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Intergroup contact and attitudes towards refugees in Norway: A survey study

Master's thesis in Psychology, specialization in learning - brain,
behaviour and environment

Supervisor: Timo Lajunen

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Preface

Five memorable years of studying psychology have now passed. I am very grateful for having studied at four excellent universities: The University of Bergen (One-year), the University of Oslo (Bachelor's), the University of Queensland (exchange), and the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (Master's). Exciting lectures, especially in social-, cognitive-, cultural- and community psychology, have inspired me to write my thesis about attitudes towards refugees coming to Norway.

Many people have supported me during the execution of the survey and the writing of the master thesis. First and foremost, I am grateful for the valuable guidance and feedback from my supervisor at NTNU, Timo Lajunen – thank you!

I wish to express my gratitude to my family. My sister, Linn, and my parents, Liv and Morten – you have helped me stay motivated during the entire course of this master thesis.

Thank you to my classmates at NTNU - you have made the two years of studying in Trondheim very eventful.

Thank you to Klepp municipality and Ipsos for providing insight and statistics concerning refugees' situation in Klepp/Norway. Also, thank you to the local Red Crosses in Trondheim, Stavanger, Bærum and Oslo for helping me collect data.

Finally, thank you to all the individuals who voluntarily participated in the survey - the statistical analyses would not have been possible without your answers.

Sammendrag

Denne masteroppgaven undersøker hvordan holdninger til flyktninger i Norge påvirkes av intergruppekontakt. En nettbasert spørreundersøkelse ble gjennomført med et utvalg på $n = 304$ ikke-flyktninger. Intergruppekontakt ble målt ved Islam og Hewstone (1993) sin skala som måler frekvens av intergruppekontakt (“contact quantity”), og Barlow og kollegaer (2012) sin skala som måler opplevelsen av kontakten som positiv eller negativ (“valenced contact”). Holdninger til flyktninger ble målt ved Andersons (2018) skala, kalt “Prejudice against asylum seekers scale” (PAAS), og spørsmål brukt i nasjonale spørreundersøkelser gjennomført av Ipsos og Statistisk sentralbyrå (SSB). De statistiske analysene utført i denne studien støtter akkumulert forskning vedrørende intergruppekontakt teori.

Korrelasjonsanalysene viste at jo hyppigere kontakt deltakerne hadde med flyktninger, jo mer positive holdninger hadde de. De multiple regresjonsanalysene predikerte at deltakere som hadde positive erfaringer med flyktninger, også hadde mer positive holdninger til dem - sammenlignet med deltakere som hadde negative erfaringer. Studiet undersøkte også utbredelsen av fordomsfulle holdninger til flyktninger. I gjennomsnitt rapporterte deltakerne en overvekt av positive holdninger. I tillegg undersøkte studien hvordan holdninger til flyktninger påvirkes av verdier. I samsvar med Schwartz sin teori om menneskelige verdier, viste studien at “self-transcendence” og “conservation” predikerte holdninger til flyktninger. Funn og implikasjoner diskuteres.

Abstract

This master thesis examines the role of intergroup contact on attitudes towards refugees in Norway. An online cross-sectional survey was conducted with a sample of $n = 304$ non-refugees. Intergroup contact was measured by Islam and Hewstone's (1993) contact quantity scale and Barlow and colleagues' (2012) valenced contact scale. Attitudes towards refugees were measured by Anderson's (2018) prejudice against asylum seekers scale (PAAS) and items used in Norwegian national surveys, by Ipsos and Statistics Norway (SSB). The statistical analyses conducted in the present study supports accumulated research on intergroup contact theory. The correlation analyses demonstrated that more frequent contact with refugees correlated with less prejudiced attitudes towards refugees. The regression analyses predicted that participants reporting positive experiences with refugees also reported more positive attitudes towards them, compared to participants reporting negative experiences. The survey study also investigated the prevalence of prejudiced attitudes towards refugees and the influence of values. Based on mean scores, the participants reported an overweight of positive attitudes. Consistent with existing research on Schwartz' value theory, self-transcendence and conservation predicted attitudes towards refugees. Findings and implications are discussed.

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Introduction

Today, the world is witnessing the largest number of forcibly displaced people, according to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2020a). Over 70 million people are forcibly displaced, including almost 26 million refugees, 3.5 million asylum-seekers and over 41 million internally displaced people (UNHCR, 2020a). In mid-2015, the European Union Commissioner for Migration announced that the world was facing the worst refugee crisis since the Second World War (Nrk, 2015). A refugee refers to someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group (UNHCR, 2020b). In the recent refugee crisis, the majority fled from conflict and persecution in Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq, and the crisis created a rapid establishment of new routes for mass migration through the Balkans and Eastern Europe towards favoured destinations in Europe (Bundy, 2016). Through strict immigration and asylum seekers politics, several European countries have “succeeded” in stopping refugees from reaching Europe in such large numbers (Stone, 2018). Still, the global issue is not solved, millions of people are still seeking refuge, they are just located outside of Europe’s sight (Stone, 2018).

The numbers of refugees receiving asylum in Norway has varied. Norway has experienced three distinctive peaks of numbers of people seeking refuge (IMDi, 2019). The first two peaks occurred at the beginning and the end of the 20th century due to wars in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Kosovo, and the last peak was the recent refugee crisis in 2015 and 2016 (IMDi, 2019). During the last decade, Norway has hosted over 78 000 refugees, including a peak of over 16 000 refugees in 2016 (UDI, n.d.). In total, per January 2020, Norway has a population of 238 281 people with a refugee background, which refers to all individuals who has come as a refugee themselves or are reunited family members of a refugee (SSB, 2020). This constitutes 30.1% of all immigrants in Norway, and 4.4% of the total Norwegian population (SSB, 2020).

Considering this increase of the total number of people with a refugee background in Norway and the inevitable reality of a high number of forcibly displaced people in the world, people seeking refuge in countries like Norway is a present issue and most likely also a future one. According to Kalogeraki (2019), it is important to understand public attitudes towards refugees, because newcomers’ integration into host societies and their opportunities to positively contribute depends on how refugees feature within public attitudes. Schweitzer, Perkoulidis, Krome, Ludlow, and Ryan (2005) also emphasised that psychologists have an

important role in understanding and addressing prejudice within a country's larger community. Thus, it may be essential to investigate how the majority, Norwegians, view the minority, refugees coming to Norway.

Although the influx of refugees into Europe has captured headlines and ignited fierce political debates in recent years, Steele and Abdelaaty (2018) argued that very little scholarly research on attitudes towards refugees has been conducted. Researchers have predominantly focused on attitudes towards immigrants over refugees, on the assumption that the two groups might have endured similar experiences (Schweitzer et al., 2005). Still, several researchers have emphasised the importance of distinguishing between the two outgroups. Steele and Abdelaaty (2018) highlighted that immigrants are viewed primarily as economic competition while refugees are seen primarily as political actors, and concerns related to ethnic identity and national security. Kalogeraki (2019) examined attitudes towards immigrants and Syrian refugees and found that native-born Greeks' opposition towards refugees was significantly stronger than to immigrants. Among the 1975 Greeks, 70.6% were opposed to Syrian refugees, while 51.6% was opposed to immigrants. Kalogeraki (2019) suggested that perceptions of symbolic and socio-cultural threats, including perceived cultural and religious distinctiveness between Greeks and Syrians, may reflect the greater opposition towards Syrian refugees.

Among an Australian sample, Schweitzer and colleagues (2005) found that participants who expressed prejudicial attitudes towards refugees were more likely to perceive refugees as representing a threat to Australian culture, values, and economic resources than participants who reported positive attitudes. Moreover, Schweitzer et al. (2005) found that male participants reported less favourable attitudes towards refugees than female participants, on measures of disliking, hatred, hostility, admiration and sympathy towards refugees. Soriano and Cala (2019) also found that women showed a greater recognition of the rights of refugees, and a better predisposition to their integration in Europe compared to men, among 851 university students in France and Spain.

Steele and Abdelaaty (2018) examined the role of individual factors on attitudes towards refugees, by using survey data from 19 countries in the 2014 wave of the European Social Survey. Steele and Abdelaaty (2018) found that older age, being a member of an ethnic minority group, left-wing political orientation and reporting higher socioeconomic status were associated with greater support for refugees. Similarly, Kalogeraki (2019) also found that lower-educated individuals were more strongly associated with opposition to both Syrian refugees and immigrants.

Attitudes

Throughout the history of social psychology, researchers have consistently had an interest in examining and understanding people's thoughts, feelings, and actions regarding other individuals, situations and ideas (Bordens & Horowitz, 2002). Although there are many definitions of attitude, most social psychologists agree that an attitude refers to a relatively enduring tendency to respond to someone or something in a way that reflects a positive or negative evaluation of that person or thing (Semin & Fiedler, 1996).

Literature has shown mixed results regarding the relationship between attitudes and behaviour. However, three factors help explain why the relationship seems to be weak in some cases and strong in others (Holt et al., 2015; Myers, 2015). Attitudes seem to have a greater influence on behaviour when external factors contradicting an individual's attitudes are minimal; when individuals are conscious of their attitudes; and when the attitude is specific to the behaviour instead of being general (Holt et al., 2015; Myers, 2015).

On the other hand, behaviours may influence attitudes in return. The cognitive dissonance theory, developed by Leon Festinger (1957), postulated that when a person experiences two or more contradicting cognitions, such as an inconsistent behaviour and attitude, the individual will change or add a new cognition in pursuance of reducing the cognitive dissonance. Nevertheless, cognitive dissonance only occurs if the person perceives that his or her actions were freely chosen rather than coerced (Holt et al., 2015). Another theory explaining how behaviour may influence attitude is Daryl Bem's (1972) self-perception theory, which postulated that a person makes inferences about his or her attitudes by merely observing how he or she behaves. This theory explains attitude change when counter-attitudinal behaviour does not threaten self-worth, and when people have weak attitudes to begin with (Holt et al., 2015).

Prejudice

Considering numerous historically incidents of intergroup conflicts, social psychologists have devoted substantial attention to the study of intergroup relations to gain an understanding of problems such as prejudice, discrimination and intergroup conflict (Holt et al., 2015). Prejudice refers to a derogatory attitude towards a group of people (Allport, 1954). Prejudice include belief structures and expectations about a group and the behaviour of members of that group (Bordens & Horowitz, 2002). Explicit prejudice refers to prejudiced attitudes about certain groups that people have some control over, while implicit prejudice arises more automatically and are not quickly suppressed (Holt et al., 2015).

The concept of prejudice is related to stereotypes and discrimination, which together makes up a triad of processes that contribute to negative attitudes, emotions and behaviours directed at members of another group (Bordens & Horowitz, 2002). Stereotypes refer to the development of rigid and overgeneralized images of groups, including a set of positive or negative beliefs about the characteristics or attributes of members of that group (Bordens & Horowitz, 2002). Discrimination involves behaving in different ways towards members of different groups and refers to the behavioural expression of a prejudicial attitude, often negatively directed towards a specific group (Bordens & Horowitz, 2002).

Social psychologists have suggested several possible causes of prejudice. Tajfel (1974) proposed a social explanation with his social identity theory (SIT). SIT claims that individuals are motivated to evaluate their ingroups positively and value them over other outgroups, to maintain and enhance positive self-esteem (Bordens & Horowitz, 2002). According to SIT, people hold a favourable bias towards their social ingroups when categorizing, identifying and comparing themselves and their ingroups with other outgroups, and gain self-esteem by doing so. Another possible cause of prejudice is the cognitive process of outgroup homogeneity bias, which refers to the tendency of viewing members of other groups as having similar characteristics or being alike (Bordens & Horowitz, 2002).

There are several possible consequences of prejudice. For example, for the receiver of prejudice, this may lead to self-fulfilling prophecy and stereotype threat. Self-fulfilling prophecy refers to an invisible yet damaging way of maintaining prejudiced beliefs, where social beliefs become self-confirming (Holt et al., 2015). Stereotype threat refers to a self-confirming apprehension that one will be evaluated based on a negative stereotype (Myers, 2015). On the other hand, the person holding prejudices may self-perpetuate prejudgements about an outgroup through subtyping and subgrouping. Individuals may confirm their beliefs when witnessing expected behaviour of an outgroup member and interpret or explain away a behaviour which is inconsistent with prior beliefs as an exemption - a subtype (Myers, 2015). Alternatively, the inconsistent behaviour may form a subgroup stereotype which an individual acknowledges as a part of the overall group (Myers, 2015).

Throughout history, stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes have been quite enduring and held by members of majority groups, those in power (Bordens & Horowitz, 2002). Although the most blatant forms of prejudice and discrimination, such as racial segregation in the USA and South Africa, have decreased in many countries, and opinion polls indicate that fewer people express prejudiced attitudes towards other groups than decades ago, this does not necessarily mean that people are less prejudiced (Holt et al., 2015). Instead, people may hide

their prejudices and only express them when they feel it is safe or socially appropriate, which makes modern racism, sexism, and other forms of prejudice more difficult to detect (Holt et al., 2015). One way prejudice may be expressed today is through everyday prejudice, which refers to prejudice that comprises recurrent and familiar events considered to be commonplace, including short-term interactions such as remarks and stares and incidents directed at an individual or an entire group (Bordens & Horowitz, 2002).

A national report from the Norwegian Directorate of integration and diversity (IMDi, 2008) demonstrated that among 1011 non-western immigrants, about half of them reported having had experienced discrimination at least once or several times during 2006. The participants reported having experienced discrimination at public transportation, in contact with the police, at pubs and restaurants, at the bank or post office, when purchasing or renting a residence, or/and at public places such as the street, work or university. IMDi (2008) argued that discrimination towards non-western immigrants mostly occurs in public spaces, followed by the working life. In a field experiment, Midtbøen and Rogstad (2012) found that the likelihood to be called in for an interview was reduced by approximately 25% if the applicant had a foreign-like name (an ethnic minority background) compared to an identically qualified applicant with a Norwegian majority background. Midtbøen and Rogstad (2012) concluded that discrimination is a considerable problem in Norwegian working life.

Intergroup contact theory

Examining intergroup contact and its effectiveness at reducing prejudice and improving outgroups attitudes has been appealing research for social scientists for over 60 years (Vezzali & Stathi, 2016). Considering the increase of the total number of refugees receiving asylum in Norway, it may be in due time to examine the role of intergroup contact between refugees and Norwegians on prejudiced attitudes among the majority. For example, Kalogeraki (2019) argued that direct interactions and potential contact were important in ameliorating attitudes towards immigrants, and especially towards refugees, based on the study investigating attitudes towards immigrants and Syrian refugees among Greeks.

In 1954, Gordon Allport introduced a contact hypothesis in his book, "The Nature of Prejudice". According to Allport (1954), intergroup contact could reduce negative attitudes towards an outgroup if the contact situation involved equal status, cooperation to achieve superordinate goals, and involved institutional support. Allport's contact hypothesis was inspired by earlier ideas about prejudice, suggesting that individuals' erroneous beliefs about others may be reduced by meeting and becoming close to people they were prejudiced against

(Chrysochoou, 2004). For example, in 1947, Williams Jr. reviewed early research on group relations. Williams (as cited in Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) postulated that intergroup contact would maximally reduce prejudice when relations between two groups were characterized by similar status, interests and tasks, and the potential to develop personal and intimate intergroup contact. In a review of the effects of intergroup contact on ethnic relations, Amir (1969) supported Allport's contact hypothesis and argued that changes in ethnic relations tend to occur following intergroup contact. However, Amir (1969) stressed that the change in attitudes depends on the condition of the intergroup contact and does not *only* lead to a reduction in prejudice. More precisely, favourable conditions, such as Allport's optimal conditions, tend to reduce prejudice, while unfavourable conditions, such as competition between the groups, unpleasant, involuntary or tensional laden contact, tend to increase intergroup tension and prejudice.

Pettigrew (1997) also tested the contact hypothesis with self-reports of 3806 participants drawn from seven national probability samples in four European countries. Participants with intergroup friends were more likely to report having felt sympathy and admiration for minority members and were more liberal about immigration policy, compared with individuals without intergroup friends. Based on effect sizes and a structural equation model, Pettigrew (1997) suggested that the causal path from friendship to reduced prejudice is larger than the reverse path from less prejudice to more friendship.

However, Pettigrew (1998) argued that the contact hypothesis risked being an ever-expandable laundry list of conditions where writers have confused facilitating with essential conditions. Thus, Pettigrew (1998) proposed a reformulation of the intergroup contact theory. First, Pettigrew (1997; 1998) suggested that the intergroup contact situation must provide the opportunity to develop a cross-group friendship, as a fifth essential condition for reducing prejudice. Intergroup friendships may imply close, extensive and repeated interactions in a variety of social contexts, which in turn make self-disclosure and other friendship-developing mechanisms possible (Pettigrew, 1998). Second, Pettigrew (1998) argued that intergroup friendships might invoke four processes explaining how and why prejudice reduction happens. These processes include: 1) learning about the outgroup, 2) changing behaviour, 3) generating affective ties and potentially reducing anxiety and increasing empathy towards the outgroup, and 4) ingroup reappraisal in which the individual gain new insight about the ingroup which can reshape the view of the ingroup and lead to a less provincial view of the outgroup in general. Moreover, Pettigrew (1998) recognised that individual differences and societies shape contact effects, in which institutions and societal norms may influence social

situations and contact effects, and prior attitudes, experiences and high intergroup anxiety may influence in which degree individuals seek or avoid intergroup contact.

Over the past 50 years or so, the contact hypothesis has arguably become the most influential social psychological theory of prejudice reduction, as a vast accumulation of evidence has confirmed that contact is inversely related to prejudice across diverse contexts and types of intergroup relations (Dixon, 2016). Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) reviewed 713 independent samples from 515 studies during the 20th century to assess the overall effect of intergroup contact on prejudice. Based on the results of the comprehensive meta-analysis, with the total of 250 089 participants from 38 nations, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) concluded that intergroup contact typically reduces intergroup prejudice, which does not appear to result from either participant selection or publication biases. Furthermore, contact effects typically generalised to the entire outgroup, and emerged across a broad range of outgroup targets and contact settings (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Allport's contact conditions were not found to be essential but instead leading to an even greater reduction in prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Nevertheless, Vezzali and Stathi (2016) emphasised that intergroup contact is not a panacea for prejudice, but rather a tool that can contribute to improve intergroup relations under some conditions.

Negative intergroup contact

Recent developments for the past decade in the field of intergroup research has uncovered new theoretical and practical implications, and integrated other research fields in psychology (Vezzali & Sathi, 2016). One focus of recent research has been valenced contact, which deals with the effects of negative intergroup contact, and where negativity is treated as an input variable (Graf & Paolini, 2016). For example, Barlow et al. (2012) examined positive versus negative contact as predictors of prejudice by using data from 1476 participants in seven Australian samples targeting Black Australians, Muslim Australians and asylum seekers in Australia, and a study with a White American sample targeting Black Americans. Barlow et al. (2012) found that the relationship between contact quantity and prejudice was moderated by valenced contact, where negative contact was even a more reliable predictor of increased prejudice than positive contact predicted reduced prejudice. Barlow et al. (2012) concluded that the study provided strong support for the contact hypothesis in predicting reduced levels of prejudice and showed that negative information was weighted more heavily than positive information (Barlow et al., 2012).

A stronger effect of negative intergroup contact was also demonstrated in a study by Graf and colleagues (2014). Among a sample of 1276 participants from five European

countries, participants reported that positive intergroup contact occurred three times more frequently than negative intergroup contact. Still, positive contact was weaker related to prejudice than negative contact. Graf et al. (2014) suggested that the higher prevalence of positive contact may compensate for the greater prominence of negative contact. This was also supported in another study. Paolini and colleagues (2014) suggested that individuals' repertoires of positive and diverse contact experiences in the past can buffer them against the harmful effects of negative contact experiences in the present, thus limiting the potential for negative spiralling of intergroup relations.

Reinforcing social inequality?

Another line of recent research on intergroup contact has suggested that intergroup contact reinforces existing social inequalities and prevents social change (Vezzali & Stathi, 2016). Dixon (2016) emphasised that dominant group members rarely give away their power and privileges and that sociopolitical change often requires the disadvantage to take action through mass mobilisation. Dixon (2016) argued that for the same reasons contact improves intergroup attitudes, that the disadvantaged individuals come to like and trust individuals belonging to the advantaged group, it also decreases perceptions of discrimination, support for race-targeted policies, and readiness to engage in collective action. In other words, prejudice reduction may rather undermine the possibility that subordinate group members will take action and reproduce rather than disrupt the status quo (Dixon, 2016). Ultimately, Dixon (2012) questioned if prejudice reduction deserves its status as the preeminent framework through which social scientists approach the problem of "improving" relations between groups within historically unequal societies.

Becker and colleagues (2012) provided experimental evidence of the effect that positive intergroup contact with advantaged groups may undermine collective action among the disadvantaged. In a laboratory experiment, contact was initiated between members of two universities in Vancouver that differ in social status. The manipulation involved a student from the "higher status" university, indicating that she perceived her university's advantaged position to be either legitimate or illegitimate. The effect of the manipulation was measured on the "lower status" university students' collective action intentions. Becker et al. (2012) found that positive intergroup contact undermined public collective action among the disadvantaged when the advantaged group partner described their group's advantaged position as legitimate or when they were adequately ambiguous about their perceptions of intergroup inequality. On the other hand, when the advantaged group partner clearly described the intergroup inequality as illegitimate, intergroup contact did not undermine participation in

public collective action. Becker et al. (2012) emphasised that it is vital that members of advantaged groups recognise structural inequalities, and if collective action is also undermined when advantaged-group members say nothing, this has a clear implication for everyday intergroup encounters. However, future research is needed to elaborate which of numerous potential psychological processes account for both the negative effects of contact generally and the positive effects of advantaged-group members' delegitimising inequality (Becker et al. 2012).

Contact effects for minority versus majority members

Recent research has suggested that contact effects may be different for minority versus majority group members. In a cross-national longitudinal study of a sample of ethnic minorities (n = 512) and ethnic majorities (n = 1143), Binder and colleagues (2009) found that contact effects were consistently stronger for majority members than for minority member. Also, the moderation effect of intergroup anxiety on negative emotions (prejudice) was diminished for minority members compared with majority members. This means that a reduction in intergroup anxiety did not lead to a reduction in prejudice for minority members. Binder et al. (2009) emphasised that friendship contact may not reduce prejudice for minority members which may have profound implications for social policy and the design of intervention programs.

On the other hand, a study by Schmid and colleagues (2017) did not find a diminished effect on minority members. Schmid and colleagues (2017) used data from five separate studies, involving different minority and majority constellations, in Germany, Sweden, South Africa, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. Schmid et al. (2017) did not find evidence for the "wallpaper effect", which refers to the tendency of intergroup contact not to reduce prejudice among minority group members living in areas more densely populated by a majority group, in 37 of the 39 model tests conducted. Schmid et al. (2017) concluded that their findings support the vast body of research confirming positive effects of contact for intergroup relations among majority and minority members and that the effectiveness of contact is not limited in diverse settings.

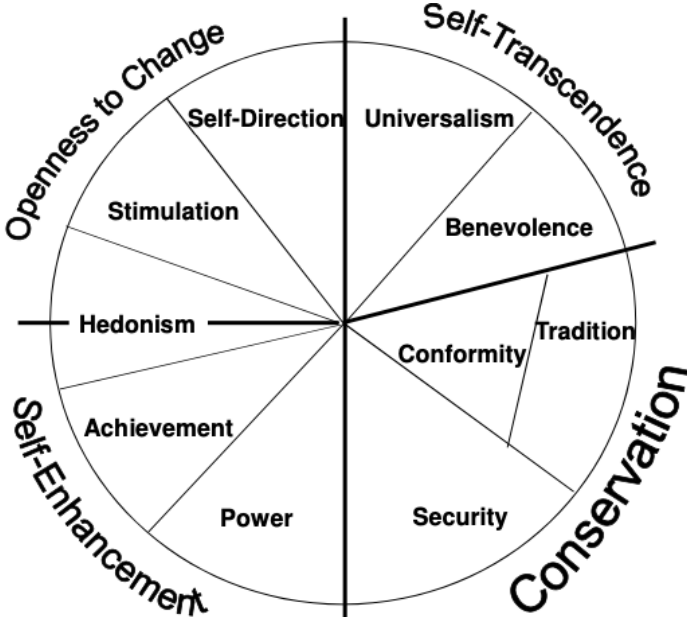
Human values

The present study also investigated the role of values on prejudiced attitudes towards refugees, based on literature suggesting that human values may influence attitudes towards immigrants. Schwartz' (1992) suggested that ten motivationally distinct values seem to be virtually encompassing all the types of values of at least moderate importance. These values

include self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, security, conformity, tradition, benevolence, and universalism, each aspiring a broader goal. According to Schwartz (2012), the ten values form a continuum of related motivations which give rise to a circular structure, and two bipolar dimensions constituting four higher-order values (see Figure 1). One dimension contrasts the higher-order values of “self-enhancement” and “self-transcendence”, and the other dimension contrasts “openness to change” and “conservation”.

Davidov and Meuleman (2012) investigated the effect of human values on attitudes towards immigration by using data from the three first rounds of the European Social Survey (ESS) (2002-03, 2004-05 and 2006-07). The ESS included a 21-item short scale to measure Schwartz’ ten human values, and three items about the willingness to reject immigrants into the country, as a measure for attitudes towards immigrants. A multivariate analysis on the individual level, of over 75000 respondents across 20 countries, indicated that values have a substantial influence on the rejection of immigrants, controlling for the effect of socio-demographic characteristics, such as education, religiosity, gender, age, income and left-right political orientation. Self-transcendent individuals showed lower tendencies to reject immigrants while conservative individuals rejected immigrants more strongly, an effect which turned out to be rather similar across countries and time points. This effect of values on attitudes towards immigrants has also been supported in other studies (see Davidov, Meuleman, Billiet & Schimidt, 2008; Davidov et al., 2014; Araújo et al., 2020; Davidov et al., 2020).

Figure 1. Schwartz’ (2012) model of relations among the ten values.



Objectives of the present study

Based on intergroup contact theory, the main objective of the present study was to examine the role of contact between refugees and Norwegians on attitudes towards the minority, refugees, among the majority, Norwegians. This might have important implications for suggesting intergroup contact as a mean to reduce prejudice among Norwegians and facilitate refugees' integration or adaptation to Norway. Since several studies have suggested that Schwartz' human values may have a considerable influence on attitudes towards immigrants, another aim was to investigate the influence of values on attitudes towards refugees, and control for values when examining the role of intergroup contact. The influence of values may contribute to explain why some people are more prejudiced towards refugees than others. Lastly, a third aim of the study was to examine the prevalence of prejudiced attitudes among a Norwegian sample to gain an understanding of the issue. As Kalogeraki (2019) emphasised, it might be important to gain an overview of the prevalence of prejudiced attitudes because this decides how refugees integrate and positively contribute to the host society, Norway. Altogether, these objectives give rise to the following three research questions:

- 1. How prevailing are prejudiced attitudes towards refugees in Norway?*
- 2. How are values associated with attitudes towards refugees?*
- 3. How may intergroup contact influence attitudes towards refugees?*

Methods

Sample

A sample of $n = 304$ non-refugees constituted the basis of all the statistical analyses conducted in the present study. The age of the participants ranged from 16 to 80 years old. The majority (44.1% = 134) were between 16 and 30 years old, while 24% (73) were between 31 and 50 years old, and 31.9% (97) were between 51 and 80 years old. Approximately 70% (213) of the sample were women, while almost 30% were men (1 missing). Furthermore, the sample included 30.9% (94) students at a university, 17.2% (54) volunteers at Røde Kors or similar, and 3.9% (12) individuals who identified with an ethnic minority in Norway.

Procedure

The participants completed an anonymous online questionnaire, which was collected in three rounds. Initially, the targeted sample was restricted to inhabitants in the municipalities of Klepp and Time, because investigating the role of intergroup contact in municipalities within single countries was suggested by literature (see Savelkoul et al., 2011; Steele & Abdelatty, 2018). However, due to a small response rate, the targeted sample was eventually extended to include all non-refugees in Norway, at the national level. The sample was collected through non-probability sampling in which the probability of any member of the population being chosen was unknown (Cozby & Bates, 2015).

Round 1: Data collection at schools in the municipalities of Klepp and Time

The original plan was to collect data from pupils and their parents at schools in the municipalities of Klepp and Time, located in the county of Rogaland. A common sheet-number would allow a comparison between the pupils' and their respective parents' responses. Three of eight secondary schools were willing to partake in the study, including Klepp ungdomsskule, Undheim skule and Bryne ungdomsskule. In the period of 19-25th of November, I visited 12 classes and collected responses from 267 pupils. The pupils were informed that the study was voluntarily and I answered all the questions they had about the questionnaire. Most pupils completed the survey on their school-iPads, while the remaining performed the survey on paper. The pupils received an invitation-letter (Appendix A) requested to give to their parents, including information and a link to the online survey. Despite efforts of reminding the pupils and parents about the survey through the school's communication systems, only 33 parents (12.4%) completed the questionnaire.

Round 2: Data collection targeting the population of Klepp and Time

Because of the low response rate, the targeted population in the second round was extended to all inhabitants of Klepp and Time. To reach the inhabitants, I requested the citizens' email addresses to the administration of "culture and leisure" ("Kultur og fritid"), at the municipality of Klepp. However, due to reasons of privacy protection, the request was denied. Instead, the participants in the second and third round were selected based on convenience. Invitations letters to participate in the study were placed at central meeting locations in Klepp and Time, such as grocery stores, shopping centres, the doctor's waiting office, and the local volunteer centre at Klepp. However, sharing the survey on the social platform, Facebook, most likely accounted for nearly all the recruited participants. I invited friends, family and acquaintances living in Klepp and Time to participate in the study through an online link, which was re-posted by ten people. In total, 78 participants were recruited from the second round, but 21 of the respondents lived outside of Klepp or Time. Thus, the sample size of individuals living in the targeted area would be 90 (57 + 33 parents).

Round 3: Data collection targeting all non-refugees in Norway

A sample size of 90 is still quite small, considering that 12 predictor variables were included in the data analysis. Thus, the targeted sample was for the last time extended to include all non-refugees living across Norway. The method which obtained the most participants was, again, by using Facebook. However, I also distributed invitation-flyers to individuals at NTNU and in the centre of Trondheim, and contacted several local Red Crosses in Norway who organise activities for refugees and volunteers, such as "language café" and "refugee guide/friend". The Red Crosses in Trondheim, Stavanger, Bærum and Oslo agreed to send an invitation-letter to their volunteers. This partly purposive sampling, which refers to haphazardly selecting members of a subgroup within a population (Krosnick, Lavrakas & Kim, 2014), was performed on the assumption that "the-average" Norwegian have had very little, if any, contact with refugees. Thus, volunteers were included to ensure that the sample included some individuals who may have interacted and had contact with refugees.

In sum, the current sample of 304 non-refugees included 33 parents from the first round, 78 participants from the second round, and 193 participants from the last round. The 267 pupils were excluded from the analyses to achieve a more homogenous sample in terms of age. The adult-sample was chosen over the pupil-sample because the initial plan of comparing the results of parents and kids could not be performed, and because the questionnaire may have been too cognitive demanding for the kids since several pupils had questions about the execution of the questionnaire.

A gift card lottery

As a part of the procedure, adult participants living in Klepp and Time were invited to enter a lottery to win three gift cards with the value of NOK 4000, at the local commercial centre, Jærhagen. The aim of the lottery was primarily to motivate the parents of the pupils at schools to participate in the study. The participants received the option of entering their contact information, such as name, email and phone number, in an external google-form-link displayed after the completion of the survey. The contact information was saved separate from the survey data to maintain the animosity of the participants. The lottery took place 1st of January 2020, with two witnesses present at the time of the draw. Google's "random number generator" was used to randomly select three numbers within a given range of numbers which corresponds to the participants' numbers in the google-sheet. All contact information was deleted after the gift cards were sent to the three winners on 2nd of January 2020.

Anonymity

The questionnaire was developed in SelectSurvey with access from NTNU. This program allows the survey to not have access to the participants' IP-address through an operation named "Force Anonymous". Besides, the survey did not include direct questions, nor indirect questions which in combination could identify a participant. Furthermore, guidance from the data protection official and the contact person for SelectSurvey at NTNU ensured the survey's anonymity. The survey was evaluated by the Social Science Data Services (NSD) as a project that will not treat direct nor indirect information which may identify single persons in this project, on the 8th of November 2019 (see Appendix B). Thus, the requirement to report to NSD did not apply for this study.

Instruments

The questionnaire developed to measure attitudes towards refugees, and the role of intergroup contact, started broadly with many possible variables. In the beginning, several variables measuring different aspects of intergroup contact and possible mediating or moderator variables were considered. These included measures of cross-group friendships, extended contact, negative experiences inventory, realistic threat and symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, negative stereotype index, and salience of group membership. However, after limiting the number of variables to correspond with the aims of the study, the final questionnaire (see Appendix C) included four parts in the following order: 1) background information, 2) contact with refugees, 3) attitudes towards refugees and 4) values. The survey distributed to pupils at schools did not include background variables and certain items (Ipsos)

about attitudes towards refugees, because they were either irrelevant for children or too demanding (e.g. asking if Norway should increase or decrease the number of refugees settling in Norway). The final questionnaire only applied closed-ended questions because they are easier to code and include categories that often provide clarification of the issue or aid memory (Haworth, 1996).

Background information

The first part of the questionnaire included individual variables, such as gender (man or woman), age (nine groups from 16-100), education (from high school to PhD), SES (subjective evaluation of economic status under, at, or over the average), and affiliation and importance of politics and religion (strength of the importance of religion/politics). In addition, a question about how much the participant identified with a minority in Norway was included at the end of the survey. This item was included in the end to avoid the risk of making the participants' aware of their minority or majority identity, which in turn could have influenced their answers to the preceding questions. Background information was important for two reasons, one being to control for potential confounding variables affecting attitudes towards refugees, and to check the homogeneity of the sample.

Intergroup contact with refugees

The second part of the survey measured the participant's self-report of intergroup contact with refugees, in terms of contact quantity, contact quality and valenced contact. Contact quantity and contact quality were measured by using Islam and Hewstone's (1993) general intergroup contact quantity and contact quality scale (CQCQ). Valenced contact was measured by using Barlow and colleagues' (2012) single-items scale.

Contact quantity and contact quality.

Contact quantity refers to the frequency which someone has direct intergroup encounters, while contact quality refers to the extent to which the direct intergroup encounters are experienced positively or negatively (Lolliot et al., 2015). The CQCQ consisted of ten items scaled from 1 ("not at all" or equivalent) to 7 ("very often" or equivalent). Five items measured contact quantity (see question 10 in Appendix C) and five items measured the quality of the contact (see questions 11-15 in Appendix C). Higher scores on the contact quantity scale indicated having had more contact experiences with refugees, while higher scores on the contact quality scale indicated having had more pleasant contact experiences with refugees (Lolliot et al., 2015). Based on a study investigating the intergroup encounters between Muslim and Hindu students attending a Bangladeshi university, Islam and Hewstone (1993) reported internal consistency for both samples ($\alpha = 0.90$ and 0.82 for Hindus and

Muslims respectively). For the contact quality scale, Voci and Hewstone (2003) demonstrated alpha coefficients from 0.82 to 0.86 for a four-item adaption of the scale, while Tausch et al. (2007) reported $\alpha = 0.79$ for a two-item short version of the scale.

The present survey implemented a few changes to the CQCQ scale. Regarding the contact quantity scale, one more item was added, asking if the participant had visited refugees at their home. Conducted reliability analyses (see Table 1) demonstrated that the contact quantity scale achieved a Cronbach's alpha above the 0.7 cut off ($\alpha = 0.849$). Regarding the contact quality scale, an item concerning Pettigrew's condition of friendship potential and an item concerning Allport's condition of institutional support was added (see the last two items in question 15 in Appendix C). The 7-item scale also demonstrated a Cronbach's alpha above the recommended cut off ($\alpha = 0.797$). Also, an optional response of "no experience" was added to the quality scale. This alternative response made it possible for individuals who did not have any experiences with refugees to answer the question and to be treated as a missing value in the statistical analyses. However, almost half of the sample (142 participants) chose the "no experience"-response. Thus, the contact quality scale was excluded from the analyses because including these 142 missing values would have reduced the size of the sample significantly.

Valenced contact.

A valenced contact scale includes similarly structured items for both positive and negative contact (Lolliot et al., 2015). Barlow et al. (2012) used two single items to measure how much positive and negative contact White Americans reported having with Black Americans, on a scale from 1 ("never") to 7 ("extremely often"). This single-items scale (see question 16 in Appendix C) was used in the present study to measure how often the participants had experienced negative/bad contact with refugees (first item) and how often they had experienced positive/good contact with refugees (second item). The outgroup was naturally changed from "Black Americans" to "refugees". Barlow et al. (2012) used both single items simultaneously in a regression analysis. However, in the present study, the two single items were merged into one variable, called experience. A mean score of experience was calculated by subtracting the mean score of positive experience from the mean score of negative experience for each respondent. The minimum score was -6, representing negative experiences with refugees, and the maximum score was 6, representing positive experiences.

Attitudes towards refugees

The third part of the survey included four scales measuring attitudes towards refugees. The two first measures included a modification of Anderson's PAAS, measuring classical

prejudice and conditional prejudice. This scale was developed in an Australian context. The last two measures, SSB and Ipsos were included because they were developed in a Norwegian context and used in national surveys by SSB and Ipsos.

Classical prejudice and conditional prejudice.

Anderson's (2018) PAAS consists of eight items measuring classical prejudice and eight items measuring conditional prejudice. Anderson (2018) defined classical prejudice as a blatant form of hostile attitudes that manifest as overt negativity towards outgroup members, while conditional prejudice is a modern form of covert attitudes manifested as subtle negativity towards outgroup members through placing conditions on acceptance of minority group members. Participants ranged the 16 statements, which were randomised to prevent order effects, from "totally disagree" (1) to "totally agree" (7) (Anderson, 2018). Although the target of the PAAS was asylum seekers, Anderson (2018) emphasised that the category of "refugees" may easily substitute the target of "asylum seekers". Thus, the stem of "asylum seekers are ..." was replaced with "refugees are...". Estimated internal consistencies and test-retest coefficients above 0.7 demonstrated the scale's reliability (Anderson, 2018).

Explorative factor analysis and a confirmative factor analysis demonstrated that the scale comprises dual subscales which measured classical and conditional prejudice as distinct, yet correlated subscales (Anderson, 2018). Also, construct validity, criterion validity and know-groups validity were demonstrated as the scale correlated with theoretically related variables, such as social dominance theory, and correlations with empirically-based demographic predictions (Anderson, 2018).

In the present questionnaire, the original Likert scale belonging to classical prejudice was changed into a semantic differential scale (see question 17 in Appendix C). In a semantic differential scale, participants are asked to rate any concept on a series of bipolar evaluations (Cozby & Bates, 2015). This change was implemented because one of the secondary schools commented that they would not participate because the eight statements measuring classical prejudice had a dominating negative wording. Thus, I created eight contrasting statements with a positive wording to neutralise the negative tone. The participants were asked to evaluate where they would place themselves between the negative versus positive statements about refugees, between 1 to 7. The number closest to one of the statements indicated agreement with that statement. A conducted reliability analysis demonstrated a Cronbach's alpha of 0.9. However, implementing the semantic differential scale caused the items of the PAAS not to be presented in a randomised order. Mean scores of the classical prejudice and conditional prejudice scale were calculated, with a minimum score of 1, indicating a low level

of prejudice, and a maximum score of 7, indicating a high level of prejudice. Scores in the conditional prejudice scale were reversed where necessary (item 2,3,4,5 and 8).

SSB and Ipsos.

The SSB-scale consisted of four items included in SSB's national surveys since 2002 (Question 19 in Appendix C). The respondents were asked to indicate how much they agree or disagree with two positive and two negative statements concerning refugees, on a 4-point scale from "totally agree" to "totally disagree". The original four statements referred to "immigrants" which were changed to "refugees". The 4-item SSB scale demonstrated an acceptable Cronbach's alpha of 0.738 (see Table 1). Mean scores were calculated with a minimum score of 1, representing positive attitudes towards refugees, and a maximum score of 4, representing negative attitudes towards refugees.

The Ipsos-scale consisted of four questions as a part of a project called "Norsk Monitor". Ipsos has biannually, since 1993, asked hundreds of Norwegians questions about a variety of aspects of life and community (Ipsos, 2017). Four of the questions from the project (see question 20-23 in Appendix C) measuring attitudes towards immigrants and refugees coming to Norway were implemented in the present questionnaire. The targeted outgroup in the first two items was changed from "immigrants" to "refugees". Each of the four items included three alternatives with scores of either -1, indicating negative attitudes towards refugees, 0, indicating neutral attitudes, and 1 indicating positive attitudes. The scores were reversed where necessary. Mean scores of the four items were calculated, with a minimum score of -1 representing low levels of negative attitudes, and a maximum score of 1, representing high levels of negative attitudes. The 4-item Ipsos scale demonstrated reliability with an acceptable Cronbach's alpha of 0.815 (see Table 1).

Human values

The last part of the survey measured Schwartz' ten human values. The values were measured by adopting Schwartz' (2003) 21-item short-scale, which is a modification of a 40-item portrait value questionnaire (PVQ). This short-scale has been used in cross-country studies by the ESS since 2002 (Schwartz, 2003). Each of the 21 items described a person's goals, aspirations, or wishes that point implicitly to the importance of a single value type (Schwartz, 2003). The respondents were instructed to range how much the person in the description is like them, from 1 ("very much like me") to 6 ("not like me at all") (see question 24 in Appendix C). Schwartz (2003) suggested that scores for the four higher-order values could be calculated by the mean of their belonging values for less refined distinctions among values. Thus, self-transcendence was measured by the mean of the benevolence and

universalism items, self-enhancement by the mean of the power and achievement items, conservation by the mean of the conformity, security and tradition items, and openness by the mean of the self-direction, stimulation, and hedonism items.

Conducted reliability analyses (Table 1) demonstrated a Cronbach's alpha over 0.7 for the higher-order values of openness ($\alpha = 0.76$), self-transcendence ($\alpha = 0.70$), and self-enhancement ($\alpha = 0.71$), while conservation demonstrated a Cronbach's alpha just below the accepted cut off ($\alpha = 0.67$). Schwartz (2007) reported reliabilities of higher-order values ranging from 0.69 and 0.75 and argued that they were acceptable for short scales. Schwartz (2007) also emphasised that the key issue is validity over low reliabilities. A multi-dimensional space analysis of the 21 value items across 20 countries demonstrated validity by showing that the items intended to measure each value were closer to one another and distant from those that expressed competing motivations, (Schwartz, 2007).

Pilot testing

Classmates and friends tested the questionnaire before distributing them to participants in the study. The test persons used about 15 minutes to complete the survey and commented that the items measuring values were challenging to understand. At that time, the test persons were asked to rate the importance of each value on Short Schwartz' Value Survey (SSVS), including a 9-point scale, from "of supreme importance" (7) to "opposed to my values" (-1) (see Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2010). Consistent with the feedback, the previous 9-point scale was replaced with the current 6-point scale used in ESS. According to the test persons, the ESS version was easier to understand than the SSVS. Also, to shorten the survey time, two questions regarding views on refugees were cut out, and Barlow et al.'s single-items scale replaced an 8-item scale measuring valence contact.

Statistical analyses

The statistical analyses conducted in the present study were: descriptive statistics of mean scores and t-tests, reliability analyses, correlation analyses, and multiple hierarchical regression analyses. All statistical analyses were executed using IBM SPSS Version 26 (SPSS). Microsoft Excel and Word were further utilised to create the tables presented in this paper, based on the SPSS outputs from the statistical analyses.

Results

Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics of mean scores, presented in Table 1, demonstrated that most participants reported having had very little or no contact with refugees. The mean score for the contact quantity scale, was 2.19, on a scale from 1 (representing no contact at all) to 7 (representing very much contact). Nevertheless, most participants reported having had positive over negative experiences with refugees. The mean score for the experience scale, measuring valenced contact, was 2.27. This mean score was on the positive side of the scale, ranging from -6 (negative contact experiences) to 6 (positive contact experiences). Moreover, mean scores of the measures of attitudes towards refugees demonstrated generally low levels of prejudiced attitudes. The mean scores for SSB ($M = 1.79$), Ipsos ($M = -0.49$), and classical prejudice ($M = 2.55$) were all below the midpoint of the scale and towards positive attitudes towards refugees. In contrast, the mean score for conditional prejudice was 4.5, which was above the midpoint of the scale (3.5) and towards negative attitudes towards refugees.

Table 1.

Mean Scores and T-tests on Gender Differences

	All (N = 286-304)		Women (N = 201)		Men (N = 84)		Mean		Cronbach's Alpha
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	Difference	t	
Age	3.47	1.61	3.31	1.54	3.74	1.69	-0.43	-2.08*	
Education	2.98	.78	2.98	0.75	2.98	0.85	-0.00	-0.01	
SES	2.21	.62	2.18	0.62	2.27	0.65	-0.09	-1.10	
Political Importance	3.73	1.04	3.76	1.04	3.69	0.97	0.06	0.50	
Religious Importance	2.02	1.16	2.00	1.13	1.94	1.16	0.06	0.40	
Contact Quantity	2.19	1.16	2.24	1.21	2.13	1.05	0.11	0.74	0.85
Experience	2.27	2.15	2.57	1.90	1.60	2.57	0.98	3.55***	
Classical Prejudice	2.55	1.31	2.41	1.25	2.81	1.40	-0.41	-2.40*	0.90
Conditional Prejudice	4.50	.94	4.45	0.94	4.65	0.90	-0.20	-1.64	0.72
SSB	1.79	.62	1.70	0.58	1.93	0.70	-.23	-2.88**	0.74
Ipsos	-.49	.52	-.56	0.49	-.31	0.57	-.25	-3.75***	0.82
Openness	4.13	.86	4.11	0.87	4.16	0.84	-.05	-0.45	0.76
Conservation	4.30	.83	4.38	0.78	4.06	0.88	.32	3.07**	0.67
Self-transcendence	5.06	.68	5.15	0.64	4.83	0.75	.32	3.69***	0.70
Self-enhancement	3.30	.94	3.26	0.92	3.31	0.94	-.05	-0.42	0.71

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Gender differences

Independent t-tests were conducted in SPSS, presented in Table 1, to examine mean scores and standard deviations on each variable by gender. By using listwise deletion, the total number of observations was 285, including 201 women and 84 men. A statistical significant mean difference ($p < 0.05$) between women and men were found in the scores for age ($MD = -0.43$), experience ($MD = 0.98$), classical prejudice ($MD = -0.41$), SSB ($MD = -.23$), Ipsos ($MD = -0.25$), conservation ($MD = 0.32$), and self-transcendence ($MD = 0.32$). In other words, women scored significantly higher than men on the predictor variables of experience, self-transcendence and conservation, while men scored higher than women on the dependent variables of classical prejudice, SSB, and Ipsos.

Comparing results with SSB and Ipsos

The pattern of a generally low prevalence of prejudiced attitudes towards refugees in the present study corresponded with national surveys of attitudes towards immigrants and refugees. Table 2 compared the scores in percentage of the master thesis and a recent survey conducted by SSB in 2019. Across both studies, the results demonstrated that most participants, from 69% to 89%, reported scores on the positive side of the scale (1 or 2), while fewer participants, from 5% to 35%, reported scores on the negative side of the scale (3 and 4). The smallest difference between the scores of the master thesis and SSB concerned the response alternative 4, representing maximum prejudiced attitudes, which was reported by 4-8% of the participants across both studies. However, the participants in the master thesis consistently reported either similar or a higher percentage of more positive attitudes towards refugees on all four items and response alternatives.

The pattern of lower scores of negative responses than positive responses was also demonstrated in a national survey conducted by Ipsos in 2017. Table 3 compared the scores in percentage on the similar three Ipsos-items of the master thesis and Ipsos. On the two first Ipsos-items, most participants chose the response alternative indicating positive attitudes towards refugees, both in the master thesis (78.9% on Ipsos1 and 69.3% on Ipsos2) and in the survey conducted by Ipsos (63.2% on Ipsos1 and 51.3% on Ipsos2). On the third Ipsos-item, the majority (51.2%) reported that Norwegians could not afford to use so much money on helping refugees, representing a negative attitude, in the Ipsos-study. In contrast, most participants (53.3%) in the master thesis survey reported that Norway should do everything they can to take in more refugees. Thus, the participants in the master study generally reported more positive attitudes towards refugees than the participants in both the SSB and Ipsos sample.

Table 2.*Comparison of Scores in Percentage of the Master Thesis Study and the SSB survey (2019)*

		Positive			Negative	Both /
		1	2	3	4	Do not know
Master thesis SSB (2019)	SSB1: Most refugees/immigrants misuse Norway's the social welfare system	37	43	16	4	
		25	34	18	7	17
Master thesis SSB (2019)	SSB2: Most refugees/immigrants enrich the cultural life in Norway	35	47	13	5	
		38	35	10	5	11
Master thesis SSB (2019)	SSB3: Most refugees/immigrants are a source to unsafeness in Norway	43	37	16	4	
		29	32	16	8	15
Master thesis SSB (2019)	SSB4: All refugees/immigrants should have the same rights as Norwegians	59	28	7	6	
		70	19	3	2	6

Table 3.*Comparison of Scores in Percentage of this Master Thesis Study and the Ipsos Survey (2017)*

		Positive	Negative	Neutral
		%	%	%
Ipsos 2017 Master thesis	Ipsos1 (Q:20): To persons discuss possible consequences of having refugees coming to Norway from foreign cultures.			
	Positive: Refugees contribute to cultural diversity in Norway, with exciting new food, music, art, etc.	63.2	22.2	13.9
	Negative: Refugees' ways to live is not compatible with Norwegians' way to live. The foreign customs are inconvenience to the environment and might become a threat against Norwegian culture.	78.9	14.1	6.9
	Neutral: Unable to choose.			
Ipsos 2017 Master thesis	Ipsos2 (Q:21): Who do you agree the most with when it comes to refugees?			
	Positive: Refugees are competent and hardworking people who can perform valuable contributions to Norwegian economy and work life.	51.3	23.5	24.5
	Negative: Refugees wish to exploit our social welfare system and benefit from goods they have not contributed to make.	69.3	22.8	7.9
	Neutral: Unable to choose.			
Ipsos 2017 Master thesis	Ipsos3 (Q:22): Which of the statements below is most compatible with your view of how Norway should act regarding refugees?			
	Positive: We need to do everything we can to take in more refugees in Norway.	40.8	51.2	7
	Negative: We cannot afford to use so much money on helping refugees as long as we have many unresolved tasks here in Norway.	53.3	35.4	11.3
	Neutral: Instead of taking in refugees in Norway, we should use resources to help them in their own country or other countries close by.			
Ipsos 2017 Master thesis	Ipsos4 (Q:23): Should refugees' and asylum seekers' entry to residence in Norway be ...			
	Positive: easier?			
	Negative: more difficult?			
	Neutral: like today?			
		No data from 2017		

The scores from Ipsos, collected in 2017, were derived from personal mail correspondence with John Spilling, January 1, 2020.

Correlation analyses

Pearson correlation coefficients, demonstrated in three correlation matrices, were calculated in SPSS to examine relationships between the independent variables and the dependent variables, and the correlations among the independent variables and dependent variables, separately. By adopting the procedure of pairwise deletion, the correlations analyses included cases containing some missing data when analysing other variables with non-missing values (IBM, 2020). Thus, the number of observations varied for each pair of correlation depending on the number of missing values per variable. The correlation analyses contained a minimum of $n = 249$ and a maximum of $n = 304$.

Correlations between the independent variables and the dependent variables

Twelve independent variables correlated statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) with at least one of the dependent variables, demonstrated in Table 4. Specifically, age and self-enhancement correlated with one dependent variable, while gender, SES and volunteer correlated with three independent variables. More importantly, education, political affiliation, political importance, conservation, self-transcendence, experience and contact quantity correlated significantly with all four dependent variables. Self-transcendence showed a medium strength of association ($r < 0.3$) with three dependent variables, while experience showed a large strength of association ($r < 0.5$) with two dependent variables, and a medium strength of association with the remaining two. The rest of the significant independent variables demonstrated a small strength of association with a dependent variable, ranging from $r = 0.11$ to $r = -0.29$. On the other hand, the independent variables, student, religious affiliation, religious importance, and openness, did not show a significant correlation with any of the dependent variables.

Correlations among the dependent variables

The correlation matrix among the dependent variables, in Table 5, demonstrated that all four dependent variables were statistically significant at $p < 0.001$. SSB and Ipsos showed the largest correlation ($r = -0.73$), which may indicate that they were very similar. On the other hand, classical prejudice and conditional prejudice demonstrated the smallest correlation among the dependent variables ($r = 0.45$), which may indicate that they were most dissimilar. This may be because they measured two different types of prejudice, one blatant and one subtle type.

Correlations among the independent variables

The correlation matrix in Table 6 examined the association among the independent variables to detect unwanted potential high correlations. The only large correlation, defined

as $r > 0.5$, was the statistically significant ($p < 0.001$) correlation between religious affiliation and religious importance ($r = -0.52$). However, it may be likely that religious individuals are more concerned about religion than non-religious individuals. Moreover, several correlations of medium strength ($0.5 > r > 0.3$) were found among the independent variables. For example, SES was correlated with age ($r = 0.41$) and student ($r = -0.34$), and experience was positively correlated with self-transcendence ($r = 0.36$). Still, most of these associations are logical, such as, older individuals are more financially stable than younger individuals.

Table 4.

Correlations Between Independent Variables and Dependent Variables

	Classical Prejudice	Conditional Prejudice	SSB	Ipsos
Gender	.13*	.09	.17**	.21***
Age	.02	-.06	.04	-.11*
Student	-.01	.01	-.00	.03
Volunteer	-.11	-.17**	-.18**	-.16**
Education	-.14*	-.23***	-.24***	-.22***
SES	-.13*	-.11	-.15*	-.15**
Political Affiliation	-.18**	-.18**	-.19**	-.21***
Political Importance	-.22***	-.20**	-.28***	-.29***
Religious Affiliation	-.09	-.04	-.11	-.05
Religious Importance	-.03	-.02	-.00	-.08
Openness	-.00	.09	-.04	.02
Conservation	.13*	.21***	.14*	.14*
Self-transcendence	-.30***	-.16**	-.40***	-.34***
Self-enhancement	.11	.12*	.08	.04
Contact Quantity	-.20***	-.28***	-.23***	-.25***
Experience	-.48***	-.39***	-.52***	-.53***

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Table 5.

Correlations Among the Dependent Variables

	1	2	3	4
1 Classical Prejudice	1			
2 Conditional Prejudice	.45***	1		
3 SSB	.64***	.53***	1	
4 Ipsos	.69***	.61***	-.73***	1

*** $p < .001$

Table 6.*Correlations Among the Independent Variables*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1 Gender	1													
2 Age	.13*	1												
3 Student	.03	-.59**	1											
4 Education	-.00	.25**	.15*	1										
5 SES	.08	.41**	.34**	.15*	1									
6 Political Affiliation	-.10	-.21**	-.19**	.01	-.14*	1								
7 Political Importance	.01	.17**	.04	.17**	.12*	-.08	1							
8 Religious Affiliation	.01	-.32**	-.28**	-.01	-.18**	.14*	-.01	1						
9 Religious Importance	-.04	.20**	.13*	.05	.18**	.05	.12*	-.52**	1					
10 Openness	.02	-.25**	-.17**	-.13*	-.19**	.08	.03	.10	-.07	1				
11 Conservation	-.19**	-.01	.05	-.15*	-.04	-.05	-.18**	-.17**	.15*	.18**	1			
12 Self-transcendence	-.20**	-.09	-.08	.02	-.06	.17**	.12*	.17**	-.02	.32**	.32**	1		
13 Self-enhancement	.02	-.33**	-.24**	-.14*	-.11	.08	-.11	.05	-.01	.43**	.32**	.12*	1	
14 Experience	-.20**	.08	.07	.20**	.05	.14*	.25**	.09	.03	-.02	-.06	.36**	-.15**	1

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Multiple hierarchical regression analyses

Four hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted in SPSS, predicting each dependent variable separately. The four dependent variables measuring attitudes towards refugees were classical prejudice, conditional prejudice, SSB and Ipsos. All regression analyses contained $n = 285$ and used the same twelve predictors variables, which were added in three blocks. The first block consisted of background information, such as age, gender, education, SES, political importance, and religious importance. The second block comprised the intergroup contact aspect, which included contact quantity and experience. Lastly, the third block consisted of the variables measuring values which were openness, conservation, self-transcendence and self-enhancement.

Dependent variable: classical prejudice

Table 7 showed that the 12 predictors explained approximately 33% ($r^2 = 0.33$) of the variance in classical prejudice. Background information accounted for 11%, the intergroup contact variables explained an additional 16%, and the value variables contributed to an additional 6% of the variance in classical prejudice. Furthermore, the four predictors, SES, experience, conservation and self-transcendence, were statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). The beta coefficients indicated that for every unit increase in the SES, experience, and self-transcendence variable, classical prejudice decreased, on average, by -0.12, -0.21, and -0.12 respectively. On the other hand, for every unit increase in the conservation variable, classical prejudice increased by 0.29, on average. In addition, the standardised beta coefficients indicated that experience ($Beta = -0.35$) and self-transcendence ($Beta > -0.26$) may be more influential on classical prejudice, than conservation ($Beta = 0.18$) and SES ($Beta = -0.13$).

Dependent variable: conditional prejudice

Table 8 demonstrated that the 12 predictors explained, in total, 23% ($r^2 = 0.23$) of the variance in conditional prejudice. Background information explained 8%, intergroup contact variables explained an additional 11%, while value variables explained an additional 4% of the variance in conditional prejudice. The four predictors, contact quantity, experience, conservation and self-transcendence, were statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). The beta coefficients indicated that for every unit increase in the contact quantity, experience and self-transcendence variable, conditional prejudice decreased, on average, by -0.10, -0.10 and -0.19, respectively. Like the regression analysis with classical prejudice as the dependent variable, for every unit increase in the conservation variable, conditional prejudice increased, on average, by 0.25.

Dependent variable: SSB

The 12 predictors in Table 9 explained, in total, 44% ($r^2 = 0.44$) of the variance in SSB. Background information explained 16%, intergroup contact variables explained an additional 17%, while value variables explained an additional 11% of the variance in conditional prejudice. The six predictors, education, SES, political importance, experience, conservation, and self-transcendence, were statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). The beta coefficients indicated that for every unit increase in education, SES, political importance, experience, and self-transcendence, SSB decreased, on average, by -0.10, -0.12, -0.07, -0.09, and -0.35, respectively. On the other hand, for every unit increase in conservation, SSB increased on average, by 0.17.

Dependent variable: Ipsos

Table 10 showed that the 12 predictors explain, in total, 44% ($r^2 = 0.44$) of the variance in Ipsos. Background information explained 18%, intergroup contact variables explained an additional 18%, while value variables explained an additional 9% of the variance in Ipsos. The six predictors, gender, political importance, experience, openness, conservation, and self-transcendence, were statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). The beta coefficients indicated that for every unit increase in political importance, experience, self-transcendence and self-enhancement, Ipsos decreased, on average, by -0.06, -0.09, -0.24, and -0.08, respectively, while SSB increased by 0.17 for every unit increase in conservation.

Results across all four regression analyses

The predictor variables explained the most variance (44%) in SSB and Ipsos, followed by 33% in classical prejudice, and the least amount (23%) in conditional prejudice. Among the predictor variables, experience, self-transcendence and conservation were the three variables which significantly predicted all four dependent variables measuring attitudes towards refugees. These variables also held the largest size of standardised beta coefficients, ranging from 0.18 to -0.39 across all four analyses. In contrast, SES, contact quantity, gender, political importance, and education were only significant in one or two dependent variables, with standardised beta coefficients ranging from -0.11 to -0.14.

Table 7.*Hierarchical Regression Analysis on Predictors of Classical Prejudice*

	Block 1				Block 2				Block 3			
	B	Std. Error	Stand. Beta	t	B	Std. Error	Stand. Beta	t	B	Std. Error	Stand. Beta	t
(Constant)	4.10	.47		8.65***	4.23	.43		9.79**	4.86	.76		6.43***
Age	.08	.05	.10	1.50	.10	.05	.12	1.97*	.08	.05	.10	1.65
Gender	.38	.16	.13	2.31*	.12	.15	.04	0.80	.11	.15	.04	.75
Education	-.21	.10	-.13	-2.14*	-.12	.09	-.07	-1.30	-.09	.09	-.05	-.99
SES	-.29	.13	-.14	-2.19*	-.28	.12	-.13	-2.33*	-.28	.12	-.13	-2.40*
Political Importance	-.29	.07	-.22	-3.85***	-.18	.07	-.14	-2.53*	-.12	.07	-.09	-1.75
Religious Importance	.00	.07	.00	.03	-.01	.06	-.01	-0.10	-.04	.07	-.03	-.63
Contact Quantity					.02	.07	.02	0.34	.04	.06	.03	.60
Experience					-.26	.04	-.43	-7.44**	-.21	.04	-.35	-5.80***
Openness									.05	.09	.03	.55
Conservation									.29	.09	.18	3.07**
Self-transcendence									-.49	.12	-.26	-4.18***
Self-enhancement									.03	.08	.02	0.31
R	.33				.52				.57			
R²	.11				.27				.33			
R_{adj2}	.09				.25				.30			
Std. Error of the Est.	1.25				1.13				1.10			

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 8.*Hierarchical Regression Analysis on Predictors of Conditional Prejudice*

	Block 1				Block 2				Block 3			
	B	Std. Error	Stand. Beta	t	B	Std. Error	Stand. Beta	t	B	Std. Error	Stand. Beta	t
(Constant)	5.59	.34		16.25***	5.71	.33		17.56***	4.96	.58		8.62***
Age	.01	.04	.01	.21	.03	.04	.05	.76	.02	.04	.04	.60
Gender	.19	.12	.09	1.62	.06	.12	.03	.48	.09	.12	.05	.80
Education	-.20	.07	-.16	-2.63**	-.11	.07	-.10	-1.65	-.08	.07	-.06	-1.12
SES	-.12	.10	-.08	-1.22	-.12	.09	-.08	-1.34	-.10	.09	-.07	-1.15
Political Importance	-.16	.05	-.18	-2.96**	-.09	.05	-.10	-1.72	-.06	.05	-.07	-1.14
Religious Importance	.04	.05	.04	.73	.04	.05	.05	.88	.02	.05	.02	.41
Contact Quantity					-.10	.05	-.13	-2.04*	-.10	.05	-.12	-2.02*
Experience					-.12	.03	-.29	-4.68***	-.10	.03	-.24	-3.76***
Openness									.10	.07	.09	1.42
Conservation									.25	.07	.22	3.46**
Self-transcendence									-.19	.09	-.14	-2.11*
Self-enhancement									-.02	.06	-.02	-.26
R	.29				.44				.48			
R₂	.08				.19				.23			
R_{adj2}	.06				.17				.20			
Std. Error of the Est.	.90				.85				.84			

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 9.*Hierarchical Regression Analysis on Predictors of SSB*

	Block 1				Block 2				Block 3			
	B	Std. Error	Stand. Beta	t	B	Std. Error	Stand. Beta	t	B	Std. Error	Stand. Beta	t
(Constant)	2.68	.22		12.27***	2.75	.20		13.97***	3.66	.33		11.19***
Age	.03	.02	.06	1.00	.03	.02	.08	1.47	.01	.02	.03	.58
Gender	.22	.08	.16	2.94**	.10	.07	.07	1.40	.09	.07	.06	1.31
Education	-.16	.05	-.20	-3.42**	-.11	.04	-.14	-2.65**	-.10	.04	-.12	-2.53*
SES	-.12	.06	-.12	-2.01*	-.12	.05	-.12	-2.16*	-.12	.05	-.12	-2.41*
Political Importance	-.16	.03	-.26	-4.56***	-.10	.03	-.17	-3.23**	-.07	.03	-.11	-2.16*
Religious Importance	.02	.03	.04	.64	.02	.03	.03	.56	.00	.03	-.01	-.12
Contact Quantity					.01	.03	.02	.26	.02	.03	.04	.79
Experience					-.13	.02	-.44	-7.94***	-.09	.02	-.33	-5.93***
Openness									.02	.04	.02	.37
Conservation									.17	.04	.23	4.21***
Self-transcendence									-.35	.05	-.39	-6.80***
Self-enhancement									-.03	.04	-.05	-.83
R	.40				.58				.66			
R Square	.16				.33				.44			
R adj2	.15				.31				.42			
Std. Error of the Est.	.58				.52				.48			

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 10.*Hierarchical Regression Analysis on Predictors of Ipsos*

	Block 1				Block 2				Block 3			
	B	Std. Error	Stand. Beta	t	B	Std. Error	Stand. Beta	t	B	Std. Error	Stand. Beta	t
(Constant)	.21	.18		1.17	.27	.17		1.66	.72	.28		2.57*
Age	-.01	.02	-.02	-.28	.00	.02	.00	.11	-.02	.02	-.06	-1.12
Gender	.25	.06	.22	3.96***	.15	.06	.13	2.50*	.16	.06	.14	2.78**
Education	-.10	.04	-.15	-2.70**	-.06	.04	-.09	-1.80	-.05	.03	-.07	-1.48
SES	-.09	.05	-.10	-1.68	-.08	.05	-.10	-1.82	-.07	.04	-.09	-1.73
Political Importance	-.14	.03	-.26	-4.68***	-.09	.03	-.17	-3.32*	-.06	.03	-.11	-2.28*
Religious Importance	-.00	.03	-.00	-.03	-.00	.02	-.01	-.14	-.02	.02	-.04	-.90
Contact Quantity					-.00	.03	-.00	-.05	.02	.02	.02	.29
Experience					-.11	.01	-.44	-7.99***	-.09	.01	-.35	-6.40***
Openness									.04	.03	.07	1.25
Conservation									.17	.04	.26	4.79***
Self-transcendence									-.24	.04	-.31	-5.55***
Self-enhancement									-.08	.03	-.14	-2.45*
R	.42				.59				.66			
R Square	.18				.35				.44			
R adj2	.16				.33				.41			
Std. Error of the Est.	.48				.43				.40			

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Discussion

The main objective of the present study was to examine the role of intergroup contact on attitudes towards refugees, controlled for values and individual variables. Another aim was to investigate the prevalence of prejudiced attitudes towards refugees to gain an understanding of the issue in Norway. The following section will consider the aims of the study, captured in the three research questions, and discuss the results and possible implications.

First, in all regression analyses, the effect of intergroup contact and values on attitudes towards refugees was controlled for the effect of individual variables. Consistent with existing research (see Steele & Abdelaaty, 2018; Husnu & Lajunen, 2015; Soriano & Cala, 2019, Kalogeraki, 2019), the statistical analyses revealed that SES, gender, political importance and education significantly predicted at least one of the dependent variables measuring attitudes towards refugees. In total, the individual variables accounted for 8% to 18% of the explained variance across the four measures of attitudes towards refugees.

How prevailing are prejudiced attitudes towards refugees in Norway?

Overall, based on descriptive statistics, the present study indicated that the participants generally reported low levels of prejudiced attitudes towards refugees. A higher prevalence of positive than negative attitudes towards refugees was also consistent with national surveys conducted by SSB and Ipsos. According to Hellevik and Hellevik (2017), the prevalence of prejudiced attitudes towards immigrants has decreased over the past years. Hellevik and Hellevik (2017) examined the development of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration in Norway, based on analyses of Ipsos' time-series data from 1993 to 2015 and SSB's data from 2002 to 2016. Hellevik and Hellevik (2017) found a gradual development towards a more positive view on refugees, immigrants and immigration. They suggested that, among other reasons, heightened level of education, an increase of immigrants in local communities and increased support towards idealistic and modern values may have contributed to this change (Hellevik and Hellevik, 2017). Consistent with this view, the present study showed that intergroup contact, values and individual variables, such as education, SES and political importance, correlated with attitudes towards refugees.

The present study also demonstrated that subtle prejudice was more prevalent than blatant prejudice. The mean score for conditional prejudice, measuring subtle prejudice, was above the midpoint of the scale and on the "negative-attitude" side. In contrast, the mean scores for the three scales measuring blatant prejudice (classical prejudice, SSB and Ipsos) were below the midpoint of the scales and on the "positive-attitude" side. This might reflect a

society where blatant prejudice is less acceptable than subtle prejudice. Indeed, as Holt and colleagues (2015) suggested, although the most blatant forms of prejudice and discrimination have decreased in many countries, this does not mean that people are less prejudiced, but may rather imply that people hide their prejudices and only express them when they feel it is safe or socially appropriate. Thus, the greater prevalence of conditional prejudice may indicate that the participants perceive it as more acceptable to welcome refugees on conditions, such as not accepting too many, or that they go back to their country when it is safe to do so. Perhaps, the conditional prejudice captures implicit prejudice, in which the participants may not be aware themselves that they accept refugees on conditions..

The greater prevalence of conditional prejudice may in turn reflect the importance of the minority versus majority relation. The majority (Norwegians) as the privileged group who has the power to demand the minority (refugees) to behave in a certain way, and the refugees as the disadvantaged and powerless people dependent on receiving help. To capture a more realistic prevalence of prejudiced attitudes in Norway, or other societies where blatant prejudice seems to be unaccepted, it may be important for future research to include a measure of subtle prejudice.

Furthermore, consistent with existing literature (Soriana & Cala, 2019; Schweitzer et al., 2006), the present study suggested a possible gender difference in the prevalence of prejudiced attitudes. Mean scores and t-tests on gender differences demonstrated that women on average reported significantly lower prejudiced scores on classical prejudice and the Ipsos-scale. Correlation analyses showed that gender was significantly correlated with three dependent variables, and regression analyses showed that gender predicted the Ipsos-scale. A gender difference in prejudiced attitudes towards refugees may recommend targeting men in prejudice reduction interventions. However, a gender difference in experience, that women reported more positive experiences with refugees than men, may contribute to explain the gender difference in the prevalence of prejudiced attitudes. In the regression analyses with classical prejudice and SSB as the dependent variable, the gender predictor was significant in the first block but no longer not when contact quantity and experience was included in the models. Thus, experience may be more influential than gender on attitudes towards refugees.

Also, the participants in the present study reported consistently higher percentages of positive attitudes than national surveys conducted by SSB and Ipsos. This may reflect the lack of a representative sample. Most participants were recruited through Facebook acquaintances which might have attracted people with similar interests and views on refugees, and 17.2% (51) of the sample were volunteers at Røde Kors or similar. Also, correlation analyses

demonstrated that volunteers were significantly correlated with three measures of prejudiced attitudes. Volunteers may have more positive contact with refugees because they chose to spend time with refugees. This may result in a biased sample failing to capture all individuals in the population, especially the ones with more negative views on refugees

How are values associated with attitudes towards refugees?

The statistical analyses indicated that Schwartz' values were associated with attitudes towards refugees. Across the four regression analyses, the value variables explained 4-11% of the variance in attitudes. Specifically, the two values of self-transcendence and conservation predicted and correlated with all four dependent variables of attitudes towards refugees. Consistent with existing research (see Davidov & Meuleman, 2012; Davidov, Meuleman, Billiet & Schmidt, 2008; Davidov et al., 2014; Araújo et al., 2020; Davidov et al., 2020), the results indicated that higher levels of conservation values were associated with higher levels of prejudiced attitudes towards refugees, while higher levels of self-transcendence were associated with lower levels of prejudiced attitudes.

Schwartz' human value theory may help explain why some individuals appear to be more prejudiced towards refugees than others. Self-transcendence consists of the universalism-value with the core motivational goal of understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people, and the benevolence-value with the goal of preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact with (Bilsky, Janik & Schwartz, 2011). On the other hand, conservation consists of the tradition-value with the goal of respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs that one's culture or religion impose on the individual, the conformity-value with the goal of restraint of actions, inclination, and impulses likely to upset others and violate social expectations or norms, and the security-value with the goal of safety, harmony, and stability of society, relationships, and self (Bilsky, Janik & Schwartz, 2011). Based on these underlying goals, self-transcendence individuals may report positive attitudes towards refugees because they are more concerned about the welfare and protection of all people (universalism-value), and especially if they have experienced frequent and positive intergroup contact with refugees (benevolence-value). Conservation individuals may correlate with higher levels of prejudiced attitudes because they are more concerned that refugees coming to Norway with a different culture, religions and values may disrupt and challenge the Norwegian traditions and customs (tradition-value), and constitute a threat to the stability and safety of the Norwegian society (safety-value). This corresponds with literature

(see Schweitzer et al., 2005; Steele & Abdelaaty, 2018; Kalogeraki, 2019) suggesting that refugees may constitute a threat to ethnic identity, national security, culture and values.

Furthermore, openness and self-enhancement did not predict attitudes towards refugees in any of the four regression analyses. According to Schwartz (2012), the subordinate values of self-enhancement and openness have a personal focus and primarily regulate how individuals express personal interest and characteristics, whereas the values comprising conservation and self-transcendence have a social focus which primarily regulate how individuals relate socially to others and affect their interests. This may reflect how Norwegians view refugees as representing a social issue and not a personal one. Norwegians may be more concerned about how refugees affect Norway as a society, including the Norwegians traditions, customs and laws, instead of posing a personal threat to accomplishing their individual goals in life.

The influence of values may emphasise the role of individual variables on prejudiced attitudes towards refugees. Even Allport (as cited in Hodson, Turner & Choma, 2016) doubted whether contact could work if the person's "inner strain" towards intolerance was strong. Pettigrew (1998) also emphasised that individual differences and societal norms may indeed shape contact effects. A recent review of literature integrating individual differences in the contact-prejudice relationship, Hodson, Turner and Choma (2016) argued that individual differences matter in predicting who will approach or avoid intergroup contact. However, contact, when experienced, seem to improve intergroup attitudes also among high-prejudiced people (Hodson et al. 2016). Hodson and colleagues (2016) concluded that engaging in contact with outgroups is a worthwhile pursuit, and that people predisposed towards bias have the most to gain. Thus, intergroup contact interventions may target individuals who are more likely to hold prejudiced attitudes towards refugees, such as people scoring high on conservation values.

How may intergroup contact influence attitudes towards refugees?

The conducted statistical analyses generally supported the comprehensive research on intergroup contact, suggesting that positive contact with an outgroup can reduce prejudiced attitudes towards the outgroup, while negative contact can increase prejudiced attitudes. Correlation analyses showed that both intergroup contact measures, contact quantity and valenced contact (experience), correlated significantly ($p < 0.001$) and negatively with all four measures of attitudes towards refugees. In other words, more frequent and positive intergroup contact with refugees were associated with less prejudiced attitudes towards refugees. Also,

across all regression analyses, contact quantity and valenced contact accounted for 11% to 18% of the explained variance in attitudes towards refugees.

The statistical analyses further indicated that valenced contact may have a greater influence on attitudes towards refugees than contact quantity. When controlling for the effect of values and individual factors, the regression analyses demonstrated that contact quantity only predicted conditional prejudice. In contrast, the experience coefficient was significant in all four measures of attitudes. Also, correlation analyses demonstrated that the strength of association was much stronger for experience ($-0.39 < r < -0.53$) than for contact quantity ($-0.20 < r < -0.28$). Moreover, the regression analyses showed that experience demonstrated the largest standardised beta coefficient among the significant predictors in three of the dependent variables and the second largest in the fourth dependent variable. Although both measures seem to influence attitudes towards refugees, the evaluation of the intergroup experience as positive versus negative (valenced contact) seem to be notably more influential than the frequency of intergroup contact with refugees (contact quantity). This is consistent with Barlow and colleagues (2012) finding that the effect of contact quantity on prejudice was moderated by contact valence.

Furthermore, the descriptive analyses showed that the participants on average reported very low scores of negative experiences, in addition to a low prevalence of prejudiced attitudes. This may support literature suggesting that negative contact is more important in increasing prejudice than positive contact is in reducing prejudice (Barlow et al., 2012; Graf et al. 2014; Paolini et al., 2014). The cognitive processes of subtyping and subgrouping may help understand why positive contact may be less influential than negative contact on prejudiced attitudes. For example, if a person expects refugees not to adapt to the Norwegian society, he or she may interpret a positive encounter with a refugee as an exception (a subtype) or argue that only “certain” refugees are able to successfully adapt to Norway (form a subgroup). Thus, it may require numerous positive experiences to no longer categorize positive experiences as “an exception”, and rather interpret them as disconfirming the individuals’ prejudgment. On the other hand, it may only take one negative experience to confirm the individual’s prior belief that refugees are unable to fit into the Norwegian society. This may illustrate Paolini and colleagues’ (2014) suggestion that individuals’ repertoires of positive contact experiences may buffer them against harmful effects of negative contact experiences in the present.

Based on the findings of the present study and existing research on contact effects, intergroup contact between refugees and Norwegians may indeed contribute to reduce

prejudice towards refugees among the majority members, Norwegians. Thus, volunteer centres and other organisations facilitating positive experiences, or preventing negative encounters, between refugees and Norwegians, such as “language cafés” and “board games”, may lead to a better liking and understanding of refugees and improve the relationship between the two groups, on an individual level. However, as discussed above, such arranged intergroup activities may attract people who already hold refugee-friendly attitudes rather than prejudiced Norwegians. Kalogeraki (2019) suggested that contact meetings and cooperative group learning taking place in colleges, universities, workplaces, neighbourhoods, and broader community settings can make significant inroads in countering the perceptions of migrants as threats to the presumed cultural homogeneity and Greek ethnic identity. Thus, in addition to targeting individuals more likely to hold prejudiced attitudes, contact interventions may be implemented in the environments where discrimination towards refugees and immigrants occur, such as the working life, public transportations, bars and restaurants, in contact with the police, and other public places.

On the other hand, facilitating positive intergroup contact may have negative consequences for minority group members. As suggested by literature (Dixon 2016; Becker et al., 2013), intergroup contact may reinforce existing social inequalities and prevent social change when the majority group members do not acknowledge or legitimise their privileged position. Thus, it may be vital that Norwegian volunteers participating in arranged intergroup contact acknowledge their illegitimate advantageous status and the social inequalities experienced by refugees, including everyday prejudice, such as stares and remarks at public places, and discrimination in the working life and other areas. This might in turn contribute to improve the relationship between the groups, and at the same time encourage the minority members to take actions and fight for social equality.

Nevertheless, raising attitude awareness through intergroup contact may not be enough to create actual change and reduce discrimination. Wrights and Baray (2012) suggested that a unitary focus on prejudice reduction, including the promotion of positive attitudes and intergroup liking, has obscured consideration of what may be more critical feature of intergroup inequality, including structural inequalities and associated differences in power and privilege. For example, Midtbøen and Rogstad (2012) argued that although work on raising awareness on attitudes and moral arguments have been the focus of creating a change in the discriminating Norwegian working life for many years, the effect is uncertain. Midtbøen and Rogstad (2012) emphasised that the employers ultimately decide how including and diverse the future employment market in Norway will be, and therefore it is decisive that

authorities and enthusiasts succeed in getting the employers on board to create a change and reduce discrimination in the working life. This example may illustrate the importance of distinguishing the role of intergroup contact to reduce prejudiced attitudes towards refugees, but not necessarily as an effective mean to reduce discrimination and social inequalities.

Limitations

Several measurement errors regarding the present study need to be acknowledged. Measurement errors refer to all distortions in the questionnaire and the assessment of the construct of interest, such as systematic biases and random variance caused by respondents' own behaviour (Krosnick, Lavrakas & Kim, 2014).

First, measuring attitudes may be difficult because of the possibility that respondents may not have an attitude or belief because they never thought about the issue until asked about it, and that their attitude, or the issue, may not be of great import to the respondent (Haworth, 1996). Thus, respondents may be indifferent towards the issue of refugees coming to Norway and integrating to Norwegian culture, and force attitudes that they do not have. Also, the questionnaire used closed-ended questions which are easier to code and produce meaningful results for analyses, but they may oversimplify matters (Conner & Waterman, 1996). For example, the participants may hold other thoughts and beliefs towards refugees that are not reflected in the response categories. Thus, the survey may not capture the participants' "true" attitudes towards refugees in Norway.

Second, there are limitations regarding the scales used in the questionnaire. Four different scales measured attitudes towards refugees, which may have led to boredom and false responses from participants. The PAAS scale was essential because it measured both blatant and covert prejudice towards refugees. However, The Ipsos-scale and the SSB-scale highly overlapped. Thus, the 4-item SSB-scale could have been excluded as these items are mainly covered in the Ipsos-scale. Furthermore, the measure of valenced contact only included two single items. According to Lolliot et al. (2015), Barlow et al.'s single-items measure of valenced contact forego much of the richness of the data that characterises experimental measures. Also, the two items measuring valenced contact asked how frequently the participants have had negative/bad and positive/good experiences with refugees, which is quite broad references to contact. Participants may refer to this contact or experience very differently, from merely observing the behaviour of refugees in public to visiting refugees in their home. Thus, a more detailed measure of valenced contact would be advantageous to better understand the relationship between intergroup contact and attitudes towards refugees.

Another limitation is the social desirability effect in self-report questionnaires. The social desirability effect refers to a bias in which the respondent completes the questionnaire with self-presentation considerations foremost in their mind rather than accurate reporting (Conner & Waterman, 1996). For example, social desirability may contribute to explain the higher percentage of positive attitudes towards refugees demonstrate in the present study

compared to national sampled from SSB and Ipsos. It may be that the current sample, consciously or unconsciously, wanted to represent themselves as positive towards refugees.

Furthermore, the sample of the study was not representative. Bordens and Horowitz (2001) stated that a survey sample does not need to be large but it must be representative, in which it ideally contains the same proportion of individuals from different demographic categories, such as gender, race, age. Although the sample represented individuals from the age between 16 to 80 years old, the majority (44.1%) was between 16 and 30 years old, and the sample included a larger portion (70%) of women than men (30%), and 17.2% were volunteers. Thus, the findings of the current survey study cannot be generalised over the current sample of 304 non-refugees.

Moreover, a cross-sectional survey cannot provide evidence of the causal process of a hypothesis (Krosnick, Lavrakas & Kim, 2014). Thus, the present study cannot claim that the low prejudiced attitudes are caused by positive intergroup contact and scoring high on self-transcendence. However, cross-sectional surveys may yield correlational evidence about the directions and magnitude of associations between pairs of variables, and they may be informative about the plausibility of a causal hypothesis (Krosnick, Lavrakas & Kim, 2014). Thus, the present study can suggest that experience and values are correlated with attitudes towards prejudice, and that this may indicate a plausibility for a causal direction.

Conclusion

The present study provided insight into the relationship between intergroup contact and prejudiced attitudes towards refugees, as well as the influence of values, in a Norwegian context. The results generally supported existing research on intergroup contact theory, that contact quantity and especially valenced contact correlated with prejudiced attitudes towards refugees. Participants reporting having had positive intergroup contact experiences predicted less prejudiced attitudes towards refugees, compared with participants reporting having had negative contact experiences with refugees. Consistent with national surveys, by SSB and Ipsos, the participants in the present study demonstrated a low prevalence of prejudiced attitudes towards refugees, with an overweight of positive attitudes. However, experienced discrimination towards immigrants still seems to be a problem in Norway, especially when applying for jobs. This might reflect the possible paradoxical effect of intergroup contact to reduce prejudice, but at the same time reinforce social inequality and discrimination. Furthermore, the conducted analyses indicated that self-transcendence values were negatively correlated with prejudiced attitudes, while conservation values were positively related to prejudiced attitudes towards refugees. This might suggest intergroup contact interventions to specifically target prejudiced individuals, instead of people who already hold positive attitudes towards refugees.

Based on the present study and relevant literature, future research future may focus on investigating how intergroup contact may reduce prejudice among the majority and at the same time reduce discrimination towards the minority and promote social change and equality. In contrast to mainly focusing on contact effects for the majority group, future research may turn the attention towards the minority group and the negative consequences intergroup contact may have for them. Wrights and Baray (2012) argued that researchers might need to move beyond prejudice reduction and recognize that efforts to change unjust and unequal social structure will require both harmony and managed conflict, recognition of group differences as well as similarities, and an open discussion of existing inequalities that exposes both discrimination and privilege. This might require research to focus on how intergroup contact may contribute to disrupting the status quo and the majority group's advantageous position, rather than a focus on the majority (Norwegians) coming to like the minority (refugees).

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Appendices

Appendix A.

Invitation-letter To Parents

Kjære foreldre til elever ved (navn på skole innsatt her)!

Vil dere være med i et spennende forskningsprosjekt og bli med i trekningen av 3 gavekort på 4.000 kroner?

Vi ønsker å finne ut mer om hva som påvirker ulike syn på flyktninger. Studiet er tilknyttet en mastergrad i psykologi ved Norges-teknisk naturvitenskapelige universitet (NTNU) i Trondheim.

Hva innebærer det å delta?

Å delta i prosjektet er frivillig og innebærer å svare på noen spørsmål i et nettbasert spørreskjema som vil ta deg cirka 15 minutter. All informasjon blir anonymisert, slik at ingen kan vite *at* du har deltatt eller *hva* du har svart.

Lokalbefolkningen på Jæren

Du mottar denne forespørselen fordi vi søker personer som ikke er flyktninger og bor i Klepp kommune eller Time kommune. For å oppnå et representativt utvalg, trenger vi så mange deltakere som mulig. Derfor setter vi stor pris på din deltakelse.

Gå inn på denne linken for å delta i undersøkelsen:

<https://survey.svt.ntnu.no/TakeSurvey.aspx?SurveyID=9I0I8mlK>

Eller scan QR-koden til høyre med ditt mobiltelefonkamera:



NB! Vennligst skriv inn følgende skjemanummer i det nettbaserte spørreskjemaet:

Dette er kun for å koble sammen besvarelser mellom elev og foreldre. Svarene dine vil fortsatt være anonyme. Skjemanummeret skrives inn på det første spørsmålet i spørreskjemaet. Vi håper dere kan gi to besvarelser (én fra mor og én fra far). Dette gjøres ved at dere åpner linken to ganger, og skriver inn det samme skjemanummeret på hver av deres besvarelse. Hvis både mor og far deltar, har dere to sjanser til å vinne gavekort!

Vinn et gavekort på 4.000 kroner

Etter at du har sendt inn spørreskjemaet, kan du bli med i loddtrekningen av gavekort fra Jærhagen. Vi trekker ut tre deltakere som vinner et gavekort på 4.000 kroner hver. Loddtrekningen vil skje fredag 13. desember 2019.

På forhånd, tusen takk!

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt på epost: lenezaa@gmail.com

Med vennlig hilsen,

Lene Z. Aamodt (Masterstudent i psykologi),

Timo Lajunen (Professor i psykologi)



Appendix A.

Invitation-letter to Parents (English translation)

Dear parents to pupils at "name of school inserted here"!

Do you want to participate in an exciting research project and the lottery draw of 3 gifts cards with the value of NOK4000?

We wish to find out more about what might influence different views on refugees. The study is affiliated with a master thesis in psychology at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in Trondheim.

What does participating entail?

Participation of the project is voluntary and involves answering some questions in an online questionnaire which will take about 15 minutes. All information will be anonymised. No one will know that you have participated nor your answers.

The local community at Jæren

You receive this request because we are seeking non-refugee people living in Klepp or Time municipality. To achieve a representative sample, we need as many participants as possible. Thus, your participation is very much appreciated.

Please follow this link to participate in the survey:

<https://survey.svt.ntnu.no/TakeSurvey.aspx?SurveyID=9I0I8mIk>

Or you may scan the QR-code with your mobile phone.



NB! Please write in the following sheet number in the online questionnaire:

This is only to pair the responses between parent and pupil. Your answers will still be anonymous. Please write the sheet number on the first question. We hope both parents may participate in the study by opening the link twice, and using the same sheet number. This may also double the chance to win a gift card!

Win a gift card with the value of NOK4000

After completing the questionnaire, you may join a lottery draw of a gift card from Jærhagen. We will randomly draw three participants who will win a gift card with the value of NOK4000 each. The draw will happen Friday 13 December 2019.

Thank you in advance!

If you have any questions regarding the study, please contact my email at:

lenezaa@gmail.com

Best regards,

Lene Z. Aamodt (Master student in psychology),

Timo Lajunen (Professor in psychology)



Appendix B.

Evaluation by NSD

N

NSD Personvern

08.11.2019 15:06

Det innsendte meldeskjemaet med referansekode 264051 er nå vurdert av NSD.

Følgende vurdering er gitt:

Det er vår vurdering at det ikke skal behandles direkte eller indirekte opplysninger som kan identifisere enkeltpersoner i dette prosjektet, så fremt den gjennomføres i tråd med det som er dokumentert i meldeskjemaet den 08.11.19 med vedlegg, samt i meldingsdialogen mellom innmelder og NSD. Prosjektet trenger derfor ikke en vurdering fra NSD.

HVA MÅ DU GJØRE DERSOM DU LIKEVEL SKAL BEHANDLE PERSONOPPLYSNINGER?

Dersom prosjektopplegget endres og det likevel blir aktuelt å behandle personopplysninger må du melde dette til NSD ved å oppdatere meldeskjemaet. Vent på svar før du setter i gang med behandlingen av personopplysninger.

VI AVSLUTTER OPPFØLGING AV PROSJEKTET

Siden prosjektet ikke behandler personopplysninger avslutter vi all videre oppfølging.

Lykke til med prosjektet!

Kontaktperson hos NSD: Karin Lillevold

Appendix B.

Evaluation by NSD (English translation)

The submitted report with reference code 260451 is now evaluated by NSD.

Following evaluating is given: It is our evaluation that no direct nor indirect information that can identify an individual will be collected in this project, given that it will be conducted in correspondence with the documentation provided in the report on the 08.11.19, including appendices, and message dialogues between applicant and NSD. Thus, the project does not need an evaluation by NSD.

WHAT DO YOU HAVE TO DO IF YOU PROCESS PERSONAL INFORMATION?

If the project changes and you wish to process personal information, you must report to NSD by updating this form. Please wait for an evaluation before you start processing personal information.

WE DETERMINATE ANY FOLLOW-UP CONCERNING THIS PROJECT

We determinate any follow-up since this project does not process personal information.

Good luck with the project! Contact person at NSD: Karin Lillevold

Appendix C.

The Survey Distributed to Adults



Spørreskjema om flyktninger

Page 1

Informasjon

Formålet med spørreundersøkelsen er å finne ut mer om hva som bidrar til å påvirke ulike syn på flyktninger. Vi søker alle som bor i Norge og som ikke er flyktning selv til å delta.

Å delta i prosjektet er frivillig og innebærer å svare på spørsmålene i spørreskjemaet, som vil ta cirka 10-15 minutter. Det er viktig å svare så ærlig som mulig. Ingen svar er feil. Ingen ID-informasjon lagres, og ingen svar vil bli avslørt på individnivå. Alle resultat vil bli analysert på gruppenivå.

Du samtykker i å delta ved å klikke «Ferdig» på siste side.

Etter at du har sendt inn svarene dine har du ikke mulighet til innsyn i, retting av, sletting av eller å få utskrift av informasjonen du har gitt oss. Årsaken er at all informasjon vil bli anonymisert, slik at vi ikke har mulighet til å finne igjen din besvarelse. Dette sikrer din anonymitet!

Hvis du har spørsmål til undersøkelsen, ta kontakt på epost: lenezaa@gmail.com.

Hvem er en flyktning?

Ifølge Utenriksdirektoratet (UDI) er en flyktning en person som fyller kravene til å få beskyttelse (asyl) i Norge. «En person vil få oppholdstillatelse som flyktning i Norge hvis han eller hun, 1) har en velbegrunnet frykt for forfølgelse på grunn av etnisitet, avstamning, hudfarge, religion, nasjonalitet, medlemskap i en spesiell sosial gruppe eller på grunn av politisk oppfatning, eller 2) står i reell fare for å bli utsatt for dødsstraff, tortur eller annen umenneskelig eller nedverdiggende behandling eller straff hvis de må reise tilbake til hjemlandet.»

Med vennlig hilsen,

Lene Z. Aamodt (masterstudent i psykologi) og veileder Timo Lajunen (professor i psykologi), ved Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet (NTNU)

Page 2

Generell informasjon

Den første delen består av noen generelle spørsmål. Kryss av for det svaralternativet som er riktig for deg.

1. Kjønn:

Kvinne

Mann

2. Hvor gammel er du?

16-20

21-30

31-40

41-50

51-60

61-70

71-80

81-90

91-100

3. Hvor bor du?

- Klepp kommune
- Time kommune
- Ingen av dem

4. Hvilke av følgende alternativer gjelder deg (du kan krysse av for flere)?

- Er frivillig ved Klepp Frivilligsentral
- Student ved videregående skole
- Student ved et universitet
- Ingen av alternativene ovenfor
- Er frivillig eller ansatt ved Røde Kors, et mottak eller lignende

5. Hvilken utdanning har du? Kryss av for den høyeste utdannelsen du har fullført.

- Ungdomsskole
- Videregående skole
- Universitetet/høgskole (årsstudium eller bachelor)
- Universitetet/høgskole (master eller PhD)
- Ingen

6. Når du sammenligner deg med andre nordmenn, hvordan anser du din økonomiske situasjon?

- Dårlig / under gjennomsnittet
- Helt ok / gjennomsnittlig
- God / litt bedre enn gjennomsnittet

7. Hvilket parti ville du stemt på i et kommune-/fylkes-/stortingsvalg i dag?

- Høyre (H)
- Fremskrittspartiet (FRP)
- Senterpartiet (SP)
- Arbeiderpartiet (AP)
- Sosialistisk Venstreparti (SV)
- Folkeaksjonen Nei til mer bompenger (FNB)
- Miljøpartiet De grønne (MDG)

- Venstre (V)
- Rødt (R)
- Ville ikke stemt
- Kristelig Folkeparti (KRF)

8. Hvilken av de følgende religionene identifiserer du deg med?

- Buddhisme
- Kristendom
- Islam
- Hinduisme
- Jødedom
- Annen religion
- Ingen religioner

9. Vennligst indiker i hvor stor grad religion og politikk er viktig for deg.

	Ikke veldig viktig					Veldig viktig
	1	2	3	4	5	
I hvor stor grad er politikk viktig for deg?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
I hvor stor grad er religion viktig for deg?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	

Kontakt med flyktninger

I denne delen ønsker vi å vite mer om din kontakt og erfaring med flyktninger. Vennligst kryss av for det svaret som gjelder deg, og svar så ærlig som mulig. Ingen svar er feil.

10. Hvor mye kontakt har du med flyktninger?

	Ikke i det hele tatt						Veldig mye
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hvor mye kontakt har du med flyktninger på skole/jobb?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hvor mye kontakt har du med flyktninger i ditt nabolag?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hvor mye kontakt har du med flyktninger i form av nære vennskap?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hvor ofte snakker du med flyktninger?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hvor ofte har du besøkt flyktninger hjemme hos dem?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hvor ofte har flyktninger vært på besøk hjemme hos deg?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

11. Tenk på din kontakt med flyktninger. Hvis du ikke har hatt noe kontakt med flyktninger kan du krysse av for «Ingen erfaring». I hvilken grad har du opplevd kontakten med flyktninger som ...

	Definitivt ikke						Definitivt ja	Ingen erfaring
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
... likestilt?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

12.

	Definitivt ufrivillig						Definitivt frivillig	Ingen erfaring
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
... frivillig eller ufrivillig?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

13.

	Veldig overfladisk						Veldig nær	Ingen erfaring
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
... overfladisk eller nær?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

14.

	Veldig konkurrerende						Veldig samarbeidende	Ingen erfaring
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
... samarbeidende eller konkurrerende?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

15.

	Ikke i det hele tatt						Veldig	Ingen erfaring
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
... hyggelig?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... en mulighet for å bli venner?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
... ok for andre (venner, familie, etc.)?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

16. Tenk på din erfaring med flyktninger.

							Ekstremt ofte
	Aldri						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hvor ofte har du negativ/dårlig kontakt med flyktninger?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hvor ofte har du positiv/god kontakt med flyktninger?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Hva synes du om flyktninger?

I denne delen ønsker vi å vite mer om dine meninger om flyktninger. Vennligst svar så ærlig som mulig. Ingen svar er feil.

17. Kryss av på skalaen hvor du vil plassere dine egne meninger for hvert av de følgende parene med påstander:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Flyktninger er velkomne i Norge	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Flyktninger er ikke velkomne i Norge
Flyktninger er bortkastet penger, tid og plass	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Flyktninger er ikke bortkastet tid, penger og plass
Flyktninger bare later som de trenger hjelp	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Flyktninger later ikke som de trenger hjelp
Flyktninger er for farlige å ha i Norge	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Flyktninger er ikke farlige å ha i Norge
Flyktninger er mer trøbbel enn de er verdifulle	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Flyktninger er ikke trøbbel
Flyktninger er vårt problem	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Flyktninger er ikke vårt problem
Flyktninger er i stand til å passe inn/integrere seg i vårt samfunn	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Flyktninger er ikke i stand til å passe inn/integrere seg i vårt samfunn
Flyktninger må dra tilbake til dit de kom fra	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Flyktninger bør ikke dra tilbake til dit de kom fra

18. I hvilken grad er du enig eller uenig i følgende påstander?

							Svært enig
	Svært uenig						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Flyktninger trenger hjelp, men det er mennesker i Norge som trenger hjelpen mer	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Flyktninger bør dra tilbake til landet sitt når det er trygt å gjøre det	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Flyktninger bør kun komme til Norge dersom de ikke har vært kriminelle	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Flyktninger er ok så lenge vi ikke tar inn for mange av dem	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Flyktninger kan ha problemer med å integrere seg i vårt system	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Flyktninger har større sannsynlighet for å passe inn dersom de raskt lærer seg norsk	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Flyktninger bør få komme inn i vårt land, men ha prioritet etter andre immigranter som kommer til Norge for arbeid, utdanning, etc.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Flyktninger kan komme inn i vårt land så lenge de følger norske lover	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

19. I hvilken grad er du enig eller uenig i følgende påstander?

	Helt enig	Nokså enig	Nokså uenig	Helt uenig
	1	2	3	4
Flyktninger flest misbruker de sosiale velferdsordningene	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Flyktninger flest beriker det kulturelle livet i Norge	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Flyktninger flest er en kilde til utrygghet i samfunnet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Alle flyktninger bør ha samme mulighet til arbeid som nordmenn	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

20. To personer diskuterer hvilke virkninger det kan få at det er kommet flyktninger fra fremmede kulturer til Norge. Hvem er du mest enig med, A eller B?

- A sier: Flyktninger bidrar til at vi får et større kulturelt mangfold i Norge, med spennende ny mat, musikk, kunst osv.
- B sier: Flyktnings levemåte passer ikke inn i Norge. De fremmede skikkene er til ulempe for omgivelsene og kan bli en trussel mot norsk kultur.
- C: Umulig å velge.

21. Hvem er du mest enig med når det gjelder synet på flyktninger, A eller B?

- A sier: Flyktninger ønsker å utnytte våre velferdsordninger og få del i goder de ikke selv har vært med på å skape.
- B sier: Flyktninger er dyktige og arbeidsomme mennesker som kan yte et verdifullt bidrag til norsk økonomi og arbeidsliv.
- C: Umulig å velge.

22. Hvilket av standpunktene nedenfor stemmer best med ditt syn på hvordan Norge bør stille seg til flyktninger?

- A: Vi må strekke oss så langt som mulig for å ta imot flere flyktninger i Norge.
- B: I stedet for å ta imot flyktninger i Norge bør vi bruke midler til å hjelpe dem i sitt eget land eller land som ligger nær deres eget.
- C: Vi har ikke råd til å bruke så mye penger på å hjelpe flyktninger så lenge vi har så mange uløste oppgaver her i Norge.

23. Bør flyktnings og asylsøkeres adgang til å få opphold i Norge bli...

- A: Lettere?
- B: Vanskeligere?
- C: Som i dag?

Verdier

I denne siste delen ønsker vi å vite mer om hva som er viktige verdier for deg. Nå handler det altså ikke lenger om flyktninger, men om dine meninger.

24. Nedenfor beskriver vi noen personer. Les hver beskrivelse og tenk på hvor mye hver person er lik eller ikke lik deg.

	Veldig lik meg	Lik meg	Noe lik meg	Litt lik meg	Ikke lik meg	Ikke lik meg i det hele tatt
Å komme på nye ideer og være kreativ er viktig for han/hun. Han/hun liker å gjøre ting på sin egen måte.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er viktig for han/hun å være rik. Han/hun ønsker å ha mye penger og dyre ting.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Han/hun synes det er viktig at alle mennesker i verden behandles likt. Han/hun mener at alle bør ha like muligheter i livet.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

	Veldig lik meg	Lik meg	Noe lik meg	Litt lik meg	Ikke lik meg	Ikke lik meg i det hele tatt
Det er veldig viktig for han/hun å vise fram sine ferdigheter. Han/hun ønsker at folk skal beundre det han/hun gjør.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er viktig for han/hun å leve i trygge omgivelser. Han/hun unngår alt som kan sette hans/hennes sikkerhet i fare.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Han/hun liker overraskelser og ser alltid etter nye ting å finne på. Han/hun synes det er viktig å gjøre mange ulike ting i livet.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Han/hun mener at folk bør gjøre det de blir bedt om. Han/hun synes at folk alltid bør følge regler, til og med når ingen ser hva som foregår.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er viktig for han/hun å lytte til folk som er ulike han/hun selv. Selv når han/hun er uenig med dem, ønsker han/hun fortsatt å forstå dem.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er viktig for han/hun å være ydmyk og ikke skryte. Han/hun prøver å ikke vekke for mye oppmerksomhet.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Å ha det gøy er viktig for han/hun. Han/hun liker å "skjemme seg bort".	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er viktig for han/hun å ta sine egne beslutninger om hva han/hun gjør. Han/hun liker å være fri og ikke avhengig av andre.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er veldig viktig for han/hun å hjelpe de rundt han/hun. Han/hun bryr seg om hvordan de har det.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Å være veldig suksessfull er viktig for han/hun. Han/hun håper folk vil anerkjenne hans/hennes suksesser.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er viktig for han/hun at myndighetene sikrer hans/hennes sikkerhet mot trusler. Han/hun ønsker en sterk stat som kan forsvare sine innbyggere.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Han/hun leter etter opplevelser og liker å ta sjanser. Han/hun ønsker å ha et spennende liv.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er viktig for han/hun å alltid oppføre seg skikkelig. Han/hun ønsker å unngå og gjøre noe som andre ville sagt var galt.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er viktig for han/hun å få respekt fra andre. Han/hun ønsker at folk gjør det han/hun sier.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er viktig for han/hun å være trofast mot hans/hennes venner. Han/hun ønsker å bruke tid på personer som står han/hun nær.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Han/hun har en sterk mening om at folk bør bry seg om naturen. Å passe på miljøet er viktig for han/hun.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tradisjon er viktig for han/hun. Han/hun prøver å følge skikkene som er overført fra hans/hennes familie eller kultur/religion.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Han/hun benytter hver sjanse til å ha det gøy. Det er viktig for han/hun å gjøre ting som gir han/henne glede.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

25. Helt til slutt har vi et spørsmål om din bakgrunn.

	Ikke i det hele tatt				Veldig mye
	1	2	3	4	5
I hvilken grad identifiserer du deg med en etnisk minoritet i Norge?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix C.

The Survey Distributed to Adults (English translation)

Information

The aim of this survey is to find out more about what might contribute to influence different views on refugees. We are seeking all non-refugees people living in Norway to participate in the study. Participation is voluntary and involves answering the questions in the questionnaire, which will take approximately 10-15 minutes. It is important to give honest answers. No responses are wrong. No ID-information will be saved, not will answers be revealed at the individual level. All results will be analysed at a group level. You provide your consent to participate in the study by clicking “Finish” at the last page. After you have sent in your answers you do not have the opportunity to view, correct, delete or receive a print of the information you have given. This is because all information will be anonymised, so that we do not have the access to find your response. This ensures your anonymity! If you have any questions regarding the survey, please contact me at lenezaa@gmail.com

Who is a refugee?

According to the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UD), a refugee is someone who fulfils the requirements to receive protection (asylum) in Norway. “A person will be granted a residence permit as a refugee in Norway if he or she, 1) has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her ethnicity, origin, skin colour, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political views, or 2) faces a real risk of being subjected to the death penalty, torture or other inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment if he or she has to return to his/her home country. Best regards, Lene Z. Aamodt (Master’s student in psychology) and supervisor Timo Lajunen (professor in psychology), at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU).

General information

This first part consists of some general questions. Please check the appropriate box.

1. Gender

- Female
- Male

2. How old are you?

- 16-20
- 21-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51-60
- 61-70
- 71-80
- 81-90
- 91-100

3. Where do you live?

- Klepp municipality
- Time municipality
- Neither

4. Please check the appropriate box (you may check several).

- Volunteer at Klepp volunteer centre
- Student at an upper secondary school
- None of the alternatives above
- Volunteer or employee at Red Cross, reception centre, or similar

5. What kind of education do you have?

- Lower secondary school
- Upper secondary school
- University (one-year or bachelor)
- University (Master or PhD)
- None

6. If comparing yourself to other Norwegians, how do you consider your economic situation?

- Bad / below the average
- Ok / at the average

- Good / above the average
7. Which political party would you vote for in a municipality-/region-/state election today?
- Høyre (H)
- Fremskrittspartiet (FRP)
- Senterpartiet (SP)
- Arbeiderpartiet (AP)
- Kristelig Folkeparti (KRF)
- Sosialistisk Venstreparti (SV)
- Folkeaksjonen Nei til mer bompenger (FNB)
- Miljøpartiet De Grønne (MDG)
- Venstre (V)
- Rødt (R)
- Not voting
8. Which of the following religions do you identify with?
- Buddhism
- Christianity
- Islam
- Hinduism
- Judaism
- Another religion
- No religion
9. Please indicate in which degree religion and politics are important to you, from 1 (not very important) to 5 (very important).
- In which degree is politics important to you?
 - In which degree is religion important to you?

Contact with refugees

In this part, we ask about your contact and experience with refugees. Please check the appropriate box, and answer as honest as you can. No answers are wrong. (On a scale from 1 = not at all to 7 = very much.)

10. How much contact do you have with refugees?
- How much contact do you have with refugees at school/work?
 - How much contact do you have with refugees as neighbours?

- How much contact do you have with refugees as close friends?
 - How often have you engaged in informal conversation with refugees?
 - How often have you visiting the home of refugees?
 - How often have refugees visited your home?
11. Please think of your contact with refugees. If you have not had any contact with refugees at all, you may check the box for “no experience”. In which degree have you experienced the contact with refugees as ...
- ... equal? (1 = definitely not to 7 = definitely yes)
12. ... involuntary or voluntary? (1 = definitely involuntary to 7 = definitely voluntary)
13. ... superficial or intimate? (1 = very superficial to 7 = very intimate)
14. ... competitive or cooperative? (1 = very competitive to 7 = very cooperative)
15. ... pleasant? (1 = not at all to 7 = very)
- ... an opportunity to become friends? (1 = not at all to 7 = very)
 - ... acceptable for others (friends, family, etc.)? (1 = not at all to 7 = very)
16. Please think about your experience with refugees.
- On average, how frequently do you have negative/bad contact with refugees?
 - On average, how frequently do you have positive/good contact with refugees?

What are your thoughts on refugees?

In this part, we ask about your opinions on refugees. Please answer as honest as you can. No answers are wrong.

17. Please check the box which is closest to the statement you agree with (from 1 to 7), concerning the following pair of statements.
- Refugees are welcome in Norway // Refugees are not welcome in Norway
 - Refugees are a waste of time, money and space // Refugees are not a waste of time, money and space
 - Refugees just pretend to need help // Refugees do not pretend to need help
 - Refugees are too dangerous to have in Norway // Refugees are not dangerous to have in Norway
 - Refugees are our problem // Refugees are not our problem
 - Refugees are able to integrate into our society // Refugees are unable to integrate into our society
 - Refugees need to go back to where they come from // Refugees should not have to go back to where they come from

18. Please indicate, in which degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (On a scale from 1= not at all, to 7 = absolutely)
- Refugees need help, however there are people in our country who need the help more.
 - Refugees should return to their country once safe to do so.
 - Refugees should only come to Norway if they don't have a criminal history.
 - Refugees are okay as long as we don't take in too many of them.
 - Refugees might struggle to integrate into our system.
 - Refugees are more likely to fit in if they can speak Norwegian.
 - Refugees should be allowed into our country, but after immigrants coming for work, education, or other reasons.
 - Refugees can enter our country as long as they abide our laws.

19. Please indicate, in which degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (scaled 1 = totally agree, 2 = somewhat agree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = totally disagree)

- Most refugees misuse the social welfare system
- Most refugees enrich the cultural life in Norway
- Most refugees are a source to unsafeness in Norway
- All refugees should have the same rights to work as Norwegians

20. To persons discuss possible consequences of having refugees coming to Norway from foreign cultures. Who do you agree the most with, A or B?

- A says: Refugees contribute to cultural diversity in Norway, with exciting new food, music, art, etc.
- B says: Refugees' way to live is not compatible with Norwegians' way to live. The foreign customs are inconvenience to the environment and might become a threat against Norwegian culture.
- Unable to choose.

21. Who do you agree the most with when it comes to refugees, A or B?

- A says: Refugees wish to exploit our social welfare system and benefit from goods they have not contributed to create.
- B says: Refugees are competent and hardworking people who can perform valuable contributions to Norwegian economy and work life.
- C: Unable to choose.

22. Which of the statements below is most compatible with your view of how Norway should act regarding refugees?
- A: We need to do everything we can to take in more refugees in Norway.
 - B: Instead of taking in refugees in Norway, we should use resources to help them in their own country or other countries close by.
 - C: We cannot afford to use so much money on helping refugees as long as we have many unresolved tasks here in Norway.
23. Should refugees' and asylum seekers' entry to residence in Norway be ...
- A: easier?
 - B: more difficult?
 - C: like today?

Values

In this last part, we ask about what is important values in your life. It is no longer about refugees, but about your opinions. (Scaled 1 = Very much like me, 2 = like me, 3 = somewhat like me, 4 = a little like me, 5 = not like me, 6 = not like me at all) (reversed scales)

24. Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and think about how much each person is or is not like you.
- Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him/her. He/she likes to do things in his/her own original way.
 - It is important to him/her to be rich. He/she wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.
 - He/she thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He/she believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.
 - It is important to him/she to show his/her abilities. He/she wants people to admire what he/she does.
 - It is important to him/her to live in secure surroundings. He/she avoids anything that might endanger his/her safety.
 - He/she likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He/she things it is important to do lots of different things in life.
 - He/she believes that people should do what they are told. He/she thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no one is watching.
 - It is important to him/her to listen to people who are different from him/her. Even when he/she disagrees with them, he/she still wants to understand them.

- It is important to him/her to be humble and modest. He/she tries not to draw attention to himself.
- Having a good time is important to him/her. He/she likes to “spoil” himself/herself.
- It is important to him/her to make his/her own decisions about what he/she does. He/she likes to be free and not depend on others.
- It is very important to him/her to help the people around him/her. He/she wants to care for their well-being.
- Being very successful is important to him/her. He/she hopes people will recognize his/her achievements.
- It is important to him that the government ensures his safety against threats. He/she wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.
- He/she looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He/she wants to have an exciting life.
- It is important to him/her always to behave properly. He/she wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.
- It is important to him/her to get respect from others. He/she wants people to do what he/she says.
- It is important to him/her to be loyal to his/her friends. He/she wants to devote himself/herself to people close to him/her.
- He/she strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him/her.
- Tradition is important to him/her. He/she tries to follow the custom handed down by his/her religion or his/her family.
- He/she seeks every chance he/she can to have fun. It is important to him/she to do things that give him/her pleasure.

25. Lastly, we have one question regarding your background.

- In which degree do you identify with an ethnic minority in Norway? (From 1 = not at all, to 5 = very much)

Thank you for taking the survey!

