

Social psychological explorations of majority integration attitudes, group boundaries, and diversity ideologies in Norway

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General summary

This thesis explores Norwegian majority members' role in incorporating and integrating immigrant minorities from a broad social psychological perspective on intergroup relations. It consists of four studies which investigate changing symbolic boundaries of immigrants and the majority as reflected in media discourse, and majority members' attitudes toward proactively incorporating immigrant minorities. These different studies aim to develop better understandings of how immigrant minorities may be included or excluded from the perspective of Norwegian majority members. Beyond the Norwegian context, this thesis also aims to complement existing intergroup relations theory and research within different social psychological traditions.

Relatively recent patterns of migration have led to the establishment of various immigrant groups in the Scandinavian country of Norway. These developments have presented multiple challenges, not only for migrants and their descendants, but also for majority members and institutions as the country has become increasingly socially, culturally, linguistically and religiously diverse. A number of Norwegian social scientists have offered theoretical accounts and conducted empirical investigations that have advanced knowledge concerning different aspects of the Norwegian majority's role in including and interacting with new immigrant minorities. However, few have approached these issues from the perspective taken in this thesis, that of social psychology and intergroup relations.

Internationally, many social psychologists have focused on the psychological roots of majority prejudice toward outgroups and/or upon improving intergroup relations. These studies have tended to examine the psychological origins of outgroup prejudice and majority prejudice reduction, or attitudes toward minority acculturation strategies which seemingly influence inclusion/exclusion of minority groups. Traditionally oriented studies such as these are essential to understand present intergroup relations and potentially improve them. However, other social psychological perspectives also suggest that additional theoretical focus and empirical studies are required to better understand the majority's role in multicultural societies. The present thesis proposes that placing greater emphasis on different aspects of diversity ideologies within a general levels of analysis framework may enhance some of these perspectives. In particular, it examines the majority's dominant position involving the construction of symbolic group boundaries at the macro level as reflected in public discourse,

and investigates majority members' attitudes toward their own potential proactive efforts at the micro and meso levels in order to realize integration.

Three empirical papers and a comparative review of two previous studies are summarized. Paper I explores the changing nature of symbolic group boundaries between immigrant minorities and the Norwegian majority in media discourse and discusses the potential consequences these developments might have for inclusion/exclusion of immigrant minorities. Paper II describes the developments and validation of the Majority Integration Efforts scale (MIE) that measures majority attitudes toward their own potential proactive role in the social inclusion of immigrants. Paper III continues research using the MIE scale and addresses how intergroup perception variables, including perceived outgroup entitativity and counter-stereotypic portrayals of a currently dominant immigrant representation identified in Paper I, may influence majority members' willingness to play a proactive role in integration. Finally, utilizing a selection of search terms reported in Paper I in addition to several additional expressions, Paper IV discusses how group boundary changes at the macro-level might inform present understandings of pressure to develop ethnic social identities as reflected in the meso-level negotiation of immigrant youth's ethnic identities.

List of papers

Paper I

Phelps, J. M., Blakar, R. M., Carlquist, E., Nafstad, H. E., & Rand-Hendriksen, K. (2012). Ideological boundary developments in the Norwegian multicultural society: A longitudinal study of public discourse. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 22, 187-205.

Paper II

Phelps, J. M., Eilertsen, D. E., Türken, S., & Ommundsen, R. (2011). Integrating immigrant minorities: Developing a scale to measure majority members' attitudes toward their own proactive efforts. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 52, 404-410.

Paper III

Phelps, J. M., Ommundsen, R., Türken, S., & Ulleberg P. (in press). Intergroup perception and proactive majority integration attitudes. *Social Psychology*.

Paper IV

Phelps, J. M. & Nadim, M. (2010). Ideology and agency in ethnic identity negotiation of immigrant youth. *Papers on Social Representations*, 19, 13.1-13.27.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Overview

In today's globalized world 'Western' nations are currently witnessing a new, unprecedented wave of migration. Groups of people with distinctly different cultural and religious backgrounds, and with relatively little prior experience of extended intergroup contact or interaction, have suddenly been brought closer together leading to increasing cultural complexity (Eriksen, 2007; Moghaddam, 2008; Putnam, 2007). This movement seems to have changed everyday life, not just for immigrants and their descendants as they adapt to a new society and culture, but also for so-called majority members in receiving nations.

This thesis applies concepts and methods from social psychology in order to investigate particular aspects of these developments for majority members in the Scandinavian country of Norway. Since the late 1960's, Norway has been transformed from a relatively homogenous to an increasingly multicultural society due to work-related immigration, asylum seeking, and family reunification (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2008). A number of Norwegian social scientists ranging from anthropologists (Eriksen, 2007; Gullestad, 2006), sociologists (Brochmann, 2008; Vassenden, 2010, Vassenden & Anderssen, 2011), linguists (Lane, 2009), and political scientists (Hagelund, 2003) have attempted to shed light on the Norwegian majority and social issues associated with including immigrants. However, few have approached it from the perspective of social psychology and intergroup relations. This thesis draws upon multiple strands of contemporary social psychology in order to better investigate different factors involved in majority members' role in incorporating immigrant minorities. It adopts a general 'levels of analysis' framework that stresses the importance of theorizing and empirically investigating both diversity ideologies and intergroup attitudes. The four papers summarized in this thesis also reflect both the applied social issue-based and psycho-linguistic strands that have historically characterized Norwegian social psychology (Nafstad & Blakar, 1982; Ommundsen & Teigen, 2005).

Internationally, traditional social psychologists studying intergroup relations have focused mainly upon the psychological origins of majority prejudice toward outgroups and/or upon improving intergroup relations through the reduction of prejudice or intergroup bias (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009; Paluck & Green, 2009; Tropp & Mallett, 2011; Wright &

Baray, 2012). These studies have aimed at understanding and explaining factors that influence outgroup prejudice such as personality, right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance (Sibley & Duckitt, 2008), social categorization and identity (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007; Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), or establishing the optimal conditions for intergroup contact (Dixon, 2001; Hodson, 2011). Attitudes toward multiculturalism and minority acculturation strategies such as integration, assimilation, and separation have also received attention (Bourhis, M^oise, Perreault, & Sen^ecal, 1997; Breugelmans & van de Vivjer, 2004; Brown & Zagefka, 2011). Taken together, these perspectives have produced a formidable body of theoretical and empirical knowledge illustrating different factors related to majority members' negative outgroup attitudes, how to change them, and occasionally how they may be related to societal ideologies. Yet, in this thesis I propose that additional theoretical focus and empirical studies are required from social psychological perspectives to better understand the majority's role in multicultural societies both generally and in Norway specifically. I thus aim to contribute to emerging social psychological research which attempts to focus more explicitly on majority members, moving beyond a traditional focus on prejudice (Dixon & Levine, 2012; Tropp & Mallett, 2011) in a number of ways.

First, I have attempted to incorporate the arguments of social psychologists who contend that an understanding of societal ideologies, or the macro level, should be better integrated in theoretical and empirical work (e.g., Augoustinos, Walker, & Donaghue, 2006; Billig, 1991, 1997; Deaux, 2006; Doise, 1986; Nafstad, Blakar, Carlquist, Phelps, & Rand-Hendriksen, 2007). Papers I and IV have thus been framed by an explicit attempt to better understand how diversity ideologies as reflected in the media might shape symbolic boundaries between majority and immigrant minority members. Group boundaries are fundamental to all studies of intergroup relations. When internalized by individuals through social interaction, group boundaries lead to the establishment of social categories which distinguish between "us" and "them" and thus serve as the foundations for intergroup attitudes and perceptions, and social identities. However, boundaries, and how they may be shaped by language and diversity ideologies are seldom explicitly investigated in social psychology. Paper I describes the potential ideological framing of symbolic boundaries between majority and immigrant minority members as suggested by linguistic developments in media discourse from 1984-2010.

Second, the majority's role in including immigrant minorities has mostly been theorized and investigated by traditional social psychologists as passive, and predominantly been concerned with describing, explaining and potentially reducing majority members' negative attitudes or bias toward outgroups (e.g., Dovidio, Saguy, Gaertner, & Thomas, 2012; Wright & Baray, 2012). Hence strategies aimed at improving intergroup relations from majority members' perspective are rooted in changing majority members' prejudiced views toward outgroups or introducing re-categorization schemes to reduce ingroup bias. Another paradigm, the acculturation framework, which in theory conceptualizes the majority's role as more active, has led to little empirical research which actually assesses this role beyond support or preferences for immigrant acculturation strategies. Combined, a 'blind spot' in traditional social psychological approaches concerning intergroup relations may be reflected in the lack of empirical investigations of more active efforts of the majority to accommodate immigrants.

Papers II and III explore majority members' attitudes toward structural and cultural integration efforts that proactively include immigrant minorities, including a variety of social psychological factors that may influence these attitudes. Complementing traditional studies, but attempting to move beyond prejudice reduction and a focus merely on tolerance, Paper II presents the development and validation of the Majority Integration Efforts (MIE) psychometric scale which assesses majority members' attitudes toward their own group's potential proactive role in the integration of immigrant minorities. This paper also examines the relationship between the MIE construct and personality (Big 5 factors) and social attitude variables (global identity, right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation). Paper III continues research on MIE attitudes. It investigates the relationship between proactive integration attitudes and intergroup perception variables involving endorsement of counter-stereotypical portrayals of immigrants, perceived outgroup entitativity, and meta-perceptions along the warmth/competence appraisal dimensions. In assessing these variables as potential predictors of MIE attitudes, in particular those of perceived immigrant outgroup entitativity and endorsement of counter-stereotypic information, it also examines MIE attitudes in light of findings in Paper I concerning the emergence of a more homogenous and potentially stereotypical representation of 'non-Western' immigrants in Norwegian media.

Finally, Paper IV attempts to illustrate how a comparison and re-analysis of two previously conducted studies at different levels of investigation (macro and meso) may

enhance understandings of inclusion/exclusion in relation to social ethnic identities. It combines observed developments in Norwegian media language from 1984-2005 derived mainly from the analysis conducted in Paper I with Nadim's (2005) focus group discussions with immigrant youth. This re-examination of ideology (as reflected in media) and agency (as reflected in discussions on ethnic identity) aims to highlight that imperative pressure involved in the development of social identities, stemming from the dominant majority, is more complex than previously indicated through the imperative/contractual social identity dichotomy used by social representations theorists.

Using the emerging Norwegian multicultural society as a case, this thesis examines different facets of the majority's role in incorporating and integrating immigrant minorities at different levels. Papers I-IV are admittedly diverse and engage with different theoretical perspectives. However, they remain constant in the study and application of the majority's ideological role in including or excluding immigrant minorities. Different methods ranging from language change analysis, scale construction and survey research are used and developed. As a consequence of this broad focus, several particular research questions are explored and addressed in the different papers. Yet, as an integrated body of work, they have the same central underlying themes and interrelated aims which are detailed below.

1.2 Research focus and aims

As mentioned, this thesis first aims to explore different aspects of the majority's role in intergroup relations in Norway within a general levels of analysis framework. It takes the emerging Norwegian multicultural¹ context as a starting point to shed light on how Norwegian majority members may or may not incorporate immigrant minorities either linguistically via symbolic boundaries in media or through the endorsement of proactive integration attitudes. Chapter 2 introduces the Norwegian context and describes social scientific investigations which help provide an understanding of the Norwegian majority's position within the 'new' multicultural society.

The present studies also aim to produce knowledge that may contribute toward current understandings of the majority's role more generally within the social psychological field of intergroup relations. As the dominant actors in 'receiving' multicultural societies, majority

¹ Note that 'multicultural' may be used both descriptively to denote culturally diverse societies and normatively as the liberal ideological policy (i.e. multiculturalism) to address cultural diversity through tolerance and recognition of identities.

members inevitably find themselves in an advantaged power position to construct group similarities and differences (i.e. ingroup/outgroup distinctions), and affect how immigrant minority groups are encouraged to adapt in increasingly complex ways (e.g., Eriksen, 2007; Gullestad, 2006; Moghaddam, 2008). Chapter 3 introduces a general levels of analysis theoretical framework used for investigating the majority's dominant role in the current investigations. Then, two distinct lines of work on the social psychological investigation of majority members that have been developed in the current studies are presented separately. The first line suggests that social psychologists should pay more theoretical and empirical attention to the development of symbolic boundaries in media discourse, and how they may be framed by diversity ideologies of inclusion/exclusion at the macro level. The second claims that the majority's own potential responsibility to adapt to immigrants themselves should be (better) investigated at the meso and micro levels. The key concepts of ideology, symbolic boundaries, and majority integration efforts attitudes are also described. Chapter 3 concludes by surveying social psychological research that claims to investigate ideologies and intergroup attitudes from the majority's perspective. This section aims to serve as a precursor to developing ways to better integrate the diverse social psychological perspectives and novel empirical studies presented in this thesis, which occurs in Chapter 6 (see below). Following this theoretical chapter, Papers I-IV are briefly summarized in Chapter 4.

A third aim of this thesis is to conduct new empirical investigations involving majority members in intergroup relations research. Therefore, Chapter 5 summarizes the two predominant methods in the present studies, (1) the analysis of language change to examine symbolic group boundary changes in media discourse and (2) construction and validation of a new attitudinal scale to measure the idea that majority members should actively accommodate their own way of life in order to better integrate immigrants.

Finally, following a long tradition within social psychology which aims to improve intergroup relations (e.g., Pettigrew, 2008; Tajfel, 1982; Wagner, Tropp, Finchilescu, & Tredoux, 2008) the empirical studies in this thesis were originally designed in light of an idealistic fourth aim to understand better ways of fostering integration and social inclusion between majority and immigrant minority members at multiple levels. This aim lies implicit throughout the thesis summary and each of the four papers, but is also discussed in Chapter 6. This chapter first briefly accounts for particular critique directed toward the two distinct lines of work separately. Then, I reflect upon how to better unite the different lines of work within a

levels of analysis framework and in light of the key features of ideology and intergroup attitudes research presented at the end of Chapter 3. This final chapter thus predominantly focuses upon how the different approaches taken in this thesis may be better integrated in new developments which may advance current knowledge on the relationship between diversity ideologies and majority members' proactive integration attitudes. While, I ultimately adopt a pessimistic stance on whether and how the current studies viewed separately may be used to improve intergroup relations, I conclude by suggesting that new studies combining these different perspectives may make valuable theoretical and empirical contributions in the future.

2. Background

The present chapter contextualizes the four studies by discussing the Norwegian context and summarizing some social scientific perspectives that investigate Norwegian majority members' relationship to immigrant minorities. It then highlights the relative absence of social psychology in Norwegian research on the majority.

2.1 The Norwegian context

There are presently 655,000 inhabitants (13.1 percent of the population) classified as immigrants or descendants of immigrants living in Norway (Statistics Norway, 2012). These people have migrated due to work-related, humanitarian, educational, or family reasons. As a receiving nation, Norway is considered a relative late-comer in the 'new' migration that started in the late 1960s with Pakistani labour migrants and "introduced a new complexity to Norwegian society in terms of values, religious affiliations, ethnicity, languages and lifestyles (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2008, p.13)." In comparison to the total immigrant population of other Western countries, Norway's immigrant population is relatively low to average (The Directorate of Integration and Diversity, 2010; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2010). However, the steady increase of immigrants is currently at its highest level in the country's history (Thorud, Haagensen, & Jørud, 2010) despite policies aimed toward restricting immigration (Brochmann, 2008; Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2008; Hagelund, 2003).

Apart from Swedes, Danes, and Germans, some of the largest immigrant groups were until recently, recognized as 'non-Western' and include two of the three largest groups, Poles

and Pakistanis, followed by people from Somalia, Iraq, Lithuania, and Vietnam (Statistics Norway, 2012). These groups have been changing throughout the present investigations. For example, Pakistanis used to be the largest group in Norway, but have now been replaced by Poles. It is also noteworthy that the largest groups of ‘second-generation immigrants’² come from predominantly ‘non-Western’ countries (Pakistan, Iraq, Somalia, Vietnam). Thus, European immigrants who make up a sizable portion of Norway’s immigrant population have not currently established themselves for a generation and/or have returned to their country of origin, in contrast to many ‘non-Western’ immigrants. It could therefore be suggested that investigations of majority members’ role in the long-term incorporation of immigrant minorities should focus upon these established groups. In the present studies on integration attitudes, these factors have been taken into consideration, as we have mainly focused on ‘non-Western’ immigrants who have permanently settled in Norway.

There are other factors apart from the demographic make-up of Norway’s immigrant population that make it an interesting case. The Norwegian welfare state has been ranked as one of the most developed nations in the world (United Nations Development Programme, 2010) and is supposedly based upon social equality, justice, and solidarity principles which potentially provide a ‘safety-net’ to better include disadvantaged immigrant minorities. Principles associated with liberal multiculturalism stressing equal rights and opportunities, and inclusion, have been recommended by Norwegian authorities to support and manage diversity (Akkerman & Hagelund, 2007; Thorud, Haagensen, & Jølstad, 2010). Similar to many other Western contexts (Eriksen, 2007; Penninx, 2003), integration is stressed in present-day rhetoric as the practical policy or ‘end-goal’ of immigrant adaptation (Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 2004). Moreover, “mutuality” was (and still is) a term highlighted as key to fostering intergroup relations (Ringen, 2005), which is also central in the EU definition of integration (Commission of the European Committees, 2007).

The multicultural transition has had an undeniable effect on Norwegian majority members’ conceptualizations of themselves and immigrant minorities (Gullestad, 2006; Vassenden, 2010) and their own notions of their welfare society (Brochmann, 2008). The general population report tolerant attitudes and acceptance of diversity, but have nonetheless become increasingly sceptical concerning whether or not current integration is functioning, and are increasingly in favour of restricting the number of immigrants entering the country

² Now classified as ‘Norwegian-born to immigrant parents’ (Statistics Norway, 2012).

(Blom, 2010a; The Directorate of Integration and Diversity, 2010). Gullestad (2006) proposed that a strengthening of the dominant representation of immigrants as a 'non-White', 'non-Western', and increasingly homogenous group in Norway has emerged, coupled with a 'new' racism amongst ethnic Norwegians which constructs group belongingness using notions of descent (see also Papers I and IV). In addition, around half of the immigrants surveyed in a large-scale assessment of immigrant living conditions reported experiencing discrimination (Blom & Henriksen, 2009). A recent field experiment also found evidence of discrimination of ethnic minorities in Norwegian employment processes (Midtbøen & Rogstad, 2012). Meanwhile, Brochmann (2008) suggests that Norwegian majority members and authorities may especially view asylum seekers and family members of mainly 'non-Western' immigrants as a threat to their society. She attributes this to dilemmas between concerns for the national economy and humanitarian responsibilities which currently characterize welfare societies such as Norway. Finally, the mass media has been a key arena in which multicultural issues are negotiated and debated in the Norwegian public sphere (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance [ECRI], 2009; Lane, 2009; Vassenden, 2010). The media has also been criticized for upholding immigrant stereotypes and not reporting more nuanced information about immigrants and their adaptation in Norwegian society (The Directorate of Integration and Diversity, 2009; ECRI, 2009).

Taken together, these studies highlight potential tensions and dilemmas in the Norwegian multicultural society between majority members and 'non-Western' immigrant minorities. Nonetheless, Norwegian attitudes toward immigrants and immigration are generally considered among the most 'immigrant-friendly' in comparison with other European nations (Blom, 2010b). According to a government-funded integration study, immigrants in Norway are also employed to a greater extent than in other Western countries (The Directorate of Integration and Diversity, 2010, p. 51-52). Moreover, in spite of its critique of Norwegian media and other institutions, the ECRI (2009) study was also positive toward how Norwegian institutions have aimed to combat racism and discrimination.

Relatively few Norwegian social psychological studies on intergroup relations have been concerned with these issues and dilemmas for majority members. Several have focused upon majority members' attitudes or prejudice toward 'non-Western' immigrant outgroups (Bratt, 2005) or in relation to illegal immigration (e.g., Ommundsen & Larsen, 1997; Ommundsen, Mörch, Hak, Larsen, & van der Veer, 2002; van der Veer, Ommundsen,

Krumov, Le, & Larsen, 2008). There has also been a tradition both within and critiquing the acculturation paradigm concerning immigrant adaptation strategies (e.g., Oppedal, Røysamb, & Sam, 2004; Rudmin, 2003; Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001; Sam 2000). However, these approaches have not directly assessed Norwegian majority members' own acculturation attitudes. Nonetheless, a common thread which links these studies is the tradition of applied research using self-report measures to assess and describe attitudes. Papers II and III are thus reflections and continuations of this line of work. As I shall now discuss in Chapter 3, this tradition, as well as the psycho-linguistic strand of Norwegian social psychology may make valuable contributions to better understanding the Norwegian majority's role in incorporating immigrant minorities in its emerging multicultural context.

3. Theoretical frameworks and concepts

This chapter aims to describe the different foundations upon which the diverse empirical studies summarized in this thesis are based. It first presents a rationale for a general 'levels of analysis' framework that has guided attempts to link the two different research strands (psycho-linguistic and applied attitude) in this thesis. It then elaborates upon the main social psychological traditions which have influenced the four empirical studies. The key concepts of ideology and diversity ideologies, group boundaries, and majority integration attitudes are also described. This chapter concludes by describing different ways in which social psychologists have understood and investigated the general relationship between societal ideologies and intergroup attitudes from the majority's point of view. By illustrating four distinct features of contemporary social psychological research it aims to establish a basis for integrating the two distinct lines of work presented in this thesis.

3.1 A levels of analysis framework for addressing the majority's role in intergroup relations research

This thesis adopts a general 'levels of analysis' framework for analysing and investigating Norwegian majority members' position in an emerging multicultural society. Levels of analysis models have been employed in intergroup relations research to account for immigration, prejudice and anti-immigration bias, social power and social identity (Brauer & Bourhis, 2006; Côté & Levine, 2002; Deaux, 2006; Duckitt, 1992; Verkuyten, 2005a; Wagner, Christ, & Heitmeyer, 2010; Wright & Baray, 2012). Although there exists

considerable differentiation in number of and recommendations for how levels are interrelated and should be linked, one clear advantage of all such models is that they provide a non-reductionistic representation and organizing heuristic for explaining the complex interrelationship between individuals and society (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Doise, 1986; Hewstone, 1997; Pettigrew, 1997; Verkuyten, 2005a). These representations may also provide a needed common ground for diverse social psychologists and may be used as a framework to aspire to in the integration of divergent theoretical and methodological perspectives (Augoustinos, Walker, & Donaghue, 2006). Thus, as this thesis aims to incorporate different traditions that investigate the majority's point of view, a levels of analysis framework provides a useful starting point.

In the context of current majority-immigrant minority relations, Deaux (2006, p. 4), building upon Pettigrew's (1997) model of social structure and personality, suggests that social psychological accounts of immigration may benefit from adopting a general framework based upon three levels of analyses, the macro (social structure), meso (social interaction), and micro (individual). While Deaux and Pettigrew consider the meso level to be the primary area for social psychological contributions (see also Esses, Deaux, Lalonde, & Brown, 2010), they advocate that understanding the micro and macro levels is nevertheless essential for analysis and explanation of theory and research. As an example, Deaux (2006) highlights how an immigrant's lived experience in a new society is directly affected by (1) structural factors (macro) such as immigration policy, demographic patterns and shared social representations of immigrants held by majority members, (2) interactional factors (meso) such as the types of networks and social interactions in which immigrants participate, but also majority members' attitudes about policy and immigrants and group stereotypes they meet in these interactions, and (3) individual factors (micro) such as immigrants' own attitudes, acculturation strategies, values, and identities.

The different lines of research in this thesis aim to appropriate central aspects highlighted by Deaux's (2006) general framework to the study of majority members apart from several notable exceptions. The present studies and framework emphasise ideology as the key concept to understand and articulate the macro level, thus sharing a similarity with other levels models (i.e. Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Doise, 1986, see below). Moreover, this thesis also sets out to empirically investigate the macro level as opposed to merely explaining it through the 'rendering the social context' approach which is predominantly applied in

Deaux's (2006) framework. Another difference is that social representations are conceptualized primarily as phenomena that link the macro and meso levels.

The current studies are thus concerned with investigating and analysing the different levels by focusing predominantly upon diversity ideologies and symbolic boundaries (macro level) and proactive integration attitudes (meso and micro levels) respectively. Papers I and IV aim to explicitly locate and investigate diversity ideologies within the macro level by examining symbolic boundaries via shared and changing patterns of media discourse. Meanwhile, Papers II and III aim to investigate intergroup attitudes at the meso and micro levels concerning majority members' attitudes toward their own potential proactive role in integration (majority integration efforts) and their relationship to other dispositional, intergroup, and ideological phenomena.

3.2 Social psychological perspectives on language, ideology, and the majority

Papers I and IV aimed at developing a better understanding of the macro level, have in part drawn upon the psycho-linguistic tradition in Norwegian social psychology (Blakar, 1973/2006, 1979; Nafstad & Blakar, 1982; Nafstad et al., 2007; Ommundsen & Teigen, 2005; Rommetveit, 1968, 1974, 1992; Rommetveit & Blakar, 1979; Wold, 1992). They are based in the rationale that language usage as understood within its cultural and historical contexts is one of the most important connections between the individual and society. These papers were designed under the auspices of the Oslo Ideology Project (Nafstad & Blakar, 2002) which has attempted to establish an empirical research program investigating media language usage over time as indicators of societal ideologies and hence, the macro level (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Doise, 1986). Outside of Norwegian social psychology, these papers also draw upon traditions that emphasise ideology, language and rhetoric (Augoustinos et al., 2006; Billig, 1991; Billig 1996) and everyday knowledge and shared social representations (Duveen, 2000; Jovechelovitch, 2007; Marková, 2003; Moscovici, 2000) as central to social psychological investigation. I now describe how attempting to consider the concept of ideology has both directly and indirectly informed the different investigations in this thesis and lead to an explicit focus upon the majority's dominant role in incorporating immigrant minorities via symbolic boundaries.

3.2.1 The ideology concept

Ideology is a concept that elicits multiple meanings and one that has historically undergone quite a meaning shift on its way to becoming one of the most ‘elusive’ and contested concepts in the social sciences (Eagleton, 1991; McLellen, 1995; Thompson, 1990; van Dijk, 1998). Nonetheless, it is considered as a central, albeit misunderstood and neglected concept that ought to be brought into social psychology (e.g., Augoustinos et al., 2006; Billig, 1997; Doise, 1986; Nafstad et al., 2007). Thompson (1990, p. 2) suggests that the “tradition of reflection” around the concept is where its usefulness lies. That is, these traditions can provide a meaningful understanding of today’s “systematically asymmetrical” intergroup relations in multicultural societies, which will ideally enable social psychologists as well as other social scientists to better investigate and hopefully improve current relations between dominant majority members and immigrant minorities. *Ideology* is also considered useful in this thesis because it can help highlight the interrelationships between common sense (taken for granted knowledge), power relations, and representation, which characterize majority-immigrant minority relations in multicultural societies. I will now briefly discuss these three interrelated components.

First, ideology can be understood as the common sense knowledge of a society, which consists of shared ideas, but is not necessarily a coherent body of knowledge (Billig, 1991, 1997). Here, ideology may be related to the ‘universal’ tradition stemming from the sociology of knowledge (Mannheim, 1936) and social construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) which involves examining the taken for granted, socially constructed ideas (*Weltanschauungen*) in society. In this sense, ideology may be considered fundamental to human existence because certain shared ideas, such as how immigrants should adapt in a society or symbolic boundaries which construct social groups, seem to become widespread at particular points in time. Moreover, common sense serves to justify the organization or structure of a society and frames how individual members (should) interact with each other in everyday life.

However, if used only in this way, ideology risks losing its ‘critical edge’. Therefore, power, or more importantly domination, is considered a second central component of the

concept (McLellan, 1995; Thompson, 1990)³. That is, within social life shared ideas are used by certain groups or individuals to gain, maintain, or abuse power by dominating, legitimizing, or justifying existing social relations, but also alternatively proposing changes. Thus power and common sense are interrelated in that ideologies to a large extent become naturalized (Eagleton, 1991) and benefit or legitimize certain groups (e.g., majority members) often at the expense of others (e.g., immigrant minorities). In Thompson's (1990, p. 7) words, the connection of ideology as "meaning in the service of power":

"...requires us to investigate the ways in which meaning is constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms of various kinds, from everyday linguistic utterances to complex images and texts; it requires us to investigate the social contexts within which symbolic forms are employed and deployed; and it calls upon us to ask whether, and if so how, the meaning mobilized by symbolic form serves, in specific contexts, to establish and sustain relations of domination.... It calls upon us to study symbolic forms *in a certain light*: in the light of the structured social relations which their employment or deployment may serve, in specific circumstances, to create, nourish, support, and reproduce."

The third component of the ideology concept, representation, highlights that ideology(ies) is/are transmitted, reproduced, or negotiated throughout a society via shared social processes of symbolic representation (Thompson, 1990). Thus, as a social phenomenon, one of the main ways in which ideology may be identified and reflected is through language (e.g., Augoustinos et al., 2006; Billig, 1991; Nafstad et al., 2007; van Dijk, 1998). Moreover, people are constrained by ideology through what is explicitly said, or acceptable to say, but also through what is not said or brought into discourse (Billig 1995, 1996, 1999).

Seen in this light, ideology(ies) can be understood as patterns of 'common sense' discourse which exert hegemony over other plausible ways of constructing the world (Billig, 1991, 1996), and involve the use of meaning in the (re)production of asymmetrical power relations (Thompson, 1990). In other words, taken for granted representations shared by members of a society often benefit certain groups over others (i.e. the majority). Although these representations may also be contested (Augoustinos et al., 2006; Hall, 1985; van Dijk, 1998), one may assume that in current multicultural societies, dominant majority members

³ This aspect of the concept is usually linked to Marxist accounts, especially using the notion of 'false-consciousness' to indicate how the naturalization of ideology may obscure social reality. I do not explicitly use this notion in this thesis (but see e.g. Augoustinos, 1999; Eagleton, 1991; McLellan, 1995).

such as ethnic Norwegians have more ‘control’ over multicultural representations and common sense than immigrant minorities.

In light of technological advances associated with globalization, the mass-media’s role in transmitting and changing ideologies has also become increasingly important (Mutz, 1998; Mutz & Goldman, 2010; Thompson, 1990, 1995). Acknowledging this, some social psychologists have begun investigating media representations of majority and minority groups (e.g., Atuel, Seyranian, & Crano, 2007; Chamberlain & Hodgetts, 2008; Gardikiotis, Martin, & Hewstone, 2004; Nafstad, Phelps, Carlquist, & Blakar, 2005). Moreover, mass-media is a central arena of ideological influence on cultural diversity and immigration issues (e.g., Schlueter & Davidov, 2011; Siapera, 2010). While it is given relatively limited focus in social psychology (e.g., Chamberlain & Hodgetts, 2008; Mutz & Goldman, 2010), it has been suggested to have a role in reducing/exacerbating intergroup prejudice and conflict (Paluck, 2009) and as a ‘societal influence’ that may increase anti-immigration bias by portraying immigrants as an economic and/or political threat (Wagner et al., 2010).⁴ Hence, the mass-media’s role in both (re)producing group boundaries by framing majority and immigrant minority groups and negotiating adaptation strategies such as integration has been considered central to all studies in this thesis.

3.2.2 Diversity ideologies, symbolic group boundaries, and language

I suggest that a useful way to understand two key aspects of the majority’s role in present intergroup relations is by articulating its position in relation to *diversity ideologies*. As the dominant members in multicultural societies, the majority possesses a greater power to construct and legitimize group similarities and differences, and affect how immigrant minority groups adapt (Bourhis et al., 1997; Eriksen, 2007; Gullestad, 2006; Moghaddam, 2008). In this thesis, diversity ideologies are understood to involve common sense assumptions about group belongingness and intergroup interaction which are to a large degree shaped by majority members.

Diversity ideologies⁵ can therefore indicate a broad set of explicitly and implicitly taken for granted representations that guide understandings of social groups and adaptation in

⁴ It should also be noted that a rich discussion and theorization of the media’s role in the form of framing or priming has also been developed in the fields of communication and political science research (e.g., Chong & Druckman, 2007; de Vreese, 2012; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Wettstein, 2012; see also Chapter 6).

⁵ This thesis uses both the terms ‘diversity ideologies’ and ‘societal ideologies’. ‘Diversity ideologies’ refers to particular ‘historical’ societal ideologies that are dominant in contemporary multicultural societies.

multicultural societies. Moghaddam (2008) suggests a conceptualization along opposing poles which in ideal form advocate different policies for handling diversity regarding whether or not similarities (e.g., assimilation) or differences (e.g., multiculturalism) between groups are considered desirable. While this distinction might oversimplify the complexity of diversity ideologies, it is a useful starting point to understand that in multicultural societies, we are continually confronted with basic taken for granted assumptions about groups which are to a certain degree reflected in linguistic boundaries emphasising similarities and/or differences (see Paper I). As mentioned above, the mass-media plays an essential role in the ideological framing of cultural diversity. This has been aptly described by Siapara (2010):

All culturally diverse encounters are “more or less mediated—that is, not determined, but interactively (or for some dialectically) influenced by the dynamic associated with the media... Cultural diversity is (re)produced and distributed through the media, which construct and represent in certain ways, and which are in turn received and put to use by audiences.... While cultural diversity is historically and politically produced, the media reappropriate it, dislodge it from its original contexts and transform or “re Moor” it. In other words, the media resignify and attach certain meanings and significance to cultural diversity which then become entrenched and widely used (pp. 6-7).”

Although Siapara does not use the term ‘ideology’, this “re mooring” of symbolic representations in media at the macro level may be considered to influence assumptions about groups in everyday life by framing how and what symbolic boundaries are used to construct majority and immigrant minority groups and hence inclusion/exclusion practices such as integration. Diversity ideologies should therefore be considered as increasingly mediated by newspapers, television programs, and the Internet.

As Papers I and IV investigate the development of symbolic group boundaries in media language in light of diversity ideologies, articulating the relationship between group boundaries and ideology is also central to these studies. The use of the group boundary concept has been increasingly gaining in importance across the social sciences (Lamont & Molnár, 2002). It highlights that groups are socially constructed in relationship to each other (Barth, 1969; Jenkins, 2008; Verkuyten, 2005a). Boundaries may be rigid or permeable, as well as obscurely or very clearly indicated as they delimit groups from other groups at particular points in time (Eriksen, 2002). While boundaries between groups of people are pervasive across all cultures and a fundamental historical characteristic of human relations,

they are also culturally and historically contingent (Billig, 1995; Vadhver & Barrett, 2009). Therefore, boundaries can be understood to provide the markers for ingroup/outgroup distinctions where similarities and differences within and between groups are drawn or constructed (Lamont & Molnár, 2002). When internalized by individuals through social interaction, boundaries lead to the establishment of social categories which distinguish between “us” and “them” and thus serve as the foundations for intergroup attitudes and perceptions, and social identities.

In current, more traditionally oriented intergroup relations research, understanding processes involved in perceptions of group boundaries and their permeability are fundamental to understanding intergroup contact (Dixon, 2001), social identities (Ellemers, 1993; Huddy, 2001; Tajfel, 1982), and improving intergroup relations (Abrams, Hogg, & Marques, 2005; Dovidio et al., 2007; Tropp & Mallett, 2011). For example, the minimal group experiments indicated that even the most banal of constructed symbolic boundaries can lead to ingroup bias and outgroup discrimination (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). Expansions of social identity theory claim that perceptions of boundary permeability are considered to influence (often individual) identity enhancement and mobility strategies (Ellemers, Van Knippenberg, De Vries, & Wilke, 1988). Moreover, in the common ingroup identity model, the manipulation of boundaries is necessary in recategorization processes and the reduction of ingroup bias (Dovidio et al., 2009).

Papers I and IV focus upon symbolic boundaries, defined as “conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and time and space” (Lamont & Molnár, 2002; p. 168). The negotiation of symbolic boundaries can further be understood as occurring in the context of prior and potentially changing dominant and counter ideological positions, which are also connected to everyday rhetoric (Billig, 1996). Drawing upon Marková’s (2003) analysis of social knowledge, such positions have also been explained as social representations communicated dialogically within society (Jovchelovitch, 2007; Moscovici, 2000). The concept of social representation is thus useful in order to emphasize that certain shared linguistic markers of social categories can be potential psychological “mediators” between widespread ideological beliefs and individual thought and action (Augoustinos, 2001; Howarth, 2002, 2006; van Dijk, 1998), which guide, legitimize, or uphold group boundaries. Additionally, social representations also share certain similarities with intergroup attitudes as they possess an evaluative dimension relevant for social groups

(Augoustinos et al., 2006; Gaskell, 2001; Molinar & Tafani, 1997). Therefore, in the present framework social representations are considered predominantly to connect the macro and meso-levels as they are often conceived of as knowledge structures and a property of social groups transmitted via communicative and discursive processes in everyday life (e.g., Augoustinos et al., 2006; Gaskell, 2001; Scarbrough, 1990).

As indicated above, a focus on ideology suggests that there will be some representations (in this context, symbolic boundaries), which are more ingrained in common sense and that these may benefit certain groups over others. In multicultural contexts, symbolic boundaries are most often based upon inter-related and socially constructed aspects of history and culture, such as ethnicity, race/visibility, religion, or nationality (Gullestad, 2006; Jenkins, 2008). The words to describe groups based on these criteria can thus frame and influence individuals' intergroup perceptions and attitudes, and serve as the foundations for social identities (Lamont & Molnár, 2002). Augoustinos and Quinn (2003) demonstrated that the different social categorical labels used to describe 'unauthorized peoples' (illegal immigrant, asylum seeker, or refugee) influence the direction of our evaluations of certain groups (see also Ommundsen, Larsen & van der Veer, 2008). Meanwhile, Verkuyten and Thijs (2010) demonstrated that hybrid labels of immigrant minorities indicating membership in both the majority nation state and other origins led to more positive outgroup attitudes of majority members, especially those which supported multiculturalism. These examples illustrate that linguistic labels can function as ideological tools to construct, define, change or maintain group boundaries, which in turn affect how we perceive and evaluate immigrant outgroups. Hence, Papers I and IV empirically examine symbolic boundaries and ideologies by analysing the development of linguistic labels constructing immigrant minorities and majority members in media discourse.

3.3 Social psychological perspectives on majority members' intergroup attitudes

Papers II and III examine majority members' attitudes toward their own proactive role in integration. These studies thus attempt to assess an aspect of majority-immigrant minority relations that the following section will suggest has been neglected in current more traditional social psychological research. Attitudes are considered to provide insight on how individuals and groups evaluate social phenomena or objects (e.g., Augoustinos et al., 2006; Fazio & Petty, 2008; Maio & Haddock, 2010). While intergroup attitudes have been conceptualized at both the meso and micro levels (e.g., Deaux, 2006), they are most often assessed by taking the

individual as unit of analysis. There are two currently dominant social psychological perspectives, here labeled traditional and acculturation psychology which have been especially prominent in conceiving and investigating majority members' attitudes toward immigrant minority groups and or policies for addressing diversity.

Researchers within the traditional paradigm tend to describe how individual majority members perceive, evaluate, and respond to minorities, most often in a negative manner (e.g., Nelson, 2009; Pettigrew, 1998, 2008; Wright & Taylor, 2003). A number of individual and social factors that are related to negative or prejudiced majority attitudes toward immigrants such as right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, need for closure, direct and extended contact, cognitive abilities and Big 5 personality constructs (Akrami, Ekehammar, Bergh, Dahlstrand, & Malmsten, 2009; Hodson, 2011; Hodson & Busseri, 2012; Roets & Van Hiel, 2011; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008), as well as social categorization and collective identity (Dovidio et al., 2007) have been considered to have a particularly strong influence. Taken together these perspectives often assume that a better understanding of these factors can contribute toward the reduction of xenophobic attitudes and discrimination. Hence, much social psychological research within this tradition focuses on prejudice reduction (Tropp & Mallett, 2011), and "changing the hearts and minds" of majority members predominantly at the micro, but occasionally meso, level as a model for social change (Wright & Baray, 2012).

Prejudice reduction strategies often aim to transform negative intergroup attitudes and stereotypes and instead promote tolerance via positive intergroup contact (Dixon, 2001; Hodson, 2011; Paluck & Green, 2009) or by changing social categories and group boundaries to reduce intergroup bias (Gaertner et al., 1999; Mummenday & Wenzel, 1999). Yet, these (prejudice reduction) efforts implicitly or explicitly aimed at tolerance may be too passive and not sufficiently effective to produce long-lasting changes in order to improve the collective status of disadvantaged groups (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005, 2007; Dovidio et al., 2009, 2012; Lee & Jussim, 2010; Park & Judd, 2005; Wright & Baray, 2012). For example, these interventions could potentially constrain the possibility of initiating studies on actively showing respect or assuming a responsibility toward disadvantaged outgroups which some consider necessary in order for a complex and mutual integration process to succeed (Kymlicka, 2010; Penninx, 2003; van Quaquebeke, Henrich, & Eckloff, 2007).

Building upon this line of thought, there are a number of additional reasons why focusing implicitly or explicitly on tolerance may not be adequate for understanding and

investigating the majority's potential active role in incorporating immigrant minorities. First, a dominant meaning of the word "tolerance" refers to permitting, allowing, or "putting up with" something one dislikes or disapproves and rarely implies more than generic, and often begrudging, acceptance (Parekh, 2005). Although tolerance has traditionally and more recently received a positive slant in regards to intergroup relations and prejudice research (e.g., Allport, 1958; Livingston, 2011), the core meaning of acceptance suggests little in relation to (adjustment) action or behavior. For example, it would be perfectly reasonable to assume that in contexts dominated by *laissez-faire* multiculturalism⁶ or the Republican model (Siapera, 2010), that majority members could be very much in favour of tolerance but opposed to actively making accommodations to their own society and way of life (i.e. proactive integration developed below). Alternatively, it is also theoretically plausible that majority members may not tolerate aspects of immigrants' ways of life but at the same time be pragmatically in favour of active efforts in which they must accommodate in order to promote social cohesion.

A more specific social psychological critique highlights that when social psychologists study tolerance promotion it is usually through prejudice reduction efforts which concentrate predominantly upon negative intergroup attitudes (Tropp & Mallett, 2011). However, some recent studies suggest that positive intergroup attitudes may better (and differentially) predict positive behavior and behavioral intentions toward outgroups, thus providing further evidence that social psychologists may benefit from moving beyond tolerance (e.g., Pittinsky & Montoya, 2009; Pittinsky, Rosenthal, & Montoya, 2011a, b). Yet, even this recent focus on positive attitudes may still be limited in achieving goals of fostering social change leading to better equality among groups (Dixon & Levine, 2012; Stott, Drury, & Reicher, 2012; Wright & Baray, 2012). Some additional support 'against tolerance' may also be found in social scientific and philosophical critique concerning the limitations of tolerance (and liberal multiculturalism) for addressing social inequality (e.g., Mirchandani & Tastsoglou, 2000; Thompson, 2010; Žižek, 2008).

In light of these discussions on the limitation of tolerance, there appears to be a shift within social psychological research on intergroup relations currently described as moving beyond prejudice and/or prejudice reduction. These new developments suggest focusing more

⁶ Defined as "when a majority group tolerates minority cultures, but does not actively intervene to support or inhibit them" (Moghaddam, 1993, p. 736).

critically upon majority members (Plaut, 2010), on conflict, social (in)equality and change (Dixon & Levine, 2012) and the study of positive intergroup relations (Tropp & Mallett, 2011). Papers II and III were thus conceived of in this context as they aimed to focus empirical social psychological research on the majority beyond tolerance and prejudice reduction. Moreover, a more specific, but interrelated rationale for the present studies was that a disproportionate focus on these facets of intergroup relations has contributed to the fact that for the most part, social psychologists have ignored the potential active dimension of the majority's role in 'mutual accommodation' which is considered central to integration (e.g., Commission of the European Communities, 2007; Common Basic Principles [CBP], 2010; Penninx, 2003).

There is, however, a second social psychological paradigm that, in theory, should have had more to say in this regard. Acculturation perspectives have viewed majority members as central and dominant actors involved in mutual accommodation (Berry, 1997, 2006; Rudmin, 2003) and a process of bidirectional change (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004) with immigrant minorities. Empirical investigations of acculturation prioritize minority member preferences for four acculturation strategies. When assessing majority members, albeit infrequently, they tend to investigate which acculturation strategies majority members want or perceive immigrants to use when adjusting to a new society (Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdržálek, 2000; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zagefka, Brown, Broquard, & Martin, 2007; Zick, Wagner, van Dick, & Petzel, 2001). Moreover, the Interactive Acculturation Model, explicitly developed to account for majority acculturation ideologies and bidirectional change processes, frames majority members' attitudes toward integration and the other strategies as mainly the responsibility of minorities (Bourhis et al., 1997; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004). Thus, in each of these studies assessment of the majority's position seems limited to passively endorsing or not endorsing adaptation choices of immigrants.

In addition, an increasingly number of voices within and outside of acculturation psychology have pointed out substantial conceptual, epistemological, and methodological limitations (Bhatia & Ram, 2004; Boski, 2008; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Chirkov, 2009a, b; Kagitcibasi, 1997; Rudmin, 2003, 2008 a, b; Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001; Ward, 2008). These criticisms are of particular concern to the present studies for a number of reasons. First, the paradigm's conceptualization of integration has been described by Boski (2008, p. 143) as

consisting “of declared preferences for merging one’s life and for being functional in several domains of two cultural worlds identified by country/national labels” (see also Kagitcibasi, 1997; Rudmin, 2003). One consequence of this definition is that it leads to a predominantly micro level focus concerning an immigrant’s individual preferences for biculturalism in a particular domain or what majority members want immigrant minorities to prefer as an acculturation strategy in the same domains. Second, the idea that majority members’ culture may also change as a result of minorities has received little empirical attention (Rudmin, 2003). Third, there seem to be a number of problems involving the psychometric properties of the acculturation scales and hence what one may conclude from scores on the acculturation scales (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Rudmin, 2003, 2008a; Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001). This critique has led some to question whether much of the research generated within the acculturation paradigm is capable of providing knowledge on improving intergroup relations (Chirkov, 2009a, b; Rudmin, 2010)⁷.

Nonetheless within acculturation psychology there is a theoretical acknowledgment that majority members’ diversity ideologies and attitudes affect minority members’ acculturation strategies, and that majority members’ way of life may change in a mutual adaptation process (e.g., Bourhis et al., 1997). However, apart from a theoretical connection of openness to diversity and multicultural ideology to integration, in addition to the generation of psychometric scales on multiculturalism (e.g., Breugelmans & van de Vijver, 2004), which shall be mentioned and discussed below, the majority of research produced within this paradigm seemed to be limited for the aims of this thesis. Most explicitly, the aforementioned studies on acculturation possess a different concept of integration, questionable methodological tools for investigating this concept, and have not traditionally placed empirical focus on majority members which would correspond to their potential proactive role in integration. I shall now describe and develop this facet of integration in the next section.

3.3.1 Majority members’ integration attitudes

Papers II and III describe two empirical studies that examine majority members’ evaluations toward their *own* potential contribution to integration. Penninx (2005, p. 141) has generally defined integration as “the process of becoming an accepted part of society.” As

⁷But see Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder (2008); Boski & Matsumoto (2008); Brown & Zagefka (2011); Ward & Kagitcibasi (2010)

highlighted above, whether or not the majority endorses an active role in a potential mutual accommodation process aimed toward acceptance of immigrant minorities has rarely been addressed within attitudinal studies on intergroup relations. The exceptions of note involve particular statements which appear in psychometric scales measuring attitudes toward multiculturalism (Breugelmans & van de Vijver 2004; van de Vijver, Breugelmans, & Schalk-Soekar 2008) or studies on majority members' attitudes toward helping immigrants (Jackson & Esses, 2000). Nonetheless, much empirical social psychological research on the majority's role currently and overwhelmingly focuses on the explanation and reduction of prejudiced outgroup attitudes or preference for minority acculturation strategies. This may also reflect a more general ideological position held in many societies, namely that minority members must comply with the demands of the majority (Bourhis et al., 1997; Moscovici, 1985). Thus, a potential blind spot seemed to exist within intergroup relations research which provided the rationale leading to the present studies.

The MIE construct and psychometric scale developed in Papers II and III aim to assess majority integration attitudes in a new way by approaching a different aspect of integration (i.e. active, normative, majority-group) than what has previously been examined in social psychology. The central and novel aspect of the MIE construct adapts Eriksen's (2007) analytical distinction between cultural and social (in these studies re-labeled *structural*) domains used to conceptualize integration and variations in integration across multicultural societies, combined with the more traditional focus from acculturation psychology on openness to diversity (e.g., Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver 2003; Verkuyten & Brug, 2004).

The majority's role may involve making adjustments to realize integration in the cultural and social domains (Eriksen, 2007). Proactive integration means that majority members not only tolerate immigrants and change prejudiced attitudes and stereotypes, but consider actively making accommodations in their own society and way of life in order to better incorporate immigrants. Hence, proactive integration involves a consideration of what majority members should or could do as a group/society in order to enhance the integration process. Concretely, these accommodations could be anything from providing general economic assistance for immigrants to establish themselves in a new society, offering driver's license tests in their mother tongue, or ensuring that immigrants' dietary preferences are respected in public institutions. In addition, we claim that majority integration efforts in the cultural and structural domains are interrelated with openness to diversity in which they

express a general openness toward immigrants and their way of life (see Chapter 6 for a critical discussion of this domain).

In these studies my colleagues and I suggest that the majority's role in integration may be theoretically (re)conceptualized on a continuum from passive to active. On the passive end one may find tolerance and non-prejudiced attitudes associated with the traditional and acculturation perspectives described above (general intergroup attitudes, i.e. prejudice), followed by general attitudes toward diversity or multiculturalism, attitudes toward integration efforts, and finally actual behaviour (e.g., different forms of contact, friendship, support for public policy on accommodations by voting for certain political parties, making actual accommodations). Toward the active pole, one may find proactive integration which entails that majority members recognize that they may or even should play an active part in the adaptation of (mainly) 'non-Western' immigrants. (see Open Society Institute [OSI], 2010; Ringen, 2005).

The conceptualization of proactive integration developed in this thesis thus presupposes the willingness to actively incorporate immigrant minorities into the receiving society and thus corresponds to the rhetoric and definition based on "mutual accommodation" currently in use in European Union policy and mentioned above (CBP, 2010; OSI, 2010, Penninx, 2003). This normative conceptualization may be considered ideological as it reflects the majority elite's attempts to promote a mutual view of integration as common sense. Moreover, integration as minority members' strategies of recognizing a new 'culture' and retaining their old 'culture', and as a public policy of a receiving society has been conceptualized as the social-psychological mechanism of liberal multiculturalism (Kagitcibasi, 1997). By extension, it may also be claimed that the idea of proactive integration represents an ideological stance or utopic vision of multicultural societies. Nonetheless, while proactive integration is certainly normative and implies a possibility to improve majority-immigrant minority relations, the initial goal of the present research was more pragmatic. Based on the current limitations of different social psychological paradigms investigating the majority's role, it is first suggested that new measures are required to develop new knowledge within the field. Moreover, as the idea of proactive integration has rarely been in explicit focus, it is suggested that the general public may endorse these views to a varying degree. Thus, a further rationale that has led to Papers II and III was that intergroup relations researchers need a tool such as the MIE scale to better understand these views. Papers II and

III thus investigate how these attitudes may be measured, and what factors may predict variation in these attitudes.

3.4 Conceptualizing and investigating societal ideologies and intergroup attitudes in research on majority members.

Investigating connections between ideologies and attitudes has occupied researchers within both traditional and more critical perspectives (Augoustinos et al., 2006; Billig, 1996; Bourhis et al., 1997; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010; Jost, Federico, & Napier 2009; Scarbrough, 1990; van Dijk, 1998). There is for the most part little consensus between or even within these different fields on the best conceptualizations of ideology and attitudes, not to mention their interrelationship. Nonetheless, the theoretical and empirical consideration of these two concepts from whatever position underlines one of social psychology's, and this thesis's, central aims and difficulties: how can we better understand, explain, and predict how 'macro-level' or ideological processes are appropriated at the meso-level in social interaction and interrelated with the motives and needs of individuals and groups, and vice versa.

In Chapter 3.4, I aim to connect the central concepts investigated in this thesis by addressing contemporary understandings and investigations of societal ideologies and intergroup attitudes in relation to majority members. This is intended to lay the groundwork for the articulation of the interrelationship between diversity ideologies and attitudes toward proactive integration efforts that shall occur in Chapter 6. Similar to Jost et al. (2009), I suggest that one may usefully distinguish between key variations within 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' perspectives that take different levels (micro and macro) as a starting point to address intergroup relations. Although having different starting points, both types of perspectives also aim to tap into the meso-level, which Deaux (2006) and Pettigrew (1997) consider to be the epicentre of social psychological investigation.

3.4.1 Bottom-up approaches

Bottom-up approaches focus on different facets of the interplay between majority members' dispositional characteristics or social interaction experiences and perceptions, 'universal' ideological dimensions, and/or endorsement of diversity ideologies. These factors are more often than not considered as antecedents and predictors of intergroup attitudes or behaviours. Although multiple levels may be conceptualized or explained, empirically they start at the micro level, taking the individual as a unit of analysis (Condor & Figgou, 2012) or

agent for social change on improving intergroup relations (Wright & Baray, 2012). These approaches thus commonly use cross-sectional or longitudinal designs employing self-report measures to capture psychological, intergroup, and ideological phenomena of interest. My analysis distinguishes between two variants that investigate (1) individual differences in relation to the roots of intergroup attitudes or (2) individual and group differences on social interaction.

The roots of intergroup attitudes

The roots of intergroup attitudes tradition examines “underlying psychological needs and motives that influence an individual’s receptiveness to specific ideological positions” (Jost et al., 2009, p. 315) as a starting or reference point for understanding and predicting an individual’s intergroup attitudes (and behaviour). These perspectives may also be understood as representing dispositional/motivational research involving the quest for antecedents of outgroup attitudes (Meeus et al., 2009). Empirical studies tend to examine the relationship between personality and other dispositional characteristics, ‘universal’ ideological beliefs/attitudes, and intergroup attitudes. Ideology may be conceptualized and measured as individual differences along general orientations such as left-right/liberalism-conservatism (e.g., Jost & Amodio, 2012; Jost et al., 2009), right-wing authoritarianism (RWA, Altemeyer, 1981), or social dominance orientation (SDO, Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994).

Social psychologists adopting a roots bottom-up approach cite robust evidence indicating that certain ideological social attitudes may be organized along distinct universal ideological dimensions involving social conservatism and egalitarianism/humanism (Son Hing & Zanna, 2010). Social conservatism focuses on traditionalism, order, and conformity and is most often conceptualized and measured via the RWA construct. The egalitarianism/humanism dimension involves general beliefs about the importance of group hierarchies and dominance, and is commonly measured via the SDO construct. These ideological social attitudes are considered as two of the most powerful predictors of intergroup attitudes and behaviour (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008; Son Hing & Zanna, 2010). Moreover, they have been found to differentially mediate the relationship between personality and dispositional characteristics such as Big 5 personality constructs (Akrami, et al., 2009; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010; Ekehammer, Akrami, Gylje, & Zakrisson, 2004), need for cognitive closure (Roets & Van Hiel, 2011), and cognitive abilities (Hodson

& Busseri, 2012), and intergroup attitudes. SDO and RWA are also, in theory at least, posited as partly malleable based upon social or group context (Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). The personality and ideological attitude measures chosen to examine construct validity of the MIE scale in Paper II were derived mainly from within this bottom-up tradition.

Social interaction

A social interaction bottom-up approach examines individual and group differences more explicitly upon meso- and macro-level indicators. These studies tend to investigate an individual's level of social identification, intergroup perceptions (e.g. entitativity, intergroup anxiety or threat), or actual intergroup behaviours such as contact, and/or endorsements of either universal ideological dimensions or diversity ideologies. These factors are often examined as general correlates or predictors of individuals' outgroup (prejudiced) attitudes (e.g., Hodson, 2011; Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008; Ward & Masorget, 2006), acculturation attitudes (e.g., Bourhis et al 1997; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001), policy attitudes (e.g., Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006), or intended behaviour (e.g., collective action orientation, Deaux, Reid, Martin, & Bikman, 2006). For example Ward & Masorget's (2006) integrative model proposes four 'personal and situational influences' that predict majority members' attitudes toward immigrants: preferences for multicultural ideology (a composite measure of SDO and attitudes toward diversity), experiences of contact, and perceptions of intergroup anxiety and threat.

Social interaction factors may also be examined as predictors of attitudes toward different diversity ideologies such as multiculturalism, assimilation, colour-blindness, and polyculturalism (e.g., Rosenthal & Levy, 2010, 2012; van de Vijver et al., 2008; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). Some investigations also study group differences between majority and minority members regarding these preferences (e.g., Ryan et al. 2007; Ryan, Casas, & Thompson, 2010; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Verkuyten, 2005b). For example, Verkuyten & Martinovic (2006) found that attitudes toward multiculturalism may be differentially held by members of majority and immigrant minority groups (see also Plaut, 2010; Ryan et al., 2007; Verkuyten 2005b). Ideology in these studies may involve an individual's preferences along dimensions such as RWA or SDO and/or principles associated with different diversity ideologies.

In summary, the ‘causal direction’ of bottom-up research on ideology and intergroup attitudes starts at the micro level and most often involves predicting an individual majority member’s outgroup attitudes or endorsements of certain ideologies. Group differences between majority and minority members may also be examined. Empirically, research on bottom-up perspectives predominantly involves the use of self-report measures where data is gathered about the micro (e.g., personality, need for cognitive closure), meso (actual interaction, social identification, intergroup perceptions) and macro levels (attitudes toward distinct diversity ideologies such as multiculturalism or assimilation, diversity or equality, or RWA and SDO). Hence, within a levels of analysis framework, these approaches may be understood to assess aspects of different levels, but share the individual as unit of analysis (Condor & Figgou, 2012).

3.4.2 Top-down approaches

Top-down approaches that examine the relationship between societal ideologies and intergroup attitudes take the macro-level as a starting point. They investigate how wider, taken for granted ideas about group differences and immigrant adaptation within a society (macro level) or group (meso level) influence or are expressed in social interaction/context. These approaches are also more diverse in terms of theory, methodology, and unit of analysis than bottom-up perspectives. Jost et al.’s (2009, p. 316) notion of top-down processes as investigating a ‘discursive superstructure’ attempts to highlight the influence of societal factors on the meso and micro levels. In particular, language/discourse is examined as a frame for understanding how majority members possess intergroup attitudes which may affect or constrain their intergroup behaviour and perceptions. There are two traditions I will consider within these approaches: (1) ideological framing and labelling, and (2) everyday life approaches.

Ideological framing and labelling

Jost et al. (2009, p. 316) depict top-down approaches as studying “attitudes through exposure to ideological bundles (social representations) that are social constructed by political elites (elected officials, party representatives, and media).” This adequately describes recent experimental studies on how interethnic (diversity) ideologies may influence majority members’ outgroup attitudes and intergroup perception (e.g., Morrison, Plaut, & Ybarra, 2010; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Verkuyten, 2005b, 2011; Vorauer & Sasaki, 2010, 2011;

Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). Verkuyten (2011) highlights how ideological framing studies have tended to focus upon three distinct diversity ideologies (assimilation, multiculturalism, and colour-blindness) which have to different degrees been shown to influence outgroup (prejudiced) attitudes, intergroup perception, and racial or ingroup bias. They have also been linked to preferred representations of one-group or dual identity for majority & minority members (Dovidio, Saguy, & Gaertner, 2010). Wolsko et al.'s (2000) experimental studies found that both multiculturalism and colour-blind ideologies could lead to more positive outgroup attitudes, but differences in intergroup perception in terms of stereotypical category differentiation. Moreover, their ideological framing manipulations have been used in a growing number of experiments (e.g., Correll, Park, & Smith, 2008; Gutiérrez & Unzueta, 2010; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Vorauer & Sasaki, 2010, 2011).

Studies of labelling on outgroup attitudes identify dominant ways of categorizing groups and examine how linguistic representations (i.e. symbolic boundaries) may influence evaluative judgments of target groups or policies (e.g., Stewart, Pitts, & Osbourne, 2011; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2010). Morrison & Chung (2011) found that framing majority members' self-identification (White vs. European American) influenced their support for multiculturalism and levels of prejudice. Meanwhile, Verkuyten and Thijs (2010) showed that the use of Turkish-Dutch hybrid labels to describe minorities led to majority members' possession of more favourable outgroup attitudes. These experimental ideological framing and labelling studies are also complimentary to the everyday-life approaches described below as they attempt to manipulate ideologies or test the effects of linguistic labels used in everyday (and political) discourse.

Everyday life: language and social representations

'Everyday life' top-down approaches investigate ideology and intergroup attitudes by studying language and communicative processes in actual social interaction. These approaches are theoretically and methodologically diverse. At the most general level, a common feature of everyday life approaches is that attitudes are considered to be socially shared based on group membership and context (van Dijk, 1998). When it comes to social groups and policy, intergroup attitudes may therefore be regarded to reflect the meso level where "macro level factors" are mediated in social interaction (e.g., Deaux, 2006, p. 6). Intergroup attitudes "locate" individuals in relationship to others within a "social matrix"

through discourse (and social representations) and involve social actions (Augoustinos et al., 2006). Attitudes in these studies may therefore be characterized as “the expression of appraisals in actual talk” (Verkuyten, 2005c, p. 227). Further mapping this onto ideology, van Dijk (1998) argues that the concept of attitude “accounts for the ‘common ground’ of socially shared opinions of groups of people and for the ways these allow group members to interact, to coordinate and to organize their social practices, even in different contexts” (p. 46).

As majority members’ intergroup attitudes are understood as connected to wider ideological discourses at the macro level everyday life approaches tend to investigate the consequences that these attitudes have, as expressed through representations and discourse, for the inclusion or exclusion of minority groups. Therefore, these studies may examine ideologies as socially shared patterns of discourse concerning group differences, immigrant adaptation, and policies for handling diversity in everyday contexts. This may involve analysis of lay (e.g., Verkuyten, 2005c) or elite political and media discourse (e.g., Condor, 2011; Papers I and IV). For example, Verkuyten’s (2005c) discursive study illustrated how ways of constructing immigration as either a result of personal or lack of choice were related to differences in endorsement of multiculturalism. Other empirical studies have examined ideologies and intergroup attitudes through expressions of racism (van Dijk, 1998) or nationalism (Every & Augoustinos, 2008), prejudice denial in dialogue (Condor et al., 2006; Figgou & Condor, 2006; Condor & Figgou, 2012) or opinions on policy (Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Every, 2005)⁸. Everyday life approaches are more plural in terms of unit of analysis adopted in empirical research in comparison with the previous three perspectives outlined above. They may approach ideologies and intergroup attitudes through an individual’s utterances in favour or opposition of policies or outgroups (micro level), the dialogical or co-construction of discourse on outgroups in group discussions (meso level), or patterns of word use in media discourse such as in Papers I and IV (macro level).

To conclude, this section of Chapter 3 has aimed to present a brief outline of current trends involving how the relationship between ideologies and intergroup attitudes is conceived of and investigated at different levels within intergroup relations research focusing on majority members. The two approaches and four perspectives will form the basic foundation

⁸ Not all empirical investigations within everyday life approaches make direct use of the attitude concept. Thus, one must to a larger degree infer that intergroup attitudes are investigated when majority members’ (ideological) evaluations or beliefs and opinions concerning other groups or diversity policies are studied as expressed in discourse.

for Chapter 6, where I will attempt to more precisely connect the two different strands of research taken up in the present thesis.

4. Paper Summaries

4.1 Paper I

Paper I reports a descriptive, longitudinal investigation of the usage of linguistic expressions in Norwegian public discourse which describe symbolic boundary developments between immigrant minority or majority members, and their multicultural context. The developments of seventy-two expressions from 1984-2010 in the Oslo-based broadsheet newspaper *Aftenposten* are analyzed. The usage patterns of sixty-two search words are described using statistical measure, and three usage patterns are identified (increasing, decreasing, and ‘mountain’) as central to understanding symbolic boundaries and how they may both frame and be shaped by ideologies. Forty of the sixty-two search words were increasingly used in public discourse from 1984 or when they first appeared in *Aftenposten*. Thirty-two of these expressions peaked in usage between 2006 and 2010, while sixteen expressions decreased significantly. Moreover, eleven expressions regardless of increasing or decreasing trends, indicated ‘mountain’ patterns, referring to increasing usage in the 80s, peaking in the 90s, and decreasing or stabilizing thereafter. The appearance of ten infrequently used expressions which provide additional information on changes and trends in symbolic boundaries are also described.

Our analysis suggests that symbolic boundaries in the Norwegian multicultural society have been changing rapidly. Expressions describing immigrant minorities have increasingly focused on their establishment in the Norwegian multicultural society through multicultural and hybrid expressions (e.g., ‘minority’ and ‘Norwegian-Pakistani’). They have also shifted from outsider (e.g., ‘foreigner’) to increasingly specified boundaries of origins (e.g., ‘of foreign origin,’ ‘ethnic background’), visibility (e.g., ‘skin colour’), and immigrant otherness (e.g., ‘immigrants,’ ‘immigrant background’). Norwegian majority expressions have mostly shifted toward a focus on origins (e.g., ‘ethnic Norwegian’). These changes seem to be shaped by complex ideological patterns constructing both similarities and differences, and which

simultaneously seem to promote both inclusion and exclusion for certain immigrant minorities.

4.2 Paper II

Paper II is based on the premise that the integration of ethnic minorities may involve more than the majority's expression of tolerance and that in order to promote inclusion the majority may have to play a more proactive role in the integration process. This empirical study describes the development and validation of a new psychometric scale. Based upon Eriksen's (2007) analytical distinctions of the cultural and social realms and the importance of openness to diversity in acculturation psychology (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2003; Verkuyten & Brug, 2004), we designed attitudinal statements to capture majority members' willingness to accommodate in order to realize integration using several sources. Most of these statements were written in a normative manner to sample potential efforts that Norwegians should do to promote integration and the inclusion of immigrants. Thus, the Majority Integration Efforts scale (MIE) assesses majority members' attitudes toward their own proactive contribution to the integration of immigrants within three domains: cultural efforts, structural efforts, and openness to diversity. The MIE scale is investigated by analyses of internal structure and exploration of construct validity in relation to relevant social psychological and personality constructs in a sample of 486 Norwegian university students (28% male, mean age = 26.5, SD = 6.08) who completed a web-based questionnaire. Principal components and factor analyses supported a unidimensional structure and the estimated reliability of the additive scale was satisfactory (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.91$). Examinations of construct validity indicated that the scale, as expected, correlated negatively with measures of right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation, and positively with global (i.e. non-national) identity. It was weakly related to the personality traits agreeableness, intellect, extraversion, and conscientiousness. The potential utility of the scale in both applied and experimental social psychological studies are discussed.

4.3 Paper III

Building upon the scale development of Paper II and findings regarding a homogenous immigrant representation in Norwegian media language in Paper I, Paper III examines the relationship between intergroup perception variables and majority attitudes toward proactive integration of immigrant minorities. It assesses how and whether perception of immigrants as

constituting an entitative (i.e. tightly bonded) group, endorsement of counter-stereotypic portrayals of immigrants regarding their positive integration intentions and competence, and general meta perspectives (i.e. how majority members think minority members perceive them) along the ‘universal’ appraisal dimensions of warmth/competence, predict majority integration attitudes as measured by the MIE scale. Multiple regression analysis yielded two strong (perceptions of positive immigrant integration intentions and perceived entitativity) and two moderate (perceptions of high immigrant competence in Norwegian society and meta-warmth) predictors of MIE attitudes. Further analysis indicated that the main effect of perceived immigrant entitativity on MIE attitudes was partially mediated by perceptions of counter-stereotypic intentions and competence. This meant that majority members were more likely to support proactive integration if they perceived immigrants as a heterogeneous group, and that immigrant minorities possessed both positive integration intentions and high competence to contribute to Norwegian society. These findings have a number of implications for improving intergroup relations via the promotion of more positive integration attitudes on behalf of the majority. We suggest that the perception of immigrants’ positive integration intentions and heterogeneity as a group may best promote majority support for proactive integration efforts. Moreover, the media’s role in providing a more nuanced picture of immigrants, which seemed to affect majority members’ willingness to adapt their own way of life, is also discussed.

4.4 Paper IV

Paper IV was written for a special issue of *Papers on Social Representations*. It engaged with Gerard Duveen’s understanding on the imperative and contractual pressures social representations may enact upon social identities (Duveen, 1993, 2001; Duveen & Lloyd, 1986, 1990) as a theoretical position which points toward the complexities involving ideology and agency in the development of ethnic identities. Paper IV suggests that this perspective invites empirical investigations at multiple levels, and presents data collected from two previously conducted studies at different levels (Paper I; Nadim, 2005). These studies were compared and re-analyzed in an attempt to connect the macro (ideological construction of group boundaries in public discourse) and meso levels (immigrant youth discussions of ethnic identities) involved in social ethnic identity development. It was argued that a more meaningful understanding of whether and/or how macro-level boundary developments imposed imperative or contractual obligations upon social ethnic identities would benefit from meso-level analysis, and vice versa. Study 1 presented symbolic boundary

developments relevant to immigrant youth through an examination of changing majority-minority representations in *Aftenposten* from 1984 – 2005. Study 2 presented a re-analysis of Nadim's (2005) focus group discussions with immigrant youth on identity negotiation and positioning in light of these ideological boundary developments and Duveen's work. Theoretically, convergent findings between the two studies challenged the imperative/contractual dichotomy that Duveen and others have used to illustrate how social representations impose different kinds of obligations upon social identities. Our discussion suggests that the particular relationship between ethnic identity and social representations should be modified in order to better articulate agency within ideological constraint and agency in the form of resistance. Although a focus was on immigrant youth representations and identity negotiation, the paper also implies that the Norwegian majority exerts ideological pressure in which certain ethnic minorities are identified (and in certain cases end up identifying themselves) on the basis of outsider descent, but also Norwegianness.

5. Methodological and statistical issues

This chapter will briefly discuss the epistemological and methodological positions assumed in the studies. I shall also discuss more general methodological and statistical issues central to the investigations of language change and assessment of attitudes.

5.1 Social constructionism and the contextualist approach to social science

Each investigation in this thesis adheres to what I find best to describe as a constructionist epistemological orientation. Although there are several 'varieties' of constructivism (Flick, 2006; Hacking, 1999), Berger & Luckmann's (1966, pp.78-79) understanding of the social dialectic process where the historically and culturally contingent 'product' (relevant aspects of the humanly constructed social world) becomes taken for granted and is considered to act upon the 'producer' (human beings embedded in their constructed social world)⁹ has served as the closest inspiration. This also mirrors the 'common sense' aspect of the ideology concept (Chapter 3). The studies presented here are

⁹ Acknowledging the reciprocal (dialectical) nature of the individual-society relationship, the 'producers' are also, of course considered to have the agency to reshape social knowledge and constructions.

predominantly concerned with two types of constructions: (1) symbolic boundaries in media language and how they have changed over time (Papers I and IV) and (2) a historically contingent idea that the majority may possess a proactive role in integration (Papers II and III).

The papers in this thesis thus aim to adopt a contextualist (pragmatic) methodological approach (Mjøset, 2009; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Mjøset (2009) points out that a contextualist position is not fundamentally restricted along a quantitative-qualitative divide, but that it is often associated with qualitative methods. However, the four papers in this thesis employ predominantly quantitative measurement and statistical analysis. My approach toward methodology, therefore, ought to be considered pragmatic as it aims to better understand the particular case of investigation (majority's role in intergroup relations in Norway) by linking different studies (Flick, 2006).

5.2 Methodological and statistical issues in the measurement of symbolic boundaries in Norwegian mass-media

Analyzing language change in mass-media as presented in Papers I and IV rests on the premise that evidence of the macro level, i.e. ideology and ideological change in symbolic group boundaries, is reflected and found in language. Linguists, social scientists, and psychologists have acknowledged the reciprocal relations between language and society (e.g., Rommetveit, 1968, 1974, 1992; Vygotsky, 1978; Wittgenstein, 1953) and language and ideology (e.g., Billig, 1991; Kroskrity, 2000; van Dijk, 1998). Even individual words or expressions can place people, places, and things within an ideological context (Blakar, 1973/2006, 1979).

Using computers and databases to measure word usage has become prominent in the field of corpus linguistics (e.g., Biber, Conrad, & Reppen, 1998) and communication research (e.g., Stewart et al., 2011). A minor, but increasingly accepted method to study psychological aspects of language use patterns (e.g., emotions, social identity, or cognitive styles) in 'natural' texts has also been emerging (Pennebaker, Mehl, & Niederhoffer, 2003). Social psychologists, as mentioned, have also increasingly begun studying majority-minority representations in media (e.g., Atuel et al., 2007; Gardikiotis et al., 2004; Nafstad et al., 2005). However, the study of ideology through the longitudinal analysis of media language using electronically archived databases seems to be relatively recent and currently unique in social and community psychology (Nafstad & Blakar, 2002; Nafstad, Carlquist, & Blakar, 2007;

Nafstad et al. 2007, Nafstad, Blakar, Carlquist, Phelps, & Rand-Hendriksen, 2009; Rand-Hendriksen, 2008).

There are several notable advantages of applying this archival method to measure ideological change. First, it is well matched with a constructionist epistemology and the study of ideology because it enables longitudinal research, and therefore an investigation of the usage of particular linguistic constructions (words and expressions) over time. Moreover, it can be argued that the method addresses the macro level because it examines patterns of media discourse which reflect societal ideologies (Nafstad & Blakar, 2002). The method also provides a certain degree of information on linguistic patterns communicated at the individual level as each newspaper article was in fact written by an individual ‘sender’ (i.e. journalists and other contributors) and intentionally directed toward the public as ‘receivers’ (readers). Finally, the method is both unobtrusive and non-reactive allowing the researcher to access historical data without altering subject material or interfering with participants. There are, of course, a number of limitations to these types of investigations.

5.2.1 Critical reflections on validity

As mentioned above, Papers I and IV operationalize symbolic boundaries as the appearance and usage patterns of certain words which mark differences between majority and immigrant minority groups in media language. In these papers, I claim that these changes are indicators of diversity ideologies. The potential limitations of using this novel approach for claiming that ingroup-outgroup expressions in media language, and the frequency of usage of these words, are evidence of symbolic boundaries and societal ideologies at the macro level must be scrutinized. These issues of validity may be approached from two angles (1) the operationalization of symbolic boundaries as appearance and changes of word frequencies in media (newspaper) discourse, and (2) the interpretation that the observed patterns of these changes are indicators of societal ideologies and ideological change.

These studies do not suggest that word frequencies are direct, simple indicators of symbolic boundaries. The operationalization [of each of the symbolic boundaries] is based upon the combination of the actual word or expression, its ‘dominant’ meaning or representation as far as denotation is concerned,¹⁰ and its pattern of usage in combination with

¹⁰ Note that contextual usage of some expressions (e.g. ‘*Norwegian-born*’) were examined, but systematic analyses of connotations of all 72 expressions in Paper I in light of the stated research aims and questions were considered to be outside the boundaries of the current research.

content and usage patterns of other expressions (see Tables 1-5, Paper I). For example, our findings claiming to illustrate symbolic boundaries of origins involved observations of increasing usage of expressions describing minorities' origin or descent outside of Norway (*'immigrant-, ethnic-, or multicultural background', 'of foreign origin', 'second-generation immigrant', etc.*), in combination with a decline in usage of general 'outsiderness' expressions (*'foreigner', 'refugee', 'guest worker'*), and further in light of an increase of *'ethnic Norwegian'* combined with a decrease of others (e.g., *'the Norwegian people', 'completely Norwegian'*).

Given this operationalization, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of the particular context of investigation (public discourse, newspaper language) and the quantitative examination of word frequencies and usage patterns as indicators of symbolic boundaries. First, the general relationship between the media, macro level context, and ideology (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Nafstad et al., 2007; Thompson, 1990, 1995) and its role in framing immigration issues (Schlueter & Davidov, 2011; Siapara, 2010; Wagner et al., 2010) has been discussed. Thus, these studies assume, as a point of departure, that symbolic boundaries between the majority and immigrant minorities are present in media discourse and central to the negotiation of cultural diversity in multicultural societies.

Nonetheless, one must recognize that media discourse is not the only arena in the construction of majority-immigrant minority boundaries. Media discourse, and more specifically newspaper language, represents a particular type of social interaction in which newspaper journalists, political elites, or citizens write within a more or less clearly defined ideological/political profile of a particular medium to both inform, but also influence and sell information and ideas to the public. Thus media discourse may to a greater degree represent certain political and economic interests in comparison to lay discourse. Hence, one may also question if the symbolic boundaries expressions observed in Papers I and IV have undergone similar usage patterns in everyday social interaction (meso level). Given these limitations, it would be ideal to analyse the frequency of usage of symbolic boundaries in other types of media discourse (e.g., visual media, social networks, chat rooms, blog comments, etc.) or lay discourse. While there are (of course) more practical challenges to conduct similar longitudinal research in those mediums, examination of these contexts would also allow better assessment of validity and comparison of findings of the present studies.

The next issue involves the quantitative examination of word frequencies and usage patterns as indicators of symbolic boundaries. The rhetorical/discursive context of usage, and hence meaning is not directly assessed when only examining frequency of usage and overall patterns of change. Thus, our findings provide little information on connotations of expressions and how the meanings of symbolic boundaries in context of usage may have shifted over time. This is of course central to the study of ideologies, and admittedly an important limitation of the current research. Therefore, additional studies are needed in order to provide a more thorough understanding of patterns of meaning through actual usage of symbolic boundaries in the construction of majority-minority similarities and differences. Some contextual analyses were conducted in Papers I and IV (e.g., discussion of shift in meaning of the *'norskfødt'* or *'våre nye landsmenn'* expressions). However, future studies should conduct longitudinal content analysis on meaning and the context of usage of some of the key boundary expressions identified in Papers I and IV (e.g., *'flerkulturell,' 'etnisk norsk,' 'innvandrere'*).

A final issue involves a critical assessment on interpreting patterns of usage of key words and expressions as indicators of societal or diversity ideologies. Given that one accepts that media language provides a plausible representation of the negotiation of symbolic boundaries at the macro level, a further inference made in both Papers I and IV is that these overall patterns of change are indicators of changes in societal ideologies. Furthermore, given the close relationship between language and ideology (Billig 1991; Nafstad et al. 2007; Thompson, 1990; van Dijk, 1998) one may assume that an increasing or decreasing prevalence of a group of expressions may generally indicate an increase or decrease of ideologies (e.g., neo-liberalism, Nafstad et al., 2007).

However, interpretation of the ideological nature of these patterns is complicated. This is in part due to the common sense component of ideology, or that which is taken for granted. For example, through the observation of an increasing usage pattern, one may claim that the higher prevalence of a pattern of expressions (i.e. common utterances in public discourse) may be used in such a way that they are in no need of explanation. Hence, this type of ideological taken for grantedness may imply high prevalence, but relatively unreflective usage. At the same time a word which is contested or under negotiation, and therefore not taken for granted, may also indicate a higher prevalence. These same dilemmas also apply for decreasing and 'mountain' expressions. On one hand, patterns of decreasing usage may indicate a

disappearance of an ideology, and a shift in common sense. On the other, ideology and common sense also involve what does not need to be said or what is repressed in language (Billig, 1991, 1995, 1996, 1999) and a decrease in usage could also imply an increase in taken for grantedness. Thus, an empirically observed increase or decrease should not be interpreted per se as ideological change without contextual information taken into account.

In the present studies this type of contextual information involved the inductive and iterative process in selection of search words (Paper I, p. 190) combined with an analysis of different patterns set up against each other. In addition, we relied on previous theory on the ideological nature of the appearance of certain boundaries such as ethnicity to further support our claims (e.g., Billig, 1995; Gullestad, 2006; Jenkins, 2008; Verkuyten, 2005a). At present, this is the only evidence provided for the validity of our claims that the observed patterns are indicators of ideological change.

When considering the important role that the media does play in the (ideological) negotiation of boundaries and conceptualizing both the majority and immigrant minority groups, I contend that the current approach represents a novel attempt and valuable contribution to the study of diversity ideologies and symbolic boundaries. As indicated in Paper I, these findings (also) provide a platform to generate hypotheses about ideological change, which is more complex and perhaps more difficult to observe empirically. Hence, systematic longitudinal studies of the use and potential changes in meaning (i.e. common sense) of particular symbolic boundary expressions in context need to be conducted to provide a richer account of ideological change. Chapter 6 will present recommendations for future studies in this regard in order to address some of these limitations, in addition to developing ways to examine the relationship between societal ideologies and proactive integration attitudes.

5.2.2 Sampling issues

In terms of validity, at present, only media discourse, and even more specifically that of the Oslo-based newspaper *Aftenposten*, which has a combined national, local, and international profile have been analyzed in Papers I and IV. As a consequence, other types of media (visual and social) and newspaper discourse with different ideological profiles may provide different ideological patterns and results indicating a different account of the Norwegian context. In Paper I, we have attempted to address this ideological profile limitation by predominantly including search words that mirror the patterns of 5 other newspapers from

1992-2010 to ensure representativeness of the observed changes in *Aftenposten* to other newspapers (see Paper I). However, other types of media discourse and the expressions individuals use in face-to-face interaction to negotiate boundaries in everyday contexts, which are also central to current inclusion/exclusion practices are not represented. One must therefore acknowledge that one limitation of the method is the particular type of discourse that it analyzes. On the positive side, as mentioned above, media discourse has been considered one of the most central sources of ideological influence and a key arena for the construction of cultural diversity.

5.2.3 Selection of search words

Another possible disadvantage involves the selection and organization of search words. Returning to the quantitative-qualitative distinction, this process is distinctively a qualitative exercise as the researcher's subjective choice and then categorization of words is central to the investigation. In principle, any words or expressions may be selected and analyzed, while other expressions not included may yield different developmental patterns. To address these concerns and provide increasing validity to our findings, a number of sources were employed in search word selection and the developments of seventy-two words or expressions were presented in Paper I. Therefore, we are fairly confident that the 72 search words offer a nuanced and organized picture of the ideological complexity of symbolic boundary developments in Norwegian public discourse.

5.2.4 Potential sources of error

Additional techniques for addressing disadvantages associated with the reliability of findings and how to best report developmental trends, have also been developed or are under development (Rand-Hendriksen, 2008). There are two potential sources of error in identification and presentation of developmental trends that may affect reliability which one must control for when mapping changes over time. First, there is variation in the total number of articles printed within newspapers from year to year. Second, the average length of a newspaper article may also vary by year. Thus, as newspapers publish a different number of total articles that vary in length in any given year, one must administer a baseline adjustment in order to examine and compare developmental trends over time. These adjustment procedures are discussed in Paper I and Rand-Hendriksen (2008).

How to report developmental trends has also been central to Papers I and IV (see Methods sections). Percentage change in the usage of search words from 1984 to 2010 provides an understandable expression of the magnitude of changes over time. However, there are limitations in using percentages, which require additional information, to adequately represent developmental trends. Trends are described in terms of how strongly the developmental pattern for a particular search word (the time series data) correlates with linear time, i.e. the annual time series itself (1984, 1985, 1986, ... 2010). In addition, the statistical unit 'Estimated mean annual change' (EMAC) is adopted (Rand-Hendriksen, 2008). EMAC allows for the comparison of the relative change size for different words over comparable time-spans, even when the words in questions differ in terms of regularity or direction of change such as the increase of a commonly used phrase compared to the decline of a rarer word. Based on the linear regression line calculated from each particular developmental trend, EMAC is thus an expression of the relative change size approximating the mean annual percentage change of the frequency of articles for the developmental trend of a word or expression.¹¹ Finally, a new way to report developmental trends which emerged as central in Papers I and IV involved reporting peak and lowest usage year and adjusted number of occurrences of a particular search term. Identifying these developments in word usage is crucial for describing symbolic boundary developments because discernible patterns of change may indicate ideological turning points, saturation of an ideology, or highlight the need for other or new linguistic labels to capture, enhance, or legitimize ideological developments.

5.3 Methodological and statistical issues in the measurement and prediction of attitudes toward majority integration efforts

Self-report measures using Likert-type items are commonly employed to assess attitudes. They are advantageous because they may be quickly and easily administered to a rather large group of people (e.g., in classroom or through the Internet) without using substantial economic resources. In a pragmatic sense measuring proactive integration attitudes via a psychometric scale allows the opportunity to collect a large amount of data on a number of participants who have most likely participated in such research before. These practical advantages have been enhanced with the development of web-based survey techniques, which

¹¹ For specific calculation procedures and a more detailed discussion of the limitations of using percentages see Rand-Hendriksen (2008).

were used in Papers II and III. Data collection using the Internet offers the chance to reach a large and potentially more diverse and motivated group of people than sending typical ‘paper and pencil’ questionnaires to e.g., psychology students. This has generally improved efficiency, accuracy, and cost-effectiveness of survey research (Gosling, Vazire, Srivastava, & John, 2004; Gosling, Sandy, John, & Potter, 2010).

Nonetheless, survey research is susceptible to general limitations often addressed toward quantitative research in the social sciences such as the isolation and control of variables which in everyday life are interrelated, or aim of generalizing results across populations which often are context specific (Flick, 2006). There are also issues to be considered in scale development such as interpretability of items, reliability, and construct validity (DeVellis, 2003 John & Benet-Martinez, 2000). Furthermore, the drawbacks to Internet research such as being unable to control the research environment, restricting participants on the basis of Internet use, and susceptibility of fake responses are also limitations (Gosling et al., 2004; Stenseng, 2009). Some of these issues are discussed below.

5.3.1 Sampling issues

A notable strength of the present studies were the number of participants who completed our questionnaires with slightly higher mean ages than what is often reported in social psychological research (Paper II, $N = 486$ mean age = 26.5; Paper III, $N = 529$, mean age = 34¹²). The majority of respondents were students from different Norwegian universities and working professionals recruited through snow-ball sampling by psychology students. One potential critique of our sampling methods and representativeness may arise because they were based on a student and WEIRD population (western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic), which is over-represented in social science research (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). We also had a higher percentage of female respondents, who in the Norwegian context have expressed more favourable attitudes toward immigrants and integration (Directorate of Integration and Diversity, 2010).

In addition, because of limitations associated with our web-based survey technology, it was impossible to assess response rates. Thus, one cannot discount that participants who may have excluded themselves or were excluded because they did not use or have access to the

¹² These numbers represent the final number of ethnic Norwegian participants used for data analysis. Sample sizes were actually higher than these.

Internet, may display systematic differences on e.g., personality, social attitude, or interpersonal perception variables compared to participants that responded to our measures. This could thus affect the ‘generalizability’ of our results (John & Benet-Martinez, 2000). For example, as Van Lange, Schippers, and Balliet (2010) found that volunteers for psychological research tend to be higher in prosociality measures, one concern could be that participants may have possessed a more prosocial orientation than those who did not respond.

That said, these sampling limitations were considered acceptable trade-offs given the primary goal of developing a useful measure in the Norwegian context. Moreover, our target population concerning majority attitudes was in fact (mostly) a WEIRD population (i.e. ethnic Norwegians, see also Bennis & Medin, 2010). The critique of relying extensively on student participants (e.g., Sears, 1986), which is not always considered a limitation (e.g., Gächter, 2010; Pernice, van der Veer, Ommundsen, & Larsen, 2008), may also be addressed in future investigations aimed at generalizing or comparing findings concerning the MIE scale and other variables within the Norwegian population.

5.3.2 Scale construction

The process of scale development involves many operations, and is most traditionally based around investigations of reliability and validity, which aim to address a fundamental concern with generalizability and construct validity (John & Benet-Martinez, 2000). The development of the MIE scale occurred in a stepwise manner. We sampled attitudinal statements across all three domains, openness to diversity, and structural and cultural efforts. We aimed for heterogeneity - avoiding too high content homogeneity or possessing a narrow bandwidth within each domain (Cronbach & Gleser, 1965). Thus, our sampling of items was intended to be broad. Items were constructed based upon various sources ranging from researchers’ own experiences living in the Norwegian multicultural context, items modified from previous scales, government proposals, and newspaper articles and editorials in the Norwegian mass media. This procedure conforms to source-sampling practices often advocated in scale development (e.g., Breugelmans & van de Vijver, 2004; Likert, 1932). Psychology students who took part in the research project for course credit helped improve linguistic formulation and identify items that were difficult to understand. They also performed informal qualitative “think-aloud” procedures (Hak, van der Veer, & Ommundsen, 2006). All of these actions contributed to content validity by improving or eliminating problematic statements and eventually led to the item pool used and refined in Papers II and

III. It is also important to highlight that the creation and deletion of items involved qualitative choices in addition to the statistical criteria described in Paper II, as some items were excluded on the basis of semantics.

Investigations of dimensionality, or the structure of attitudes, are also critical to scale development (John & Benet-Martinez, 2000). In the present studies in addition to uni- or bi-dimensionality (Maio & Haddock, 2010), we also found it reasonable to examine whether or not the structure of MIE attitudes may be based upon the three domains structural efforts, cultural efforts, and openness to diversity. In Paper II, after item deletion (from 43 to 21 items), we found evidence that MIE attitudes were unidimensional. However, order effects may have affected participants' ability to distinguish between domains and we also wished to further explore the scale's stability in a more heterogeneous population. Therefore, a second study was conducted and briefly mentioned in Paper II (p. 408), but deserves a more in-depth explanation in order to highlight the consistent finding of unidimensionality.

In a new questionnaire, items were grouped according to the three domains and given to a sample of mostly working professionals (124 ethnic Norwegian participants, 57% women, mean age 37.30, SD = 13.75, Range 19-70). Means and Cronbach's α were calculated for the entire scale (Mean = 3.93, SD = 0.86, α = 0.92) and also within each of their respective domains: Openness to Diversity (Mean = 4.38, SD = 0.87, α = .80), Cultural Efforts (Mean = 4.01, SD = 0.93, α = .83), Structural Efforts (Mean = 3.52, SD = 1.02, α = .84). Relationships between domains were replicated as the three domain scales were highly correlated: Openness to Diversity and Cultural Efforts correlated 0.78, Openness to Diversity and Structural Efforts 0.73, and Cultural and Structural Efforts 0.72. The 21 MIE items were then subjected to the same principal components analysis (PCA) as in Paper II. Only one eigenvalue (8.67) was significantly higher than expected eigenvalues generated from random datasets. The first component explained 41 percent of the variance, and a scree-plot supported unidimensionality. We then conducted confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) and, as in Paper II no substantial difference in fit between one- and three-factor models was observed and a one-factor solution showed moderate but acceptable fit (Table 1).

Table 1. Fit indices from fitting one- and three-factor models to Study 2 data reported in Paper II.

STUDY	χ^2	df	χ^2/df	TLI	CFI	RMSEA
2 One factor	390.46	189	2.07	0.78	0.82	0.09
n=124 Three correlated factors	358.19	186	1.93	0.81	0.85	0.09

Results derived from both PCA and CFA in this additional sample pointed to a unidimensional structure, and supported the idea that the three domains may be conceptualized as integrated components of the MIE construct.

5.3.3 On construct and incremental validity, and predicting MIE attitudes

Final issues regarding the development of the MIE scale involve scrutiny of the established measures used in Papers II and III to examine construct validity, the hitherto unaddressed topic of incremental validity (e.g., Hunsley & Meyer, 2003; McFall, 2005) and predicting MIE attitudes. It is therefore important to reflect upon what types of knowledge and predictive value the MIE scale may generate in combination with, but also above and beyond other established constructs of relevance.

In principle, similar to the selection of search words in language change analysis, a number of other measures could have been chosen to examine construct validity in addition to those present in Papers II and III. Thus, our choices of variables may be further scrutinized. Paper II examined individual difference variables by including personality (Big 5) and ideological social attitude orientations (Right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, and global identity), while Paper III examined more situational, or so-called, social perception variables (entitativity of immigrants as a group, counter-stereotypic portrayals of immigrants, and universal dimensions of warmth and competence on meta-perceptions). In addition to these, other measures (e.g. pro-social value orientation, cognitive abilities, or polyculturalism), could potentially have been included to better examine construct validity (see Chapter 6). It should also be pointed out that some of the measures used in Papers II (Intellect and Agreeableness) and III (counter-stereotypic competence) demonstrated less than desirable internal consistency.

Additionally, when new psychological measures are developed, they ought to be able to generate knowledge above and beyond what currently exists within a field (McFall, 2005). Incremental validity concerns assessing the predictive value of a new measure, as new

constructs ought to “explain variance that is not accounted for by well-established constructs” (Brackett & Mayer, 2003, p.1155). As mentioned above and in Paper II, a few items used in the MIE scale were taken from acculturation scales, mainly within the Openness to Diversity domain, whereas other items also shared common themes in comparison to the Multiculturalism Attitude Scale (Breugelmans & van de Vijver, 2004; van de Vijver et al., 2008) and several items used in a study on immigrant helping (Jackson & Esses, 2000). Thus, one may question what the MIE scale may contribute beyond other data and studies that have used these different scales.

It should first be noted that as suggested in Chapter 3.3.1 the MIE construct could be theoretically distinguished from different paradigms and conceptualizations of integration in e.g., acculturation psychology. As mentioned, proactive integration involves a more normative, group level, and active aspect of the majority’s role in integration. Moreover, apart from Openness to Diversity, the Structural and Cultural Efforts domains were constructed independently from the MAS and immigrant helping items.

However, incremental validity has not been directly assessed in the current studies. In other words the MIE has not been used to predict other measures, attitudes or behaviour, or examined in relation to other relevant measures of diversity ideologies (e.g., MAS or polyculturalism scales). Thus, a further logical step would be to conduct new studies to better understand how attitudes toward proactive integration are related to other established measures (ideally also beyond intergroup attitudes), but may also explain variance unaccounted by these (see Chapter 6.3). Nonetheless, according to McFall (2005), a larger issue beyond incremental validity concerns if new measures contribute to theoretical developments and have a practical utility beyond what currently exists within a field. In that sense the two studies developing and predicting the MIE construct are considered to meet this criteria.

Of final note, Paper III was written concerning the prediction of MIE attitudes. However, we must be cautious with the interpretations of our findings as they are based on correlational data. Therefore, it is necessary to highlight that we have not claimed to observe causal relationships in the mediation analysis, which was conducted, but instead applied mediation models on correlational data as is conventional practice in the field (e.g., Bang, Fuglesang, Ovesen, & Eilertsen, 2010; Stenseng, 2009). We must therefore be cautious in

inferring causal direction because actual mediation effects are best examined in controlled, experimental situations (e.g., Baron & Kenny, 1986; Bullock, Green, & Ha, 2010).

5.4 On the combination of language change analysis and focus group research

The final methodological issue of note concerns the review of language change and focus group research in Paper IV. As stated throughout, this research was originally presented and conducted in Paper I and by Nadim (2005) on a separate project outside of the ramifications of this doctoral thesis. However, it has been included because our re-analysis comparing language change of certain symbolic boundaries in *Aftenposten* from 1984-2005 and focus group discussions, enabled a new examination of the meso and macro levels in ethnic identity development. I considered this re-analysis acceptable for inclusion in my thesis finding support from Andrews' (2008, p. 87) that, "the more vantage points from which we view phenomena, the richer and more complex our understanding of that which we observe." Hence, the combination and re-analysis of these two studies aimed to offer a more nuanced way to understand pressures associated with being identified externally in society and making identifications.

This investigation has several potential limitations of note. First, both studies were conducted separately, and thus not originally planned as part of a mixed-methods project. In other words, Nadim's focus groups were not designed with direct consideration of media language or majority pressure on ethnic identity, and vice versa for the language change analysis. Second, as the language change analysis reports most of the same (but fewer) expressions from Paper I, the selection and organization of search words could be considered even more vulnerable to researcher bias compared to Paper I. However, by connecting the re-analysis to the context of Oslo, we were also able to analyse different expressions (e.g., immigrant- youth, parent, and environment) that essentially supported arguments about the specification of the immigrant boundary, which at times excluded immigrant youths from making certain identifications. Moreover, using this data as a macro-level barometer of group boundaries enabled a different interpretation of ideology and agency in immigrant youth's discussion of ethnic identity. It additionally highlighted a limitation in Duveen's conceptualization of imperative and contractual pressure imposed by social representations upon social identity.

6. Discussion

This chapter will first briefly reflect upon criticism directed towards each of the two different research strands in this thesis, separately, that were not considered in Chapter 5. The final and most substantial part of this discussion aims to address one of the main challenges of the current thesis, that of combining different social psychological perspectives and concepts within a general levels of analysis framework. I will therefore suggest how future investigations may link the different approaches taken up this thesis in order to advance knowledge of majority members, ideologies, symbolic boundaries, and integration attitudes in future investigations. This will be done by combining the current results of all four papers and mobilizing the key features of ideology-intergroup attitude approaches highlighted in section 3.4 (roots of intergroup attitudes, social interaction, ideological framing and labelling, and everyday life approaches). Finally, I conclude by discussing the final aim of this thesis, that of improving current intergroup relations between majority and immigrant minority members.

6.1 On tolerance and MIE attitudes

Papers II and III advance the point of view that although promoting tolerance and reducing prejudice of majority members is essential for the social inclusion of immigrants, it may not be sufficient (see also Dixon & Levine, 2012; Pittinsky & Monotoya, 2009, Pittinsky et al., 2011a, b; Tropp & Mallett, 2011; van Quakebeke et al, 2007; Wright & Baray, 2012). In other words, the present studies suggest that tolerant attitudes may not necessarily result in majority members' active efforts in support of integration. While some theoretical and empirical support of this notion has been mentioned in Chapter 3, these arguments have not been empirically tested in the present thesis, although it should not be necessary to do so in order to suggest this distinction. In addition, we have also suggested that for majority members passive tolerant intergroup attitudes may be placed on a continuum in which active MIE attitudes are conceived as closer to actual intergroup behavior. Future studies may examine this relationship more closely.

One could argue that the Openness to Diversity domain (OD), which included developed items from previous scales, taps the more passive notion of tolerance. Hence, the present findings indicate that the OD and the efforts domains are located within the same attitudinal space, and seem to suggest that active integration efforts require a basic openness to diversity. However, it could be desirable to separate these domains, in attempts to

disentangle if in fact other measures of intergroup attitudes, intergroup perception, and diversity ideologies are differentially related to these domains. It is conceivable that ideological framing (Chapter 3.4.2; Wolsko et al., 2000) may influence ratings on the different domains in different ways. For example, a *laissez-faire* multicultural condition may lead to positive ratings on openness to diversity but not necessarily the efforts measures, whereas a multicultural condition might yield no difference, and an assimilation frame could also yield less positive preferences. Another possibility would be to examine MIE attitudes in cross-national samples based upon different multicultural policies (see Siapara, 2010, p. 45) and examine if national context had both an overall effect on MIE attitudes, but also differential effect based on domains. Such studies would allow a better examination of our claims in Papers II and III and in the present introduction, based upon the theoretical and practical limits of tolerance, and hopefully provide more theoretical clarification in relation to MIE attitudes.

6.2 On symbolic boundaries of Muslim Otherness

In a comment published alongside Paper I, Eriksen (2012), suggested that the study did not capture one of the most significant symbolic boundaries between the Norwegian majority and immigrant minorities, Muslim Otherness. Thus, one criticism of Papers I and IV is that it neglected a central symbolic boundary in the Norwegian multicultural society.

To address this valid concern, it should first be pointed out that Papers I and IV, and the majority of this current thesis, were conducted in the years preceding the events of July 22nd.¹³ Whereas Eriksen's reading of the article occurred after July 22nd, the selection of search words and interpretation of developments occurred several years prior to the event. The original study employed a number of criteria for selecting search words, one of which, representativeness of observed frequency patterns in *Aftenposten*, was used to exclude symbolic boundaries of religious groups, because the developments of words such as '*christian*' or '*jew*' did not display the same patterns in different newspapers (see Paper I, p. 191). Thus at the time, my discussion of symbolic boundaries of differences based upon religion was through a universal religious boundary, and not the particular boundary of Muslim Otherness. Preliminary analyses of eighteen potential expressions of Muslim Otherness (e.g., '*muslim*', '*islam*,' '*Norwegian-muslim*') from 1984-2010 indicate that it has

¹³ The majority of this thesis and all four papers were written before July 22nd. Hence this is the only part of this thesis which explicitly mentions this event.

been increasing significantly in public discourse. Thus, in hindsight and in light of Eriksen's perceptive comments, Muslim Otherness is an important boundary of difference in the Norwegian multicultural society that should be considered together with the present findings and added in future research.

The events of July 22nd have undoubtedly led to changes on how we may or will interpret past and future developments of symbolic boundaries in Norway. However, one cannot take for granted that the Muslim Otherness boundary will remain prevalent in Norwegian discourse. For example, there are (media) claims that symbolic boundaries of Muslim Otherness in Denmark, a context which has often had heated 'Muslim' debates, have been generally decreasing the past ten years (Aftenposten, 12.05.2012). Thus, it could also be plausible that July 22nd or other developments in the Norwegian multicultural society could lead to the decrease in Muslim Otherness as a symbolic boundary. Furthermore, this one particular, albeit significant, event must also not obscure boundary changes at the macro level found in the present studies, especially involving the emergence of origins/descent boundaries exemplified by expressions such as *ethnic Norwegian, multicultural* or *immigrant background*. At the very least, these issues suggest and seem to justify continued monitoring of symbolic boundaries post-July 22nd as a worthwhile endeavor.

6.3 On the integration of the present studies: future developments linking diversity ideologies, symbolic boundaries, and majority members' proactive integration attitudes

This thesis has attempted to apply a general levels of analysis framework to describe the four empirical studies aimed at developing better theoretical and empirical understandings of majority members' role in a multicultural society. As mentioned, they aim to contribute toward new directions within contemporary intergroup relations research from different social psychological perspectives. I have assumed throughout that the engagement of different traditions (psycho-linguistic and applied attitude) and methodologies (language change, survey research, and focus groups) would provide a unique and valuable perspective on Norwegian majority members' experience in multicultural societies and role in incorporating immigrant minorities. As individual papers, these studies have prioritized social psychological investigation at separate levels and applied different concepts (diversity ideologies, symbolic boundaries, attitudes toward majority integration efforts), instead of a more focused integration of multiple levels, apart from the attempt to compare data on macro and meso levels in Paper IV.

There have been basic attempts to combine findings between the different approaches taken up in this thesis. Papers I and IV suggested that the observed symbolic boundary changes at the macro level may affect Norwegian majority members' support for inclusion/exclusion practices at the meso and micro levels. In particular, descriptive evidence of a homogenous immigrant representation provided in Paper I in part justified the examination of how perceptions of the immigrant boundary may influence support for majority integration efforts in Paper III. Based on findings in Paper III, it could be assumed that the two strongest predictors of MIE attitudes, perceptions of the integration intentions of immigrants and perceived entitativity of immigrants as a group, may be applied in interventions to hopefully improve intergroup relations through an adjustment to the immigrant minority boundary (e.g., through the media, public policy etc., see also The Directorate of Integration and Diversity, 2009; ECRI, 2009; OSI, 2010). In other words, the perception of the positive integration intentions of immigrants and heterogeneity of immigrants promotes majority support for inclusion practices such as proactive integration. However, there may be unintended negative consequences as positive or corrective portrayals of immigrants, which these findings seem to imply, as they may be perceived by majority members as subtle attempts by those in power to manipulate their attitudes (Paper III; Norton & Sommers, 2011). While awareness of these potential drawbacks is critical, the present findings nonetheless suggest that symbolic boundaries, which construct immigrant minorities as a homogenous social group and are becoming more prevalent at the macro level in media discourse, may be a barrier that affects majority members' support for practices of inclusion. Moreover, as discussed in Papers II and III, the ideological position that proactive integration leads to harmonious and more equal intergroup relations, although intuitively attractive, is still in want of solid empirical support.

Apart from the above attempts, the interrelationships between diversity ideologies and symbolic boundaries on the one hand, and attitudes toward proactive integration efforts on the other have not been directly assessed or discussed in detail in the present thesis. Thus, while clearly linked by common themes such as a focus on Norwegian majority members' discourse or attitudes and engagement of social psychology, a main remaining challenge involves integrating these diverse studies which possess different theoretical, conceptual and methodological perspectives. The remainder of this thesis sets out to explore how to best link the findings of these separate studies and further knowledge of the interrelationship between

societal ideologies, symbolic boundaries and MIE attitudes. I suggest that the best integration of these perspectives and lines of research will involve new empirical studies which could expand upon the general levels framework which has guided this thesis, and build upon the bottom-up and top-down approaches presented in Chapter 3.4.

6.3.1 Bottom-up approaches

A bottom-up focus would involve further explorations on the roots of intergroup attitudes and social interaction using self-report measures on the relationship between individual difference and intergroup perception and interaction variables, diversity ideologies, and MIE attitudes. There are a number of unexplored measures which could be expected to form meaningful relationships with MIE attitudes at the micro-meso levels that would enhance construct validity (see also Chapter 5.3.3). For example, following the positive intergroup relations approach, one could examine if and how general prosocial value orientation (Van Lange, 1999) or allophilia measures (Pittinsky et al., 2011a) may be related to proactive integration. Need for cognitive closure could also be expected to be generally negatively associated with MIE attitudes (Roets & van Hiel, 2011).

At present, the potential correspondence between integration attitudes and individual proactive behaviour has not been examined. One reason for this is that MIE attitudes have been operationalized in terms of how majority members evaluate what Norwegians and Norwegian society should do in terms of adjusting cultural and structural domains of their own way of life. Nonetheless, self-reported behaviour in the form of common intergroup contact measures (e.g., cross-group friendships, quality of contact) with immigrants could also be new measures that may provide additional information. Perhaps a more relevant behaviour measure linking diversity ideologies and MIE attitudes would be to replicate Wolsko et al.'s (2006) design asking majority members to vote on different public policies (affirmative action, immigration quotas, immigrant rights, and language requirements for immigrants). Incidentally, this would also allow for the exploration of a potential principle-implementation gap¹⁴ (Dixon et al., 2007).

A further integration of the levels of analysis framework would also involve testing different models to establish potential mediators/moderators linking diversity ideologies and MIE attitudes. As a starting point, building upon the links between the personality and

ideological social attitudes established in Paper II, one may test if the dual-process motivational model (DPPM, Duckitt & Sibley, 2009, 2010; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008) may predict MIE attitudes in cross-sectional studies through individual difference, intergroup perception and ideological measures (see below). In addition, other individual difference measures pertaining to mass-media such as amount and type of media consumption, and ideological profile of most consumed mass-media could also be examined with MIE attitudes and placed within the model.

At present, the only explicitly ideological measures examined in relationship to MIE attitudes have been SDO, RWA, and global identity. While it has been implied that preferences for multiculturalism are either incorporated in (e.g., openness to diversity) or highly related to MIE attitudes the relationship between endorsements for different diversity ideologies have not been examined in relation to MIE attitudes. Drawing upon social interaction approaches, future studies should examine the relationship between the MIE scale and endorsement of different diversity ideologies as operationalized in standard measures of multiculturalism, colourblindness, or assimilation (e.g., Rosenthal & Levy, 2012; van de Vijver et al., 2008; Wolsko et al., 2006). This would also allow for a better assessment of incremental validity by conducting a similar study as Rosenthal & Levy's (2012) Study 4 which examined the polyculturalism scale in relation to other established measures.

On that note, Rosenthal & Levy's (2010, 2012) recent work on attitudes toward polyculturalism should be explored in relationship to MIE attitudes. This diversity ideology focuses upon viewing "people of all racial and ethnic groups as deeply connected to one another through their past and current interactions and mutual influences on each other's cultures" (Rosenthal & Levy, 2012, pp 2-3). As proactive integration proposes that majority members make changes to their own way of life, it could be reasonable to assume a strong relationship between MIE attitudes and endorsement of polyculturalism. However, as with colourblind ideologies and much of the research conducted on diversity ideologies and intergroup attitudes, especially along the Black-White binary (Dovidio et al., 2010; Plaut, 2010), research on polyculturalism may also be North American specific.

The general relationship between perceived threat of immigrants as an intergroup perception measure and MIE attitudes should be explored in more detail. The DPPM suggests

¹⁴ This gap describes the general decline in support for (racial) inequality in the Western world, but resistance in the implementation of concrete policies (e.g. affirmative action) to address current inequality.

that social environment may influence the manifestations of RWA (socially threatening environment) and SDO (environment built upon group competition/dominance) which in turn predict prejudice, nationalism, ethnocentrism, and right-wing politics (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010). Perceived threat has also been linked with negative immigrant attitudes in realistic conflict and social identity theory (González et al., 2008; Schlueter & Davidov, 2011; Wagner et al., 2010; Ward & Masorjet, 2006). It could therefore be expected that majority members' perceptions of immigrants as competing for material or symbolic resources or as a threat to their cultural values may act as a mediator between endorsement of diversity ideologies and MIE attitudes. Experimental manipulations of social environment could also further test the applicability of the DPPM in relation to MIE attitudes and societal ideologies. In the latter case, one would expect that RWA and openness/intellect (conscientiousness) as mediated by perceived threat would best predict MIE attitudes in which immigrant minorities are framed in a threatening context, whereas SDO and agreeableness as mediated by perceptions of group competitiveness would best predict MIE in a group dominance/competitiveness environment.

Ingroup identification also plays a key role in anti-immigrant bias (e.g., Wagner et al., 2010). Thus, the already established negative relationship between national identification and MIE attitudes in Paper II should be further explored. It could prove to be a powerful mediator between societal ideologies and proactive integration as mentioned in other studies (e.g., Hahn & Park, 2010; Morrison et al., 2010; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). For example, Deaux et al. (2006) found that White majority members' ethnic identification mediated the effect of attitudes toward social inequality on participating in collective action that would benefit their own group. In their study, if majority members supported group based inequality, they were more likely to support strategies that benefited their own ingroup's status if they possessed high ethnic identification. Another avenue of future exploration could also involve building upon the possibility of separating the openness to diversity domain from the efforts domains mentioned above. One model that could be tested is that an effect of openness to diversity (similar to general preferences for multiculturalism) on efforts attitudes might be mediated through ethnic or national identification.

6.3.2 Top-down approaches

From a top-down perspective, ideological framing or labelling experimental research may also better unite different perspectives. Future studies could examine if and how standardized ideological frames used in previous research may influence support for proactive

inclusion. Replicating Wolsko et al.'s (2000) design by framing ideologies of multiculturalism (appreciating group differences) and colour-blindness (focus on similarities and breaking down of group differences)¹⁵ would be a good starting point. As mentioned in Chapter 6.1, new frames should also be developed to tap directly into *laissez-faire* multiculturalism, a pragmatic approach, and polyculturalism. It could be predicted that multiculturalism would lead to more positive MIE attitudes based upon Wolsko et al.'s (2000) findings of less pro-White bias among majority members in the multicultural condition. Framing the appreciation of differences may make the possibility that majority members may need to adapt more salient so that immigrants' way of life is respected and upheld in the Norwegian society. However, based upon the uncertain and untested relationship between tolerance and active efforts of majority members, this may not necessarily be the case. A polycultural frame could also be expected to positively influence MIE attitudes. Highlighting the interconnectedness of different ways of life and mutual influences on different cultures (Rosenthal & Levy, 2012) may in fact lead to more willingness to adjust through the (forced) recognition of the inevitable mutual influence of different cultures on each other. Meanwhile, a colour-blind frame would most likely indicate less positive attitudes due to a de-emphasis on groups (colour-blind) or pressure to assimilate to majority society. Nonetheless, it is an open empirical question as to how different type of frames would influence MIE attitudes, as they have been mainly used to investigate the effect of ideologies on stereotypes and intergroup judgments/inferences (Gutiérrez & Unzueta, 2010; Wolsko et al., 2000) or behaviour toward outgroup members (Vorauer & Sasaki, 2010, 2011). On a final note regarding ideological framing, it would be beneficial to draw upon media framing research from communication studies and political science which have developed innovative methods for the identification of frames and examining how they may shape public attitudes (e.g., Chong & Druckman, 2007; de Vreese, 2012; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Wettstein, 2012).

Although the relationship between diversity ideologies, symbolic boundaries and majority integration attitudes has not been studied directly in this thesis, it has been implied that from a macro level, symbolic boundaries play a role in ideological, common sense assumptions about immigrant adaptation. In particular, the media's role in negotiating cultural diversity has also been highlighted (Siapera, 2010), which is also assumed in other levels of

¹⁵ Rosenthal & Levy (2010, pp. 218-220) point out that the implementation of a colour-blind ideology may emphasize either assimilation or individualism (see also Dovidio et al., 2010).

analysis frameworks (e.g., Deaux, 2006; Wagner et al., 2010). Drawing upon macro-level findings from Papers I & IV it would also be interesting to investigate the effect of different linguistic expressions found in public discourse on MIE attitudes. How might certain boundaries identified by salience in media discourse influence majority members' willingness to support integration efforts in the Norwegian context? Replicating labelling studies in which different linguistic expressions were found to foster different intergroup attitudes would therefore be beneficial (Morrison & Chung, 2010; Stewart et al., 2011; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2010). Potential effects of key expressions found in Papers I and IV involving hybridity, ethnicity, and immigrant otherness on proactive integration attitudes should be examined.

There are several 'dark sides,' that studying ideological framing or labelling may enact which ought to also receive further consideration. For example, Dovidio et al. (2007, 2012) suggest that promoting positive, but superficial intergroup attitudes and common identities may direct attention away from the inequality and injustice that some minorities may face. Norton and Sommers (2011) found that there is a growing feeling among U.S. Whites that they have become victims of unfair treatment as affirmative action is implemented with the intention to redress the discrimination of historically disadvantaged minorities. Thus, reactance among majority members toward policies aiming to improve intergroup relations and statuses of immigrant minorities may also be another 'dark side'.

An even more focused examination of the role of the media and societal ideologies in shaping and predicting MIE attitudes would arise from the inclusion of the MIE scale (or a shortened version) in a longitudinal, national survey series. Ideally this would involve a representative sample of the Norwegian population and enable future analysis comparing changes in symbolic boundaries and diversity ideologies in mass-media with changes and variations in MIE attitudes similar to other studies. For example, Coenders, Lubbers, Scheepers, and Verkuyten (2008) found that Dutch outgroup attitudes became more negative when the ideological context shifted from multiculturalism to assimilation. Meanwhile, Schlueter and Davidov (2011) combined individual level data from national survey research on perceptions of threat, statistics on immigrant group size, and content analysis involving negative media reports on immigration from 1996-2007. Their findings indicated that more negative-immigration reports in media corresponded with majority members' increased perceptions of group threat beyond the influence of actual immigrant group size in different

communities. They also found that negative immigration reports in the media amplified perceived threat among majority members in regions with less immigrants.

Hence, systematic monitoring of the MIE would allow for the comparison of different ways of assessing changing ideological context, in addition to other factors such as geography. Exploring media developments and the framing of national identity in relationship to MIE attitudes would also be ideal. Hahn et al. (2010, p. 125) suggest that in contexts that emphasize national identity on the basis of ethnicity and culture, a key boundary of difference found in public discourse in Papers I and IV, then majority members will be less likely to endorse policies related to multiculturalism. Based on the present linguistic developments one might expect a general decline of attitudes toward proactive integration to correspond with an increased framing of Norwegianness through ethnicity.

Another way to examine macro-level change in relationship to potentially changing MIE attitudes would be to conduct content analysis examining integration and symbolic boundaries in Norwegian mass-media over time. For example, one could chart the development of the expression 'integration' in media discourse. The field of corpus linguistics has developed sophisticated data analysis programs that map the frequency of expressions around other expressions for large data sets (e.g., Biber et al., 1998) which could also potentially be utilized to find the most common symbolic boundary expressions of majority and immigrant minorities associated with 'integration'. It would also be ideal to map the valence of these articles toward immigrants/immigration. In this context, media framing research may have much to offer in the identification and typology of frames of integration and symbolic boundaries (e.g., Chong & Druckman, 2007; de Vreese, 2012). Thus, one could also draw upon these fields to develop ways to code an evaluative dimension of news reports on integration that may be compared to cross-sectional studies of the MIE similar to Schlueter and Davidov (2011).

As mentioned, comparing the findings in this thesis in other receiving societies would also be beneficial for integrating the general levels of analysis framework. Therefore, cross-national studies of MIE attitudes and symbolic boundary development, would be ideal. Cross-national comparison of MIE attitudes and other measures could investigate if the same unidimensional structure is found and if there are differences in relationships between individual difference and intergroup perception variables with MIE attitudes found in Papers II and III across different nation-states that possessed different diversity ideologies. Similar to

Nafstad, Blakar, Botchway, and Rand-Henriksen's (2009) cross-national comparison between Norway and Ghana of 'globalized' and local ideologies on the good life, future cross-national comparisons would also lead to a better understanding of similarities and differences of ideological boundary practices occurring in different nation states, perhaps starting with other Scandinavian countries. To my current knowledge the expressions 'ethnic Swede' or 'ethnic Danish' are not currently as prevalent as the emerging expression 'ethnic Norwegian'. It would thus be interesting to examine if boundaries of origins/descent are manifested in other expressions, or rather different types of ideological boundaries and conceptualizations of integration exist in these neighbouring countries.

Examining proactive integration attitudes and diversity ideologies within everyday life top-down approaches would offer one of the most fruitful ways to better link different levels. Therefore, more work should also be done to better understand how majority members use diversity ideologies and symbolic boundaries and/or interpret media language to justify inclusion or exclusion practices such as proactive integration in everyday life. Qualitative research using focus groups in which majority members discuss integration efforts in social interaction would be a useful starting point. Here one may the symbolic boundaries used to justify, legitimize, or questions how people evaluate the majority's role in integration, as operationalized in the MIE construct in relationship to macro-level diversity ideologies. The mutual adaptation conceptualization of integration currently favoured by EU countries, and Norway, must be considered as a component of diversity ideologies in that it seems to be widely taken-for-granted, even in our own investigations. Another assumption is that endorsement of proactive integration is probably motivated by majority members' desire for social cohesion. Qualitative studies would help understand if and how majority members express these motivations, and which symbolic boundaries they enact to articulate (or not) these desires. Verkuyten's (2005c) study that combined a discursive and experimental approach on diversity ideologies of multiculturalism and assimilation in relationship to the construction of immigration may also serve as a template to better integrate different social psychological approaches.

Examining majority members' discourse on integration efforts would also enable a better understanding of 'common sense' used to endorse or oppose proactive integration by focusing upon ideological dilemmas. Billig's (1991) notion focus on both macro-level analysis involving how individuals are constrained by wider patterns of common sense

discourse when forming attitudes/opinions (i.e. that may question or justify power relations between majority and minority groups), but at the same micro-level analysis in which they are also agents that argue and engage with ideologies in forming these very same attitudes and performing social actions. For example, Augoustinos, et al. (2005) illustrate how speakers tended to construct opposition to affirmative action policies for Aboriginals in Australia by drawing on wider ideological discourses (individualism, meritocracy and equality) and at the same time avoiding explicit prejudice on racial grounds (i.e. new racism). However, these very same speakers also acknowledged unequal power relations and challenged some of the very same ideological notions they used to oppose affirmative action. Thus, if/when Norwegian majority members oppose proactive integration they could be expected to use ‘common sense’ aspects of ideological discourse from liberal multiculturalism such as social inclusion, tolerance and egalitarianism, and acknowledge inequality and support multiculturalism (see also Condor, 2011).

New qualitative studies could also go beyond analysing general lay discourse on mutual integration, by adding media prompts (e.g., articles on proactive integration). This would lead to a move away from a top-down ‘media effects’ tradition and examine how majority members interpret the mass-media’s remooing of cultural diversity and integration at the meso-level, which is the final focal point in this discussion. However, how majority members oppose or endorse proactive integration in actual social interaction is an open question that is yet to be investigated.

6.3.3 On the present integration and the meso level

In efforts to better integrate the different studies in this thesis, I have attempted to employ a general levels of analysis framework and described four common features of social psychological research that tend to take the micro and macro level as starting points in the study of majority members’ ideologies and intergroup attitudes. As Deaux (2006) and Pettigrew (1997) have argued, the meso-level is most often considered as the epicentre of social psychological investigation. Yet I have predominantly identified approaches that while creating measures or explaining findings in terms of the meso-level, more often than not take the macro- or micro-levels as a starting point or unit of analysis. Nonetheless, group difference studies noting tendencies for majority and minority members to have different preferences for diversity ideologies have been mentioned (e.g., Plaut, 2010; Verkuyten, 2005b; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006; Wolsko et al., 2006). Although some discursive

studies take the meso level as a unit of analysis when examining social interaction (e.g., Augoustinos et al., 2005; Condor et al., 2006; Verkuyten, 2005c), sustained focus of actual social interaction and how it is interrelated with macro and micro level factors seem few and far between in many social psychological approaches.

Therefore, a final development to the levels of analysis framework would involve the implementation of more studies on actual interaction at the meso level investigated in light of the macro and micro levels. This idea was one of the driving forces behind Paper IV's comparison of different levels focusing upon ideology and agency in ethnic identity development. However, a better integration must move beyond comparing different studies or the statistical analysis of macro, meso, and micro measures as described above. There are some studies that may serve as models for future studies of diversity ideologies and proactive integration attitudes at the meso level, such as experimental approaches which have examined how ideological framing may affect interaction between majority members and minorities (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, N., & Ariely, 2006; Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, 2009).

Condor & Figgou's (2012) call for methodological innovation in the field of prejudice and intergroup relations research strikes a chord with the current research. They propose that social psychologists should pay more attention to collaborative cognition which takes the meso level as explicit unit of analysis. Their studies have examined the co-construction of discourse in prejudice denial, a key tenant of exclusionary ideologies (see also Condor et al., 2006). Thus, in combination with the suggestions for qualitative research presented above, incorporating dialogical approaches in the study of diversity ideologies and proactive integration would greatly enhance studies of majority members' role in incorporating immigrant minorities. This would involve moving beyond the identification of what symbolic boundaries are used in public or lay discourse on integration or examining individual majority members' endorsement or opposition to proactive integration, and require investigating how they do so in collaboration with other majority members and minorities in actual social encounters. Moreover, this would allow a more grounded return to the psycho-linguistic tradition of Norwegian social psychology which inspired and formed a back-drop to Papers I and IV (Rommetveit, 1968, 1974, 1992; Wold, 1992).

6.4 Concluding remarks

The growth of current multicultural societies represents a challenge to develop better ways of living together for majority and immigrant minority groups. My contention throughout this thesis is that different perspectives within the academic discipline of social psychology have much to offer understandings of current majority-immigrant minority relations in Norway and how to improve them. On an optimistic note, the new empirical studies that are detailed in this thesis, and developed from these different social psychological traditions, will hopefully improve knowledge of current social issues in Norway relating to majority members' attitudes toward integration, and how symbolic boundaries are constructed in media. Perhaps they may eventually in some way lead toward establishing more equality between groups and allow for a better acceptance of immigrant minorities.

While a diverse group of social psychologists have traditionally possessed admirable aims to improve intergroup relations, much of our research in this regard has occurred within the prejudice reduction framework. When it comes to majority members, there is an overwhelming amount of research conducted with the aim of changing majority members' prejudiced attitudes (e.g., Dixon & Levine, 2012; Paluck & Green, 2009; Tropp & Mallett, 2011; Wright & Baray, 2012). While interventions designed from this research may prove successful in promoting tolerance, they still remain rooted within a passive tradition, and may not lead to improvements in immigrant minorities' way of life. On that note, the studies in this thesis have aimed beyond prejudice reduction and strive for new empirical developments in the field. They also reflect current developments within the study of intergroup relations calling for more and different types of research on majority members (e.g., Dixon & Levine, 2012; Plaut, 2010; Stott et al., 2012; Tropp & Mallett, 2011). Whether or not they may make the impact required toward lasting improvement upon current inequalities between groups in Norway, or elsewhere, remains to be seen. Moreover, as discussed in Papers II and III, the ideological position that proactive integration leads to harmonious intergroup relations, although intuitively attractive, is still in want of solid empirical support. At best, the present studies have provided new descriptive, yet profound, evidence of symbolic boundary changes in Norwegian media discourse and detailed the construction and validation of a new scale measuring the potential active contribution of majority members. Addressing these issues, dilemmas, and complexities between dominant majority members and immigrant minorities which have emerged in current multicultural societies will undoubtedly continue to occupy

intergroup relations researchers. Hopefully, as illustrated in this discussion, the present studies have laid the groundwork for future studies and interventions that may build upon a levels of analysis framework for understanding the majority's role in incorporating immigrant minorities and eventually improving intergroup relations.

However, behind the contention that societal and diversity ideologies are appropriate concepts in which to understand and investigate the majority's role in constructing symbolic boundaries and immigrant adaptation, lies the implicit assumption that intergroup relations in multicultural societies are characterized by inequality. This presupposes that representations and common sense assumptions concerning groups usually benefit the majority over immigrant minorities. Therefore, I conclude on a final, more pessimistic note.

Critics such as Žižek (1995, 2008, 2010) argue that liberal multiculturalism in emphasizing group equality, respect, and tolerance, contributes to ideological mystification. When endorsing multiculturalism of this kind, Western majority members may remain both distant and neutral toward minorities. Furthermore, when we do attempt to establish better conditions for ethnic minorities within nation-states, we may end up ignoring the wider contradictions and dilemmas of the capitalist system which has undoubtedly been an important driving force (in addition and in relationship to climate change and intergroup conflict) behind current migration. While I have not used this Marxist conceptualization of ideology in this thesis, Žižek's stance is useful to highlight that the present focus on intergroup adaptation and boundaries most likely do not address the main problems which affect today's current intergroup relations and striking inequalities. In other words, while proactive integration and more multicultural or even inclusive symbolic boundaries may be conceived of as helping and incorporating immigrant minorities in a receiving society, they may also mask some of the material conditions and wider problems leading to current migration, inequalities, and suffering.

7. References

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Running Head: INTERGROUP PERCEPTION AND INTEGRATION ATTITUDES

Intergroup Perception and Proactive Majority Integration Attitudes

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Abstract

Few social psychological investigations focus upon the majority's potential active role in integration. The present study examines the relationship between intergroup perception and majority attitudes toward proactive integration of immigrant minorities in Norway. It assesses how and whether perceived entitativity of immigrants, endorsement of counter stereotypic portrayals of immigrants and meta perspectives along the appraisal dimensions of warmth/competence predict Norwegian majority members' integration attitudes as measured by the Majority Integration Efforts (MIE) scale. Correlational and multiple regression analysis yielded two strong (perceptions of positive immigrant integration intentions and perceived entitativity) and two moderate (perceptions of high immigrant competence in Norwegian society and meta-warmth) predictors of these attitudes. Further analysis indicated that the main effect of perceived immigrant entitativity on MIE attitudes was partially mediated by perceptions of counter-stereotypic intentions and competence. Theoretical and practical implications of these findings are discussed. We conclude by highlighting how the perception of immigrants' positive integration intentions and heterogeneity as a group may best promote majority support for proactive integration efforts.

Keywords: majority attitudes, integration, intergroup perception, entitativity, stereotypes

Intergroup Perception and Proactive Majority Integration Attitudes

Integration may be viewed as a multifaceted process for establishing better intergroup relations in multicultural societies and ideally involves adaptation by both immigrant minority and dominant majority groups (Berry 1997; Common Basic Principles [CBP], 2010; Eriksen, 2007; Penninx, 2003). 'Traditional' social psychological research that may contribute toward understanding integration has predominantly focused on majority prejudice reduction (see Paluck & Green, 2009) or as a strategy of immigrant adaptation in acculturation psychology (Berry, 1997). Prejudice reduction strategies often aim to transform negative intergroup attitudes and stereotypes and instead promote tolerance via positive intergroup contact (Dixon, 2001) or by changing group boundaries and social categories to reduce intergroup bias (Gaertner et al., 1999; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Yet, these efforts may be too passive and not sufficiently effective to produce long-lasting change in social structure in order to improve the collective status of disadvantaged groups (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005, 2007; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009; Park & Judd, 2005; Phelps, Eilertsen, Türken, & Ommundsen, 2011). In acculturation psychology, meanwhile, integration is mainly conceived of as an adaptation strategy made by immigrants within an adaptation context framed by 'dominant' majority members and their ideologies (Berry, 1997; Bourhis, Mösse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). However, the few empirical studies from the majority's standpoint in the acculturation paradigm usually focus upon which strategies majority members want immigrants to choose, but not their own role or responsibility (Phelps, 2011).

In contrast, some social scientists (e.g. Penninx, 2003; Ringen, 2005) argue for advocating a more central, responsible, and active role for majority members in their relationships with immigrants which extends beyond tolerance promotion, prejudice reduction, or endorsement of immigrant acculturation strategies. Some studies reflecting this

position have assessed different factors involved in actively helping or supporting policies aimed at improving the status of minorities (e.g. Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004; Jackson & Esses, 2000). The present study advances a new area of such research involving the assessment of majority attitudes toward their own (potential) proactive role in integration and social change (Phelps et al., 2011) because fostering majority tolerance may not be enough to improve intergroup relations (Pittinsky & Montoya, 2009; van Quaquebeke, Henrich, & Eckloff, 2007).

The idea of proactive majority integration entails that majority members recognize that they may play an active part in the adaptation of (mainly) ‘non-Western’ immigrants (see e.g. Open Society Institute [OSI], 2010; Ringen, 2005). This means that they not only tolerate immigrants and change prejudiced stereotypes, but also value diversity and actively make adjustments in their own society in order to make immigrants feel welcome. Such accommodations could be anything from providing general economic assistance for immigrants to establish themselves in a new society to offering driver’s license tests in their mother tongue. This conceptualization of proactive integration presupposes the willingness to actively incorporate immigrant minorities into the receiving society and corresponds to the rhetoric and definition based on “mutual accommodation” currently in use in European Union policy (CBP, 2010; OSI, 2010).

The present study explores the extent to which members of a majority society support proactive inclusion, and some potential antecedents of such attitudes. We have developed a psychometric measure, the Majority Integration Efforts (MIE) scale, which assesses majority members’ integration attitudes within three interrelated domains: openness to diversity, and willingness to agree to cultural and structural changes in order to accommodate and respect immigrants (Phelps et al., 2011). Construct validation of the MIE scale in the Norwegian context has shown that it relates meaningfully to important prejudice predictors right-wing

authoritarianism (RWA, Altemeyer, 1981; Zachrisson, 2005) and social dominance orientation (SDO, Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), and cosmopolitan identity (Türken & Rudmin, in press), but less so to personality constructs (Big 5, International Personality Item Pool). Although the MIE construct is not conceived as a mirror opposite of prejudice or equivalent of (passive) tolerance, a key finding was that an unwillingness to favor proactive integration efforts was associated with RWA and SDO.

These findings exemplify one of two lines of research involving the quest for antecedents of outgroup attitudes (see Meeus, Duriez, Vanbeselaere, Phalet, & Kuppens, 2009). Previous research has consistently shown that relatively stable personality factors (e.g. Big 5) and ideological world views such as RWA and SDO predict variation in attitudes toward minorities (Hodson, 2009). Furthermore, RWA and SDO are conceived to lie psychologically between personality and social attitudes, and may thus be partly malleable. Nevertheless, a focus on individual ideological orientations and dispositional factors may be less efficient if the aim is to change negative attitudes related to outgroup members. Instead, the improvement of intergroup relations between majority and immigrant minority members may best be accomplished in the second line of research, which is focused on situational factors that influence outgroup attitudes (Meeus et al, 2009). Therefore, a reasonable extension to understand what may influence (or predict) MIE attitudes is to examine contextual and potentially malleable factors which 'structure' social cognition, and more specifically intergroup perception.

At a general level, social cognition is a basis for human interaction (e.g. Strack & Förster, 2009). Moreover, an individual's construals and perceptions of other individuals and groups have often proved alterable through social influence (e.g. Ross & Nisbett, 1991). Consequently, the present study examines the extent to which majority members' willingness to incorporate immigrants is related to how majority members perceive immigrants as a

group. In particular, we investigate how the perceived entitativity of immigrants, and the universal dimensions of warmth and competence examined in relationship to the endorsement of counter-stereotypic portrayals of immigrants and meta-perception (i.e. what majority members think immigrants think of them) may be related to and predict MIE attitudes.

Intergroup Perception and MIE Attitudes

Perceived Outgroup Entitativity

Research on perceived entitativity, the degree in which a collection of people are perceived as being bonded together in a cohesive or homogenous unit (Campbell, 1958; Hamilton & Sherman, 1996; Lickel et al., 2000), has illustrated how entitativity as an antecedent is important for intergroup perception (e.g. Spencer-Rodgers, Hamilton, & Sherman, 2007; Yzerbyt, Judd, & Corneille, 2004) and that it may influence stereotype change (Rothbart & Park, 2004). One seemingly common finding is that perceivers possess more extreme or negative evaluations of outgroups when the outgroup is seen as more entitative (e.g. Abelson, Dasgupta, Park, & Banaji, 1998; Dasgupta, Banaji, & Ableson, 1999; Grzesiak-Feldman, & Suszak, 2008). Furthermore, the perception of entitative groups may also lead to more distrust and negative impressions of out-groups (Wildschut, Insko, & Pinter, 2004). It may even result in collective retribution judging the whole group based on the (mis)behaviour of single group members (Denson, Lickel, Curtis, Stenstrom, & Ames, 2006). It thus seems reasonable to explore if the perception of immigrants as constituting an entitative body may also negatively affect majority attitudes toward accommodating immigrant minorities.

Universal Dimensions of Warmth/Competence

Fiske and colleagues have argued (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999) that social cognition appears to be organized around two universal appraisal

dimensions, *warmth* (warm/cold, do members of this outgroup intend to benefit or harm me or my group) and *competence* (ability/inability, can outgroup members benefit or harm me or my group). Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu (2002) demonstrated that outgroup perceptions and stereotypes vary along these two dimensions, as well as the preferred lines of action to be taken toward outgroups. According to Cuddy, Fiske & Glick (2007, p. 631), at a general level outgroup construals along the warmth dimension may ‘determine active behavioral tendencies’ (e.g. helping or harassing an outgroup), while perceptions involving competence ‘determine passive behavioural tendencies’ (e.g. neglect). It is conceivable, yet unexplored how the two dimensions when applied to immigrants may structure majority proactive attitudes. The present study, thus explores how evaluations of non-Western immigrants along the warmth and competence dimension are related to willingness to support proactive integration in two ‘areas’ – counter-stereotypic information and meta-perspectives.

Counter-stereotypic information. Several studies indicate a strengthening of the dominant representation of immigrants as a non-White, ‘non-Western’, and increasingly homogenous group in Norway, the context of the present investigation (e.g. Gullestad, 2006; Phelps, Blakar, Carlquist, Nafstad, & Rand-Hendriksen, in press). Furthermore, the Norwegian mass media has been criticized for upholding these immigrant stereotypes and not reporting more nuanced information about immigrants (i.e. that is also positive) and their adaptation in Norwegian society (Directorate of Integration and Diversity [DID], 2009; European Commission against Racism and Intolerance [ECRI], 2009). Thus, the current nature of the social category ‘immigrant’ may affect Norwegian majority members’ willingness and ability to play an active part in integration.

In the present study we suggest that majority members’ perceptions of counter-stereotypic statements about immigrants may be assessed along the universal warmth/competence dimensions of social cognition. It is conceivable that integration

intentions of immigrants are construed by majority members as an aspect of warmth indicating good will to adapt to host society. For instance, Matera, Sefanile, and Brown (2011) have shown that when majority members perceive immigrants to desire integration they tend to possess more favourable attitudes toward immigrants. This corresponds with Fiske et al.'s (2007, p. 81) explanation of the warmth dimension at a group level which suggests that "when a group cooperates with or does not hinder the ingroup, then their intent is seen as friendly and trustworthy (i.e. warm)." On the competence dimension, perceptions of immigrants as unable to integrate may also be associated with prejudice (Goodman & Burke, 2011). Moreover, in the context of the present investigation, Norwegian media has been criticized for the tendency to portray immigrants in a negative and stereotypical manner which often indicates an unwillingness to adapt and inability to contribute to Norwegian society (ECRI, 2009; Gullestad, 2006). Thus, implicit in this critique is the idea that agreement with a more nuanced and counter-stereotypic image of immigrants will foster more positive majority attitudes. In the present study, counter-stereotypic statements about immigrants are therefore framed to assess an aspect of *warmth* in terms of the integration intentions of immigrants and *competence* regarding immigrants' abilities to succeed in the Norwegian society.

Meta-perceptions. The majority may also have ideas about the stereotypes held by outgroups towards them. Such meta-perceptions (Laing, Phillipson, & Lee, 1966) may for example concern a group's feelings of being liked or respected by another group (e.g. Huo & Molina, 2006; Smith & Tyler, 1997), or that they are seen as prejudiced and discriminating (Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998). In turn, the content of these meta-perceptions may guide the behavior of the majority towards the minority. The extent to which intergroup meta-perception, i.e. what majority members perceive immigrants to think about them, is linked to majority members' willingness to adjust to immigrants, is also investigated. Moreover, given

the assumed universal nature of the warmth/competence dimensions in social perception, it assesses meta-perspectives on the appraisal dimensions, warmth and competence.

Predicting Majority Integration Efforts Attitudes

Most hypotheses in the present study were exploratory as the relationship between the MIE construct and intergroup perception variables has not been investigated. Additionally, an examination of relevant literature provides plausible explanations of relationships in different directions. However, some tentative predictions were made.

Based on studies connecting perceived entitativity to negative evaluations of outgroups (e.g. Abelson, et al., 1998; Dasgupta, et al, 1999; Grzesiak-Feldman, & Suszak, 2008), it was expected that more entitative perceptions of immigrants as a group would be associated with less willingness to favor majority integration efforts. However, theoretical explanations for why and how entitativity is negatively related to evaluations of outgroups varies. Sometimes entitativity is considered to have a main effect (e.g Abelson, et al., 1998; Wildschut et al., 2004) or only to have an effect in combination with another intergroup perception variable (e.g. Castano, Sacci, & Gries, 2003). Thus, whether or not entitativity would have a main or moderating effect, or perhaps even be mediated by such a variable(s) indicates vagueness in the theoretical understanding of the mechanism(s) involved in the functioning of entitativity and therefore was an open empirical question to be explored.

There seemed to be plausible predictions in both directions regarding the relationship between agreement to counter-stereotypic portrayals of immigrants' good intentions or competence and the majority's willingness to favor MIE attitudes. A seemingly straightforward prediction would be that perceiving immigrants as having positive intentions (warmth) to integrate would lead to more positive majority proactive integration attitudes. This also corresponds with experiments that have demonstrated that majority members tend to

express more favourable intergroup attitudes if they perceive immigrants to desire integration in majority society (Matera et al., 2011). Moreover this expectation coincides with the implicit idea behind the ECRI (2009) report which suggests that perceiving immigrants in a more positive light as having positive integration intentions and competence may reduce prejudice and promote majority accommodation. However, as the MIE is not a reverse measure of prejudice, both the warmth and competence dimensions could potentially be more complex. For example, if majority members perceive immigrants as willing to integrate (warmth) and at the same time doing well (competence), this may result in the majority seeing no need to support integration efforts. An outgroup seen as competent (e.g. intelligent, resourceful) may also lead to a heightened sense of threat which could lead to passive harm (i.e. neglect, Cuddy et al., 2007) or increased competition and, hence, a further unwillingness to assist immigrants (e.g. Jackson & Esses, 2000). Therefore, we also left hypotheses regarding how agreement to counter-stereotypic information may predict MIE attitudes open to exploration.

Finally, positive meta-perceptions may foster good will from the recipient. For example, Huo and Molina (2006) found that ethnic minorities were more positive toward the larger society when they felt they were respected, while Smith and Tyler (1997) found similar results in organizational settings. Drawing on these studies it was expected that perceptions of positive minority evaluation of the majority on both dimensions would somehow be reciprocated and foster good will of the majority toward immigrants. Furthermore, based on the early finding that the warmth (or moral) dimension is central in social perception (Asch, 1946) and the general primacy of the warmth dimension over competence (Fiske et al., 2007) we expected that measures of warmth in both counter-stereotypic information and meta-perspectives would have a greater predictive value of MIE attitudes than measures of competence.

Method

Participants and procedure

Five hundred and ninety-five participants took part in an online survey and were recruited from a snow-ball sample of working professionals recruited by psychology students as part of the social psychology component of their degree ($N = 310$) and students via university email lists at the University of Oslo ($N = 285$). An email invitation and link to participate in the survey were sent out to all participants. Participants were informed of the nature of the study via email and led to a web page that included the entire survey. Due to the nature of the online survey procedure, it was impossible to identify how many participants received and read the email invitation or dropped out of the study. Therefore an accurate response rate cannot be provided. Only participants identified as ethnic Norwegian, based upon their answers on demographic questions were included in this analysis. The final subject pool for analysis was 529 participants (66% women), mean age 34.00 ($SD = 14.15$; Range 17-74) after filtering for missing data ($N = 16$) and ethnic background ($N = 50$).

The questionnaire consisted of 72 different statements measuring five scales in the following order: Counter-stereotypic Information (10 items), Perceived Entitativity (10 items), Meta-perspectives Warmth (10 items), Meta-perspectives Competence (10 items), and Majority Integrations Efforts (21 items). Demographic items measuring gender, age, academic field of study, birthplace of father and mother, two questions regarding contact with non-Western immigrants, two questions regarding place of residence, and a participant comment section were also included. Birthplace of father and mother were used in order to filter out non-ethnic Norwegian participants. All participants received the survey in the same order.

Measures

All items in each measure were rated on a 6-point Likert scale using the labels *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *slightly disagree*, *slightly agree*, *agree*, *strongly agree*, where the highest

score represents strongest agreement. Negatively keyed items for all measures were reverse-scored. Participants were instructed to respond to items specifically regarding *non-Western immigrants*. Item analysis involving examination of reliability and item semantics in light of scale properties (inter-item correlations, Cronbach's alpha computations) were undertaken for items within the five original scales in the survey. Modifications to the scales are detailed below.

Counter-stereotypic information items were developed from media and social scientific reports regarding social facts that could be in opposition to the current Norwegian stereotypes of immigrants (DID, 2009) combined with the warmth/competence dimensions. Two different scales were created. *Counter-stereotypic Intentions* (CSI, 6 items, Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$), corresponded to the universal dimension of warmth by assessing evaluations of immigrants' integration intentions, (e.g. "*Most immigrants want to be integrated into society.*"). *Counter-stereotypic Competence* (CSC, 4 items) corresponded to the dimension of competence by assessing evaluations of immigrants' abilities in Norwegian society (e.g. "*The number of minority students that study medicine has increased markedly.*"). After analysis of item properties one item was deleted and the final CSC scale consisted of 3 items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .58$). Higher scores on each measure indicated greater agreement to counter-stereotypic information along the different dimensions.

Perceived Entitativity (PE) items were designed to assess perceptions of non-Western immigrants as a cohesive social group. Items were developed from Spencer-Rodgers, Williams, et al's (2007) measure of Group Entitativity (e.g. "*Immigrants appear as a cohesive group*"). Half of the items were reverse-keyed (e.g. "*Immigrants have different opinions concerning how they should live in Norway*"). After item-analysis, the PE measure was reduced to 9 items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .83$, 4 reverse-keyed). Higher scores indicated higher levels of perceived immigrant group entitativity.

Meta Warmth contained 10 items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$, 5 reverse-keyed) and measured meta-perceptions of how Norwegians perceived non-Western immigrants to evaluate Norwegians along the warmth appraisal dimension of social cognition adapted from Fiske et al. (2007). Items were framed by the question: "How do you believe most immigrants would answer the following statements about Norwegians?" Examples of items are "*Norwegians are just*" or "*Norwegians are egotistic*". Higher scores on this measure indicated that participants perceived that non-Western immigrants perceived Norwegians as warm.

Meta Competence initially contained 10 items designed to capture Norwegian meta-perspectives along the competence dimension. Items were framed in the same manner as *Meta Warmth*. After reliability and semantic analysis, 3 items were discarded, and the measure was divided into *Meta Cultural Competence* (MCC, 4 items, 3 reverse scored, Cronbach's $\alpha = .65$, e.g. "*Norwegians know little about immigrants' cultural background.*") and *Meta General Competence* (MGC, 3 items, Cronbach's $\alpha = .64$, "*Norwegians are knowledgeable*"). High scores indicated that participants perceived that non-Western immigrants evaluated Norwegians as generally competent and culturally competent in dealing with immigrants in the multicultural society.

The Majority Integration Efforts scale (MIE) contained 21 items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .93$, 6 reverse scored) and measured majority members' openness to diversity (e.g. "*People with other cultural backgrounds enrich Norwegian society.*") and willingness to make structural (e.g. "*Immigrants should receive economic support to establish themselves in society.*") and cultural accommodations to include immigrants (e.g. "*If we are going to take integration seriously, we should accept that Norwegian culture changes.*"). The complete scale is reported in Phelps et al. (2011). Higher scores indicated greater willingness to support proactive integration. Dimensionality of the MIE construct was examined by comparing eigenvalues of the empirically derived principal components to expected eigenvalues from a

randomisation procedure (Horn's parallel analysis). Replicating past studies on the MIE (Phelps et al., 2011), only one eigenvalue (9.03) was significantly higher than expected eigenvalues generated from random datasets. A scree-plot also supported this unidimensionality. The first component explained 43 percent of the variance in variables.

Results

Summated Likert-type scales were constructed for the five independent variables and dependent variable (MIE). Zero-order correlations were computed between all variables, including demographics. Psychometric properties including mean, standard deviation, and Cronbach's α of scales and intercorrelations between core variables are given in Table 1. There were no significant associations between the demographic variables and predictor or dependent variables apart from a negative correlation between Meta-Cultural Competence and age ($r = -.14, p = .01$). Therefore demographics are not included in Table 1 or further analysis.

--Insert Table 1--

We found significant positive correlations between the MIE and Counter-Stereotypic intentions ($r = .75, p < .001$) and Counter-stereotypic competence ($r = .40, p < .001$), suggesting that the more majority members perceived immigrants to intend to integrate (an aspect of the warmth dimension) and to be competent members of the Norwegian society, the more likely they were to have positive MIE attitudes.

We also found a significant negative correlation between Perceived Entitativity and scores on MIE ($r = -.56, p < .001$) suggesting that if majority members perceived immigrants as a cohesive group, then they were less likely to have positive MIE attitudes. A weak but statistically significant correlation between the MIE scale and Meta-general competence was also found ($r = .18, p < .01$) indicating majority members were more positive to integration efforts when they perceived that immigrants perceived them as competent. General meta-perspectives on warmth and cultural competence indicated little relationship with the MIE.

Apart from correlations between predictor variables and the MIE dependent variable, there were a few significant correlations of note. We found significant positive correlations between Counter-Stereotype Intentions and Counter-Stereotype Competence ($r = .40, p < .001$) indicating that seeing immigrants as having positive integration intentions (warmth) was associated with also seeing them as competent. In contrast, we found significant negative correlations between perceived entitativity and counter stereotypic intentions ($r = -.55, p < .001$) and counter-stereotype competence ($r = -.32, p < .001$) respectively. This suggests that the more majority members perceived immigrants to constitute an entitative group, the less they agreed with counter-stereotypic information portraying immigrants as having positive integration intentions or as competent members of the Norwegian society.

A standard multiple regression analysis was performed to assess the utility of the intergroup perception variables as predictors of majority members' proactive integration attitudes and, in addition, to identify which variables are most strongly related to MIE attitudes (see Table 2). Analyses were conducted to ensure that the assumptions of regression analysis were fulfilled (normality of residuals, linearity, multicollinearity and homoscedasticity). All intergroup perception variables were included as independent variables with MIE scores as the dependent variable. Table 2 reports standardized regression coefficients, t-values, p-values, and part correlations for all independent variables. Sixty percent of variance in MIE scores was explained by the total set of intergroup perception variables, $F(6, 506) = 126.12, p < .001$. Majority members' perceptions of the integration intentions of immigrants (CSI) was the strongest predictor of MIE attitudes ($\beta = .60, p < .001$). This suggests that if majority members perceived immigrants to have positive intentions to integrate they were more likely to be in favor of proactive integration. The next strongest predictor was perceived entitativity ($\beta = -.20, p < .001$), suggesting that a higher perception of immigrant group cohesiveness predicted an unwillingness to favor MIE

attitudes. Other measures that were statistically significant were counter-stereotypic competence ($\beta = .08, p < .05$) and meta-warmth ($\beta = -.09, p < .01$).

--Insert Table 2--

To better understand key relationships observed in the previous analyses, potential interaction effects of warmth and competence, entitativity and meta-perception were examined. All independent variables were first mean-centered to aid interpretation of potential effects (see e.g. Aiken & West, 1991). Because the stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2007) states that stereotypes of different groups may vary due to different combinations of perceived warmth and competence we first examined if interactions between warmth and competence of counter-stereotypic measures and meta perspectives explained additional variance in MIE attitudes. Next, we explored if the predictive effect of entitativity on MIE attitudes might also interact with the counter-stereotypic measures based upon the observed correlations between the measures (Table 1) and (theoretical) primacy of the universal dimensions of social cognition.

Interaction variables were computed by multiplying together warmth and competence measures of counter-stereotypic and, meta perspectives respectively,¹ and each counter-stereotypic measure and entitativity. We then performed four separate hierarchical regressions in which the original variables for each measure were entered in the first step and then controlled for in the second step as the new interaction measure was added. We found a small, but statistically significant increase in the amount of explained variance when including the interaction effects of counter-stereotypic measures and meta-perspectives in the models, but no interaction effects for entitativity and each counter-stereotypic measure. Table 3 presents the statistically significant interaction effects.

--Insert Table 3--

¹ The independent variable meta cultural competence was omitted from these analyses as its content was deemed too specific to be included in the interaction variable and in addition made little contribution in the first multiple regression analysis.

Both significant interaction effects had negative signs; for the counter-stereotypic beta = $-.06$ ($p < .05$) and for meta perspective beta = $-.119$ ($p < .01$). To interpret findings, predicted values for the relationship between warmth and MIE attitudes for low, moderate, and high competence values were plotted in a chart for both measures. In both models, the relationship between warmth and MIE attitudes was strongest (i.e. regression line with the steepest slope) when competence was perceived as low.

However, despite achieving statistical significance, the interaction effects did not provide a substantial change to the amount of explained variance in MIE attitudes. In addition, as is apparent in Tables 2 and 3, the meta perspectives variables did not make much substantial contribution to predicting MIE attitudes. This seemed to suggest that of the observed main effects, endorsement of counter stereotypic portrayals of intentions (CSI) and competence (CSC), and perceived immigrant entitativity were the most meaningful predictors of MIE attitudes.

To further clarify the relationship between entitativity and measures of warmth (intentions) and competence a mediation analysis was also performed. As shown in Table 1, perceived entitativity was significantly correlated with both the mediation variables (CSI and CSC) as well as the outcome variable MIE. Both mediation variables were also correlated with the outcome, meaning that step 1, 2 and 3 in Baron and Kenny's (1986) mediation analysis was met. Step 4 involves that the relationship between perceived entitativity and MIE attitudes should be weakened when controlling for the mediation variables. Therefore, hierarchical multiple regression analysis was performed to test for potential mediation effects and is presented in Table 4. In the first block, entitativity was entered as the only predictor, counter-stereotypic intentions and competence in block 2, and the interaction effect between warmth and competence in block 3. The regression coefficient for the relationship between entitativity and MIE attitudes dropped from $\beta = -.546$ to $\beta = -.200$ ($p \leq .001$) after entering the

mediation variables in the model. This suggests that while entitativity still had independent predictive value for MIE attitudes, much of its effect was mediated by perceptions of counter-stereotypic intentions and competence of immigrants. The final model showed that counter-stereotypic intentions remained the best individual predictor of MIE attitudes, followed by entitativity and counter-stereotypic competence. The counter-stereotypic warmth/competence interaction variable did not make a statistically significant contribution ($p = .06$) to the overall model, and seems to support claims above regarding the predictive value of individual independent measures as opposed to interaction variables.

To better illustrate the mediation effects, the relationships between the four variables are presented as a path diagram in Figure 1. As can be seen, the effect of entitativity on MIE attitudes is primarily mediated through counter-stereotypic intentions. Sobel's test for mediation (Sobel, 1982) showed that this mediation effect was statistically significant ($Z = -11.23, p < .001$). Although the mediation effect of counter-stereotypic competence was much weaker, Sobel's test of mediation for this effect was also significant ($Z = -2.36, p = .018$).

--Insert Table 4 and Figure 1 --

Discussion

The present research advances the point of view that although promoting tolerance and reducing prejudice is essential for the social inclusion of immigrants, it may not be sufficient (see also Pittinsky & Monotoya, 2009; van Quakebeke et al., 2007). The development of the MIE scale is based on the rationale that it may be necessary for the majority to make active efforts to include outgroups by changing certain aspects of their own way of life (Phelps et al., 2011). We have therefore continued this line by exploring potentially malleable intergroup perception constructs and whether they predicted attitudes toward majority integration efforts.

Our analyses successfully identified four variables, two of which were moderate and two very strong predictors of MIE attitudes. The strongest predictor, corresponding with

social cognitive research about the 'universal' power of the warmth dimension (Fiske et al., 2007), was perceived integration intentions of immigrants (i.e. warmth). Majority members were more willing to adjust aspects of their own society, way of life, and express openness to diversity the more they agreed or perceived to counter-stereotypic information concerning immigrants' willingness to integrate. Furthermore, perceptions of higher levels of entitativity, the second strongest predictor, were associated with less willingness for majority members to favour proactive integration. Combined with the zero order correlations indicating that the more cohesive immigrants were perceived, the less likely majority members would agree to counter-stereotypic information (Table 1), these findings replicate earlier studies on the links between perceptions of outgroup entitativity and negative evaluation of outgroups (e.g. Abelson et al., 1998; Dasgupta et al., 1999; Wildschut et al., 2004).

The third, moderate, but significant predictor of MIE attitudes was counter-stereotypic competence which suggests that Norwegian participants were also more willing to make integration efforts if they perceived immigrants as making a competent contribution to Norwegian society. This finding is also in accordance with evidence that the perception of competence also plays a role in social cognition in addition to the primacy of warmth (Fiske et al., 2007). Furthermore, as the MIE construct measures attitudes toward active accommodations, it was expected to be more related to the warmth dimension, which tends to elicit active behavioural tendencies (Cuddy et al., 2007), and probably explains why warmth was a better predictor of MIE attitudes than competence. Additionally, as there are also 'passive' aspects of the construct, specifically within the openness to diversity domain, the moderate predictive value of counter-stereotypic competence information seems to corroborate that *both* universal dimensions of social cognition play a part in MIE attitudes. However, one limitation on the present findings was that the counter-stereotypic competence scale had a low internal reliability, which might be due to the few number of items (3).

Nonetheless, this finding justifies the development of more items to better capture the competence construct in future investigations.

Our present findings may also suggest an interesting link between Norwegian majority members' meta-perceptions and support for MIE. Although, meta-warmth did not have a zero-order relationship with the MIE (Table 1), it made the fourth significant unique contribution in the multiple regression analysis (Table 2). The more that majority members perceived that immigrants thought that they (the majority) were cold, then the more willing they were to actively accommodate immigrants. Thus, one could speculate that this finding represents a willingness to compensate for a perceived negative group image on behalf of the Norwegian majority, or collective guilt over objectionable behavior of the majority toward the minority (see Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1999, pp. 100-101).

However, we must be careful not to over-state potential effects of meta-perspectives because they did not have nearly the impact as counter-stereotypic intentions or perceived entitativity in either correlation or multiple regression analyses. On the contrary, given the implicit importance of meta-perceptions (Laing, Phillipson, & Lee, 1966; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998) in fostering respect (e.g. Smith & Tyler, 1997) it was surprising that effects of meta-perceptions were weak or non-existent. There are several plausible explanations of these findings. First, the measures of meta-competence had low internal reliabilities (i.e. low Cronbach's alpha) and thus may not have tapped the full potential of meta-perspective competence. This may also reflect that people sometimes find it difficult to report meta-perceptions (Gillespie & Cornish, 2010). Second, the observed weak relationships may be understood in light of Smith and Tyler (1997) who found that perceived evaluation by other groups (meta-perspective) is particularly important when it stems from members of a self-relevant group. Perhaps the Norwegian majority because of its dominant status is less attentive to non-dominant groups (Goodwin, Operario, & Fiske, 1998) or less affected by

intergroup respect (Huo & Molina, 2006). One could thus speculate that immigrant minorities may not be “self-relevant” to ethnic Norwegians as it may matter little what immigrants think about them. If this is a widely shared perception, then it will unfortunately be a major challenge to realize the idea of mutual integration. This pessimistic interpretation, however, may be counterbalanced by our aforementioned finding that when majority members perceived immigrants as perceiving them as cold they were more likely to be willing to endorse proactive integration efforts. The issue of self-relevance may be better addressed by measuring individual differences involving the importance accorded meta-evaluations by majority members (see Vorauer, Hunter, Martin, & Roy, 2000).

Finally, our most interesting finding beyond identification of the three strongest predictors of MIE attitudes in the Norwegian context involves the relationship found between them in mediation analysis (Table 4, Figure 1). While we must be cautious in interpreting findings because mediation effects are best examined in controlled, experimental situations (e.g. Baron & Kenny, 1986; Bullock, Green, & Ha, 2010), when it comes to predicting MIE attitudes we found evidence that the negative effect of entitativity on MIE attitudes is partially mediated by perceptions of immigrants’ integration intentions and competence (Figure 1). As noted, in spite of reports (e.g. Abelson et al., 1998) indicating that evaluations of entitative outgroups tend to be negative, the theoretical explanation can vary. For example, Castano et al. (2003) challenge Abelson et al.’s (1998) notion that there is a direct entitativity effect which leads to negative outgroup evaluations. Instead, they found that the effect of entitativity depended upon whether or not the outgroup was perceived as an ally or enemy. Our findings indicate both a direct effect in which perceived outgroup entitativity yielded a unique effect on MIE attitudes, but also an indirect effect as the perception of positive integration intentions of immigrants (i.e. positive for Norwegian ingroup) was associated with less entitative perceptions of immigrants. Thus, although Castano et al. (2003) assume that

entitativity may predominantly act as a moderator variable, it is equally reasonable based on our findings that entitativity may act as both a unique impression formation variable, and that its consequences may be mediated by perceptions of warmth.

It is worth mentioning two general limitations to the present study. In the qualitative comment section of our survey, we found reactance to our use of the label 'non-Western immigrant'. The category 'non-Western immigrant' subsumes diverse groups, but analysis treated this as one homogenous group in line with how immigrants are often framed in Norwegian public discourse (e.g. ECRI, 2009; Gullestad, 2006; Phelps et al., in press). Some respondents seemed to find such an inclusive category problematic. Hence, future studies could also differentiate between various immigrant subgroups (see Lee & Fiske, 2006; Lickel et al., 2000) and examine if intergroup perception variables and support for MIE may differ based on different minority groups. For example, one could investigate if different outgroups are accorded different relevance as sources of meta-evaluations by the majority. A second limitation involves questions regarding generalizability of our findings due to our snowball sampling procedure. Van Lange, Schippers, and Balliet (2010) found that volunteers for psychological research tend to be higher in prosociality measures. Thus, a present concern could be that participants choosing to respond to our survey may have possessed a more prosocial orientation than those who did not respond. Hence future studies examining the links between intergroup perception and MIE attitudes would benefit from attempts to obtain a more representative sample.

Conclusion

The present study has examined how key intergroup perception variables concerning immigrants may predict majority members' attitudes toward proactive integration. Our findings, based upon correlational and multiple regression analysis, indicate significant relationships between perceived outgroup entitativity and perception of outgroup good will

(warmth) and competence and MIE attitudes. Future experimental studies could examine if the relationship between counter-stereotypic variables and entitativity concerns questions of a potential bi-directional influence, or the role of warmth as a mediator of entitativity effects as observed in our study. Furthermore, combining the dispositional and contextual antecedent traditions into one model by looking at interactions between the intergroup situation (Meeus et al., 2009) with personality factors (e.g. Ekehammer & Akrami, 2007; Hodson, 2009; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008) would be beneficial to better understand and predict MIE attitudes.

To conclude, we assume that the two strongest predictors of MIE attitudes, perceptions of the integration intentions of immigrants and perceived entitativity of immigrants as a group may be applied in everyday life to hopefully improve intergroup relations (e.g. through the media, public policy etc., see also ECRI, 2009; DID, 2009; OSI, 2010). However, there may be unintended negative consequences as positive or corrective portrayals of immigrants may be perceived as subtle attempts by those in power to manipulate majority attitudes. If people hold “wrong”, but deeply rooted beliefs about immigrants, corrective information may backfire and even strengthen those beliefs further (Nyhan & Reifler, 2010). Moreover, the portrayal of counter-stereotypic information may have another unintended effect in that it could legitimize passive behavior such as neglect (Cuddy et al., 2007) which would allow an unjust status quo to remain unchallenged. Along these lines, the Norwegian right-wing politician, Carl I. Hagen has used such ‘positive’ information to express that immigrants are no longer “poor things” and can be criticized (Stokke, 2010). Hence, positive portrayals of immigrants also run the danger of legitimizing populist rhetoric that could further hinder majority accommodation. Thus, the media should be reminded of the possible implications for intergroup perception and majority attitudes when reporting on immigrants. While awareness of these potential drawbacks is critical, the present findings indicate that the perception of the

positive integration intentions of immigrants and heterogeneity of immigrants promotes more majority support for proactive integration efforts.

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Table 1. Correlation matrix, descriptive statistics, and Cronbach's alphas for attitude and intergroup perception measures

	CSI	CSC	PE	MW	MCC	MGC	Mean	SD	α
Majority Integration Efforts (MIE)	.75	.40	-.56	-.04	-.09	.18	3.98	0.84	0.93
Counter-Stereotypic Intentions (CSI)		.40	-.55	.06	-.04	.20	4.23	1.01	0.87
Counter-Stereotypic Competence (CSC)			-.32	-.03	-.14	.10	4.16	0.79	0.58
Perceived Entitativity (E)				-.02	.14	-.09	2.41	0.75	0.83
Meta-Warmth (MW)					.45	.25	3.11	0.60	0.76
Meta-Cultural Competence (MCC)						.14	3.10	0.76	0.65
Meta-General Competence (MGC)							4.50	0.65	0.64

Statistically significant correlations ($p < .01$) in bold typeface. $N = 505$ (listwise)

Table 2. Multiple regression of intergroup perception predictors on attitudes toward majority integration efforts ($N=503$)

	Standardized Coefficients (β)	t-value	p-value	Part Correlation
Counter-Stereotypic Intentions (CSI)	.60	16.80	.000	.47
Counter-Stereotypic Competence (CSC)	.08	2.42	.016	.07
Perceived Entitativity (E)	-.20	-5.80	.000	-.16
Meta-Warmth (MW)	-.09	-2.78	.006	-.08
Meta-Cultural Competence (MCC)	.01	0.29	.769	.00
Meta-General Competence (MGC)	.05	1.83	.067	-.05

$R^2 = .60$, $F(6, 506) = 126.12$, $p < .001$, adjusted $R^2 = .597$

Table 3. Interaction effects of warmth/competence on attitudes toward majority integration efforts: counter stereotypic information and meta perspectives. Standardized coefficients listed (N= 519)

Independent measure	Block	Warmth	Competence	Interaction W x C	R ²	ΔR^2
Counter-stereotypic information	1	0.587***	0.113***		0.566	
	2	0.578***	0.114***	-0.06*	0.570	0.044*
Meta Perspectives	1	-0.088*	0.204***		0.040	
	2	-0.087*	0.185***	-0.119**	0.054	0.014**

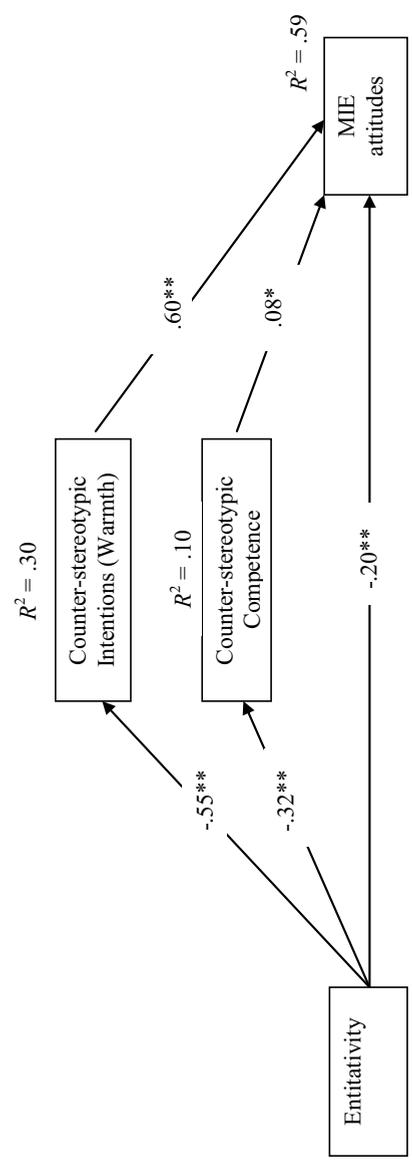
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, all variables are mean centered.

Table 4. Hierarchical regression of effects of entitativity, counter-stereotypic intentions and competence, and counter-stereotypic interaction of intentions and competence on MIE attitudes. All variables are mean centered. (N=515).

Independent measure	Block	Standardized regression coefficient	R ²	ΔR ²
Entitativity	1	-0.546***	.309	
Entitativity	2	-0.200***	.591	.281***
Counter-stereotypic Intentions	2	0.604***		
Counter-stereotypic Competence	2	0.077*		
Entitativity	3	-0.196***	.594	.003
Counter-stereotypic Intentions	3	0.597***		
Counter-stereotypic Competence	3	0.078*		
Counter-stereotypic Interaction (I x C)	3	-0.054		

*p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, *** p ≤ .001, all variables are standardized

Figure 1: The impact of entitativity, counter-stereotypic intentions and competence on MIE attitudes. Standardized coefficients listed.



* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Sobel's test of mediation
Intentions = -11.234, $p < .001$
Competence = -2.362, $p = .018$

Ideology and agency in ethnic identity negotiation of immigrant youth

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Gerard Duveen's conceptualization of the relationship between social identity and social representations invites empirical investigation concerning the interrelated aspects of being identified and making identifications. In the present paper we compare two empirical studies of ethnic minority identity development at different levels. Study 1 assesses macro-level ideological boundary developments through an examination of changing majority-minority representations in public discourse, while Study 2 analyzes the meso-level through identity negotiation and positioning in focus group discussions among immigrant youth in Oslo. Convergent findings between the two studies challenge the imperative/contractual dichotomy which Duveen and others have used to illustrate how social representations impose different kinds of obligations upon social identities. Our analysis suggests that the particular relationship between ethnic identity and social representation should be modified in order to better understand agency within ideological constraint and agency in the form of resistance.

The relationship between social identities and social representations is a source of ongoing debate in social psychology (Deaux & Philogène, 2001; Moloney & Walker, 2007; Marková, 2007). Gerard Duveen's insistence that social identities are functions of social representations places these two central concepts in a mutually constituting, yet hierarchical relationship (Duveen 1993; Duveen, 2001). Generally speaking, his position infers that socially shared knowledge (social representations) about groups precedes and frames the individual's development of an understanding of her/his position in society (social identity). This perspective inspires our research because it invites theoretical and empirical questioning of a particular 'space' which may also be articulated as mutual interaction between macro (ideological) and meso (interactional) levels of analysis (Deaux, 2006; Doise, 1986; Verkuyten, 2005). However, empirical investigations which attempt to combine these two levels are seldom prioritized in social psychological research. In addition, as there have been few empirical studies on ethnic identities within social representations theory we suggest that integrating two studies at different levels is a useful but relatively unexplored approach to understand how social ethnic identities involve both being identified and making identifications (Duveen, 2001).

Our paper will first combine a theoretical understanding of the social representation-social identity relationship with that of ethnic identities as embedded in a social dialectic process between ideology and agency (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Jenkins, 2008; Verkuyten, 2005). We then present a mixed-method analysis of two empirical investigations involving the construction and negotiation of immigrant youths' ethnic identities in Norway at different levels. Using the particular case of immigrant youth, we explore how a comparison of the two studies might enlighten our understanding of the mutual relationship between macro-level ideological representations of groups and ethnic identity negotiation at the meso-level.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

According to Moscovici (1984), social representations in modern societies provide and dictate the shared cultural framework for classifying individuals, communities and cultures by endowing social categories with meaning, content and value. In the developmental perspective outlined by Duveen, upon entering the social world, we are immediately given certain social identities based upon our membership in different social categories, such as gender, age, class or ethnicity, which are constructed or framed by social representations.

Although he claimed that “representations precede identities” prior to birth (Duveen, 2001, p. 268), the relationship throughout development may be best characterized as mutually constituting or dialectical (Breakwell, 1993, 2001; Howarth, 2002; Marková, 2007) because of the role of agency to ‘re-present’ or resist social representations when negotiating social identities (Duveen, 2001; Howarth, 2004, 2006; Nadim, 2005). For example, when constructing an identity, the symbolic resources used at the individual level are considered to be constrained by but may also challenge social representations (Zittoun, et al., 2003).

Duveen and Lloyd (1986, 1990; Lloyd & Duveen, 1992) were among the first social psychologists who discussed and investigated social representations and social identities in relation to each other (see also Hewstone, Jaspars, Lalljee, 1982; Breakwell, 1993). Their insights were derived from an empirical focus mainly on children’s, parents’, and teachers’ construction of gender identities (Duveen & Lloyd, 1986; Lloyd & Duveen, 1992) or the relationship between gender and social interaction in children (e.g. Leman & Duveen, 1996, 1999; Psaltis & Duveen, 2006). The ubiquitous nature of gender as a social categorization in all social encounters (the gender binary) led them to emphasise that many identities are obligatory throughout development, thus stressing the power of social representations to influence agency. In the case of gender, ‘universal physical sex differences’ are given culture-specific ‘gender meanings’ signified by social representations which individual’s must negotiate in the construction and development of a gender identity (Duveen & Lloyd, 1986).

To account for variations and differences in social identities, the external obligation to develop gender identities was used to justify a seemingly universal dichotomy¹ between imperative or contractual obligations which are imposed by social representations (Duveen & Lloyd, 1990; Lloyd & Duveen, 1992; Duveen, 1993; Duveen, 2001)². Imperative obligations occur “where individuals are generally constrained to construct prescribed social identities” (Lloyd & Duveen, 1992; p. 24) by others and are automatically assumed, often related to some form of visibility (Deaux, 2001). Examples of age, class, and ethnicity are provided, but we have found little empirical work which supports the distinction beyond gender. On the other hand, contractual obligations involve when “an individual joining a social group contracts to adopt a particular social identity,” and are seemingly voluntary, but also “interiorized” (Lloyd & Duveen, 1992, p. 24). In this case, occupation via psychoanalyst was consistently provided as an example.

¹Directly attributed to Moscovici in Duveen & Lloyd (1990; p. 8), and later stressed as not exhaustive (Duveen, 2001).

²Also somewhat confusingly explained as imperative or contractual types of identities, or different forms of relationships between social representations and social identities (Duveen, 1993; Duveen, 2001).

Both imperative and contractual obligations on identity involve the use of socially shared knowledge in the ‘internalization’ of social identities, but while the first involves external or societal pressure, the latter is a result of some degree of choice³. However, while ethnicity was classified by Duveen and Lloyd as possessing an imperative obligation it has rarely been studied within the social representation-social identity framework. The applicability of the imperative/contractual relationship for ethnic identities could thus benefit from more concrete investigation (Duveen, 2001). One of the central aims in this paper, is thus to ask what kind of imperative, but also potentially contractual, obligations do we find at the macro- and meso-levels for the negotiation of ethnic identities? It is thus necessary to expand upon a broader conceptualization of ethnic identities before presenting and comparing our empirical studies.

ETHNIC IDENTITIES: IDEOLOGY AND AGENCY

Ethnicity has become a key, but contested analytical concept in the wider social sciences and an increasingly important aspect of social identities in everyday multicultural contexts (e.g. Billig, 1995; Gullestad, 2006; Eriksen, 2002; Jenkins, 2008; Verkuyten, 2005). Many scholars seem to agree that ethnicity concerns the classification of people and group relationships in which myths or ideas of a common origin or history are used to draw boundaries between certain groups (Eriksen, 2002; Verkuyten 2005). Jenkins (2008) emphasises that although ethnic groups and boundaries are ‘imagined’ social constructions, they are rather ubiquitous historically, and near universals of the human condition. Yet, similar to the construction of nation states (Billig, 1995), there does not seem to be a set pattern for the construction of ethnic groups. Depending upon the contextual and historical salience of group belongingness, a number of interrelated group boundaries can be used to imagine common descent. The ‘boundary markers’ (Jenkins, 2008) which ‘define’ ethnic groups may thus involve national, racial, religious, or other culturally shared characteristics (e.g. language, norms, or values).

According to Verkuyten (2005), the genealogy element of ethnicity can be further conceptualized along the circumstantial and primordial dimensions. The circumstantial dimension highlights that there are ideological pressures between groups which frame, legitimize, or manipulate the manifestation of ethnicity based upon power relations.⁴ Ethnic

³Often referred to as ascribed vs. achieved identities (e.g. Deaux, 2001; Huddy, 2001)

⁴Our present use of ideology is understood as beliefs, opinions, values, and social practices that support certain representations and constructions of the world which uphold or challenge hierarchical relationships between groups (Augoustinos, Walker, & Donaghue, 2006; Nafstad, Blakar, Carlquist, Phelps, & Rand-Hendriksen, 2007; 2009; Phelps et al., submitted).

identities are thus a function of the ideological construction of group boundaries salient in a particular society at particular points in time. As contemporary ethnic identities are often taken for granted based upon 'racial' criteria, ethnic groups may be constructed, legitimized, and naturalized using skin colour, or outsider origins to support 'white' or 'western' hegemony (Gullestad, 2006; Jenkins, 2008).⁵ However, instead of viewing race or even nationality as ubiquitous ethnic boundaries, we agree with Jenkins (2008) who conceptualizes racism and nationalism as ideologies which are "historically specific manifestations of ethnicity" (ibid, p. 86). Thus, the understanding of ethnicity applied in our study is based on origins/descent, but not purely synonymous with or only confined to groups on the basis of visibility or membership to a nation state. Certain ethnic ideologies may exist, or be constructed which are neither racist nor nationalist.

The primordial dimension of ethnicity, on the other hand, illustrates the emotional aspect of ethnic identities, as they provide individuals and groups with meaning through solidarity, a sense of belonging and kinship (Verkuyten 2005, see also Tajfel, 1981). Such emotional needs motivate behaviour as individuals seek to understand, control, and potentially change their environment (e.g. Bandura, 2000; Fiske, 2004). Thus, within the primordial dimension emphasising psychological 'needs' the potential for agency and resistance in articulating social identities may also be located (Alexander, 1996; Coté & Levine, 2002; Duveen, 2001). The process of ethnic identification is thus intertwined with ideological group boundaries 'imagining' descent which help frame how individuals as agents with emotional needs make sense of who they are and where they belong.

Levels of analysis models (e.g. Cornish, 2004; Deaux, 2006; Doise, 1986) provide a plausible framework in which to articulate ethnic identification within macro-level ideological processes and meso-level interaction (Coté & Levine, 2002; Verkuyten, 2005). Ethnic identities may thus be situated in a social dialectical process (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) involving ideology and agency at the two levels. To be more concrete, ideological boundaries of a common history are produced and (re)constructed 'imagining' social groups and may be articulated at the macro-level because they are beyond direct control of a single individual and to a large extent reflect status and power interests of 'dominant' ethnic groups. These understandings of groups are reified and 'internalized' via the communication of shared social representations at the meso-level where membership in (imagined) ethnic groups can provide

⁵ This is parallel to the way in which Duveen and Lloyd have argued that imperative gender identities are ideologically constructed, legitimized, and naturalized using biological differences, heterosexuality and the gender binary which often support male hegemony and hierarchical gender relationships (Duveen & Lloyd, 1986; Lloyd & Duveen, 1992).

individuals with ethnic identities through a sense of continuity and connectedness (Liu & Hilton, 2005), but also exclude those constructed as not belonging (Gullestad, 2006; Tajfel, 1981). However, identities are more than a simple mirroring of the dominant representations of our society. Individual actors can thus reproduce or resist social representations which frame ideological boundaries of ethnic groups when negotiating identities at the meso-level. Agency through resistance can thus potentially change these very same ideological boundaries (Brah, 1996; Hall, 1991, 1992; Howarth, 2006), and even the content of identities (Deaux, 2001; Duveen, 2001; Moloney & Walker, 2007).

MACRO- AND MESO-LEVEL INVESTIGATIONS OF IMMIGRANT YOUTHS IN OSLO

The potential inter-relationship between ethnic identities and social representations runs parallel to accounts of the ideology-agency dialectic, and needs further empirical investigation. Immigrant youth are chosen as an interesting group to examine ethnic identity for a number of reasons. There has been a marked increase in the number of immigrants⁶ in Norway over the past 30 years (Daugstad 2009). Children of immigrants, who have had all or most of their upbringing in Norway, have thus become an increasingly significant demographic group (Andersson, 2003) especially in Oslo which has the largest population of immigrants in the country (Øia, 2007). Most importantly, questions of ethnic identity are central for immigrant youth because issues of belongingness and origins are not straightforward. The changing social representations used to classify immigrant minorities in Norway have created both permeable and impermeable boundaries of group belongingness and contradictory ideologies of assimilation, multiculturalism, and exclusion may co-exist, further complicating identity negotiation (Phelps et al., submitted).

At the macro-level immigrant youth may be ideologically ‘categorized’ or construed as belonging and originating both ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ of Norwegian society (see also Jacobson, 1997; Vassenden, in press). They may therefore negotiate multiple ethnic identities and possess a certain degree of agency to trace origins or descent based upon membership in a number of groups, which may carry contractual obligations in certain contexts (Vadher & Barrett, 2009). At the same time, they are faced with imperative pressure limiting potential

⁶Even though the word immigrant implies that one is ‘outside’ and not necessarily an integral part of society it will be used throughout this paper because it is a common word used in Norwegian. It also resonates with salient boundaries in public discourse and how participants in the focus group discussions described themselves.

identifications based upon race and outsider origins (Andersson, 2003; Gullestad, 2006; Nadim & Howarth, submitted). This uncertainty thus frames our investigations of the types of obligations social representations may place on immigrant youth's ethnic identities.

Social representations theory is one of few social psychological traditions which has been characterized by the use of multiple methods from its conception (Moscovici 1961/2008)⁷. For example, Duveen (1998) and Marková (2007) have argued that studies of social representations and social identities in particular need to combine analysis of both communication processes in media and social interaction. Our paper thus attempts to develop a more nuanced understanding of the mutual relationship between how immigrant youth are represented (identified) in public discourse at the macro-level and how they understand themselves (make identifications) at the meso-level. Employing a mixed method design (Hanson et al., 2005; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009) our studies of ethnic identification aim to compare data on the historical ideological boundary developments of majority-minority representations in public discourse with that of identity negotiation in group discussions.

Data collection for each study occurred in two concurrent processes which were independent in design. Each study has been reported separately in relation to patterns of intergroup boundary developments in Norway (Phelps et al., submitted) and possibilities for agency and resistance in immigrant youth identity negotiation (Nadim, 2005; Nadim & Howarth, submitted). The complimentary nature of the two for examining the social representation-identity relationship supported integration, as each study captured a different level of the ethnic identity dialectic.

We have used a parallel mixed data analysis strategy (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009) of data consolidation/merging (Caracelli & Greene, 1993) which occurred in two phases. First, findings from both studies were discussed and interpreted in collaboration. The two studies are reported separately as an attempt to articulate each respective level similar to parallel track analysis (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Study 1 examines macro-level ideological developments of group boundaries relevant to immigrant youth through a longitudinal analysis of language change in Norwegian public discourse. Study 2 investigates meso-level group discussions with immigrant youth concerning their own ethnic identities and place in the Norwegian society. The second phase of comparison focuses upon linking the two levels through convergence of descriptive findings and re-analysis (Andrews, 2008) by examining

⁷Further exemplified in Duveen's own work ranging from ethnography to experiments and also evident in present day post-graduate training in methods on the Social Representations Euro PhD program (http://www.europhd.eu/html/_onda02/07/00.00.00.00.shtml)

imperative and contractual obligations between social representations and ethnic identities which emerged in both studies.

Study 1: Ideological developments of group boundaries: Longitudinal changes in language use

Mass-media has become an increasingly important arena of ideological influence in modern society (e.g. Thompson, 1990) and has also been a traditional source of investigation for social representation theorists (e.g. Moscovici 1961/2008; Marková, 2007). Study 1 analyzes Norwegian public discourse in order to capture historical developments at the macro-level, and hence ideological developments of social representations relevant for ethnic identity. It makes use of archival methodology through the analysis of mass-media language in which the interrelationship between ideology and language is taken for granted. Hence, language change in public discourse provides a powerful indication of ideological developments in society (Nafstad et al., 2007; 2009; Rand-Hendriksen, 2008; Phelps et al., submitted). Study 1 has a longitudinal design as it maps newspaper language from 1984 until 2005 to correspond with the year in which Nadim (2005) held focus group discussions. Thus, we aim to highlight the construction and transformation of salient group boundaries throughout a 22 year time period to cover the period slightly before the immigrant youth in the focus group study were born and up to the point of group discussions in Study 2.

Shifts in language usage are examined by mapping new words and expressions and changes or stability in frequency of occurrences of key words in newspaper articles. Words included in this analysis were chosen to reflect minority and majority representations which both described and contextualized potential ethnic identity boundaries relevant for immigrant youth based upon origins and group belongingness (Jenkins, 2008). Words were selected from two sources: (1) Boundary developments found in Phelps et al. (submitted) based on immigrant (and general) otherness, race (visibility), the nation state (Norwegianness), and the multicultural (potentially new possibilities organizing origins) (2) Identity words and other expressions developed in relation to Nadim's (2005) focus group interaction and other Norwegian studies on immigrant youth and ethnic identity (e.g. Andersson, 2002a, b; 2003; Gullestad, 2002; 2006).

To examine developments of the identified search words, we employed the web-based database Retriever which has archived a substantial catalogue of Norwegian media (www.retriever-info.com). The Oslo-based newspaper Aftenposten was chosen as the context

of investigation because it is archived in Retriever until 1984, the second most read newspaper in Norway (apart from the tabloid VG), and covers a variety of national and local societal issues relevant to multicultural issues. Moreover, all of the immigrant youth in Study 2 lived in Oslo at the time of investigation. Hence we argue that Aftenposten provides an adequate historical barometer of the public discourse throughout their development.

Utilizing Retriever's search engine, one can determine the number of articles satisfying specific search criteria (e.g. a word '*immigrant*' or phrase '*immigrant youth*') within a pre-defined search period within the database. Retriever generates a list of articles within the search context, which creates a basis for determining the development of changes in usage of words or phrases across different periods of time. We map this development using a meta-search system that reports and tracks the frequency of occurrences through the total number of articles including a search term for each calendar year. Furthermore, the system also applies crucial adjustment procedures to ensure validity of results, and thus controls for variations in article length, number of articles in a given year, and idiosyncratic usages of words or phrases. When discussing developmental trends and numbers, we do so based on these adjustments (see Rand Hendriksen, 2008 for a more detailed explanation).

Developmental change is further reported through four key statistical calculations. Trends are described by (1) Percentage change in the usage of search words from 1984 to 2005, indicating the magnitude of changes over time; (2) correlations with linear time, i.e. how strongly the developmental pattern for a particular search word (the time series data) correlates with the annual time series itself (1984, 1985, 1986, ... 2005); (3) estimated mean annual change (EMAC) which allows for the comparison of the relative change size for different words over the 22 year time span⁸; and (4) peak usage and peak year in which a word appears in public discourse which help provide reference points to compare a term's usage across a time period and illuminate discernible ideological developments, indicating ideological turning points, saturation of an ideology, or the need for other or further linguistic labels to capture or enhance ideological development.

⁸Based on the linear regression line calculated from each particular developmental trend, EMAC is an expression of the relative change size approximating the mean annual percentage change of the frequency of articles for the developmental trend of a word or expression (Nafstad et al., 2007, 2009; Rand-Hendriksen, 2008).

Results and Discussion

The term ‘immigrant’ (*innvandrere*) is commonly used when referring to people of a cultural or national origin other than ‘Norwegian’, and may also refer to immigrant youth even if they are born in Norway. Peaking in 1995 with 1436 articles, when Study 2’s participants were reaching school age, the root “*innvandr*” (capturing derivatives of immigrant, immigration, and immigrate) increased by 150 percent, appearing in 488 articles in 1984 compared to 1218 in 2005. Gullestad (2002; 2006) suggests that “*innvandrere*” (immigrant) has shifted meaning from being relatively neutral in the beginning of our time period to gaining increasingly negative and racial connotations in the 1990’s and mid-2000’s. In that time, the media has been accused of predominantly framing immigrants in a negative manner, especially regarding lack of integration, violence and criminality, and traditions which are oppressive to women (Andersson, 2002b, 2003; Gullestad, 2006). With this contextual information in mind, the developments of three other expressions further suggest that the immigrant boundary, as most likely connoting ‘stigmatized’ visible otherness, became more particularly salient and reified at key developmental transitions for Study 2 participants (i.e. first years of school). The combinations “*innvandrerungdom*” (immigrant youth) and “*innvandrereforeldre*” (immigrant parents) both increased and peaked in 1998, while “*innvandrermiljø*” (immigrant environment) also increased in usage, peaking in 2002.⁹ Statistical information concerning developmental patterns for each word or expression included in the present analysis can be found below in Table 1.

Further illustrating the salience of otherness boundaries without the ‘immigrant’ signifier, “*utlending*” (foreigner), increased markedly between 1984 and 1993 (peaking with 1217 articles), but declined steadily thereafter before stabilizing in the late 1990s, while the term “*neger*” (negro), also peaked in 1993 (60 articles) and has steadily declined by thirty-seven percent. While these expressions stabilized or declined others focusing explicitly on origins and otherness, such as “*utenlandsk opprinnelse*” (foreign origin) and the root “*etnis*” (ethnic or ethnicity) both peaked in the late nineties and increased respectively by 1213 and 416 percent throughout the time period. Moreover, in the early, 2000s, we find evidence of changes to boundary words, as the expressions “*etnisk minoritet*” (ethnic minority), “*hudfarge*” (skin colour), and derivatives of “*mørk hud*” (dark skin) increased significantly

⁹This term concretely located the media debated problems mentioned above specifically to immigrants’ social landscape, and possesses ‘ghettoization’ connotations (Gullestad, 2002).

and peaked in 2001.¹⁰ The latter two indicate a shift in the development of the racial boundary from the general racial term “negro” to a specific focus on “skin colour” and that the boundary was at its most explicit closest to when Study 2 participants were reaching adolescence (Table 1). Highlighting Duveen’s (2001) ‘world of representations,’ our findings suggest that certain symbolic representations for classifying immigrant minorities became increasingly based upon origins in outsider otherness and visibility throughout the formative years of identity development for immigrant youth participants in Study 2.

In 2005, when focus group discussions took place, different immigrant words reached peak usage. A multitude of expressions which further specified immigrant ‘outsider’ boundaries were still apparent as the expressions “*ikke-vestlig innvandrere*” (non-Western immigrant), “*andre generasjons innvandrere*” (second generation immigrant) and “*innvandrerbakgrunn*” (immigrant background) increased substantially (Table 1). Thus, there were continued tendencies marking immigrant origins, despite the fact that the latter two expressions denote people like immigrant youth who were born, or who had spent the majority of their lives in Norway.

Nonetheless, different expressions of societal belongingness also peaked as “*flerkulturell*” (multicultural), “*flerkulturellbakgrunn*” (multicultural background), and “*minoritet*” (minority) all increased dramatically between 1984 and 2005. Thus, a potential acceptance or ‘opening up’ of ‘multicultural’ boundaries was also observed. These symbolic representations may indicate alternative constructions of ethnic groups based upon origins and belongingness ‘inside’ Norwegian society, albeit as a minority.

Systematic patterns around constructions of ‘Norwegianness’ were also found. Derivatives of the root ‘*norsk*’ (Norwegian) decreased significantly over time by 14 percent, while the expressions “*nordmann* OR *nordmenn*” (Norwegian as a group of people) did not undergo a significant developmental trend, but peaked in 2005. Despite the lack of clarity of “*norsk*” or “*nordmann*” (Norwegian) we find linguistic evidence of the increasing salience and dominance of expressions combining other national origins and Norwegianness. Similar to the multicultural boundaries, allowing potential space for other forms of Norwegianness, hybrid constructions like “*norsk-pakistansk*” (Norwegian-pakistani) and “*norsk-somalisk*” (Norwegian-somali) steadily increased.

¹⁰ We were unable to produce reliable searches on two other racial boundary words, “*rase*” (race) and “*farget*” (coloured) because each word has more than one usage thus highlighting a potential limitation in the present method.

Moreover, indicating the overall salience of the “Who am I?” question, “*identitet*” (identity) peaked and increased by 93 percent in 2005 when it appeared in 804 articles. However, the construction “*norsk identitet*” (Norwegian identity) was seldom used and did not undergo a significant development over time. This suggests that a ‘Norwegian identity’ was taken for granted and left unspoken in public discourse (see Billig, 1995). In contrast, what seemed necessary to be said or marked was the term “*etnisk norsk*” (ethnic Norwegian) which of all search words included in the present analysis, increased most dramatically and frequently throughout the time period investigated, apart from the much less used “Norwegian Somali” (see EMAC score in Table 1). Its increasing salience highlights the ideological significance of the origins boundary. Furthermore, it indicates the necessity for a linguistic expression to denote the majority and that boundaries of Norwegianness were not just redrawn to accommodate minorities. This may suggest a presence of a ‘Norwegianness’ hierarchy in which new expressions of Norwegianness still, at least to a certain degree, indicate ‘outsiderness’ and could lead to exclusion on the basis of origins and visibility (Gullestad, 2006; Lane, 2009; Phelps et al., submitted). Thus, ethnic Norwegian, as a dominant identity marker represents an aspect of the Norwegianness boundary which was both extremely salient for, but most likely excluded immigrant youth.

The developments of these expressions provide a macro-level, longitudinal barometer in which to articulate the world of representations in which immigrant youth negotiated ethnic identities. Findings suggest ideological ambivalence concerning group boundaries in the public discourse by 2005, illustrating a certain degree of uncertainty about how categorizations of ‘immigrant’ others should be made in Norwegian society. Increasing and potentially imperative pressure was observed through ‘otherness’ boundaries of immigrant and outsider origins and race. The emergence of “ethnic Norwegian” further signifies that the origins/descent boundary was of great importance to mark majority members as well. Yet, there was also additional evidence of equally increasing multicultural and Norwegianness boundaries. Taken together, although this type of language change analysis provides a powerful indication of potential, changing ‘identifying’ pressures and boundaries at the macro-level, we are left with a limited understanding of the concrete communicative and meaning-making processes individuals use to negotiate ethnic identities in their everyday lives. Thus, to deepen an understanding of the ethnic identity dialectic for immigrant youth, we now investigate the role of agency in articulating ethnic identities at the meso-level.

Search word	Adjusted no. occurrences in 2005	% increase/decrease since 1984 ¹¹	Correlation with linear time (year) ¹²	Est mean annual change (%)	Peak year	Peak no. adjusted occurrences
innvandr* ¹³ (immigrant/immigration)	1218	150	0.83***	2.72	1995	1436
innvandrerdøms* (immigrant youth)	29	228	0.77***	6.83	1998	70
innvandrereforeldre* (immigrant parent)	14	1168	0.83***	9.53	1998	38
innvandrermiljø* (immigrant environment)	65	1417	0.95***	9.24	2002	85
utlending* (foreigner)	773	3.5	-0.43ns	-0.86	1993	1217
neger* (negro)	29	-37	-0.61**	-1.05	1993	60
utenlandsk opprinnelse (foreign origin)	58	1213	0.92***	11.36	1998	84
etnis* (ethnic/ethnicity)	537	416	0.78***	5.50	1999	758
etnisk minoritet (ethnic minority)	46	317	0.92***	6.55	2001	59
hudfarge* (skin colour)	88	41	0.52*	1.68	2001	166
mørk hud (dark skin)	50	131	0.44*	1.73	2001	83
ikke-vestlig innvandr* (non-Western immigrant)	47	new	0.88***	19.89	2005	
innvandrerbakgrunn (immigrant background)	155	new	0.97***	15.80	2005	
andregenerasjons innvandr* (second generation immigrant)	24	new	0.93***	11.81	2005	
flerkulturell bakgrunn (multicultural background)	17	new	0.96***	15.32	2005	
flerkultur* OR multikultur* (multicultural)	248	2674	0.95***	10.10	2005	
minoritet* (minority)	525	111	0.89***	3.25	2005	
norsk* (Norwegian)	20896	-14	-0.92***	-1.04	1984	24233
nordmann* OR nordmenn* (Norwegian)	4348	32	0.20ns	0.19	2005	
norsk-pakistansk* (Norwegian-pakistani)	119	5244	0.81***	16.00	2005	
norsk-somal* (Norwegian-somali)	26	new	0.79***	22.05	2005	
identitet*	804	93	0.96***	2.06	2005	
norsk identitet (norwegian identity)	15	579	0.41ns	1.52	1994	17
etnisk norsk (ethnic Norwegian)	143	new	0.79***	21.63	2005	

Table 1: Search words used in the longitudinal (1984-2005) analysis with number of articles observed in *Aftenposten* in 2005; percentage increase/decrease since 1984; correlations (Pearson's r) with linear time (year); and estimated mean annual change (EMAC) for each search word.

¹¹ Percentage calculation is based on adjusted number of articles (see pg).

¹² ns = non significant; * = significant at .05 level; ** = significant at .01 level; *** = significant at .001 level

¹³ * means that the word string searched is truncated.

Study 2: Focus Groups with young people with immigrant backgrounds

Nadim (2005) explored how certain identities and category memberships were negotiated, elaborated and resisted in the everyday life of immigrant youth. Twenty-three young people between the ages of 14 and 23 (average age of 17) and with parents from diverse national backgrounds (Ghana, Turkey, Iran, Vietnam, Macedonia (FYROM), Morocco, India, Thailand, Iraq (Kurdistan), Pakistan, Eritrea, Kenya and Gambia) were interviewed. All participants were 'visible' immigrants, making issues of imposed identities and stigma particularly relevant. All were Norwegian citizens. A majority moved to Norway before school age and half were born in the country. They belonged to different youth centres and organisations in Oslo which to different degrees focused upon empowerment and creating positive identities. Participants were deliberately recruited from settings where it was expected to find evidence of reflexivity and critical thinking. Participants knew each other beforehand and the use of natural groups was intended to ensure a familiar setting for discussing issues of belonging, and thus providing insight into how identities were negotiated, elaborated and resisted in everyday life. Furthermore, the moderator's¹⁴ background as a young, non-white Norwegian-Iranian researcher hopefully encouraged openness and trust in potentially difficult discussions.

In total, four focus groups were conducted with between 5 and 7 participants in each group. One focus group was all male, one all female, and the two remaining consisted of all male participants and one female. Thus, there was a predominance of male subjects in the study. Discussions focused on three main issues: identity and belonging, perception of representations and possibilities for resistance. A 'bottom-up' or data-driven thematic analysis was used in order to explore the concepts, patterns and structures which emerged from the data. Each group was first analysed separately, but the material was subsequently treated as a whole because no thematic differences were found between groups (see Nadim, 2005; Nadim & Howarth, submitted).

¹⁴Second author

Belonging and ethnic identity

Issues of belonging, origins, and ethnic identities emerged as important and reoccurring themes in all focus group discussions. Feelings of belonging were often characterised by ambivalence and contradiction, as many participants seemed to struggle to position themselves in relation to a concept of ‘Norwegianness’:

A: We are not Norwegian, but we really do feel Norwegian, we have lived in Norway for a long time. So, we are a part of the Norwegian society. When Norway plays football and Italy plays football, we don't support Italy, we support Norway.

B: You do

(Laughter)

A: Most do. But when you aren't in Norway, on holiday, you, like, miss Norway. Because you feel that Norway is your home, like, your second home, after where you originally come from, right. Like many of us haven't seen their home country. So we feel that Norway is not...like, it's our home. (All-male focus group)

In this discussion one of the male participants gave examples of when he feels Norwegian. He mentioned sports and holidays as specific contexts where a Norwegian identity becomes particularly salient for him (see Vadher and Barrett 2009). At the same time, when describing a feeling of belonging and identification with Norway, he stressed his origin from “outside” “where you originally come from”. In fact, one of the most striking issues throughout the focus group discussions was the ambiguity regarding belonging and *where* participants placed themselves in the social landscape.

Moreover, when discussing belonging and ethnic identity, positions would often shift during the course of the discussion, and participants would seldom unambiguously claim an ethnic identity. Issues of origins and belonging were continuously negotiated:

If somebody asks me ‘well, where are you from?’ and I say ‘Norwegian’, I don't mean that I'm originally Norwegian, but that I'm from Norway, I live in Norway, that's what I mean, it's not that we're saying that we're Norwegian, originally Norwegian. But we live in Norway, right, and then we're amongst Norwegians. Anyhow we have Norwegian passports and that makes us Norwegian (All-male focus group).

Again it becomes clear that there was a difference between feeling a sense of belonging and identification with Norway and actually declaring that one was Norwegian (see Brah 1996). Although many of the participants felt Norwegian to some extent, they were cautious about proclaiming a Norwegian ethnic identity. Participants expressed various degrees of, and often context-dependent, identification with a country of origin and Norway. Most articulated a sense of belonging in Norway, yet none referred to themselves as only Norwegian or “truly” or “ethnic Norwegian”. In other words, none of the participants lay claim to an unproblematic Norwegian identity.

Throughout the focus group discussions it became clear that the nature of ethnic identities was not fixed, and ethnic identities were not articulated in terms of mutually exclusive categories. Rather ethnic identities seemed to be experienced as ambiguous in different ways. First, they were contextual and dependent upon the salience of the participants’ immigrant background in a particular situation. Second, it was possible to be Norwegian to a certain extent; most participants expressed that they felt Norwegian without making claims to an unproblematic Norwegian identity. In other words, it was possible to be Norwegian in certain respects, and at the same time be outside Norwegianness in others. However, the criteria determining membership or identification with the category Norwegian were seldom clear. To understand participants’ negotiation of ethnic identities, it was thus necessary to examine how the category ‘Norwegian’ was generally understood and constructed.

Boundaries of Norwegianness

The symbolic boundaries of Norwegianness were pertinent for participants when articulating ethnic identities. The ambiguity illustrated above in their ethnic identifications, was linked to an uncertainty about what criteria determined category membership. It became clear in the discussions that the participants found it hard to explicitly mark the boundaries delimiting who could be seen as Norwegian.

Following Jacobson (1997) the boundaries or criteria that participants focused upon can be described as *civic*, *cultural* or *racial* (see also Vadher and Barrett 2009, Vassenden in press). All participants in the study were Norwegian citizens, and many emphasised their formal membership in the nation-state when discussing belongingness and ethnic identities. For instance the participant in the quote above struggled to articulate an ethnic identity before

reaching a (preliminary) conclusion by relying on a civic definition: “(...) *we have Norwegian passports and that makes us Norwegian*”.

In addition to the civic argument, participants highlighted *cultural* criteria for membership in the category Norwegian. The following excerpt shows how two male participants drew upon cultural arguments to determine how they placed themselves in relation to Norwegianness:

A: Norway is like a part of us. We too are Norwegians, even though we are not originally Norwegian, but we have lived here so long and therefore feel really (Norwegian) to put it like that. We feel like we're Norwegian, but we are automatically like Norwegians. We have lived here so long, understand? We work in the country. Family has lived here so long...

B: And you speak the language. It's clear, you understand how the Norwegian society is, you get Norwegian morals and

Interviewer: Yes...

B: Just like how Norwegians see their own country to put it that way...

(All-male focus group)

In this quote participants discussed what makes one Norwegian using criteria such as having lived in Norway for a long time, language skills, knowledge of the society, and more generally acculturation and sharing Norwegian values. This parallels what Jacobson calls a *cultural boundary* as Norwegianness is discussed as “a matter of the culture, values or lifestyle to which one adheres” (Jacobson 1997, pp 181). Yet, participants experienced that cultural criteria like behaviour, life-style and values did not necessarily make one a Norwegian:

And then they say: 'Integrate, get a job, learn the language and this and that and that'. OK, we learn the language, go to school, integrate to that extent, speak Norwegian and all of that. To an extent it's enough, but for the final cut it's not enough. (All-female focus group)

It was, in part, their visual markers of difference that excluded them from an unambiguous Norwegian identity:

So when I every day hear that 'No, you're ...you're black, you're a foreigner' then you don't feel Norwegian in Norway, when I hear something else. Hey, I have the Norwegian passport and I'm 'Norwegian' like, but... (All-female focus group)

Thus neither the civic criteria (citizenship) nor the cultural criteria were experienced as sufficient to unambiguously define a 'Norwegian' ethnic identity. There was strong agreement that having a Norwegian passport, speaking the language and having lived in Norway for a long time made one Norwegian, but only to a certain extent. It was not enough to identify as a 'true' Norwegian. Issues of ancestry, "blood" and the representation of Norwegian as *white* sometimes prevented the participants from seeing themselves as truly Norwegian; in other words there was an additional 'racial' criteria for Norwegianness and subsequently for their own ethnic identities (Jacobson 1997). Yet this 'racial' boundary, was not completely unchallenged. The issue was discussed extensively in the all-male focus group, and there were several challenges to a racialised definition of Norwegianness:

A: Who said that Norwegians have to be white?

B: Have you ever seen a really black Norwegian?

[...]

C: If you start thinking like this, that Norway is for white people, that only white people are Norwegian, then you're approaching Nazi tendencies

(All-male focus group)

Although participants highlighted that Norwegians were often assumed to be white, they also experienced attempts of difference being downplayed by majority members and being included in the "Norwegian" category, especially in the context of school. Some responded to these attempts of inclusion by asserting an immigrant identity and dismissing a Norwegian identity:

But I get to hear: 'you're Norwegian', and then I say: 'No, I'm not Norwegian', and then it's like: 'Yes, you're Norwegian because you speak Norwegian fluently and this and that'. And then I'm thinking: 'No I'm Eritrean, but I have a Norwegian citizenship. That's it!' (All-female, focus group).

The statement above made reference to the civic criteria, but this female participant explicitly stated that citizenship was not sufficient to define herself as Norwegian. Several participants strongly identified with their parents' place of birth, and origins or roots outside of Norway were often taken for granted:

Interviewer: OK, you're saying that, at least some of you are saying that you would have said Norwegian, but originally from Morocco or wherever. Is it a feeling of being a bit of both, or how is it?

A: No, Moroccan. Done. Don't make me into anything else!

(Male, mixed focus group)

Again, this quote illustrates an example of opposing a 'Norwegian' identity. While this strategy did little to challenge the boundaries of 'Norwegianness', it can also be interpreted as an opposition against calls for assimilation (see Nadim and Howarth, submitted).

In sum, throughout the discussions, feelings of belongingness appeared to be ambiguous, contextual, and at times contradictory for the immigrant youth in the study. Ethnic identities were always articulated in relation to different aspects of Norwegianness, as participants drew on three types of criteria, namely civic, cultural and racial, in their effort to position themselves in relation to a Norwegian or an 'immigrant' identity (see Jacobson, 1997). Discussions moved beyond the civic criteria, as citizenship in itself was not experienced as sufficient to determine identifications. Rather than formal membership in the nation, negotiation of 'origins' and feelings of belonging were central for participants' articulations of ethnic identity. Additionally, racial boundaries of exclusion based on visibility and perceived 'outsider origins' posed limitations for identifications. Thus, at the meso-level, ethnic identities were mostly, but not exclusively, articulated within existing meaning structures without challenging the ideological constructions of 'Norwegianness'.

DISCUSSION: FROM IMPERATIVE/CONTRACTUAL OBLIGATIONS TO AGENCY WITHIN IDEOLOGICAL CONSTRAINTS AS RESISTANCE

Our discussion focuses on how convergence from both studies may provide a ‘new’ understanding of immigrant youth ethnic identity negotiation between the macro- and meso-levels, which consequently challenges the imperative/contractual distinction in Duveen’s (2001) social identities-social representations framework. Combined, findings indicate that the type of pressure that immigrant youth face when constructing ethnic identities was seldom straightforward at either level. In public discourse, we found strong evidence of changing boundaries between the ‘Norwegian’ majority and immigrant minorities throughout a 22 year period. Moreover, the ideological salience of different immigrant and outsider origins, visibility, Norwegianness, and multicultural social representations may all be construed as framing ethnic identity. In the focus group discussions, immigrant youth negotiated identity mainly in relation to the ‘Norwegianness’ boundary and drew upon three criteria (civic, cultural, and racial) for establishing their positions within the social landscape. However, participants themselves seldom made explicit what criteria precisely determined group belongingness and their ethnic identities, in the same manner as it was impossible to construct precisely one dominant social representation in public discourse framing descent. Thus, the unifying thread central to both empirical investigations is the parallel pattern of ambiguity found on both levels.

When seeking to understand this ambiguity by applying Duveen and Lloyd’s distinction between social representations that impose *either* imperative or contractual obligations on social identities, the dichotomy’s limitations become apparent. Certain aspects of ethnic identity negotiation observed in both studies can without question be meaningfully understood as imposed by imperative obligations, especially along a ‘racial’ boundary. For example, the increasing salience of boundary expressions observed in the public discourse such as “non-Western immigrant”, “ethnic Norwegian”, or “skin colour” (pp. 13.10-13.11) indicate the enhancement or reification of differences between majority and minority groups based upon outsider origins and visibility (Gullestad, 2002; 2006). Moreover, participants in the focus groups mentioned skin colour as a barrier for ‘unproblematic’ Norwegianness (p. 13.17-13.18). Thus, the observed ‘racial’ boundary to a certain extent placed an imperative obligation on immigrant youth participants as they continuously experienced being ascribed ethnic identities outside (ethnic) Norwegianness. In this sense, ethnic identity may be construed as framed by an imperative obligation based upon a social representation of race or

the binary white/non-white in striking parallel to Duveen and Lloyd's analysis of gender identities.

However, even this seemingly imperative social representation of race was not the only aspect of origins and belongingness found to be relevant to negotiate ethnic identity in either investigation. For example, a racially based definition of Norwegianness was not readily accepted by all participants (p. 13.18). In addition, the two racial constructions (*skin colour* and *dark skin*) were the expressions which were among the least explicitly used in public discourse and most salient in 2001, as opposed to 2005 (Table 1). Thus, an overemphasis on race in our two studies runs the danger of further reifying racial boundaries (see Howarth, 2009), at the expense of other equally plausible and interrelated criteria for ethnic identity. Moreover only focusing upon race would obscure other or new potentially more inclusive ethnic group constructions such as the multicultural boundaries found in public discourse or inclusion potentialities of 'Norwegianness' boundaries (p. 13.11).

What's more, for immigrant youth, ethnic identities may also have contractual obligations in certain contexts because of agency, and their ambiguous position in Norwegian society. For instance, some participants made careful claims to be "Norwegian" in certain situations (supporting sports teams and when on holiday, p. 13.15) and in relation to civic and cultural criteria. Others maintained a strong identification with another country of origin and rejected a Norwegian identity (p. 13.19). Thus, membership in ethnic groups might not always be imperative or salient in a given context and can carry voluntary elements, or a certain degree of choice. Therefore, we suggest that the imperative/contractual dichotomy is problematic because our findings indicate that social representations can potentially impose *both* imperative and contractual obligations for immigrant youths' ethnic identities.

We propose that a more meaningful understanding of the macro- and meso-level ambiguity found in both studies involves distinguishing between degrees of agency within ideological constraints and agency as resistance.¹⁵ Mirroring macro-level salience of the outsider origin and visibility boundaries which exclude immigrant youth from being 'ethnic Norwegian', we find examples of participants placing *themselves* outside of the category Norwegian (p.13.19) in focus group discussions. This active opposition of a Norwegian identity may be interpreted as an acceptance of ideological exclusion on the basis of outsider otherness or as an opposition against negative representations of immigrants through an identification with an 'otherised' category (Nadim & Howarth, submitted). The focus group

¹⁵We would like to thank Erik Carlquist for this reformulation

discussions support the latter understanding because participants made reflective and active identifications, thus insisting on having agency to negotiate ethnic identities. Nonetheless, in both interpretations, a social representation of ‘otherness’ origins which enhanced differences between groups was left unchallenged and used to unequivocally internalize an ‘outsider’ ethnic identity. Thus, agency, even to oppose a ‘Norwegian’ identity occurred within ideological constraints.

Other macro-level ideological constraints based upon nationalism and cultural assimilation were also found in both studies. For example, in public discourse the emergence of ‘hybrid’ constructions representing potentially new forms of Norwegianness (e.g. *Norwegian-pakistani*) takes for granted the boundary of two nation-states as the main location of group belongingness and descent (Billig, 1995). Furthermore, immigrant youth in some contexts experienced external pressure to identify as Norwegian, for instance when being ascribed Norwegian identities in school (p. 13.18). Thus, in certain contexts immigrant youth were also ideologically constrained through a particular assimilation experience of being ‘allowed’ or encouraged to make some (but not all) “ethnic Norwegian” identifications (see also Vassenden, in press).

Another aspect or degree of ethnic identity negotiation may be meaningfully understood as agency through resistance. Although observed less frequently this form of agency reflects challenges to dominant representations, which may be observed in both studies. For example, some participants such as those in the all-male focus group explicitly challenged a racial understanding of Norwegians as white (p. 13.18), thus re-presenting and challenging a dominant social representation. Moreover, the changing nature of boundaries at the macro-level might also indicate resistance through the multicultural and hybrid boundaries. These developments thus provide indications of the emergence of social representations which acknowledge more inclusive and varied forms of group belongingness inside of Norway, thus enabling challenges toward outsider origins and visibility boundaries made by some focus group participants.

CONCLUSION

As social psychologists concerned with how globalization and migration have created new identity challenges in Western Europe/Norway, we conclude by re-stating the obvious-- that Gerard Duveen's intellectual contributions are of great value to understand and study the cultural and historical complexity involving ethnic identities in multicultural contexts. In this paper, we have used his account of relationships between social identities and social representations to help examine the social dialectic of ethnic identity at different levels. However, our studies indicate that ethnic identities of immigrant youth may be framed by both imperative and contractual obligations. Thus, the limitations of the dichotomy might have consequences for Duveen's (2001) general theoretical claims on varieties of social identities and obligations imposed by social representations. Our reformulation of different degrees of agency visible through a combination of macro- and meso-levels of analysis is of course grounded in our investigations of immigrant youth in Oslo. We therefore invite future studies on social representations to reconsider both the imperative/contractual dichotomy and ideology-agency dialectic for the particular phenomenon of ethnic identities involving different groups in different contexts, and perhaps universally to other social identities, even gender.

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