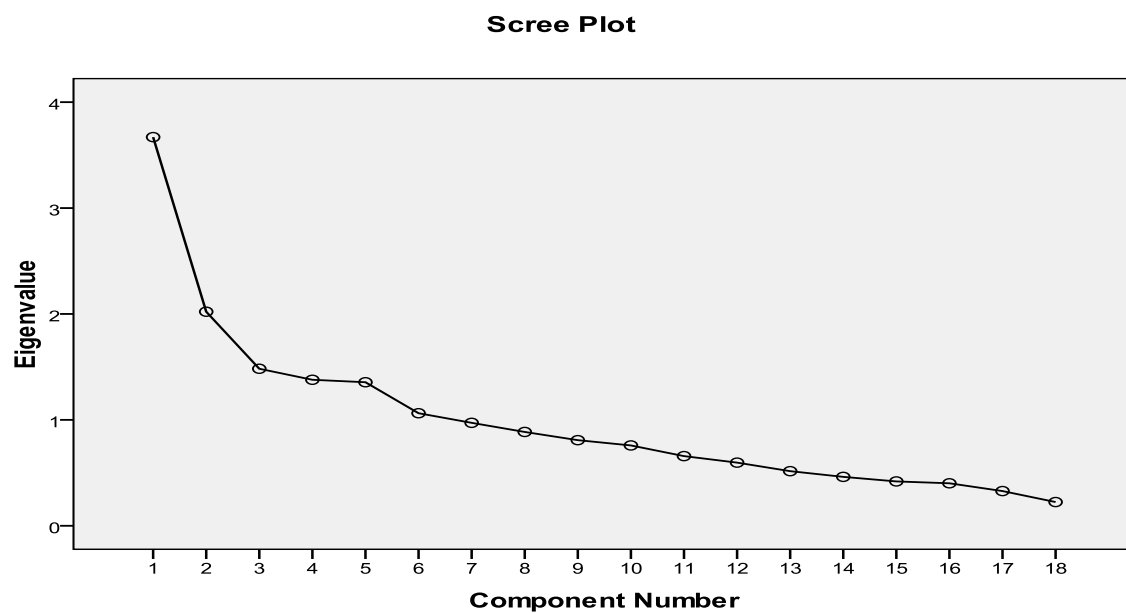


Table 1.1c *Communalities for 18 items*

Subscales	Items		extraction
1. Intimacy (blatant)	Det gjør ingenting å ha et seksuelt forhold til en innvandrer.	1,000	.750
	Det gjør ingenting om mitt barn får en sønn eller datter med en innvandrer.	1,000	.665
	Det spiller ingen rolle for meg om en velkvalifisert innvandrer var min overordnede.	1,000	.560
	Jeg ville ikke ha noe imot at innvandrer med samme faglige og sosiale bakgrunn gifte seg i min familie.	1,000	.618
	Hvor forskjellig eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til religiøse troer og adferd?	1,000	.598
2. Cultural Differences (subtle)	Hvor forskjellig eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til seksuelle verdier og adferd?	1,000	.613
	Hvor forskjellig eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til språk de bruker?	1,000	.574
	Hvor forskjellig eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til verdiene som de lærer sine barn?	1,000	.673
	Det er kommet mange mennesker fra forskjellige land til Norge og som har maktet og bryte ned fordommene mot dem. Innvandrere bør også prøve på det, men ikke i slik grad at de blir favorisert fremfor andre grupper.	1,000	.516
3. Traditional Values (subtle)	Innvandrere arbeider ikke så hard som nordmenn. Dette forklarer hvorfor de ikke oppnå så mye som de fleste nordmenn.	1,000	.460
	Innvandrere bør ikke trenge seg på der de ikke er ønsket.	1,000	.543
	Innvandrere i Norge gi barna sine verdier og ferdigheter barn som er forskjellige fra dem som trengs for et vellykket liv i Norge.	1,000	.696
	De fleste politikere i Norge er altfor bekymret for spørsmål som angår innvandrere.	1,000	.762
	Det er mer sannsynlig at innvandrere som eier butikker eller andre typer av forretninger lurer folk enn norske butikkeiere eller forretningsfolk.	1,000	.702
4. Threat and Rejection (blatant)	Innvandrere har jobber som nordmenn egentlig bør ha.	1,000	.324
	Nordmenn og innvandrere er ikke i stand til å komme overens, selv om de kjenner hverandre godt.	1,000	.520
	Hvor ofte har du følt beundring over innvandrere som bor i Norge?	1,000	.650
5. Positive Emotions (subtle)	Hvor ofte har du følt sympati overfor innvandrere som bor i Norge?	1,000	.746

Table 1.2a *Rotated pattern matrix for 18 items*

Subscales	Items	Component					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
Intimacy	1. Det gjør ingenting å ha et seksuelt forhold til en innvandrere.	.889	.008	.069	.007	-.038	.069
	2. Det gjør ingenting om mitt barn får en sønn eller datter med en innvandrere	.737	.152	-.092	.130	.063	-.069
	3. Det spiller ingen rolle for meg om en velkvalifisert innvandrere var min overordnede.	.342	.026	.022	.513	.259	-.162
	4. Jeg ville ikke ha noe imot at innvandrere med samme faglig og sosiale bakgrunn gifte seg i min familie.	.759	-.040	.007	-.012	.045	-.057
Cultural Differences	1. Hvor forskjellige eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til religiøse troer og adferd?	-.187	.629	.201	-.006	.342	-.161
	2. Hvor forskjellige eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til seksuelle verdier og adferd?	.161	.764	.054	-.060	-.038	.167
	3. Hvor forskjellige eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til språk de bruker?	-.031	.603	.131	-.028	-.180	-.371
	4. Hvor forskjellige eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til verdiene som de lærer sine barn?	.031	.801	-.198	.060	-.011	.121
Traditional Values	1. Det er kommet mange mennesker fra forskjellige land til Norge og som har maktet og bryte ned fordommene mot dem. Innvandrere bør også prøve på det, men ikke i slik grad at de blir favorisert fremfor andre i grupper.	.091	-.107	.269	.583	.193	-.130
	2. Innvandrere arbeider ikke så hard som nordmenn. Dette forklarer hvorfor de ikke oppnå så mye som de fleste nordmenn.	-.273	-.218	.172	.414	-.052	.227
	3. Innvandrere bør ikke trenge seg på der de ikke er ønsket.	-.221	.063	.226	-.014	-.116	.556
	4. Innvandrere i Norge gi barna sine verdier og ferdigheter som er forskjellige fra dem som trengs for et vellykket liv i Norge.	-.024	.067	.820	.033	-.076	.049
Threat and Rejection	1. De fleste politikere i Norge er altfor bekymret for spørsmål som angår innvandrere.	-.020	.148	-.393	.704	-.371	-.020
	2. Det er mer sannsynlig at innvandrere som eier butikker eller andre typer av forretninger lurer folk enn norske butikkeiere eller forretningsfolk.	.163	-.016	.054	-.176	.091	.852
Positive Emotions	3. Innvandrere har jobber som nordmenn egentlig bør ha.	-.284	.096	-.014	.215	.101	.369
	4. Nordmenn og innvandrere er ikke i stand til å komme overens, selv om de kjenner hverandre godt.	-.168	-.013	-.078	.035	-.092	.629
	1. Hvor ofte har du følt beundring over innvandrere som bor i Norge?	-.174	-.015	-.031	-.090	-.763	-.115
	2. Hvor ofte har du følt sympati overfor innvandrere som bor i Norge?	.146	-.005	.498	.080	-.689	.118

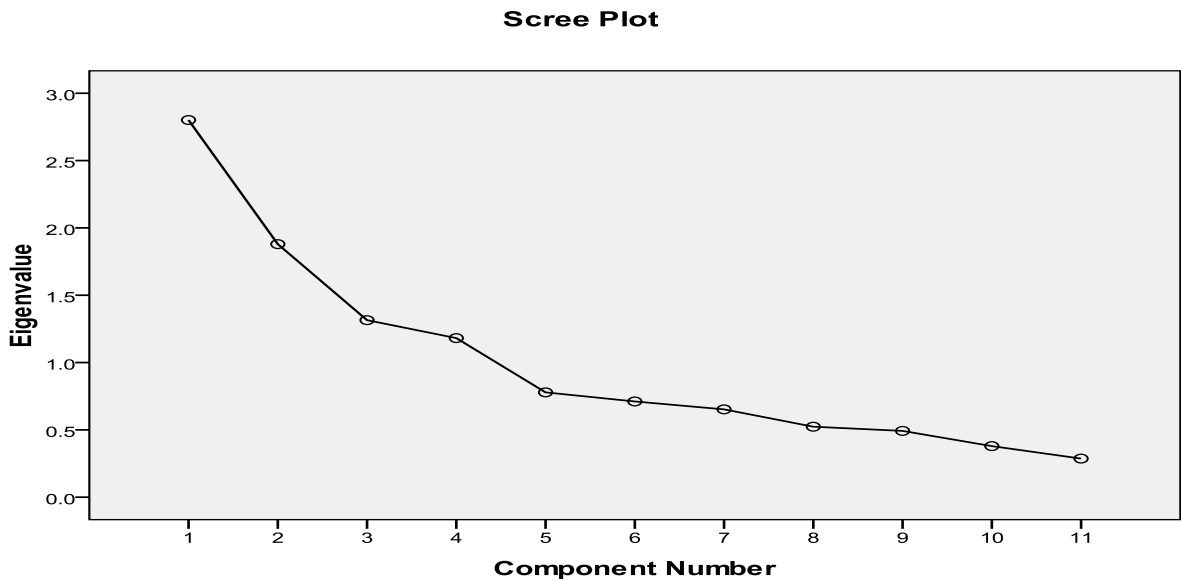
Table 1.2b Total variance explained for eigenvalues for the retained 11 items

Factor	Eigenvalue	% of variance explained
1	2,801	25,463
2	1,879	17,085
3	1,315	11,953
4	1,181	10,741
5	0,779	7,078
6	0,711	6,463
7	0,652	5,929
8	0,523	4,758
9	0,492	4,475
10	0,379	3,448
11	0,287	2,606

Table 1.2c Communalities for 11 items

Subscales	Items		Extraction
1.	Det gjør ingenting å ha et seksuelt forhold til en innvandrer.	1,000	.768
	Det gjør ingenting om mitt barn får en sønn eller datter med en innvandrer.	1,000	.673
	Jeg ville ikke ha noe imot at innvandrer med samme faglige og sosiale bakgrunn gifte seg i min familie.	1,000	.671
2.	Hvor forskjellig eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til religiøse troer og adferd?	1,000	.525
	Hvor forskjellig eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til seksuelle verdier og adferd?	1,000	.664
	Hvor forskjellig eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til språk de bruker?	1,000	.536
	Hvor forskjellig eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til verdiene som de lærer sine barn?	1,000	.586
3.	Det er mer sannsynlig at innvandrere som eier butikker eller andre typer av forretninger lurer folk enn norske butikkeiere eller forretningsfolk.	1,000	.749
	Nordmenn og innvandrere er ikke i stand til å komme overens, selv om de kjenner hverandre godt.	1,000	.615
4.	Hvor ofte har du følt beundring over innvandrere som bor i Norge?	1,000	.676
	Hvor ofte har du følt sympati overfor innvandrere som bor i Norge?	1,000	.713

Figure 1.2d Sample line graph of Eigenvalues for extraction



Appendix B. Exploratory factor analysis for questionnaire egalitarian scale

Table 3.1a *Communalities for 10 value items*

Items		Extraction
1.	Alle burde ha lik sjanse og like mye å si i det meste.	1,000 .646
2.	De som ikke klarer sørge for sine grunnleggende behov, burde få hjelp av andre.	1,000 .556
3.	Det bør være likestilling for alle fordi vi er alle mennesker.	1,000 .487
4.	En person bør være opptatt av andres velbefinnende.	1,000 .589
5.	Et godt samfunn er et samfunn hvor folk føler ansvar for hverandre.	1,000 .665
6.	I saker med kriminelle burde domstolene anerkjenne at mange er ofre for omstendigheter.	1,000 .577
7.	Å beskytte rettighetene og interessene til andre medlemmer i samfunnet er en viktig plikt for alle mennesker.	1,000 .506
8.	Man bør finne måter å hjelpe andre som er mindre heldige enn seg selv.	1,000 .501
9.	Man burde være snill med alle mennesker.	1,000 .551
10.	Velstående nasjoner har en moralsk plikt til å dele noe av deres velstand med fattige nasjoner.	1,000 .564

Table. 3.1.b *Total variance explained eigenvalues for 10 value items*

Factor	Eigenvalue	% of variance explained
1	3,235	32,353
2	1,296	12,963
3	1,111	11,109
4	,940	9,403
5	,806	8,064
6	,730	7,301
7	,583	5,829
8	,500	4,997
9	,445	4,452
10	,353	3,529

Figure 3.1c Sample line graph of Eigenvalues possible for extraction

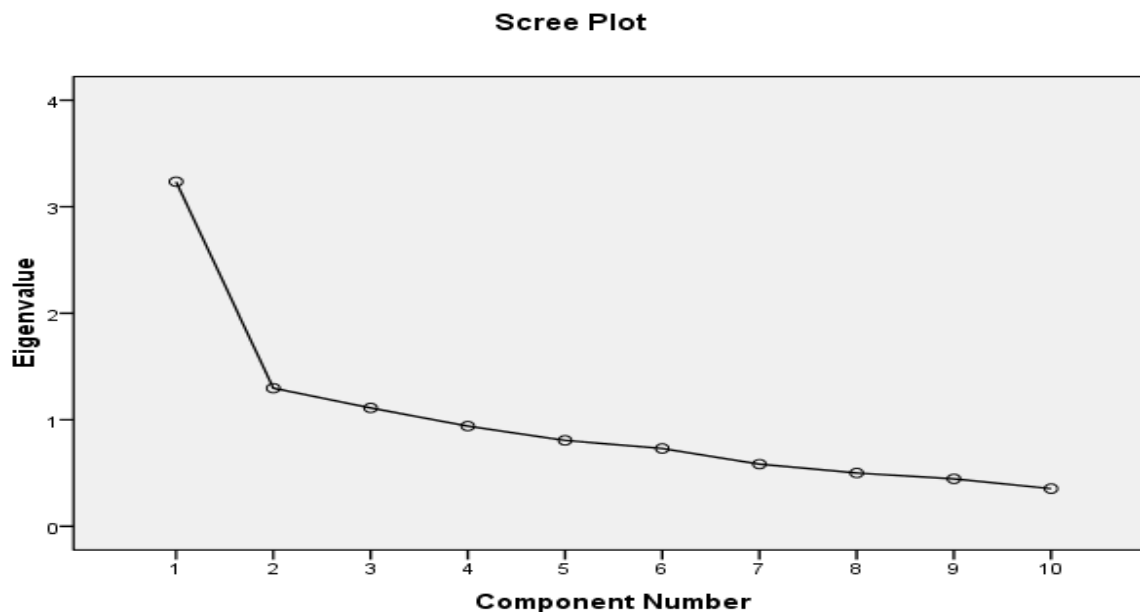


Table 3.1d Rotated pattern matrix for 10 value items

Items		Component		
		1	2	3
1.	Alle burde ha lik sjanse og like mye å si i det meste.	-.056	.793	.060
2.	De som ikke klarer å sørge for sine grunnleggende behov, burde få hjelp av andre.	.011	.028	.735
3.	Det bør være likestilling for alle fordi vi er alle mennesker.	.193	.576	.152
4.	En person bør være opptatt av andres velbefinnende.	.609	.315	.108
5.	Et godt samfunn er et samfunn hvor folk føler ansvar for hverandre.	.794	-.018	.081
6.	I saker med kriminelle burde domstolene anerkjenne at mange er ofre for omstendigheter.	-.434	.317	.597
7.	Å beskytte rettighetene og interessene til andre medlemmer i samfunnet er en viktig plikt for alle mennesker.	.203	-.173	.663
8.	Man bør finne måter å hjelpe andre som er mindre heldige enn seg selv.	.257	-.021	.604
9.	Man burde være snill med alle mennesker.	.105	.753	-.187
10.	Velstående nasjoner har en moralsk plikt til å dele noe av deres velstand med fattige nasjoner.	.631	.205	.149

Table 3.2a *Communalities for 9 value items*

Items		Extraction
1.	Alle burde ha lik sjanse og like mye å si i det meste.	1,000 .657
2.	De som ikke klarer å sørge for sine grunnleggende behov, burde få hjelp av andre.	1,000 .363
3.	Det bør være likestilling for alle fordi vi er alle mennesker.	1,000 .503
4.	En person bør være opptatt av andres velbefinnende.	1,000 .514
5.	Et godt samfunn er et samfunn hvor folk føler ansvar for hverandre.	1,000 .469
6.	Å beskytte rettighetene og interessene til andre medlemmer i samfunnet er en viktig plikt for alle mennesker.	1,000 .430
7.	Man bør finne måter å hjelpe andre som er mindre heldige enn seg selv.	1,000 .462
8.	Man burde være snill med alle mennesker.	1,000 .531
9.	Velstående nasjoner har en moralsk plikt til å dele noe av deres velstand med fattige nasjoner.	1,000 .479

Table 3.2b *Total variance explained for 9 value items*

Factor	Eigenvalue	% of variance explained
1	3,142	34,913
2	1,267	14,073
3	0,994	11,048
4	0,915	10,163
5	0,777	8,632
6	0,587	6,521
7	0,52	5,774
8	0,445	4,947
9	0,354	3,93

Appendix C. Exploratory factor analysis for coding schema

Figure 4.1a Sample line graph of Eigenvalues possible for extraction for rater 1

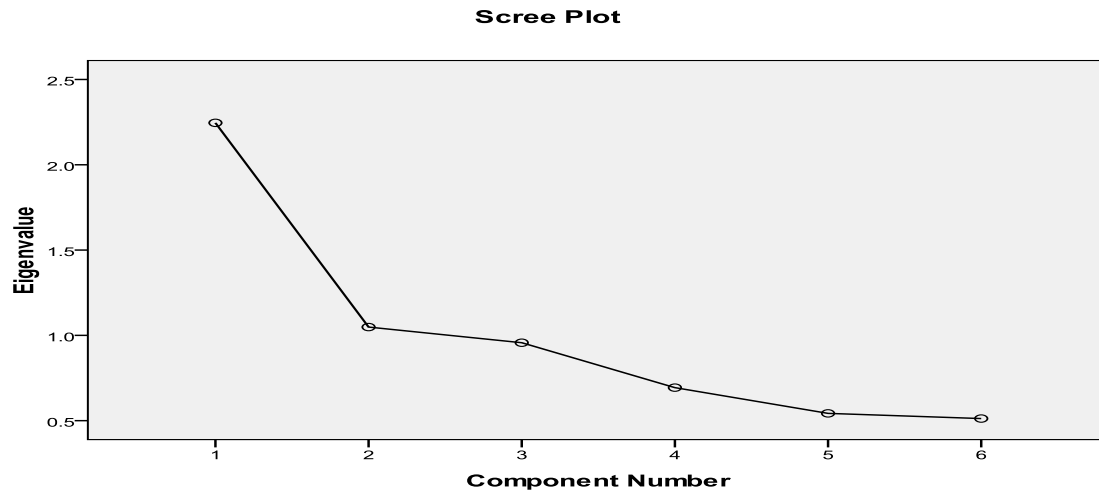


Table 4.1b Total variance explained for coding counts of rater 1

Factor	Eigenvalue	% of variance explained
1	2,246	37,43
2	1,049	17,479
3	0,957	15,947
4	0,694	11,56
5	0,543	9,045
6	0,512	8,539

Table 4.1c Communalities for subcategories for rater one

Subcategories	Initial	Extraction
1. Threat and rejection	1	.609
2. Place demands on immigrants	1	.562
3. Place demands on government	1	.587
4. Social norms	1	.102
5. Resources	1	.898
6. Differentiation between imm. groups	1	.537

Figure 4.2a Sample line graph of Eigenvalues possible for extraction for rater 2

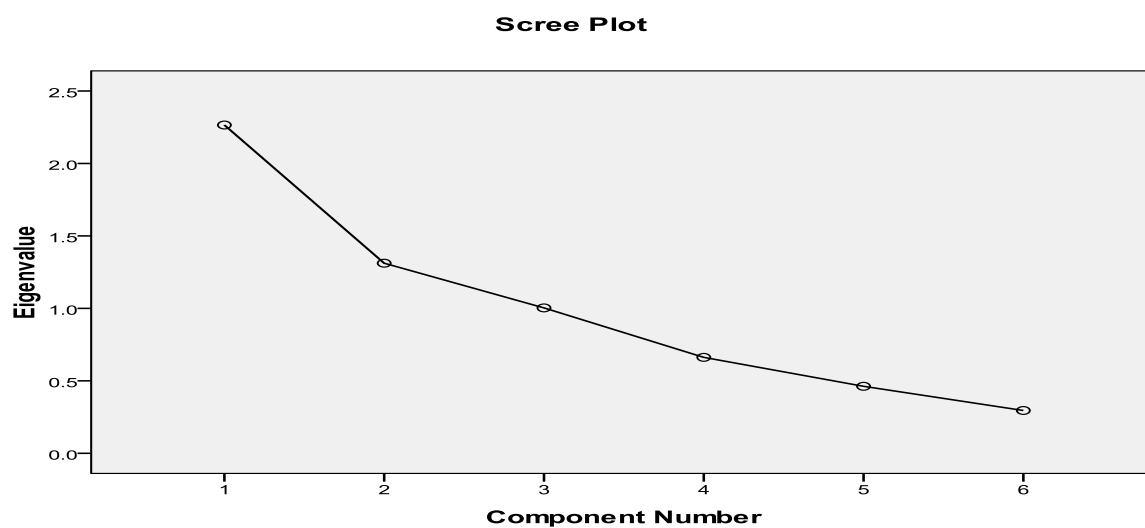


Table 4.2a Total variance explained for coding counts of rater 2

Factor	Eigenvalue	% of variance explained
1	2,265	37,754
2	1,312	21,861
3	1,003	16,722
4	0,662	11,034
5	0,462	7,705
6	0,295	4,923

Table 4.2b Communalities for subcategories for rater two

Subcategories	Extraction
1. Threat and rejection	1 .706
2. Place demands on immigrants	1 .698
3. Place demands on government	1 .700
4. Social norms	1 .787
5. Resources	1 .842
6. Differentiation between imm. groups	1 .847



Fakultet for samfunnsvitenskap
og teknologiledelse
Psykologisk institutt

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet

”Holdninger til omstridte spørsmål i det Norske samfunnet”

Kjære deltakere,

Jeg er masterstudent ved NTNU i Trondheim med fordypning i psykologi. På dette tidspunktet driver jeg med å skrive min masteroppgave. I sammenheng med denne oppgaven har jeg bestemt meg for å lage en studie, som jeg trenger din hjelp til.

Bakgrunn og hensikt

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i en forskningsstudie for å lære mer om hva dere mener om omstridte spørsmål i det Norske samfunnet. Vi vil vente med å fortelle om detaljene i prosjektet for at informasjonen ikke skal påvirke resultatene. Utfyllende informasjon om hensikten med forskningsprosjektet vil gis når undersøkelsen er gjennomført. Du har mulighet til å revurdere samtykke etter vi informerte deg om hensikten hvis du ønsker det.

Hva innebærer studiet?

Studiet består av to deler: Del en består av to sorteringsoppgaver hvor du skal sortere ord inn i forskjellige kategorier, og et spørreskjema som gjelder holdninger rundt innvandring og verdier. Del en skal gjennomføres i datasalen. Del to er en gruppediskusjon med andre om et aktuelt politisk tema. Gruppediskusjonen blir tatt opp på video for å gjøre analysen av deltakernes innlegg og adferd i diskusjonen enklere. Studiet tar omtrent en time.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?

Informasjonen fra sorteringsoppgaven, spørreskjemaet og opptak av gruppediskusjonen skal vi bruke for analyser med hensikten til studiet. Vi vil gi utfyllende informasjon om hensikten med forskningsprosjektet etter gruppediskusjonen. Alle opplysningene vil bli behandlet uten navn, fødselsnummer eller andre opplysninger som identifiserer enkelt personer. En kode knytter sammen dine opplysninger i del en og del to, men vi holder ingen navneliste og kan ikke knytte sammen dine svar med andre opplysninger om din person/individ. Som deltaker er det derfor viktig at du husker på koden du får i dag, slik at vi vet hvilke opplysninger å slette når du ønsker å trekke ditt samtykke på et senere tidspunkt fordi vi ikke har noen andre mulighet å koble ditt navn til dine opplysninger.

Det er kun jeg og min veileder som har adgang til videoopptak og svarene fra spørreskjemaet. Videoopptak blir oppbevart i en safe. Det vil ikke være mulig å identifisere enkelt personer i resultatene av studien når disse publiseres i masteroppgaven eller i en eventuell vitenskapelig artikkel. Prosjektslutt er 15. 05. 2011. Datamaterialet anonymiseres innen prosjektslutt og videoopptak slettes.

Frivillig

deltakelse

Det er frivillig å delta i studiet. Du kan når som helst og uten å oppgi noen grunn trekke ditt samtykke til deltakelse i studiet. Dette vil ikke få negative konsekvenser for deg. Hvis du ønsker å trekke samtykke så vil vi slette dine svar fra sorteringsoppgaven og spørreskjemaet. Vi vil påføre en svart flekk over deg på videopptaket slik at du ikke kan bli gjenkjent og at vi ikke kan analysere deg.

Dersom du ønsker å delta, undertegner du samtykkeerklæringen. Om du senere ønsker å trekke deg eller har spørsmål til studiet, kan du kontakte **Dr. Christian Klöckner**, christian.klockner@svt.ntnu.no, tel 735 91977.

Informasjon om utfallet av studiet

Om du ønsker det, kan du få informasjon om utfallet av studiet når analysene er avsluttet og resultatene foreligger. Kryss av at du ønsker informasjon i samtykkeerklæring.

Sacha de Raaf
(Mastergradsstudent)
NTNU – psykologisk institutt
7491 Trondheim
Tel: 480 38 111
deraaf@stud.ntnu.no

Dr. Christian Klöckner
(veileder)
NTNU – psykologisk institutt
7491 Trondheim
Tel: 735 91977
christian.klockner@svt.ntnu.no

Samtykke til deltakelse i studiet

Jeg er villig til å delta i studiet. Jeg er innforstått med at jeg kan revurdere samtykket når som helst i studiet uten å oppgi noen grunn.

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

[] Jeg vil få informasjon om utfallet av studiet. Send informasjon til denne e-postadressen (e-postadressen blir oppbevart avskilt fra resten av dine opplysninger):

Jeg bekrefter å ha gitt informasjon om studiet

(Signert, rolle i studien, dato)

Debriefing til deltakere

Nå at du har gjennomført studiet er det mulig for meg å gi utfyllende informasjon om hensikten med forskningsprosjekt:

Hensikten med min master oppgaven er: I hvilken grad motiverer egalitære (=likhets) verdier til å kontrollere sine kontrollerbare fordommer.

Forskningsspørsmålet er om sosial normer, og spesielt normer knyttet til likhets verdier, kontrollerer i hvilken grad eventuelle negative holdninger til innvandrere uttrykkes eller ikke. Prosjektet skiller mellom implisitte holdninger (dvs. hvordan mennesker reagerer tanke- og følelsesmessig selv om det ikke er bevisst) og eksplisitte holdninger (dvs. hva mennesker sier om innvandrere eller hvordan de forholder seg til dem) til innvandrere, og vil mer bestemt undersøke om disse er forskjellige. I tillegg vil jeg undersøke om graden av åpen diskrimineringsatferd kontrolleres av hvor sterke likhetsverdier en person har; og om konteksten påvirker om implisitte holdninger åpenbares eller ikke. Jeg er ikke interessert i en etisk vurdering av deltakernes holdninger!

For å måle de enkelte aspekter har du gjennomgått tre forskjellige oppgaver:

- 1) Sorteringsoppgavene var mål på implisitte holdninger mot innvandrere og egalitære verdier. Det er noe som heter "Implicit Association Test (IAT)". Denne testen har testet dine ukontrollerbare holdninger. Dette ble mulig ved å måle din reaksjonstid på forskjellige sammensetninger av ord (for eksempel et ikke norsk navn og et positiv ord). Jo mer disse sammensetninger er på lik linje med din holdning, jo raskere burde du ha svart.
- 2) Spørreskjemaet målte eksplisitte holdninger mot innvandrere og egalitære verdier. Hvor mye du tilsvarte med de enkelte setningene, måler hvor enig du er med dem.
- 3) Til slutt har du også deltatt i en diskusjonsgruppe som hadde "Siv Jensens og Fremskrittspartiets rolle i den Norske politikk" som tema. Dette temaet ble valgt fordi vi trodde dette skulle vekke mange meninger om innvandringspolitikk. Siv Jensen og hennes parti har sterke meninger om innvandring til Norge. Vi håpet dermed på at dere skulle diskutere åpent deres holdninger om innvandringsgrupper. Hver diskusjonsgruppe ble filmet slik at vi kan se etter verbale og non-verbale kommunikasjonsformer som muligens indikerer fordommer. Det er ingen garanti at dere viser disse fordommene i deres adferd, dette er bare en hypotese.

Jeg minner deg igjen på at det er mulig å trekke deg ut av studiet nå hvis du ønsker dette. Vi vil da slette alle svar på IAT og spørreskjemaet og vil ikke analysere deg på videoopptak. Samtidig vil jeg også minne deg om igjen at ditt svar og personlig informasjon skal bli ivarettatt på en anonym og trygg måte. Jeg informerer deg gjerne om resultatene til studiet når analysen er avsluttet. Du kan gjerne snakke med meg nå om du vil ha mer informasjon eller diskutere om studiet.

Tusen hjertelig takk for din deltagelse!!!

Sacha de Raaf (Mastergradsstudent)
NTNU – psykologisk institutt
7491 Trondheim
Tel: 480 38 111
deraaf@stud.ntnu.no

Dr. Christian Klöckner (veileder)
NTNU – psykologisk institutt
7491 Trondheim
Tel: 735 91977
christian.klockner@svt.ntnu.no

Appendix E. Standardized formats for confederates during focus group discussions

Når deltakere først kommer inn:

1. Velkommen til gruppediskusjonen.
2. Jeg vil at dere setter dere ned slik at jeg kan forklare hva vi skal gjøre. Det er veldig viktig at klistermerkene med koden på er godt synlige.

Hvordan du forklare tema til gruppediskusjonen:

3. Nå skal vi begynne og jeg skal fortelle dere hva temaen i gruppediskusjonen er:
- Jeg er interessert i å høre om deres syn på Siv Jensen og hennes rolle hun og partiet spiller i kontroversielle samfunnsmessige diskusjoner. Vi skal diskutere hvordan vi oppfatter henne og partiet FrP (Fremskrittspartiet).
4. Føler dere at dere trenger noen minutter å tenker på?
- Hvis svaret er ja, gi dem noen minutter.
5. Når deltakere er litt sjenerte, kan vi ta en runde på en og en. Hva mener hver enkelt!

For manger følelser:

- Nå tror jeg vi må roe oss. Nå har vi hørt litt om hva du mener, hva mener du (peker til noen andre)

Når det er en stor diskusjon mellom 2 personer med forskjellige syn:

- Nå hører jeg at dere har to forskjellige meninger.
- Hvorfor har dere to forskjellige meninger? Kan dere fordype eller forklare dere mer?

Når deltakere begynner å snakke om statsbudsjett eller andre uaktuelle tema:

- Selv om statsbudsjettet er interessant å snakke om så dreier det seg ikke om kontroversielle samfunnsmessige temaer. Dere må fokusere på det.

Din rolle som leder er:

- Fungere som moderator i gruppediskusjonen
- Du skal lede diskusjonen men ikke styre den i forhold til innhold.
- Du må sikre det slik at folk begynner å snakke
- Du må sikre det slik at emosjoner ikke ta styringen
- Gi ordre når situasjonen begynner å komme ut av kontroll
- Leder deltakere tilbake til tema når diskusjonen drar for langt ut
- Leder deltakere tilbake til tema når de sporer helt av fra temaen

Appendix F. IAT items

Prejudice

Attribute Items	
Positive	Negative
Lykke	Pine
Latter	Smerte
Vidunderlig	Avskyelig
Nytelse	Ufyselig
Herlig	Tragisk
Vakker	Stygg
Blomst	Møkk
Solskinn	Heslig
Suksess	Råtten
	Fiasko

Target dimensions	
Norwegian	Non-norwegian
Anders	Mohammad
Espen	Ali
Frode	Ahmed
Håvard	Ismail
Ragnar	Mikail
Nora	Nadia
Hildegunn	Fatima
Britt	Amina
Elin	Natasha
Gry	Samira

Egalitarian vs. Hierarchical values

Attribute Items	
Positive	Negative
Lykke	Pine
Latter	Smerte
Vidunderlig	Avskyelig
Nytelse	Ufyselig
Herlig	Tragisk
Vakker	Stygg
Blomst	Møkk
Solskinn	Heslig
Suksess	Råtten
	Fiasko

Target dimensions	
Egalitarian	Autoritær
Frihet	Autoritær
Likhet	Innflytelse
Rettferdighet	Makt
Loyalitet	Rikdom
Ærlighet	Underordning

Appendix G. Standardized format used to code behaviour from video recordings

Date:	Threat and Rejection		Place Demands on Imm.				Place Demands on G.		Differen	
09.11.10	Labour Market	Criminals	Loss Of Culture	Societies Resources	Language Lessons	Integration	Stricter Imm. Laws	Gov. Deals with integr.	Less Benefits	Immigr Groups
Group No:										
A										
100										
99										
102										
101										
98										
B										
63										
62										
61										
60										
59										
C										
21										
22										
20										
19										

Appendix H. The blatant and subtle prejudice scales

Threat and Rejection factor items: Blatant Scale

1. "Innvandrere har jobber som nordmenn egentlig bør ha."
2. "Nordmenn og innvandrere er ikke i stand til å komme overens, selv om de kjenner hverandre godt."
3. "De fleste politikere i Norge er altfor bekymret for spørsmål som angår innvandrere."
5. "Det er mer sannsynlig at innvandrere som eier butikker eller andre typer av forretninger lurer folk enn norske butikkeiere eller forretningsfolk."

Intimacy factor items: Blatant Scale

1. "Det gjør ingenting om mitt barn får en sønn eller datter med en innvandrer."
2. "Det spiller ingen rolle for meg om en velkvalifisert innvandrer var min overordnede."
3. "Jeg ville ikke ha noe imot at innvandrer med samme faglige og sosiale bakgrunn gifter seg inn i min familie."
4. "Det gjør ingenting å ha et seksuelt forhold til en innvandrer."

Traditional values factor items: Subtle Scale

1. "Innvandrere bør ikke trenge seg på der de ikke er ønsket."
2. "Det er kommet mange mennesker fra forskjellige land til Norge og som har maktet å bryte ned fordommene mot dem. Innvandrere bør også prøve på det, men ikke i slik grad at de blir favorisert fremfor andre grupper."
3. "Innvandrere arbeider ikke så hard som nordmenn. Dette forklarer hvorfor de ikke oppnår så mye som de fleste"
4. "Innvandrere i Norge gir barna sine verdier og ferdigheter barn som er forskjellige fra dem som trengs for et vellykket liv i Norge."

Cultural differences factor items: Subtle Scale

1. "Hvor forskjellig eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til verdier som de lærer sine barn?"
2. "Hvor forskjellig eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til religiøse troer og adferd?"
3. "Hvor forskjellig eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til seksuelle verdier og adferd?"

4. "Hvor forskjellig eller likt er innvandrere som bor i Norge sammenlignet med nordmenn med hensyn til språket de bruker?"

Positive emotions factor items: Subtle Scale

1. "Hvor ofte har du følt sympati overfor innvandrere som bor i Norge?"
2. "Hvor ofte har du følt beundring overfor innvandrere som bor i Norge?"